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BOOK REVIEWS

KRISTOF GLAMANN *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740* reviewed
by S. Arasaratnam.

which some at least of the practices in Ceylon were based. But they are, as will be seen, implied both in the law-codes and in the customs and practices that prevailed in the Island at this time.

It is unfortunate that we are left in the dark about the laws and customs that obtained among the people of the Island. This is largely because the monks who were the custodians of the records were more concerned with the history of the *Sāsana* and the laws and regulations of the *Samgha* than with the records of the life of the common people. Besides, there does not seem to have been any code of law based on Buddhism. We have, therefore, to assume that what prevailed in Ceylon was an adaptation of codes such as that which goes under the name of *Manu* and works such as the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya. We know from the *Cūlavamsa* that these works were known and studied in later times.¹ But we cannot be certain that they were known in the period under review in their present form. However there is little doubt that apart from the Brahmanical emphasis which would be contrary to Buddhist practice, the general principles of law and polity would be the same. The Pali canon, however, contains incidental details about the economic conditions that prevailed in Northern India. These may have influenced the practices prevalent in the Island.

It would, therefore, be pertinent to inquire how far the two bases of property rights can be recognised both in the Code of *Manu* and in the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya, taking these as representative of other such codes which may have been known. The idea of property is implicit in *Manu*. There is quite definite evidence about the sanctity of movable property and the king's duty of safeguarding it in the case of children and widows.² But the right of the cultivator to his land is assumed in laws regarding the responsibility of owners of fields to build hedges to prevent cattle grazing³ and regarding the settlement of boundary disputes.⁴ The *Arthasāstra* is much more explicit in its laws regarding landed property. These are defined as "houses, fields, gardens, buildings of any kind, lakes and tanks."⁵ There are laws regarding disputes over inheritance of these and disputes over boundaries.⁶ There are besides these, laws regulating the conditions under which people cultivate the fields that belong to others.⁷ It is even stated that occupation of properties in the absence of owners under certain circumstances will not give prescriptive rights to these.⁸ Even uncultivated tracts were sometimes owned for they could be acquired for cultivation by mortgage or purchase or lands belonging to others, for rents of various kinds.⁹

This right of private individuals to possess property in land is implied in passages in the Pali canon too. The injunction that a genuine bhikkhu has no sons, animals, arable land (*khetta*) or homestead land (*vatthu*) (movable or immovable property) implies the personal possession of land. The *Jātakas* too contain several references to private possession of land.

But the clearest record of it is to be found in a passage in the *Milindapañña*. "It is as when a man clears away the jungle and sets free a piece of land and the people say 'that is his land,' not that the land is made by him. It is because that he has brought the land into use that he is called the owner of the land."

Though we cannot of course assume that all these practices obtained in Ceylon yet it is fairly certain that the basic idea of property in land with inalienable ownership was known. The clearest enunciation of any principle or theory of ownership is that put into the mouth of the Thera Saṃghamitta in persuading Mahāsena to seize the lands of the *Mahāvihāra*. He said that "Ownerless land belongs to the king." (*Hoti assāmikaṃ vatthu puthuvīsāmino*).¹⁰ This was apparently the accepted practice because the *Mahāvihāra* monks combatted the threat, not by calling in question the principle invoked but by trying to prove that the land was never abandoned. They claimed that there were monks hidden within the premises in an underground chamber.¹¹ This seems to indicate that land in continuous occupation could not be seized by the king and that owners in occupation had an inviolable right to the land. The *Arthasāstra* has a similar law which says, "Property for which no claimant is found shall go to the king,"¹² and also "A holding for which no claimant is forthcoming shall be taken possession of by the king."¹³ The word *Sāmī* (Skt. *Svāmī*) is worth noting as it is the term that comes closest to complete ownership and is used in this sense in the *Arthasāstra*.

There are two important implications arising out of this. The first is that in some instances at least, ownership was not dependent on the king. Land could be owned and occupied by the people and the king had no rights over these lands except to receive certain taxes periodically. Ownership of these lands passed on at death to their children by inheritance. There is some evidence of this in a few incidental phrases in the inscriptions. The Timbiriavāva Rock Inscription of the reign of Goṭhābhaya recording a private grant of a share in a tank, defines it as, "that which belonged to his family" (*tumaha kula sataka*).¹⁴ The Perimiyankulam Inscription too, refers to a share "which belonged to the father of the donor" (*tumaha pita sataka koṭasa*).¹⁵ The unpublished Ruvanvālisāya inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa too contains the phrase *tumaha pita sataka tumaha anubuta satanani*. Though these refer to the right to the fish in tanks and canals (*mātara majibikapati*) there is little doubt that the same principle may have been applied to the ownership of land as well. It should be noted that in one, the share belonged to the father and the other seemed to be owned by the family. The *Mahāvamsa* too refers to a plot of land that belonged to the family of (*kulasante*) Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa.¹⁶ Ownership by the family can also imply communal ownership. But there is no clear reference to this in the Ceylon evidence.

The clearest instance of private ownership is that of tanks. The title *vapi-hamika* which is assumed by some of the donors of caves to the *Saṅgha* appearing in some Brahmi cave-inscriptions in the Haṇḍagala vihāra in Rohaṇa, means—"the owner (Skt. *svāmi*) of tanks."¹⁷ It would mean that they took the initiative and had the tanks built by the employment of labour. Buddhaghosa in commenting on the *Vinaya* in the *Samantapāsādikā* refers again to tanks that were held as public or communal property (*sabba sādharṇa*) and the rules that were to govern the utilisation of the water of those tanks. He even refers to the right of the owners of tanks and canals to the fish that were in them.¹⁸ This right has the name *matera majibika* in the inscriptions.

The question whether or not the king was the owner of all the land is one that is much debated. The documents themselves on which our conclusions have to be based are ambiguous in as much as there were law-givers who intentionally propounded this theory. The fact is that there is evidence both for private and communal ownership of land as well as for a wide extension of the power of the king in respect of property in proportion to the increase of his authority and also in respect of the land over which he had proprietary rights. It is the growth of this latter development that we must trace, and which will provide the clue to this theory that the king owned all the land.

This leads us therefore to the other implication that the king could in various ways acquire ownership rights similar to those exercised by long-standing cultivators. In the Code of *Manu* this is not quite so apparent, but in the *Arthasāstra* it was taken for granted and was a matter of policy. In the verse from the *Mahāvaiṣa* about the fate of ownerless land the king is called *puthuvīṣāmi* (Skt. *Prthvī-svami*), 'the owner of the earth.' This may be a literary pun used by the author on the word *assāmiko*. In the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries the king was often called *Vathimiyan-vahanse* (Skt. *Vastu-svamin*) or 'owner of land,' thus emphasising his ownership of property.¹⁹ It is possible, therefore, that the king gradually extended his rights over land along with the growth of his influence and power. But the acquisition of these rights must have been gradual.

One way in which ownership rights were acquired was by purchase. This was probably not a regular practice, but a few records of grants mention the fact that the king bought the property for the purpose of donation. This again shows by implication the strength of the claim of the owners, for they could not be casually dispossessed even by the king. The *Mahāvaiṣa* records that Gajabāhu bought the lands which he donated to the *Saṅgha*²⁰. Subha purchased the tank he donated, in the Vihāregala

Inscription, for five hundred pieces of money²¹ and Kumāradāsa in the Nāgirikanda Inscription records his purchase of four *vevasaras* for the purpose of donating them to the *Samgha*.²²

Another means by which the king acquired these rights was by the confiscation of property belonging to enemies and traitors. Dhātusena after his victory over the Tamil kings deprived of their villages "those belonging to noble clans or kinship villages who had attached themselves to the *Damīlas* and protected neither himself nor the sacred doctrine."²³ This right must have been exercised by other kings as well as it was a common custom in India. The *Arthasāstra* prescribes other reasons too for confiscation such as the non-payment of tax and the non-cultivation of land.²⁴ This last probably applied to crown land given on lease. There is no evidence of these practices in Ceylon.

We are not certain how the law, "Ownerless land belongs to the king" was eventually interpreted. Both here and in the *Arthasāstra* it distinctly refers to abandoned land. But it is possible that in time he not only laid claim to abandoned land but to all unoccupied land as well. This is implicit in the *Arthasāstra* and to some extent in *Manu* where the king claims right over treasure-troves, the forests and timber, and fishing rights in lakes and rivers.²⁵ It is also on this basis, as well as on the responsibility he had for the development of the kingdom, that he undertook the establishment of new villages and the opening up land for cultivation and colonisation.²⁶ It is clear from these passages that the king in establishing new villages and settling new colonists came to exercise over them greater rights than were possible in older established villages. Lands may be confiscated if they were not cultivated; lands were held only during the life-time of the cultivator; remission of taxes and concessions were given to encourage cultivation.²⁷ Cultivation was arranged in return for a share of the produce, the share depending on whether the person laboured himself or used the labour of others and on the various ways in which he obtained water for the purpose.²⁸ Sometimes these new lands were worked either by hired labour or by the labour that was due to the king by some classes of people.²⁹

It is likely that these practices were not unknown in Ceylon³⁰ and that by methods of cultivation such as this the king came to possess land over which he had greater rights—that is, proprietary rights where the share demanded was not merely regarded as a tax. From fairly early times the kings of the Island had been constructing tanks to provide irrigation for the land. This must have resulted in the opening up of considerable areas for new cultivation. It is said of Dhātusena in the *Mahāvamsa* that "by damming up the great stream he created fields which were permanently watered." When Mahānāga granted a thousand fields watered by the tank called *Dūratissa* (*sahassam Dūratissavha khattam*) we can assume that

the fields belonged to the owner of the tank, who was no doubt the king. Aggabodhi I granted a coconut garden which he had planted.³¹ Aggabodhi III made a grant of 'the *rājabhāga* of Kehella.' This can, on the face of it, be interpreted as 'the royal share' implying probably something more than the tax.³² We have thus, in Ceylon too, to reckon with land which belonged to the king and over which he had proprietary rights.

There is secondly the right exercised by the king to demand a share of the produce as tax. This right is again expressly stated and also implied in the Code of *Manu* and in the *Arthasāstra*. These taxes were charged on many items such as merchandise and traders, on cattle and gold on trees and fruits, meats, perfumes, medicines and also on grains. The tax on grain presumably is the tax on land. This emphasis is important as indicating that no value was attached to land as such but only to the produce of the land. The tax was to be an eighth, sixth, or twelfth part.³³ *Manu* further gives the reason for this charge when he lays down that "the chief duty of kshatriya is simply the protection of the people, for a king who receives the recompense mentioned is bound by the law"³⁴ and also, "If a king while giving no protection (yet) levies a tribute (for grain or husbandmen) or a tax (on real estate) and receives tolls (or taxes from merchants), (daily) gifts (of flowers, vegetables, etc.), and (moneys paid for) fines, he goes at once to hell."³⁵ The *Arthasāstra* does not state the case so plainly but assumes that revenue is calculated on grain. There were villages that were exempt from taxes and those that paid taxes in the form of grain, cattle, gold or raw material and those that supply dairy produce and free labour in lieu of taxes.³⁶

It is also stated that "in such parts of his country as depend solely on rain for water and are rich in grain, he may demand of his subjects one-third or one-fourth of their grain according to capacity." Then follow many exemptions.³⁷ It also states at another point—"out of crops grown by irrigation by means of wind-power or bullocks or below tanks in fields, parks, flower-gardens or in any other way, so much of the produce as would not entail hardship on the cultivators may be given to the government."³⁸ The *Arthasāstra* also distinguishes between "produce from crown lands (*sītā*), portion of produce payable to the government (*bhāga*), religious taxes (*balī*), taxes paid in money (*kara*) and taxes paid by merchants, etc...."³⁹ Besides *Manu* and the *Arthasāstra*, other law books as well as works of the Pali canon such as the *Jātakas* refer often to this main tax charged on land which consisted usually of a sixth of the produce but varied sometimes from half or one-third to one-twelfth of the produce. The rate was sometimes fixed on the basis of the quality of the soil. The Perimiyanikulam Inscription fixes this main tax at one sixth share but it does not give the name of the tax.

Though in Ceylon there were no law-codes from which the principle of taxation can be deduced yet the existence of the kingdom assumes that taxes were charged and that the king's treasury and the means of revenue were important aspects of the kingdom.

One difficulty remains. There is always some confusion as between taxes due to the state and income drawn on the basis of proprietary rights, in the case of dues to the king. Even in the *Arthasāstra*, it is not clear, except rarely from the context, that one or other of these is intended. This is clearly seen in the terminology used. *Bali* is in the *Vedas* essentially a religious offering which in later times is applied to gifts to the king as *rājābali*. It may have been voluntary. The term *bhāga* is used in later works and came into currency later than *bali*. It means 'a share' and is generally regarded as the main tax that was paid on land which usually consisted of a sixth share of the produce. But it is not always clear whether it was used as a general term to include the income of land of which the king was the proprietor. There does not seem to be any alternate term to cover this meaning. The high rate of the *bhāga* in some instances is probably an indication that both meanings were covered by this term. It is also possible that as the king's powers grew no distinction was made between them. All the Law books including the *Arthasāstra* seem to contain this ambiguity. So also in the use of the term in the *Mahāvamsa*.

Another term which generally covers "taxes" is *bhoga*, which means "that which is enjoyed," from (Skt.) *bhuj*. This term is commonly used with the secondary meaning of 'ruling' or 'administering' the kingdom. Thus the terms *saṃghabhoga*, *rājabhoga*, *dāsabhoga*, *bojakapati*, appear in the *Mahāvamsa* and in inscriptions. Two other terms used are *patti* and *kara*. It is not possible, except in the context of the references, to define the meanings of these terms in order to establish whether any of them were used in the distinctive sense of 'tax' or 'income.' Geiger in his translation used the word "revenue" loosely for these terms and sometimes also the terms 'tax' and "tribute." But we can assume from the context of words such as *bhogādhipati* and *Rohanabojaka* that both meanings were included in its widest connotation. It is likely that the more inclusive term *bhoga* signifies the enhanced power of the king over the land and the extension of his rights. With the increase in the lands under the proprietorship of the king, the larger share of the produce demanded from these after they had reached full production may have been extended to other lands as well; for in later times, such as in the Coḷa kingdom, a very high percentage of the produce was charged.⁴⁰ It may, therefore, be surmised that although the distinction between income and revenue, the proprietor's share and taxes, is valid on the basis of the evidence we have, yet no clear distinction was made between them in the use of terminology. It may have been left to local knowledge.

Thus it is clear that these two principles, the proprietary right of both individuals and kings and the right of the king to a share of the produce as tax were generally accepted in the Island. The place where they are best revealed is in the grants made by kings and sometimes by private individuals. It is possible that these grants may throw some light on the existence of these two bases of the tenurial system and that these two principles in turn will explain and clarify the implications of the grants. But it will be useful before proceeding to the study of the grants themselves, to examine the various implications of such grants in the light of the two principles involved.

The statement that some land was granted to the *Samgha* could carry many meanings. It could in the first place mean that the land referred to was handed over to the donee, to do with it what he pleased. Others would not be involved in this transaction. This can imply ownership in land apart from the use to which it may be put. This would approximate to the *brahmadeya* grants in India. In the second place it could mean that what was donated was the produce, or share of the produce, of the land and that the donee had no actual part in the cultivation of the land. He would, however, have proprietary rights over the land and would have the land cultivated by the tenants as before or by hired labour. The terms of tenancy could cover a range of possibilities. Such lands would mainly be crown lands. It could in the third place mean that the share of the produce, constituting the tax which was paid to the king, was now handed over to the donee. This would leave the cultivators or the owners of the land undisturbed in their possession of the land. Only they would now hand over to the donee instead of to the king the taxes due on the land.

Another type of grant frequently met with is that of tanks and canals. Here, too, many meanings can be given to such a grant. It could mean in the first place, the outright grant of the proprietary ownership of the tank and the use to which it could be put—the provision of water for cultivation. It could mean secondly, that the grant constituted a share in the profits of the tank, whatever that meant, or even the complete profits. This too, would vest in the donee proprietary rights to the tank or canal. Thirdly, it could mean that the tax paid on the tank or canal, given in grain or money, was handed over to the donee. This implies that no proprietary rights were involved and the donor may not have been the owner of the tank. There is with tanks and canals a complication that does not arise in the case of land. The immediate advantage is the possession of water and its benefit is either the charge made for the distribution of water or the watering of fields in the possession of the donee. But in some instances this would not be clear profit, for it is possible that the water for this tank or canal was supplied from other tanks and canals and this would have to be paid for. Thus in such instances the profit would

be the difference between what is paid in and paid out. This would not arise generally in instances where either the king is donor, for he usually had possession of the large irrigation works or with small tanks that depended entirely on rain water or some direct source of water such as a river. Most of the grants must necessarily remain vague. But a few give some details and circumstantial evidence to enable us to determine broadly the nature of the grant. There are two kinds of evidence available. Firstly, there is the evidence that is incidental in character, such as the mention of hereditary shares, the purchase of the land or the tank, the inferences that may be drawn from the size of the grant, especially in the case of land, the purpose of the grant and the possibility of the donee administering the donation. The second kind of evidence is that derived from a study of the terminology used in the grants. In this study these two kinds of evidence though they may overlap in any single grant, will be examined separately because the terms have to be studied in relation to each other in order to elicit their meanings.

Land that is donated, not for the produce that comes from cultivation but as building sites, presents the least difficulty because such land, though it may not have been recognised at the time, is given in full proprietary ownership. Proprietorship and tax usually pertained to the grain. But land thus given for building could only be used for that purpose and once granted would seem to have been given in perpetuity without possibility of any further claim to it. There are a few such instances recorded in the *Mahāvamsa*.

The donation of the Mahāmegha Park for the *Mahāvihāra* by Devānampiya Tissa can be taken as the earliest of such examples.⁴¹ Another explicit reference to ownership and transfer is the gift of a nunnery to his mother by Kuṭakanna Tissa, erected on a "plot of land for building which belonged to his family."⁴² The mother of Gajābāhu is said to have paid a hundred thousand pieces of money for a plot of land for a *vihāra*.⁴³ There are besides, all the unrecorded grants of land of a similar kind on which the numerous *vihāras* and their ancillary buildings were erected by kings and queens.

Another type of grant similar to this would be that of tanks where the usufruct was the water itself and not the income or revenue from it. There is just one clear reference to such a grant in the *Mahāvamsa*. Aggabodhi I provided a permanent supply of water for the Nāgasonḍi (tank) at the Cetiyaṭṭabbata *vihāra*.⁴⁴ Vasabha is said to have granted to the Mucela-*vihāra* "a share in the water of the canal Āḷisāra".⁴⁵ Though *dakabhāga* here means 'share of water' and is translated thus, it is possible that it may be used in a technical sense. This same term (*udakabhāga*) is used in the *Arthasāstra*⁴⁶ for a share of produce of fields that were cultivated by irrigation. A similar phrase is used in a grant by Dhātusena of half share of

the Kālavāpi and two hundred fields.⁴⁷ In association with the fields it is possible that this meant water for the irrigation of the fields situated below the bund. *Bhāga* could be taken here as meaning "a share of the water." Grants such as this would not usually be made to the *Samgha* for they have no value apart from the possession of the fields below the tank for which the water is to be used. A grant that may have relevance here is that of "a well-filled canal" and three villages by Aggabodhi IX.⁴⁸ The prosperity of the villages probably depended on the canal. Sometimes where the purpose of the grant is specifically mentioned this interpretation can be excluded, such as the provision of oil for lamps,⁴⁹ the provision of food,⁵⁰ the protection of a Buddha image and the institution of festivals,⁵¹ repairs to a *pāsāda*⁵², and the provision of the four necessities.⁵³

The transaction of purchase or sale will also determine what rights were donated. If a king purchases land for donation it would quite definitely mean that the donation consisted of the proprietary share of the land. The king would not purchase his own revenue. There are a few recorded examples where such transactions take place before donation. Gajabāhu donated land, after purchasing it from various owners,⁵⁴ and also gave land for use of the *Samgha* at the Mariccavatti Vihāra "having bought it for a hundred thousand pieces of money."⁵⁵

Though the purchase of land for the purpose of donation is easy to explain, the purchase of whole villages is not so easy. It can be argued that when land was sold it was either surplus land or land developed by a proprietary owner either with hired-labour or by tenants. But this cannot be adduced as an explanation where the whole village was involved. Kassapa I is said to have purchased a village and granted it to a *vihāra*.⁵⁶ It is also recorded that the queen of Udaya I "redeemed villages which had been sold by giving the necessary money to the *vihāra* and granting the villages to the *vihāra* in question."⁵⁷

It is not likely that this means that the land itself was bought. It could mean that proprietary rights were purchased. But this has various implications. It means that the whole village could belong to a single individual. We have seen that this is possible with the king who had the responsibility of bringing new land into cultivation by the construction of tanks. Thus he could, as mentioned in the *Arthasāstra*, establish villages. But here we have to explain how a private individual came into possession of such rights. Could an individual construct a tank, establish a village, and have rights over it? The second passage gives proof of another means by which this is possible. The *vihāra* sometimes sold these rights out to people. It is also possible that these rights were granted to individuals just as they were granted to the *Samgha*, only, these would not normally be recorded in *vihāras*. The term *bhogagāme*⁵⁸ that is used, which will be examined in detail later, is also significant as it has been translated as 'maintenance-

village.' This means that the whole village was regarded as a unit and the rights over it could be granted for maintenance. If the grant consisted of revenue it is unlikely that the king would have to buy it. However, the possibility that the revenue of a village once donated was sold by the donee and again purchased by the king cannot be discounted. These transactions take place mainly in the latter part of the period when the distinction between revenue and income was probably getting obscured. Recorded donations at this time consisted mainly of villages.⁵⁹ Therefore, in the case of villages that are purchased we cannot always be sure of the content of the grant.

There are a few examples in the inscriptions, of tanks being bought for the purpose of donation. In the Vihāregala inscription it is stated that Subha bought the *Upaladoṇika vavi* for five hundred (pieces of money).⁶⁰ The Nāgirikanda Rock Inscription of Kumāradāsa too mentions the fact that the *vevasaras*, and probably the tanks too mentioned in the second half, were bought.⁶¹ This record, however, gives other details which makes the interpretation of it seemingly easier. The purchase of tanks implies at once that the rights to the tank lay with the people from whom it was bought. The rights he thus purchased cannot be taken to mean the tax on the tank. This only establishes that the profit or advantage of possessing the tank was bought. But what that constituted is yet to be clarified.⁶²

Another means of establishing that it was the proprietary rights that were granted is by proving in the case of land that these were brought under cultivation before donation, and in the case of tanks and canals that they were constructed for the purpose by the donor. There is not much mention of the former. The *Mahāvamsa* records that Aggabodhi I planted a coconut garden three *yojanas* in extent and granted it to a monk. But the planting here is only inferred and it is not at all clear in the text.⁶³ But there are a number of instances where it is recorded that the king had constructed the tank or canal he was donating. Thus Amaṇḍagāmaṇi constructed and donated the Mahāgāmeṇḍi tank,⁶⁴ Candamukha Siva, a tank near Maṇikāragāma,⁶⁵ Vasabha, a tank that watered a thousand *karisas* of land,⁶⁶ Gajabāhu, the Gāmaṇi Tissa tank,⁶⁷ Bhātika Tissa, the the Mahāmaṇi tank,⁶⁸ Dhātusena, a number of small tanks⁶⁹ and Udaya I, a canal which he had laid out.⁷⁰ The Pālu Makicāva Inscription of Gajabāhu I mentions the fact that the tank donated was constructed by him at the cost of five thousand *kahavaṇas*.⁷¹ It is quite plain in these examples that the king would have proprietary rights to the profits of these tanks and canals and that it was this profit that he donated to the *Samgha*. It was usually the king who controlled the sources of water and, therefore, if those tanks were supplied with water other than rain water it was most likely provided free by the king.⁷² Thus there must have been no obligation

for payment for the water received. There are many other references to the construction of tanks and canals though not in the context of donations. The kings would have proprietary rights over these.⁷³

There are lastly those phrases inserted in some grants which convey ideas of inheritance and possession. These would naturally convey the impression that proprietary rights were donated, though it is possible that a grant of revenue or tax too may have been granted in perpetuity. We have already referred to the plot of land for building (*kulasante gharatthane*) which belonged to the family of Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa.⁷⁴ The Timbirivāva Inscription of the reign of Goṭṭabhaya records the donation of a share of a tank by a private donor that belonged to her family (*tumaha kula sataka koṭasa*).⁷⁵ The Perimiyanukulam Inscription refers to another grant of a similar share in a tank which belonged to the donor's father (*tumaha pita sataka koṭasa*).⁷⁶ Professor Paranavitana in re-editing this inscription recently has drawn attention to a number of inscriptions hitherto unpublished where terms implying hereditary ownership similar to this and in association with fishing rights (*matarā majibika pati*) occur. Apart from the phrase *tumaha kula sataka* and *tumaha pita sataka* a new phrase *tumaha anubuta satanana* is also to be found. It means "possessed in hereditary lineage" (*Anubuta*—Skt. *Anubhuta* or *bhukta* and *satanana*—Skt. *Santana*).

The relevant details considered above such as purchase, construction, bringing under cultivation and inheritance are not always mentioned. In most grants it is only the subject of the grant and the names of the donor and donee that are recorded. In giving the first, the size and type of the land granted are recorded and these may sometimes be an indication of its content. There are measured extents of land or named fields or sometimes whole villages given as donations. There are a few grants of land in the *Mahāvamsa* where the donation consisted of measured extents of land. Mahādātika Mahānāga bestowed on a *vihāra* " (a tract of land) in measure half a *yojana* round."⁷⁷ Iḷanāga gave to the restored Nāgamahā-Vihāra "the extension of a hundred unbent-bows in length."⁷⁸ Vasabha bestowed on the Anurārāma-Vihāra "a thousand and eight *karisas* (of land)."⁷⁹ Dhātusena "instituted regular alms with (the produce of) twice five *amaṇas* (fields)."⁸⁰ Aggabodhi I granted a coconut garden three *yojanas* in length.⁸¹ The inscriptions too record donations of measured areas of land. Kaniṭṭha Tissa, among other donations recorded in the Jetavanārāma inscription, grants eight *karisas* of land from a larger field.⁸² Khudda Pārinda records a grant of two *karisas* of fields (*de karihi kumbura*).⁸³ The clearest of such grants occur towards the later part of the period in some inscriptions of the eighth century. The Gāraṇḍigala Inscription of Kassappa III records a grant of two blocks of land measuring one *kiriya*

and two *payas* from fields that are named, "demarcating them with boundary stones (*pahan hindva*).⁸⁴ Three other inscriptions at Rāssahela make grants of land measured in *payalas* from named fields.⁸⁵

It may be argued that when land is so measured the presumption is that the interest of the donee lies in the extent of the land rather than in any definite share of a tax that comes from it. The interest in and emphasis on the extent of land could mean that the donee was closely connected with the cultivation of the land. Thus the likelihood is that in such grants it is the proprietor's share that was granted and not a share in lieu of tax. The latter implies a very detailed settlement of land revenue involving the fixing of taxes on small extents of land. There is no evidence however of such a detailed revenue settlement within this period. The argument that since these grants were made to the *Samgha* it is not likely that they consisted of land for cultivation, and that, therefore, these are more likely to be grants involving tax, does not hold for the reason that the king had proprietary rights over land which was cultivated on his behalf and also because it is not impossible that similar arrangements continued after the handing over of the land. Inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries such as the Mihintale Tablets provide evidence of elaborate lay administration of land belonging to the *vihāras*.

There are next grants which do not define the extent of the land but mention the fields by name or give the number of the fields donated from a larger unit. The term used for field in almost all these grants is *Keta* (S) in inscriptions and *khetta* (P) in the *Mahāvamsa*. The term *kubura* (S) is also used in the inscriptions. Another term used in the inscriptions is *viya*. The term *khetta* is first used in a general sense in the *Mahāvamsa* in reference to a grant of land for the repair of cetiyas throughout the island in the reign of Bhātikābhaya.⁸⁶ But in the period after Mahāsena it is used more precisely. These grants predominate over grants of measured land after this reign. Buddhādāsa arranged for physicians in state service to receive the produce of ten fields each as living.⁸⁷ This implies a certain uniformity in the fields lest some be paid more or some less. Other grants of a similar kind are mentioned in the reigns of Dhātusena, Mahanāga and Aggabodhi in quantities of two hundred, three hundred, thousand and two hundred.⁸⁸ The term *keta* also appears in inscriptions and sometimes in combination with the term *viya*.⁸⁹ The Habāssa inscription records the grant of three *viyas* and a canal.⁹⁰

In all these examples the terms *khetta* and *viya* had for the grantees a definite meaning and indicated certain definite lands or fields. Though the literary references give suspiciously even numbers, it is clear from the epigraphic records that the grants were not of vague extents of land although no measurements are given. Though it is tempting to take *keta* (*khetta*)

as a field under wet-cultivation demarcated by raised ridges such as may be seen in Ceylon today the evidence is not sufficient to warrant such a conclusion especially as the term used for it today (*kubura*) was current even at that date. They were, however, in some instances smaller units than the village while in others such as "the two hundred fields associated with the Kālāvāpi" or "the thousand watered by the Dūratissavāpi"⁹¹ must have constituted considerable extents of land. But none of these factors enable us to come to some definite understanding as to the content of the grant, for unlike the small extents of land these could be used as units for the calculation of revenue or tax. However, the fields associated with large tanks such as Kālāvāpi and Dūratissavāpi may be those over which the king had proprietary rights. The former did constitute at one time part of the perquisites of a prince. These large tanks were built by the kings and hence it is likely that the land cultivated with water from them were first opened up by the king.

The third type of land grant is that of villages. There is a spate of such grants beginning with the reign of Buddhādāsa. The only grant of a village before that is not quite the grant of the village for it states specifically that the consort of the king (Candamukha Siva), Damiḷadevi, granted the revenues from the village (*taṃ game pattim attano*). The *Mahāvamsa Tika* however explains this to be the *udakapatti* of the village.⁹² This is too early and isolated to be taken as indicating the general pattern of village grants. Another point that has to be considered in connection with these grants is that the term *bhogagāma* is used with some of these villages. We cannot, therefore, be certain whether there were two types of villages, those called *bhogagāma* and those which were not. If there was such a distinction the *bhogagāma*, as defined later⁹³, will have a separate connotation. There are numerous references to grants of villages in the latter half of the period.⁹⁴ These grants can carry the meaning that the taxes were at this time calculated with the village as the unit or that the entire village was one over which the king had proprietary rights and so, was one from which he derived a proprietor's share. In either instance this would be a late though significant development.⁹⁵

There were grants of tanks and canals too which for lack of sufficient details remain vague, carrying any of several meanings. There are grants recorded in the *Mahāvamsa* which do not state that the tank or canal was constructed by the king or was purchased by him. These are for example, Jetṭha Tissa's grant of the Kālamattika tank,⁹⁶ Mahānāga's grant of the Cīramatikavāra (canal),⁹⁷ Silākāla's grant of the Raḥeradakavāra (canal),⁹⁸ Aggabodhi's grant of the Kurunda tank,⁹⁹ and Mahinda III's grant of the Geṭṭhumba canal.¹⁰⁰ Among inscriptions, the Mōlāhiṭiyavelegala Inscriptions¹⁰¹ of Bhātikābhaya and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga record merely that the canal was donated. The latter does not even mention the word canal.

The Habässa Rock Inscription¹⁰² recording the grant of a canal and three fields is similarly lacking in detail. These could be interpreted as grant of revenue or tax or grant of the proprietary rights to the tanks, or grant of water. The rights to or the profit from the tank could have more than one interpretation too.

An examination of those words used in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and the inscriptions which seem to have a technical or semi-technical meaning may perhaps throw some light on the nature of the grants made, both from the etymological derivation of the word and its usage in the contexts in which they appear. We shall first consider the terms used in the *Mahāvaṃsa* and then proceed to an examination of the two main terms that appear in the inscriptions, *dakapati* and *bojakapati*.

In the *Mahāvaṃsa* there appears to be only one word which quite definitely carries the meaning of tax, and that is *bali*. But it occurs only rarely. When Dutugemunu was about to build the Mahāthūpa he debated thus within himself: "At the conquering of the Damiḷas this people was oppressed by me. It is not possible to levy a tax; yet if without a tax I build the Great Thūpa how shall I be able to have bricks duly made?"¹⁰³ Similarly, Bhātikābhaya did away with the tax appointed for himself and planted *sumana* and *ujjuka* flowers over a *yojana* of land round the city.¹⁰⁴ The same word (*bali*) is used in a different sense in the Vijaya episode when he tried to persuade Kuveni to leave him, with the words, "Delay not. I will bestow on thee an offering (*bali*) by (spending) a thousand (pieces of money)."¹⁰⁵ It is used in this same sense for the offerings made by Paṇḍukābhaya to the *yakkhas*.¹⁰⁶ It is not possible from this reference to determine what this tax was. In origin, in India, it was a religious gift and later came to be applied to voluntary gifts made to the king—*rājabali*. Later it came to be used for taxes generally.¹⁰⁷ Another term of obscure meaning is *kulambana*, translated tentatively by Geiger as "tribute from famalies."¹⁰⁸

The term *bhāga* (which means 'share') which in India came to be applied to the main tax charged on agricultural income is also found in the *Mahāvaṃsa*. But this, too, occurs so rarely that no inferences could be made from it. Aggabodhi III is said to have granted two villages as well as "the royal share in the revenues of Kehella" (*Kehella rājabhāgam*).¹⁰⁹ This has already been interpreted to mean probably "the proprietor's share in Kehella." This term is difficult to interpret because it appears but once here and the term does not carry a consistent meaning. In the *Arthasāstra* it can mean generally "a portion of produce payable to the government" as apart from *sītā* (produce of crown lands). It can also mean definitely the one-sixth part of produce paid to the king as *shadbhāga*, and also a share of produce paid to the king on lands that were cultivated by irrigation (probably on crown land).¹¹⁰ Thus *bhāga* in itself contains

no definite meaning. The possibility that *rājabhāga* may be connected with *dakabhāga* and *dakapati* cannot be set aside.¹¹¹ Kehella may not be a village at all and in the circumstance this could merely be the share of the produce due to the king from it as opposed to the tax paid by the village as a whole.¹¹² It is not possible to speculate from this one reference whether the land-tax in Ceylon during this period went by the usual term of *bhāga*. It probably was not a specialised term here, and it does not appear in the inscriptions.

There are two terms which occur in the *Mahāvamsa* with the general meaning of "profit" or "advantage." The first of these is *patti*¹¹³ which also appears in the compound *udakapatti*. We have already seen the reference where Damiḷadevi the consort of the king Candamukha Siva "allotted her own revenues from that village (Maṇikaragāma) "to a *vilhāra* (*taṇṇ game pattim attano*)¹¹⁴. This is commented on in the *Mahāvamsa Tika* as meaning "Maṇikaragāme attano dakapattim."¹¹⁵ *Patti* is translated by Geiger here as "revenues." But it is similar in meaning and context to *udakabhāga* as used in the *Arthasāstra* "a share of produce paid on land (probably crown land) cultivated with water from a tank belonging to the king. The emphasis is on the advantage or profit derived from the distribution of water. The further definition of this term must await comparison with its occurrence and usage in the inscriptions along with the parallel term *bojakapati*.¹¹⁶

The other term with similar meaning is *lābha*.¹¹⁷ It appears once in the compound *lābhaggāma* in a grant where "the village, the proceeds of which had belonged to the *mahesī*, was handed over to the guardians (of the relic shrine).¹¹⁸ It appears in the compound *lābhasakkāra sammānam*, "revenues, honours and distinctions" amidst a donation to Mahāsiva by Aggabodhi I;¹¹⁹ and Moggallāna III is said to have granted specially high revenues to learned monks (*lābham datvāna atirekena*).¹²⁰ It does not appear to be a technical term as such though it carries the general meaning of 'profit' or 'advantage' or 'gain.'

The technical terms most often used, however, are derivatives from the root *bhuj* (Skt. and P.) which carry the meanings "enjoy," "eat," "make use of," "take advantage of."¹²¹ It is also significant that the verb *bhujati* (P) is used both in the *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions to mean "govern" or "administer (a province or kingdom)."¹²² The basic term that appears over and over again is *bhoga* which means "wealth" or "possessions" in the context in which it appears.¹²³ By the time it comes to be used in the *Mahāvamsa* it seems to have acquired a specialized meaning of "revenues" or "maintenance." But the term is first used in the *Mahāvamsa*, not with that precise meaning but in another compound *saṅghabhoga*. It is possible that the specialized meaning it acquired later came through

this compound. It is used only once in the period after Mahāseṇa.¹²⁴ But as late as in the Nāgarikanda Rock Inscription of Kumāradāsa it is used again of land given to the *Samgha*, as *saga begi kereyani*.¹²⁵

Three of the earliest references to *saṃghabhoga* in the *Mahāvamsa* deal with grants made by Thulaththana,¹²⁶ Vattagāmaṇi¹²⁷ and Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga.¹²⁸ It was in each case a grant of *saṃghabhoga* and there is no mention of land though translated as such by Geiger. But this meaning is obvious and is made plain in other references where land is given as *saṃghabhoga*, as in grants made by Mahādāṭhika Mahānāga,¹²⁹ Vasabha¹³⁰ and Aggabodhi I.¹³¹ These are both land (measured in *yojanas* and *karisas*) as well as fields (*khetas*). The purchase of *saṃghabhoga* by Gajabāhuka Gāmaṇi for the purpose of granting it to the *Samgha* would, therefore, be that of land,¹³² and indicates that here probably proprietary rights were involved. The general meaning of the term, however, is "that which is for the enjoyment of the maintenance of monks" or "the possessions of the *Samgha*."

There are other compounds too of *bhoga* which carry similar meanings. *Rājabhoga* on the same analogy as *saṃghabhoga* would be "that which is for the enjoyment of the king." Though we would expect this term to be used often, it appears but once in the *Mahāvamsa* when Mahinda II decrees "the Galhagaṅgā as the boundary of the rulers of Rohaṇa and kept the land on this side of the river for himself making thereof royal property (*rājabhoga*)"¹³³ It appears from the context that the emphasis is not on land as such but the total revenues that are to be derived from the kingdom.

The term *Rohaṇabhogi* which occurs in the same passage, has the same connotation. It means "those who possess the enjoyment of the revenues of Rohaṇa." This word is made explicit in a phrase which occurs later in the *Mahāvamsa*—*Rohaṇadesamhi bhogādhipati*.¹³⁴ It would mean "he who is lord of the wealth (or revenues) of Rohaṇa." The inscriptions too contain a similar term—*Rohaṇa bojaka*, "he who enjoys Rohaṇa."¹³⁵ Another compound that is used in the *Mahāvamsa* is *dāsabhoga* in the verse—*gāmaṇi lajjikam etassa dāsabhogay 'adāsi ca*¹³⁶ This does not, on the analogy of *rājabhoga*, mean "that which is for the enjoyment of slaves," but rather "maintenance for slaves." Thus *bhoga* in all these contexts carry the basic meaning of "provision for" or "maintenance for" or "support of." In the term *bhogādhipati* it comes to mean "lord of maintenance" or "lord of revenues." This secondary meaning is fully borne by the term *bhoga* which appears for the first time with that meaning in the second part of the *Mahāvamsa* in dealing with the reign of Sirimeghavāṇa. It bears a similar meaning in the term *bhogagāma* which also appears alongside this.

The term *bhoga* occurs in grants of various kinds. *Vihāras* and *parivenas* are given "equipped with revenues,"¹³⁷ hospitals are endowed,¹³⁸ and maintenance is provided for servants in *vihāras*.¹³⁹ It is also used more definitely as state revenue sometimes. Moggallāna I and Upatissa II give their respective sisters in marriage "with revenues"¹⁴⁰ and Dhātusena restores to Kumārasena, his brother, his former revenues,¹⁴¹ which includes a half-share of Kālavāpi and two hundred fields. Mahānāga, in the reign of Kirti Sirimegha makes "Rohaṇa a territory whose produce fell exclusively to himself."¹⁴² The Mahādīpāda of Dāṭhopatissa I supported the king "with his income."¹⁴³ Mahinda I conferred on the son of his brother Kassapa the dignity of Uparāja and gave him "abundant revenues."¹⁴⁴ Since in all these instances the term is used in the context of grants by the king or with the distinct meaning of revenue it is reasonable to conclude that *bhoga* means "whatever was due to the king." The specific inclusion of Kālavāpi as *bhoga* and the use of the term for the general revenue from the whole kingdom are sufficient proof that this was a general term and not one which can be defined either as "income from proprietary rights" or as "taxes."

Bhogagāma too is commonly met with in the second part of the *Mahāvamsa*. It does not appear in the first part. It is undoubtedly related to *bhoga* which we have already considered. As pointed out earlier¹⁴⁵ this term has to be considered alongside the numerous grants of villages we come across in this period. The question that needs investigation is whether all the villages granted were in fact *bhogagāma* or whether this was a term reserved for some special kind of village that was granted. Or was it that any village that was granted to some donee becomes thereby a *bhogagāma* or a "maintenance village?" Jetṭhatissa III is said to have granted as many as ten villages and this is followed by the statement that "this and other *vihāras* he provided abundantly with maintenance villages."¹⁴⁶ A similar inference can be drawn from the reference pertaining to a grant by Aggabodhi IV. He grants as "maintenance villages" several villages mentioned by name.¹⁴⁷ Sometimes the grant is very general.¹⁴⁸ One interesting reference is that the king (Udaya I) "made out of the poor maintenance village of Ussanavithi a rich one."¹⁴⁹ This could only mean that the king caused the benefit from the village to increase. In the manner in which it is stated it does not seem to mean that the king arbitrarily raised the taxes but that he made the village more productive though, it is not stated how this was done. The mention of *bhogagāma* "with abundant revenues"¹⁵⁰ also shows that these grants could not merely consist of fixed and uniform taxes. A last reference which merits attention is the purchase of *bhogagāma* by King Kassapa I for the purpose of granting them to a *vihāra*.¹⁵¹

It is clear from the many references cited that whether villages were called *bhogagāma* or not, most if not all the grants of this period fall into the same type. The term *bhoga*, meaning "maintenance" too may have included *bhogagāma* or "maintenance villages." The revenues due from them were not a fixed sum for some were lucrative and others poor, and some could be improved so as to be profitable. Thus the benefit from these villages was probably a share of the total produce. These villages were granted for a variety of purposes,¹⁵² not merely as maintenance for *vihāras* and *parivenas*. It is not very likely therefore that in these grants the responsibility for the management of cultivation fell on the donee. Thus it was different from the grant of lands and fields and would have been less troublesome. We are justified to some extent in coming to this conclusion because the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries introduce us to a group of officials called the *gam laddan*.¹⁵³ The system of government of which they were part had been growing for some time. They correspond to the *gāmaabhojakas* mentioned in the canonical Pali works which reflect conditions existing in N.E. India.¹⁵⁴ The donee, in this instance, takes the place of the *gam ladda*.

These grants of villages and *bhogagāma* must be viewed in the light of the development of the system of revenue collection. To begin with most grants of land consisted of either measured land or named fields both in the *Mahāvamsa* and the inscriptions. After the period of Mahāsena, that is in the second part of the *Mahāvamsa*, these practically cease, and there is a spate of village grants. The inscriptions, it is of interest to note, hardly ever record grants of villages but continue to record grants of land. The reason which we may adduce for this is probably that whereas grants of land need recording for the donee had an interest in the land, the grant of villages were a common feature being sometimes an administrative arrangement and entailed only the handing over of the revenues from the village to the donee. It is possible that this practice came into vogue when as a result of the opening up of vast areas for cultivation with the construction of tanks and canals the king gradually came to have rights over the newly established villages which were regarded as separate units. It is also possible that revenue collection was gradually systematised on this basis even in the older villages. It is safe, however, to assume that many if not all these village-grants consisted of villages which were regarded as units for the purpose of revenue collection, and that probably a large number consisted of these new villages of which the king had proprietary rights. We do not know how far there was a process of levelling by which older villages and new villages came to be included in a uniform system and the dues settled on the basis of the village. Two pertinent references bearing on this are, first, that Mānavamma is definitely mentioned as having founded two villages (*katvā gāmadvayam*) and made donations of

these to two *vihāras*,¹⁵⁵ and second that the queen of Udaya I “redeemed villages which had been sold by giving the necessary money to the *vihāra* and granting the villages back to the same *vihāras*.”¹⁵⁶ This shows that the right to a village could be sold and purchased as well as granted. It could not refer to the sale of the village as such, for the people would necessarily have to be undisturbed in their possession of the village.

Thus it is likely that most, if not all, the villages granted were “maintenance villages” (*bhogagāma*) and that the practice of settling the village revenue on the basis of the village was becoming common due to the rights the king had over his new villages. The king or donee had sufficient control over these to make them more productive and hence more lucrative. The benefit was thus a share of the produce. But we cannot be certain whether it is a proprietor’s share or revenue as tax, for there was likely to have been a process of levelling, as the power of the king grew and extended, and since land could be bought and sold. But very probably most of these were villages over which the king had proprietary rights.

The inscriptions of this period which record grants of land and tanks use a terminology that seems to be more precise than those used in the *Mahāvamsa*. In fact it is strange that there seems to be hardly any correlation between the terms used in the inscriptions and those given in the *Mahāvamsa*. Two terms especially are of considerable importance. By the frequency with which they are used we are able to fix their meaning more exactly. These are *dakapati* and *bojakapati*. There are other terms too which appear in the inscriptions but which are not as common as the two mentioned above.

The term *bojakapati* appears in other forms too, such as *bojiya pati* and *beja peta*. It is referred to along with *dakapati* in the term *dopati* (Skt. *dvi prāpti*). There is hardly any dispute about the etymology and derivation of the term. The word *bhojaka* goes back to the Skt. and Pali roots *bhuj* which means “to enjoy, use, possess, eat or consume.” We have already come across another derivative of this word in *bhoga*. *Pati* could either be derived from Skt. and Pali. *Pati* meaning “lord, master, husband or owner” or from Skt. *prāpti* or P. *patti* which means “gain, acquisition, fortune or profit.” Pali *pattika* has the derivative meaning of “having a share in.” The Skt. compound *prāpta-udaka* is also significant for it means “having obtained water” and in this form comes quite near the term *dakapati*.

It is possible in the first instance to reject the meaning “lord” or “owner” which may be attached to *pati*. Though it is an apt phrase for the king, “the lord of revenue”, in the context of grants both by private individuals and kings in which this term occurs, such an interpretation, unless given a derivative and specialised meaning, seems to be unsuitable. The meaning

'profit' or 'advantage' seems to suit the context better. The derivative meaning of 'share' has much to commend it because for the parallel term *dakapati* there are alternatives which pin the meaning down to "a share." There does not seem to be any precedent for using *pati* as 'revenue' or 'tax' in the strict sense of the word.

It may appear obvious at first sight that the term *bhojaka* should be the same as *gāmabhojaka* and Wickremasinghe quite naturally equates the two.¹⁵⁷ Rhys Davids similarly connects *bhogagāma* with *gāmabhojaka*. *Bhojaka* however can have a wider significance as the term *Rohana bhojaka* illustrates.¹⁵⁸ Thus in the term *bhojakapati* it should mean, as interpreted by Rhys Davids—"one who enjoys profits from something" (as "owner" or as "holder.") It does not seem to have been connected with *bhoga* either as "wealth" or as "revenue." The latter derivative meaning occurs in the *Mahāvamsa* only after the time of Mahāsena and continues after *bojakapati* had lapsed from use in the inscriptions. Besides, *bojakapati* is seldom if ever associated with whole villages, as *bhoga* is. Therefore, one meaning that may be given to the term—"a share of the income" (taking *bojakapati* to be equivalent to *bhogapati*)¹⁵⁹ can be rejected though it corresponds exactly to *dakapati*. This leaves us with the other meaning—"the share due to the person who enjoys." This as will be seen is somewhat ambiguous unless the ownership is defined more exactly as 'proprietor,' 'tenant,' or 'overlord.' This is done to some extent in the actual usage of the terms.

Four features about the grant of *bojakapati* are of considerable importance. In the first place *bojakapati* is used in reference not only to lands and fields but also to tanks and canals. The Nāgirikanda Inscription¹⁶⁰ refers to the *beji peta* of four tanks; so also the Habarane¹⁶¹ and Galkovila¹⁶² Inscriptions refer to the *bojiyapati* of tanks. Parānavitana mentions the existence of unpublished inscriptions where too this term occurs with tanks.¹⁶³ The significance of this is that *bojakapati* is not something charged on land only, corresponding to *dakapati* charged on water. Indeed sometimes as in the Nāgirikanda Inscription *dakapati* and *bojakapati* are used together as charges on the same tanks. Thus the meaning attached to *dakapati* would by exclusion define to some extent the meaning of *bojakapati*. They cannot obviously mean the same. *Bojakapati* could mean one of two things—It could be a tax payable by any person on a productive unit such as land, a canal or tank. This would be in effect the share paid to the overlord or the king, thus imparting a new derivative meaning to the word *patti* (P). It could also mean the share due to the owner or proprietor of the tank. But in certain circumstances such a grant would in fact be part of the *dakapati* or income from the tank. This ambiguity could only be settled by the interpretation given to *dakapati*.¹⁶⁴ *Bojakapati* could not mean the share enjoyed by the tenant for that would correspond exactly to what *dakapati* means.

The second feature is that sometimes the phrase *kara kaḍaya* or *kara-kaḍavaya*¹⁶⁵ follows the term *bojakapati*. Parānavitana has made the important observation that the former occurs only in grants made by the king and the latter in private grants.¹⁶⁶ Since the latter is the causative form of the verb with the meaning "having caused it to be cancelled," the implication is that *bojakapati* was "some kind of revenue due to the king." This is an important point on which it differs from the term *dakapati*. It cannot, therefore, be merely a proprietor's share if this means just any proprietor other than the king.

This leads us to the third feature. Parānavitana takes the word *Kara* along with *bojakapati* and assumes that the whole word was synonymous with the original *bojakapati*. It seems, however, that *kara* could better be explained as a separate tax.¹⁶⁷ The point of this is to explain how if *bojakapati* was a tax or revenue or share due to the king, private individuals too make grants of *bojakapati*. The only explanation is that these had first been granted to private individuals who now grant them to the *viḥāras*. The Habarane Inscription seems to record such a grant by the son of a minister.¹⁶⁸

The fourth feature that bears on this problem is the significance of purchase in definition of ownership rights. The Nāgagirikanda Inscription¹⁶⁹ is in two parts. In the first the king buys (*keṇavi*) four *vevasaras* and grants the *bejipeta* of these to the monks of the Bamaṇagariya Viḥāra. If he owned these by purchase the *beji peta* granted would not be a tax but his own share or income. So also in the second part it is stated that the tanks granted "belong to himself (*ma atano sime*).¹⁷⁰ If this be so, the *beji peta* which he grants is really his own share and not the mere tax. The term *beji peta* seems, therefore, to be loosely used in this inscription.

We can thus deduce that *bojakapati* was the main tax on agricultural income and corresponded to *bhāga* in Indian law books. But it was levied both on land as well as on tanks and canals. It was thus a tax on income and not merely a land-tax. It was primarily due to the king and may later have been granted to both religious establishments and private individuals. The Perimiyanikulam Inscription¹⁷¹ gives more definite data about this tax. It refers to three main items of income on a tank, namely—the *majibinaka* (right to fishes), the *dakapati* (right to income from water) and the *sa kotasahi eka koṭasa pati* (the right to one share of every six shares). We can presume that this last refers to the *bojakapati* and infer that in the Island it was usually a sixth share of the produce. In India it varied between a fourth and an eighth share. There was one ambiguity in the use of the term, whether it means a tax, the usual revenue on a productive enterprise, or whether it was a proprietor's share. Apart from the various methods indicated above, the use of the term *dakapati* alongside this term in reference to the same unit may provide a clue to its meaning.

The etymology of the word *dakapati* too is not difficult.¹⁷² *Daka* is from the Skt. *udaka* or *daka* and it means "water." *Pati* could mean 'lord' or 'owner' and could also mean 'profit' or 'advantage' as well as 'share' from the Skt. *prāpti* and P. *patti*. Thus the term could mean 'lord of water' or 'owner of water'. It could also mean "the profit derived from water." There occurs in the inscriptions and the *Mahāvamsa* a term similar to this which Paranavitana takes to be the same as *dakapati*. An inscription at Piligama¹⁷³ of about the fourth century contains the word *daka baka* which has been taken as *daka bhāga* (P). It is said of Vasabha that he "allotted a share in the water of (the canal) *Ālisāra*" to a *vihāra* (*Ālisāre dakabhāgam vihārassa adāpayi*) and Dhātusena granted to his brother Kumārasena "half the share of *Kālāvapi* (*Kālāvāpimhi bhāgaddham*).¹⁷⁴ The same term appears in the inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries as *diyabedum* or "water share."¹⁷⁵ Though etymologically *dakapati* and *dakabhāga* seem almost the same, it is unlikely that they were so in practice of carried the same meaning. An inscription where this term bears the meaning that it was such an actual distribution of water for the benefit of an institution is the tenth century Vessagiri Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV.¹⁷⁶

It will thus be seen that the term *dakapati* and the related terms *dakabhāga* and *diya bedum* can carry different meanings. It could mean on the one hand "a share of the water," that is, a part of the water that is released from a tank or passes through a canal. On the other hand it could mean "the profits from water," that is, the cash or share of produce that is given for the water received. Wickremasinghe gives a third interpretation, that it was an irrigation tax paid to the king.¹⁷⁷

Though in certain contexts *daka bhāga* and *diyabedum* could be "a share of the water," it is not likely that, that was the general interpretation of the term *dakapati*. Etymologically such an interpretation is permissible and *patti* has the meaning of 'share.' The question that is pertinent here is that in the numerous grants of tanks and canals to the *Samgha*¹⁷⁸ such an interpretation would be tenable only if the *Samgha* possessed the lands irrigated by the tank or the canal in question. It is reasonable to suppose that this was not the case. Thus these grants have to be taken to mean that the profit from the possession of the tank or canal was transferred to the beneficiary. That the benefit derived was not merely the provision of water is further proved by those grants where it is specially stated that the grant was for a particular purpose. Vasabha made a grant of a tank to provide for oil for lamps at an *uposatha* house.¹⁷⁹ Gajabāhu made a grant of a tank for the maintenance of food at Abhayagiri Vihāra,¹⁸⁰ Mahinda III granted a canal for repairs to be done continually to the Ratana-pāsāda,¹⁸¹ and Silāmeghavaṇṇa granted the *Kālāvāpi* tank for the protection of a Buddha image at the Abhayagiri Vihāra and for the institution of

sacrificial festivals.¹⁸² If it is contended that the *Mahāvamsa* makes no mention of *dakapati* and that what was granted here was in fact the full profit of the possession of the tank, the Viharegala Inscription of Vasabha¹⁸³ and the Perimiyanikulam Inscription of this same king,¹⁸⁴ the Thūpārāma Inscription of Gajabāhu I and the Jetavanārāma Inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa¹⁸⁵ while defining the grant with the term *dakapati* state the purpose of the grant, either as the maintenance of repairs to buildings or the provision of the four requirements for the monks.

It cannot on the other hand be taken as “an irrigation tax” chiefly because both *bojakapati* and *dakapati* of the same tank or canal is donated at the same time. If *bojakapati* is to be taken as a tax or share of the king’s dues paid primarily to him, it is not likely that *dakapati* too would be a tax. In reference to the same economic unit these two terms are most likely to be mutually exclusive. If *dakapati* is indeed a tax on the water of a tank or canal *bojakapati* could not be “the proprietor’s share.” Applied to the same tank or canal it could only be a tax. It may be pertinent to enquire what other tax this is likely to be. The probability, therefore, is that this was the term applied to the payment made for the provision of water and that it implies ownership of the tank or canal. *Bojakapati* would then be the revenue or tax, if the tank was owned by a private party, and proprietor’s share, if it was owned by a king. This is plain enough except that another ambiguity resides in the term *dakapati* which we shall consider presently.¹⁸⁶

An important feature of the use of *dakapati* is that it is applied not only to tanks and canals, which is natural, but also to fields. The Thupārāma Slab Inscription of Gajabāhu I¹⁸⁷ refers to the *Gonagiri utaviya dakapati*. The Jetavanārāma Inscription of Kaniṭṭha Tissa contains a record of a grant of the *dopati* of two plots of land of twelve *karisas* each.¹⁸⁸ The Nāgirikanda Inscription contains a reference to the *dakapati* of four *vevasaras*.¹⁸⁹ The obvious interpretation that could be given to this is that the *dakapati* of land would be the payment by the proprietor or the cultivator of the land for the water supplied to it. This is also the meaning given by the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tika*, in commenting on “the revenues” (*patti*) of a village which belonged to Damiḷadevi.¹⁹⁰ Here, *patti* is interpreted as ‘payment made for water’ (*udakapatti*). Thus if no qualifying term as *dakapati* is used, such a grant of land would be ambiguous and misleading. It is also contrary to the usual interpretation of such grants, for the donation of payment made for water should more naturally have reference to the source of the water. Thus the *dakapati* of the *vevasaras* in the Nāgirikanda Inscription and the village in the *Mahāvamsa* should have reference to the sources from which they derived water, for they both refer to the same payment. This means that the grant of the *dakapati* in these two instances consisted of the payment made by the owners of the *vevasaras* or of the village for the water that was made available to them. The

difference between this and the grant of the *dakapati* of the tank, meaning the total income of the tank, is that in these instances only a part of the total income may have been involved. That is that there were other units to which water was supplied from these same sources. In thus circumscribing the grant a new interpretation is given to the term *dakapati*. It means payment received in return for the distribution of water. Thus when, for instance, a canal is granted, even when *dakapati* is mentioned, it would not be clear whether what is granted is the payment made by the recipients of the water from the canal, or the payment made by the owner of the canal to the source from which he obtained his water for the canal, or whether it was the net income, that is the difference between the two payments. In the second interpretation the donation of the *dakapati* of the canal does not imply any transfer of ownership. Sometimes the *dakapati* instead of being donated is cancelled (*kaḍavi*). In such instances it is the second of the meanings of *dakapati* that would make sense.

The difficulty can be illustrated further from the Nāgirikanda Inscription. This record is in two parts. The first refers to the four *vevasaras* which are bought by the king. Their *dakapeta* is cancelled and the *bejipeta* is granted. *Dakapati* here can only be taken as payment made for the water to those fields (*vevasaras*). Only thus will the cancellation of *dakapati* make sense, when *bojakapati* here implies proprietary ownership. In the second part, the *dakapeta* and the *bejipeta* of four *vevas* that belong to the king are granted. Since the king was the proprietor, *bejipeta* means the proprietor's share or income. As *bojakapati* here has reference to tanks and as the king is the owner, *bojakapati* can be taken as equivalent to *dakapati*, unless it is a tenant-holding. The only interpretation that makes sense is that it was payment made from the *vevas* for the water received. But this is the same as the cancellation of the *dakapati*. Only thus would it benefit the donee.

It will thus be seen that *dakapati* has three possible meanings and that it is an ambiguous word. Its exact connotation in a single instance was probably known only to the local people, and it may have differed from place to place. It would, however, be of interest to examine whether there was any uniformity in usage. To understand this aright it is necessary to remember that sometimes the irrigation system was so linked together that water flowed from the rivers through anicuts into storage tanks and from them to smaller tanks and from thence to village tanks and so to the fields. Canals connected these and they too were apparently separate units in the chain. We do not know whether as happens today, the precious water passed on to other fields as well making some fields function as canals. The larger tanks would all be in the possession of the king while the fields would mainly be in the hands of the people who were the cultivators. It is possible to assume generally that at the receiving end of the

chain of irrigation, *dakapati* meant the payment made for water and that at the issuing end of the chain it tended to be payment received for issue of water. There were of course, a large number of small tanks dependent on rain-water or connected direct with some stream. Since in such instances there would not be this chain of irrigation works but only the direct supply of water to the fields from the tank, the interpretation of the term *dakapati* would be simpler for the ambiguity in the interpretation of the term would be to some extent eliminated. The reference to the *dakapati* of Maṇikaragāma, and the measured land at the end of the chain, on which *dakapati* is mentioned, fall into the former category while kings who have purchased or cause canals and tanks to be constructed for the purpose of donation illustrate the latter. There would be in between, instances such as the case of the canal explained above, where the meaning of the grant would be inexplicable except with local knowledge now lost.

There is thus, ambiguity both in the use of *bojakapati* and *dakapati*. As to the former, we shall have to decide whether it was a tax only or whether ideas of proprietorship were also implied. Information such as purchase and construction may enable us to determine this. As to the latter, we shall have to determine whether it is payment made or payment received in respect of a particular economic unit, or whether it was net income. Other pertinent variable factors are, whether the particular economic unit was a field or a tank, whether cultivation or holding was by any form of tenancy, whether the *dakapati* was cancelled instead of being granted, and whether the subject of the grant was within a chain of irrigation works and at what point. Not all these factors can be determined today although they arise out of a study of the grants themselves. Much of this knowledge is lost. But it would be useful to take these main ambiguities and work out all the combinations in order to determine which of them are possible, which probable in certain circumstances and which are impossible. This will to some extent throw some light on the usage of the terms too. It will assume, of course, a chain of irrigation units.

With the following symbols :—

<i>Bojakapati</i> and <i>Dakapati</i>	B + D
<i>Bojakapati</i> with <i>Dakapati</i> cancelled	B — D
<i>Bojakapati</i> as Tax	Br.
<i>Bojakapati</i> as proprietor's share	Bp.
<i>Dakapati</i> as payment made	D1.
<i>Dakapati</i> as payment received	D2.

It is possible to work out the combinations in the manner given below :

B + D.	1. Br + D1	B — D.	5. Br — D1
	2. Br + D2		6. Br — D2
	3. Bp + D1		7. Bp — D1
	4. Bp + D2		8. Bp — D2.

These combinations can be worked out on the accompanying diagram of a typical section of a chain of irrigation works. In this diagram, Y is the key unit and represents a tank which receives water from a storage tank X and passes it on to the fields Z. It could also be taken as a field, in which case water passes through it to the fields Z.

1. Br + D1 (possible)

If *Bojakapati* here is revenue, Y would belong to a private individual. The *Dakapati* that he pays out for water would be to the owner of X. Therefore, if the owner of X is the king himself, then it is possible for the king to grant both these. A private grant of both is also possible if the donor is owner of X as well as the recipient of Br of Y from the king.

2. Br + D2 (not possible)

This combination is not possible because *dakapati* here is paid to the owner of Y. If what is granted is the *bojakapati* regarded as revenue, the grantee would not become the owner of Y and would not, therefore, become the recipient of the benefit of D2.

3. Bp + D1 (possible but same as 7).

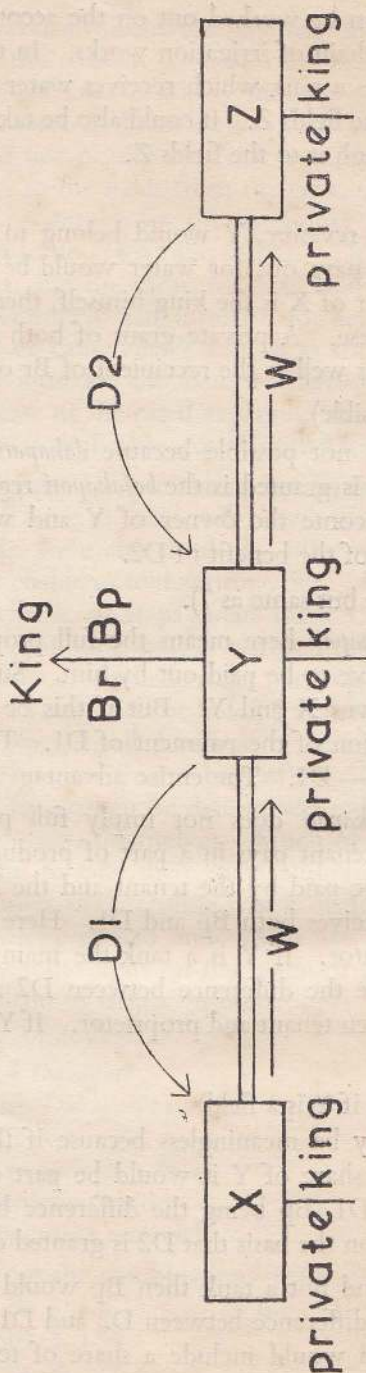
If the grant of *bojakapati* here means the full proprietorship of Y, the *dakapati* here would have to be paid out by him. Such a grant is possible only if the grantor owns X and Y. But if this be so the grant of D1 amounts to a cancellation of the payment of D1. This is the same grant as is implied in 7, Bp — D1. The entire advantage of this is D2.

If the grant of *bojakapati* does not imply full proprietorship but an arrangement where a tenant pays in a part of produce as proprietorship's share, the D1 would be paid by the tenant and the benefit would accrue to the grantee who receives both Bp and D1. Here too X and Y would be owned by the grantor. If Y is a tank the main advantage of this is D1 since Bp would be the difference between D2 and D1 and this too would be shared between tenant and proprietor. If Y is a field the advantage would be greater.

4. Bp + D2 (possible if Y is a field)

This would normally be meaningless because if the *bojakapati* granted is the full proprietor's share of Y it would be part of D2 because D2 is equivalent to Bp and D1, Bp being the difference between D2 and D1. No tenant will take Y on the basis that D2 is granted outside.

But if Y is a field and not a tank then Bp would include the share of produce as well as the difference between D2 and D1. Here it is possible that D2 and Bp which would include a share of total profits, could be granted to someone.



5. Br — D1 (not possible)

This is not a combination that is possible because if the advantage to the grantee is only the revenue he would not have proprietary rights on Y. But the cancellation of D1 would only benefit the proprietor of Y.

6. Br — D2 (not probable 3)

This too is an untenable combination because the advantage of cancellation of D2 is to the owner of Z and the grantee of Br would not benefit unless he is by chance the owner of Z as well.

7. Bp — D1 (possible, same as 3)

If the grant of Bp implies full proprietary ownership of Y the cancellation of D1 would certainly benefit him for then his Bp would be the full extent of D2, without the obligation of having to pay for his water. It would be almost the same as a grant of D2 of Z. If, however, Y is a field then the advantage would be D2 of Z and the profits from the cultivation of Y.

If Bp did not represent full proprietorship but only an overlord's share from a tenant, then the cancellation of D1 would benefit only the tenant and the grant of this combination would have no meaning. The same would hold even if Y was a field.

8. Bp — D2 (Possible only if Y is a field)

If Bp here means the full ownership of Y the cancellation of D2 is meaningless because he would be deprived of the source of income which constitutes the Bp.

This combination will make sense only if Y is a field and the grantee is not in full proprietorship of Y but is paid a share by a tenant and if Z belongs to the grantee. This would bring benefit to the grantee and would not deprive the tenant of Y of his total income. Further the grantor would have to own Y to be able to have D2 cancelled.

It will thus be seen that certain combinations are ruled out entirely—such as 2, 5 and 6. Combinations 3, 4 and 8 are possible if the subject of the grant is a field but seems impossible if the subject is a tank. The combinations that are easily reconcilable are 1 and 7. One important conclusion to be drawn from this is that though the term *dakakapati* is ambiguous, in the above combinations *dakapati* as (D1) makes sense. It is possible, therefore, that ordinarily it may have been this interpretation that prevailed, though the two other interpretations cannot be ruled out as it occurs in certain circumstances. As to *bojakapati*, both interpretations seem possible.

Another term that appears in the inscriptions along with *bojakapati* and *dakapati* is *kara*. It is not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* within this period. It is to be traced to the Skt. *kara*¹⁹¹ which means "a tax." In *Manu*, *kara* appears as an additional tax over and above the usual land tax which was *bhāga* or *bali*. In the *Arthasāstra*, it is sometimes used in a specialised

sense. There, it is interpreted as "taxes paid in money"¹⁹² and also as "taxes or subsidies that are paid by vassal kings and others." *Piṇḍakara* is taken to mean "taxes that are fixed."¹⁹³ The commentary explains *piṇḍakara* as "taxes levied from whole villages" and paid annually. In both authorities, therefore, it is an extra tax on property probably payable in money and charged annually. *Kara* is also used as a term for a unit of currency equivalent to ten *paṇas*.¹⁹⁴ The word was sometimes used as a general term suffixed to other words indicating that they were taxes such as in the compound *bhāgakara*.

In the Ceylon inscriptions, *kara* sometimes occurs immediately after *bojakapati* or *dakapati*. This may lead one to suppose that it is part of those terms and to define them as taxes, without any additional meaning to the word.¹⁹⁵ But it should be noted that sometimes *kara* also appears separately and not only immediately after *bojakapati* and *dakapati* as in the phrases *sakala samateya kara kaḍaya*, *dakapatiya ca bojakapatiya ca kara kaḍaya dini*, and *do pati ca uta kubura kara kaḍaya dini*.¹⁹⁶ It seems clear from this that *kara* is a separate tax, over and above *dakapati* and *bojakapati*.

There are two other interesting observations about the occurrence of the term *kara*. The first is that it is always mentioned as having being cancelled *kaḍaya* (P. *khandayitvā*) and the second, first pointed out by Paranavitana, is that when the king cancels the tax, the active voice is used (*kaḍaya*), but when it is cancelled by a private individual, the causative is used (*kaḍavaya*). This means that it was a tax that was due to the king.¹⁹⁷ Thus we conclude that the *bojakapati* or the *dakapati* was granted with the tax called *kara* either cancelled, if it was a grant by the king, or caused to have been cancelled (by the king), if the donor was a private individual. Since the donee in every such instance is the *Samgha* we can come to the assumption that when *bojakapati* and *dakapati* are granted to private individuals they had yet to pay a tax (*kara*) to the king probably equivalent to a quit-rent. Thus only the *Samgha* was sometimes exempted by the king from the payment of this tax. It is possible that it was paid in money.

Another term closely associated with *dakapati* that appears in the inscriptions is *matera maji baka*. It occurs in a few published inscriptions such as the Perimiyankulam Inscription,¹⁹⁸ the Timbirivāva Inscription of the reign of Goṭṭhā bhaya¹⁹⁹ and the Periyakaḍu-vihāra Inscription.²⁰⁰ Though Wickremasinghe in editing the first of these inscriptions took this to be the name of a monk wrongly assuming *matera* to be equivalent to P. *Mahāthera*, in re-editing this same inscription,²⁰¹ Professor Paranavitana has conclusively proved that this term bears a completely different meaning. He takes *matera* to be derived from the P. *matera* which means 'channel' or 'water course' in the commentaries of Buddhaghosa and the chronicles of Ceylon. *Maji* is taken as a derivative Skt. *matsya* and P. *maccha* meaning 'fish.' *Baka* is clearly the same as Skt. *bhāga* which means 'share,' and

pati means 'revenue' or 'payment.' The whole phrase would, therefore, mean 'the share of the fish in a water-course' or the right to the fish in water-course or canal. He also furnishes several examples where this term occurs in inscriptions not published so far, such as those at Rasnakāva, Galvāva vihāra, two from Pahala Tammannāva another at the Periyakadu-vihāra and two of Kanittha Tissa's inscriptions at Anurādhapura. These references support the meaning arrived at by Paranavitana for this term. In these examples we see this right to the fish being donated to the *Samgha* for various purposes either directly or to be administered by some intermediary party. In a number of these examples cited the share is in hereditary possession—*tumaha kula sataka*, *tumaha pita sataka*, *tumaha anubuta*. It is also stated in some that the right was bought for the purpose of donation. In the Perimiyankulan inscription it is mentioned as one of the three aspects of income or charge from a tank—the two others being the *dakapati* and the *bojakapati* (though not mentioned by name).

We can as a result of this review come to the following conclusions :

1. There were in Ceylon as in India the two basic principles on which all tenurial rights were based : (a) The right of a person to the fruit of his labour whether from land or from any other productive work such as a tank or canal. This would constitute his income ; (b) The right the king had to claim a part of this as his share in return for the services he rendered. This would be a tax.
2. The king too in course of time came to have proprietary rights to land and tanks by various means. These were by purchase, confiscation, the construction of tanks and canals and the extension of cultivation presumably with water from his irrigation works. This gave rise to various forms of tenurial dues which involved more than the tax which the king was normally entitled to.
3. The income derived from the distribution of water was called *dakapati*. Since it was income, it was possessed both by kings as well as by private individuals. But there is a certain ambiguity in the term because the possession of an irrigation unit involved sometimes two transactions—the receiving of income from water released, and payment made for water received. Thus *dakapati* can apply to land which receives water as well as to tanks and canals and the exact significance of the use of the term is sometimes difficult to determine.
4. The income from land is sometimes covered by the term *bojakapati* when the recipient of the income is the king. This is because the term which is used for the tax is extended sometimes to cover any payment made to the king. But when sufficient details are given especially in its occurrence along with *dakapati* it is possible to determine what it means in various contexts. Ordinarily the grant of proprietary rights to land does not seem to be defined by any special term.

5. The main term for the tax paid to the king on any productive enterprise such as land or tanks or canals is *bojakapati*. The contexts in which the terms *bali* and *bhāga* appear do not permit us to assume that they were in general use with specialised meanings. But *bojakapati* which could carry the meaning of "tax" does not appear in the *Mahāvamsa*.

6. There seem to have been some drastic changes around the fifth and sixth centuries. These were perhaps caused by (a) the gradual extension of the kings' authority, (b) the vast extension of new irrigation projects and new cultivation, and (c) the approximation of taxes and income from land.

7. A new revenue policy resulted from this process of levelling where the village became the unit for taxation and where this was granted to various donees. It seems as if it was possible to sell this right to the revenue of the village and to re-grant it to others. This practice of having the village as a unit for revenue collection was probably connected with the administrative arrangements of the kingdom.

8. Many interpretations can be given to seemingly simple grants. But we know from other grants that give more detail that the terms used have ambiguous meanings and that grants and re-grants, sale and purchase obliterate the significance of tax and income. But other details sometimes clarify the grant. Lack of details does not mean, however, that no problems are involved. It only means that much local knowledge was taken for granted in the record.

NOTES TO THE TEXT.

1. *Mhv.*, 64 : 3 ; 80 : 9, 53 ; 83 : 6 ; 84 : 2 ; 96 : 26.
2. Hopkins, E. W. (Ed. and Trans.). *The Ordinances of Manu* (Sec. VIII : 27—29, p. 181).
3. *op. cit.*, VIII : 238—240, p. 217.
4. *op. cit.*, VIII : 245—266, pp. 218—221.
5. Shamasastri (Trans.), Kautilya's *Arthasastra*, Bk. III, Ch. VIII, p. 188.
6. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, p. 191—192.
7. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, p. 195 ; Ch. XIV, p. 215.
8. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. XVI, pp. 215—216 ; Ch. X, p. 195.
9. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, p. 193.
10. *Mhv.*, 37 : 9.
11. *Mhv.*, 39 : 56—57.
12. *Arthasastra*, Bk. III, Ch. V, p. 183.
13. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, pp. 191—192.
14. *EZ.*, IV, No. 28, pp. 223—228.
15. *EZ.*, I, No. 6, pp. 66—74., *JRAS* (CB), New Series, V, pp. 129—136.
16. *Mhv.*, 34 : 36.
17. *Ceylon Historical Journal*, II, pp. 221—224.
18. *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, pp. 1—7., *Samantapāsādikā*, P.T.S. Ed., pp. 330—331 and 345—346.
19. *EZ.*, I, p. 199, n. 1. "In the present record, however, it refers to the king, apparently as *Vastu svami*, 'the lord of property,' and we know it is so used in the *Nikāya Sangrahaya* and in the *Kurundigala Vistaraya* ; e.g. Vijayabāhu Vathimi (*Nik. S.* p. 20) Vathimi Bhuvanakabāhu (*ibid.* p. 21) and Vastuhimi Kumārāya (*JCBRAS*, 1890, Vol. XI, p. 388)." (Wickremasinghe, in reference to the Buddhanehāla Inscription which refers to the king as Vathimiyānvahanse).
20. *Mhv.*, 35 : 118.
21. *EZ.*, III, No. 15a, pp. 163—165.
22. *EZ.*, IV, No. 14, pp. 115—128.
23. *Mhv.*, 38 : 38—39.
24. *Arthasastra*, Bk. II, Ch. I, p. 46.
25. *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. I, p. 47 ; Bk. II, Ch. XVII, p. 107.
26. *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. I, pp. 45—47 ; Bk. II, Ch. XXIV, p. 127—130.
27. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, p. 193.
28. *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. XXIV, p. 128—129.
29. *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. XXXV, p. 158 ; Bk. III, Ch. XIII, p. 208 ; Bk. III, Ch. XIV, pp. 209—210
30. The ninth and tenth century inscriptions which deal with the administration of *vihāra* properties such as the Mihintale Tablets contain evidence of some of these practices.
31. *Mhv.*, 38 : 41 ; 41 : 99 ; 42 : 15.
32. *Mhv.*, 44 : 120 ; *infra*, p. 15—16
33. *Manu*, VII, 127—132 ; 137 ; pp. 164—165.
34. *ibid.*, 144, p. 165.
35. *Manu*, VIII, 307, p. 227 ; X, 120, p. 321.
36. *Arthasastra*, Bk. II, Ch. XXXV, p. 158.
37. *op. cit.*, Bk. V, Ch. II, pp. 271.
38. *op. cit.*, Bk. III, Ch. IX, p. 193.
39. *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. VI, p. 58.
40. *Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, sub. nos. 44(a) nad 107.
41. *Mhv.*, 15 : 24—25.
42. *Mhv.*, 34 : 36. *kulasante gharatthāne*.
43. *Mhv.*, 35 : 117. *Mātā sataśahassam sā bhūmi atthāya paṇḍitā adā*.
44. *Mhv.*, 42 : 28. *Cetiyaṭṭhāna caka Nāgasaṇḍim thiro' dakam*. A grant of a similar kind from a later period giving a great many details is that recorded in the Vessagiri Slab Inscription of Mahinda IV. (*EZ.*, I, 2, III, 2A, pp. 29—38).
45. *Mhv.*, 35 : 84. *Ālisaṇḍa dakabhāgam viharassa adāpayi*.
46. *Arthasastra*, Bk. II, Ch. XXIV, p. 129, *infra*, p. 23.
47. *Mhv.*, 38 : 54. *Kālavāpi bhāggaddham khettānam ca satadvayanā*.
48. *Mhv.*, 49 : 89. *Bahuddam ca dakavāram padāpayi*.
49. *Mhv.*, 35 : 86.
50. *Mhv.*, 35 : 120.
51. *Mhv.*, 44 : 69.
52. *Mhv.*, 49 : 41.
53. *EZ.*, I, 18, pp. 208—211.

111. *infra*, pp. 23-25 *Mhv.*, 35 : 84 ; 38 : 54.
112. *supra*, pp. 13-14 *infra*, pp. 18-19—*bhogagāma*.
113. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali Dictionary*, s.v.
114. *Mhv.*, 35 : 47.
115. *Vamsatthappakāsini* : Vol. II, p. 646.
116. *infra*, pp. 20-22
117. Rhys Davids and Stede, s.v.
118. *Mhv.*, 42 : 62. *lābhagāmaṃ adā tassa rakkhānaṃ mahesiyaṃ*.
119. *Mhv.*, 42 : 15.
120. *Mhv.*, 44 : 47.
121. Rhys Davids and Stede, s.v. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v.
122. *EZ.*, IV, No. 29, p. 237.
123. Rhys Davids and Stede, s.v.
124. *Mhv.*, 42 : 9.
125. *EZ.*, IV, No. 14, pp. 123.
126. *Mhv.*, 33 : 16.
127. *Mhv.*, 33 : 50.
128. *Mhv.*, 34 : 93.
129. *Mhv.*, 34 : 92.
130. *Mhv.*, 35 : 83.
131. *Mhv.*, 42 : 9.
132. *Mhv.*, 35 : 118, 121.
133. *Mhv.*, 48 : 132. *Galhagaṇḍam ca katvāna sīmam Rohaṇa bhogināṃ oragaṇḍam samādāya rājabhogam akārayi*.
134. *Mhv.*, 49 : 10.
135. *CJS.*, II, p. 24. (No. 391).
136. *Mhv.*, 42 : 23.
137. *Mhv.*, 38 : 45. *sampanna bhoge*. *Mhv.*, 44 : 135 *sahābhogena*. *Mhv.*, 49 : 46 *sahābhogam*.
138. *Mhv.*, 37 : 148, *sahābhogena*. *Mhv.*, 41 : 7, *sahābhogena*.
139. *Mhv.*, 37 : 63, *bhoge arāṃikānam*. *Mhv.*, 37 : 173, *bhoge kappiyakārake*.
140. *Mhv.*, 39 : 55, *sadhira bhogena*. *Mhv.*, 41 : 7, *sahābhogena*.
141. *Mhv.*, 38 : 54 *pubbe bhoge*.
142. *Mhv.*, 41 : 89, *pacceka bhogam katvāna*.
143. *Mhv.*, 44 : 136, *sabhogo tam upatthahi*.
144. *Mhv.*, 48 : 32, *bhogam anappakaṃ*.
145. *supra*, p. 14
146. *Mhv.*, 44 : 96—101, *ete c'aññe ca bhogagāmehi paripūrayi*.
147. *Mhv.*, 46 : 12, *bhogagāme bahu adā*.
148. *Mhv.*, 44 : 51, *vihārānaṃ bahunnam so bhogagāme bahu adā*. *Mhv.*, 46 : 9. *Mhv.*, 46 : 15, *bhogagāme ca dāpesi tattha tattha bahudraye*. *Mhv.*, 49 : 19, *bhogagāme samyutaṃ*. *Mhv.*, 49 : 22, *Nāgaravaḍḍhana nāmassa bhogagāme bahu adā*.
149. *Mhv.*, 49 : 28, *Ussānaviṭṭhim dubbhogam subhogam tassa kārayi*.
150. *Mhv.*, 46 : 15, *bhogagāma bahudraye*. *Mhv.*, 46 : 16, *adā gāma sahasam so bahuppādam*.
151. *Mhv.*, 39 : 10, *bhogagāme ca kiṇṭvā tassa dāpayi*.
152. *Mhv.*, 42 : 63, for the provision of rice soup. *Mhv.*, 49 : 14, for a Buddha image and festival. *Mhv.*, 49 : 15 for guardianship of shrine of Bo tree. *Mhv.*, 49 : 17 for bronze image of the Buddha.
153. He appears almost invariably in the numerous grants of immunities to land and villages, recorded in the pillar inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries.
154. Rhys Davids and Stede, *Pali Dictionary*, s.v. Fick, *Social Organisation*, pp. 114, 120—121, 160—161
155. *Mhv.*, 47 : 64.
156. *Mhv.*, 49 : 26. *gāma ye 'sum purā kīṭā vihāra tattha sā dhanam datvā te mocayitvāna vihārass' eva dāpayi*.
157. *EZ.*, I, p. 259.
158. *CJS.*, II, p. 24. (No. 391).
159. *Mhv.*, 49 : 10. *bhogādhipati*.
160. *EZ.*, IV, No. 14, pp. 115—128.
161. *AIC.*, (Müller), No. 61, pp. 41—42, 76.
162. *AIC.*, (Müller), No. 98, pp. 51, 77.
163. *EZ.*, III, p. 117.
164. *infra*, pp. 25-26.
165. *infra*, p. 30
166. *EZ.*, III, p. 117—118.
167. *EZ.*, III, p. 117. "Several inscriptions of this period mention donations to religious institutions, of *bojakapati* pertaining to fields and tanks by kings as well as by private individuals."

168. *AIC.*, (Müller), No. 61, pp. 41—42, 76.
169. *EZ.*, IV, No. 14, pp. 115—128.
170. *EZ.*, IV, p. 127—128. Paranavitana gives this only as a tentative translation. We do not know whether the purchase mentioned in the first part applies to the tanks as well. This too is not clear in the record.
171. *JRAS* (CB), New Series, V, pp. 129—136.
172. *EZ.*, I, p. 71—72. For other interpretations, Goldschmidt, *JCBRAS*, 1879, p. 10 ; Franke *Pali und Sanskrit*, p. 129 ; Boyer, *Journal Asiatique*, November—December 1898. Müller (AIC) translated this word as "having seen" taking it as a gerund of the Sinhalese *dakinava* (Skt. *dars*, *P. dassati*, meaning "to see").
173. *EZ.*, IV, p. 126.
174. *Mhv.*, 35 : 84, 38 : 54.
175. *EZ.*, I, pp. 168, 170 n.1, 197, 199 n.8, 205.
176. *EZ.*, I, 2 iii, 2A, pp. 29—38.
177. *EZ.*, I, p. 72.
178. *Mhv.*, 35 : 5, 47, 86 ; 36 : 2—3, 130 ; 38 : 51 ; 41 : 31, 100 ; 42 : 15—16 ; 49 : 31, 89.
179. *Mhv.*, 35 : 86. *Vatṭitelattham assa tu sahassa karīsa vāpim so kārapetvā adāsi ca.*
180. *Mhv.*, 35 : 120. *Gāmaṇi Tissa vāpim so kārapetvā mahāpati
Abhayagīrivihārassa pāka vatṭāy'adāsi.
rājā Ratanapāsādi katum so navakammakam
sabbakālesu dāpesi Geṭṭhumba dakavārakam*
181. *Mhv.*, 49 : 41. *Kālavāpim ca datvāna arakkhattham jinassa so
pūjam sabbopahārehi sabbakālam pavattayi*
182. *Mhv.*, 44 : 69. *pohotakarahi jina poḍavaya.*
183. *EZ.*, III, 15b, pp. 165—169. . . *patanagala hiya jina patisatariya kama karanaka koṭu. . .*
184. *EZ.*, I, 6, pp. 66—74. . . *utara maha cetahi catara ayika karavaya jina patisatariya karanaka koṭu . .*
185. *EZ.*, I, 18, pp. 252—259. *mahapakavaṭṭaha uvanaka koṭu . . asanahala karavaya jina patisatariya karanaka koṭu.*
186. *infra*, p. 24—25
187. *EZ.*, III, No. 6, pp. 114—119.
188. *EZ.*, I, No. 18, pp. 252—259. *Mahāle ketakahi doḷosa karihi (ca) . . yahi doḷosa karihi ca dopati
ca uta kubura kara kaḍaya dīni.*
189. *EZ.*, IV, No. 14, pp. 115—128. Paranavitana takes *vevasaras* to mean the lands situated below the tank and dependent on it for irrigation, pp. 124—126.
190. *Mhv.*, 35 : 48. *Vamsatthappakāsini*, Vol. II, p. 646. *Tangāme pattim attano ti tasmin Maṇikara-
gāme attano 'dakapattim.*
191. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit Dictionary*, s.v.
192. *Arthasāstra*, Bk. II, Ch. VI, p. 58 ; *Manu*, Bk. VIII, p. 307.
193. *op. cit.*, Bk. II, Ch. XV, p. 99.
194. *op. cit.*, Bk. V, Ch. II, p. 272.
195. *EZ.*, I, No. 22, p. 257, n. 1 ; *EZ.*, III, No. 6, pp. 117—118 ; *EZ.*, IV, No. 14, p. 128. This reading is accepted both by Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana.
196. *EZ.*, I, No. 18, pp. 252—259 ; *EZ.*, IV, No. 28, pp. 232—228 ; *AIC* (Müller), No. 61, p. 76.
197. *EZ.*, III, No. 6, pp. 117—118. But Paranavitana here takes this as applying to *bojakapati* and *dakapati*.
198. *EZ.*, I, No. 6, pp. 66—74.
199. *EZ.*, IV., No. 28, pp. 223—228.
200. *AIC* (Müller), No. 8, p. 74.
201. *JRAS* (CB), New Series, Vol. V, pp. 129—137.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE KANDYAN MISSION SENT TO SIAM IN 1750

P. E. E. FERNANDO

INTRODUCTION

PERHAPS one of the most important events that occurred in Ceylon in the eighteenth century was the arrival of a chapter of Buddhist monks from Siam and the re-establishment of the *upasampadā*¹ which had lapsed in the country for a considerable time. This latter event was of profound significance to Ceylon Buddhism, for the Buddhist Order of Monks had undergone various vicissitudes owing to the disturbed conditions prevailing in the country. First the Portuguese and then the Dutch had occupied the maritime provinces of Ceylon and had ventured inwards at different times in an attempt to bring the whole country under their control. In the chaotic conditions that ensued, Buddhist monks had experienced great hardships as they had lost the patronage of the king, the nobles and the people at large. Consequently the discipline of the monks had become lax and eventually there was hardly even a single monk who had received the *upasampadā* and was technically competent to admit laymen to the Order. Thus at the beginning of the eighteenth century there were in the island only *sāmaṇēras*,² who had obviously been admitted to the Order without much regard to the rules laid down in the *Vinaya*.³ These *sāmaṇēras* were almost laymen and were not qualified to confer on *sāmaṇēras* the *upasampadā*, which is considered the very basis of the Buddhist Order of Monks, but they took the liberty of admitting laymen to the Order as *sāmaṇēras*. The only countries from which monks of the *Thēra-vāda* could be brought to Ceylon to remedy this situation were Siam and Burma, with which countries Ceylon had already established religious connections.⁴ Several missions had been sent to these countries and these missions had been at times successful in persuading monks from these countries to come out to Ceylon. However, their efforts to revive the Buddhist Order of Monks had not produced lasting results. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century further efforts were made by King Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha to obtain monks from Tennaserim, Pegu and Siam.⁵ The last of these missions was sent to Siam in the year 1745 A.D. An unpublished manuscript in the Commonwealth Office Library, London, dealing with the religious activities of King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha, refers to this mission in some detail.⁶ It is stated in this document that Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara, a *sāmaṇēra* who was making an attempt to set up the *upasampadā* in Ceylon, despatched

abroad several *sāmañēras* who were made to assume the garb of laymen for the journey. But they failed to get any monks and therefore Vāliṇṇa Saraṇāṅkara himself decided to go abroad for this purpose. But the King was not prepared to permit him to leave the country and ordered, instead, two of his trusted officers to undertake a journey to Siam to request the King of Siam for the services of some competent monks. The officers selected for this mission were Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṇṣē and Doraṇāgama Mudiyaṇṣē to both of whom grants of land were made by the King as recompense for undertaking this risky journey.

They left Kandy in the year 1667 of the Śaka era and reached Batavia in due course. Here Doraṇāgama Mudiyaṇṣē fell ill. Leaving him behind in Batavia, Vilbāgedara crossed over to Siam and, presenting himself before the King of Siam, communicated to him the request of the King of Ceylon. Soon after news reached Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṇṣē that King Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha had died. When he informed the King of Siam of this, the latter told him that it would not be advisable for Siamese monks to go to Ceylon unless an assurance could be given that the new king of Ceylon was equally zealous in promoting Buddhism in his country. Greatly disappointed Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṇṣē returned to Ceylon.

When Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṇṣē returned to Kandy he reported to Kirti Śrī Rājasimha, the new king, the results of his mission to Siam, and suggested that immediate steps be taken to revive the Buddhist Order of Monks in Ceylon and pointed to the flourishing condition of Buddhism in Siam. Accordingly with the active support of the *sāmañēra* Vāliṇṇa Saraṇāṅkara, the future *saṅgharāja*, King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha ordered five officers of high rank including Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṇṣē and an entourage of sixty one other persons to proceed to Siam and request the King of that country to send a delegation of competent monks to re-establish the *upasampadā* in Ceylon.

Besides brief notices in works such as the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Saṅgharāja-sādhucariyāva*, there are so far discovered five different accounts of this mission written in Sinhalese. They are as follows :

1. An account known as *Syāmavarṇanāva* attributed to Āllēpoḷa Atapattuvē Lēkam. This has been translated into English by P. E. Peiris in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XVIII, pp. 17—44. The Sinhalese text was published by D. B. Silva Appuhami and H. P. Perera Appuhami in 1897.
2. An account by Īriyagama Muhandirama who was a member of the mission. A copy of this document is in the Government Archives, Ceylon.⁷
3. An account written in 1752 A.D. by three members of the mission.⁸

4. An account written by Vilbāgedara Nayidā, a translation of which is offered in the present paper. Extracts from this document are given in P. E. Peiris' paper referred to under 1.
5. An account named *Kusalakriyānusandēsa* written by a grandson of Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṇṣē. Copies of this are found in the Commonwealth Office Library and in the British Museum Library, London.⁹ This work deals, in addition, with the religious activities of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha.

According to Vilbāgedara, five envoys were appointed to proceed to Siam, namely, Paṭṭapoḷa Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭāla, Āllēpoḷa Veḍikkāra Mohoṭṭāla, Īriyagama Muhandirama, Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama, and Vilbāgedara Nayidā. Sixty one other persons of varying rank, including *āraccis*, soldiers, musicians and astrologers were also ordered to accompany them on the mission. Most of the members of the mission were from the neighbourhood of Kandy or from the district called Tumpānaha. Carrying with them a letter written in Pāli by Vāliṇiṭa Saraṇaṅkara to be delivered to the King of Siam and another letter written in the same language by the monk Golahānvattē Dhammadassī to be delivered to the *Sāṅgharāja* of Siam, the envoys and their entourage left Kandy on Thursday, 12th July 1750 and in due course arrived at Trincomalee where they were received by the Dutch with due courtesy. Here they boarded the Dutch ship *Weltryg* and left for Siam on Wednesday, 1st August. After numerous delays, particularly at Malacca, where the ship had to wait for several months, the envoys and their party arrived in Siam, and after going through various formalities imposed on them by Siamese custom, presented themselves before the King of Siam.

The King of Siam agreed to send some monks to Ceylon as requested by the King of Kandy and before long all necessary arrangements were made for the monks to accompany the envoys back to Ceylon. In the meanwhile, the envoys and the members of their entourage visited the Temple of the Sacred Foot Print and other temples where they performed worship.

The King of Siam ordered twenty five monks to proceed to Ceylon and also gave the envoys a letter to be delivered to the King of Kandy. The monks and the envoys together with the rest of the mission left Ayuthia, the capital of Siam at the time, by ship along the river and when the ships reached the sea and cast anchor in the roads of Siam, Paṭṭapoḷa Mohoṭṭāla, who appears to have been the leader of the mission, died. His body was cremated at a temple called Wat P'ra Patom. Then a person called Nattaṃburē Gaṇinnāṇṣē, a *sāmaṇera* who had come to Siam with Vilbāgedara in 1745 but had remained in Siam without returning to Ceylon, claimed the belongings of the deceased envoy. Failing to get anything from the envoys, Nattaṃburē went to the ship in which the monks were

travelling,¹⁰ and asked the monks to hand over to him the articles that the envoys had given to them as gifts. As they too refused to comply with his request, he struck the Venerable Āryamuni Thēra and another monk on the head and injured them. The monks, then, refused to proceed to Ceylon saying that if they were thus treated in their own country, they would be subject to greater humiliations once they were in Ceylon. Then some of the Kandyan envoys and the Siamese ambassadors who were to accompany the mission to Ceylon complained to the governor of the district against Nattaṃburē Gaṇinnānsē. The governor advised the monks to proceed to Ceylon and ordered Nattaṃburē Gaṇinnānsē to go back to the capital.

Then the ships set out of the harbour of Siam. When the ship, in which Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṃsē and the Siamese monks were travelling, had sailed for a few days, it began to take in water and would certainly have perished in the sea but for the untiring efforts of the crew. Some of the goods on board the ship were jettisoned. It had thus managed to reach the vicinity of the harbour of Ligor, when it sank in the mud there. Then the passengers went ashore and spent the time visiting the temples there. They suffered great hardships here as they had no way of maintaining themselves and a message was sent overland to the King of Siam at Ayuthia. After some considerable delay an order came from the King that the ship should be repaired and that the party should return to Ayuthia when the ship was ready to set sail again.

Accordingly Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṃsē and the monks went back to Ayuthia when the ship was repaired. The King assured Vilbāgedara that he would make arrangements for him to return to Ceylon with the monks without delay and asked him to stay in the rest-house of the Dutch settlers till arrangements were completed.

At this stage news reached Ayuthia that a ship belonging to the King of Siam that had set out to Sinnapaṭṭanama in South India with a load of elephants, had perished in the sea in a storm with all on board except six or seven people who had escaped in a boat. To make matters worse for the Kandyan envoys the Crown Prince of Siam died a few days after this disaster. As a result of these misfortunes the King was very much distressed and asked Vilbāgedara Mudiyaṃsē how he could make arrangements to send monks to Ceylon in the face of these misfortunes. The resourceful Vilbāgedara pointed out that those misfortunes were not extra-ordinary events but were inevitably associated with human life. He also exaggerated the power and importance of the King of Kandy and said that the Dutch and other foreigners were ever willing to be at the service of the King of Kandy because of his power. At the King's request two of his officers questioned Vilbāgedara further on the statements he had made regarding the King of Ceylon. Satisfied that his statements were

true the King of Siam agreed to allow him to return to Ceylon with the monks. Vilbāgedara secured a newly built ship from Captain Nicholas Baan and Captain Martiññu. The Siamese monks, the Siamese ambassadors and their servants with Vilbāgedara as the leader of the party travelled in this new ship named 'Sēsasili' to Batavia, where they embarked on another Dutch ship named 'Oskapel' in which they reached Trincomalee.

Vilbāgedara does not tell us what happened to the other ship carrying the other three Kandyan envoys and the members of their entourage to Ceylon. Nor does he tell us anything directly about the way the passengers were distributed in the two ships when they set out originally. In fact there is a certain amount of vagueness about this aspect of the voyage in the account of Vilbāgedara. However the *Syāmavarṇanāva* provides a few more details about the way the passengers were distributed in the ships. According to this account Vilbāgedara and a servant at the special request of the King boarded a Siamese ship which carried the Siamese monks and the Siamese envoys, while the other four Kandyan envoys and the entourage embarked on a Dutch ship.¹¹ The two ships left the roads of Siam at the same time, but soon after, they would appear to have lost sight of each other. The Dutch ship, in which the Kandyan envoys travelled, sailed on and arrived at Malacca, where they learned in due course that Vilbāgedara's ship had been disabled and that Vilbāgedara and the Siamese Monks and the envoys would take ship at Mergui to return to Ceylon. Then they left Malacca and reached Colombo a few months¹² before Vilbāgedara arrived in Trincomalee.

Reliability of Vilbāgedara

Of all the accounts written about the mission sent to Siam by the King of Kandy in 1750 A.D., Vilbāgedara's may be considered the most comprehensive. Though the *Syāmavarṇanāva*, said to have been written by one of the envoys who were sent to Siam, gives, perhaps, a more detailed account of the topography of the places they visited in Siam, its author could not take account of the experiences that fell to the lot of Vilbāgedara. It must however be mentioned that the author of this work has given a brief account of the arrival of the Siamese in Trincomalee and of the reception accorded to them by the Kandyan people.

Except a few passages, particularly those referring to the King and high religious dignitaries such as the Venerable Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara, the whole account of Vilbāgedara is written in a simple and direct style without any attempt at literary embellishment. At times the narrative is almost naive and the reader gets the impression that the author is describing what he has experienced at first hand, within the limits of his literary ability. A remarkable feature of his narrative is that the description of various places in Siam, such as the King's palace, the Temple of the Sacred Foot Print, the royal white elephant, and the accounts dealing with the city of Ayuthia

and of the lands that the envoys passed, on their way to Siam, agree at least in the essentials with the accounts given of these places and lands by Portuguese, Dutch and British travellers who visited Siam at different times. The author has not failed also to record, however briefly, Siamese customs and practices such as the payment, by the government, of the expenses of a foreign embassy during their stay in the country, or the custom of regarding a letter sent by the head of a foreign state to the King of Siam as being more important and deserving of greater respect and consideration than the ambassador who actually carried the letter. Vilbāgedara's veracity as an observer is confirmed by writers such as John Crawford who visited Siam in the first quarter of the last century.¹³ He has also made observations of considerable historical value probably based on traditions existing at the time. For example, in describing the city of Pāṭalīputra in the district of Muan Lakon i.e. Ligor, he says that the *stūpa* in one of the temples there had been built of the same size as that of the Ruvan-vāli *stūpa* at Polonnaruva in Ceylon. Whatever truth there is in this observation, it is now recognised that the *stūpa* in question has been considerably influenced by the Sinhalese style of *stūpa*. It is also not unlike the Ratanāvali *stūpa* at Polonnaruva.¹⁴

The detailed account given by Vilbāgedara of the entourage of the Kandyan envoys and of the party of functionaries and servants that accompanied the Siamese monks to Ceylon throws considerable light on the organisation of such missions as prevailing in Ceylon and in Siam in the eighteenth century and is very helpful in understanding the systems of protocol that existed in these countries. Sometimes, however, his descriptions are too brief but sufficiently tantalising to make the reader wish that he had been a little more expansive in his reminiscences.

The considerable number of Siamese words that occur in this account also shows that the author had a good memory for not only what he had seen but also for what he had heard and perhaps what he had read. Indeed it is quite possible that some of the members of the mission acquired some knowledge of the Siamese language, for it has to be borne in mind that the mission was away from Ceylon for more than two years. Besides, Vilbāgedara had visited Siam in 1745 A.D. in the reign of King Śrī Vijaya Rājasiṃha in the company of two other officials, Doraṇāgama Rāla and Mīdeniyē Muhandiram Rāla.¹⁵

Members of the Entourage

It is perhaps desirable at this stage to examine how the mission was composed, not only because the details given by Vilbāgedara about the composition of this mission help one to understand how such missions were organised in Kandyan times but also because these details help one to ascertain who the leaders of the mission were. The mission was repre-

sentative of most of the military and semi-military divisions of the Kandyen Kingdom and also included all the personnel required both for ceremonial as well as administrative purposes. It was composed as follows :

1. 5 envoys, namely two *mohottālas* and three *muhandirams*¹⁶
2. 12 persons from the *atapattuvē lēkama*.
 - 3 *āraccis*¹⁷
 - 1 physician
 - 1 soldier of the washerman caste
 - 1 astrologer
 - 6 others.
3. 10 persons from the *veḍikkāra lēkama*
 - 3 *āraccis*
 - 1 soldier of low caste
 - 6 others.
4. 4 persons from the Dumbara¹⁸ *muhandiram* division of the *veḍikkāra lēkama*.
 - 1 *āracci*
 - 1 soldier of low caste
 - 2 others.
5. 7 persons from the Yaṭinuvara¹⁹ *muhandiram* division of the *nānā-yakkāra lēkama*
 - 2 *āraccis*
 - 5 others.
6. 5 persons from the Tumpanaha²⁰ *muhandiram* division of the *paḍikkāra lēkama*
 - 2 *āraccis*
 - 1 soldier
 - 2 others.
7. 3 *tambōru*²¹ players.
8. 3 *purampēttu*²² players
9. 5 *siṅgāram*²³ players
10. 2 trumpeters
11. 5 servants to attend on the Atapattuvē Mohottāla
12. 1 servant to attend on the Veḍikkāra Mohottāla
13. 1 servant to attend on Īriyagama Muhandirama
14. 1 servant to attend on Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama
15. 2 servants to attend on Vilbāgedara Muhandirama.

The basis on which the personal entourage of each of the envoys was organised is not apparent in the above analysis as Vilbāgedara has failed to give the full official titles of the five envoys. This deficiency, however, has been made good by the author of the *Syāmavarṇanāva*, who gives the following particulars regarding the envoys :²⁴

1. Paṭṭapoḷa Mohoṭṭāla—Secretary of the *atapattuvē* division
2. Āllēpoḷa Mohoṭṭāla—Secretary of the *veḍikkāra* division
3. Īriyagama Muhandirama—in charge of the *muhandiram's* division of Yaṭinuvara under the *nānāyakkāra lēkama*
4. Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama—in charge of the *muhandiram's* division of Dumbara under the *veḍikkāra lēkama*
5. Vilbāgedara Muhandirama—in charge of the *muhandiram's* division of Tumpanaha under the *paḍikāra lēkama*

Though Vilbāgedara does not say anything about the allocation of the different sections of the entourage, it is obvious that they were allocated as follows :

Group 2 to Paṭṭapoḷa Mohoṭṭāla
 Group 3 to Āllēpoḷa Mohoṭṭāla
 Group 4 to Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama
 Group 5 to Īriyagama Muhandirama
 Group 6 to Vilbāgedara Muhandirama

The two *mohoṭṭālas* had jurisdiction throughout the Kingdom in respect of the functional divisions which they administered. Thus Paṭṭapoḷa Mohoṭṭāla's entourage was drawn from the *atapattuvē* division and Āllēpoḷa Mohoṭṭāla's from the *veḍikkāra* division without any territorial restrictions. The *muhandirams* exercised their administrative authority over their respective functional divisions but their authority was territorially restricted. Thus the entourage of Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama was drawn from the people of the *veḍikkāra* division living in the district of Yaṭinuvara.

It will be seen that one or more *āraccis* were attached to each entourage to be in charge of it. Thirteen musicians were provided so that the envoys could move about in the country to which they were sent with due pomp and ceremony. The thoughtful provision of a physician can well be understood when we consider the numerous diseases to which the members of such a mission would be exposed in an undertaking that involved at the time a long voyage and perhaps a protracted stay in a strange country where the system of medical practice would be different. The astrologer's services would be useful in ascertaining auspicious times for undertaking engagements with the Siamese and for setting out on journeys. It may also be pointed out that the leader of the mission was Paṭṭapoḷa Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭāla, though there is no statement to this effect in this document or in any other. As secretary of the *atapattuvē* division he was senior to all the other envoys in the mission, and all documents that give the names of the envoys, with the exception of the *Sanḅharājasādhucariyāva*,²⁵ give first place to him. He was provided with five servants whereas all the other envoys, with the exception of Vilbāgedara, were provided with only one servant each. Though Vilbāgedara in modesty calls himself '*nayidā*'²⁶

in this document, he had to be given special consideration in the matter of providing servants as he was a man of experience in diplomatic undertakings such as the one in which he was now engaged.

The envoys

There is very little information in contemporary documents about the five envoys sent to Siam in this mission. The *Cūlavamsa* merely states that the King sent messengers to whom he gave gifts of many kinds, many votive gifts and a royal letter, to the city of Ayujjhā to fetch Buddhist monks to Ceylon.²⁷ The *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*,²⁸ the *Syāmavarṇanāva*²⁹ and the account written by Vilbāgedara's grandson give merely the names of the five envoys with slight variations of no consequence.

Paṭṭapoḷa Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭāla also called Paṭṭapoḷa Raṭērāla in the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, hailed from the village of Paṭṭapoḷa in the Pallēpalāta Kōralē in Tumpanaha, about twenty five miles from the town of Kandy. Lawrie quotes a *sīṭṭu* dated 1734 A.D. which refers to a Paṭṭapoḷa Rālahāmi who held office over the *atapattu* of Kandy and Hārispattu, including the command of the provinces of Anavilundan Pattu and Mun-nēsvaram.³⁰ If it is the envoy who was sent to Siam who is referred to in this *sīṭṭu*, then it shows that the leader of the mission was a person of considerable power and importance. He died in Siam and was succeeded in the court of King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha by Mivaturē Mohoṭṭāla.³¹

As the *veḍikkāra mohoṭṭāla* Āllēpoḷa' Mohoṭṭāla's main function was to keep records connected with all the functionaries employed in the King's hunt.³² He was a witness to a grant made by the Adigār Piḷimatalavvē in 1766 A.D.,³³ though he appears to have been removed from the post of *veḍikkāra mohoṭṭāla* after the abortive rebellion against King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha.³⁴

Īriyagama Muhandirama, also called Yaṭīnuvara Īriyagama Nilamē in the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, was a native of the village called Īriyagama situated about five miles to the south of the town of Kandy. The Īriyagama family came into prominence in the reign of King Narēndrasimha and seems to have produced several diplomats of note who served the King of Kandy with distinction. Lawrie mentions an Īriyagama Veḍikkāra Lēkam who had gone to Siam on an embassy in the latter part of the reign of King Narēndrasimha, who was also known as the King of Kuṇḍasālē.³⁵ He also mentions an Īriyagama Paḍikāra Dēsē Lēkam who had been granted a *samasa* by King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha dated 1755 A.D. on the former's return from the coast.³⁶ Īriyagama Muhandirama who went to Siam in 1750 A.D. held the rank of *muhandirama* in the district of Yaṭīnuvara under the *nānāyakkāra lēkama*,³⁷ the department that was concerned with the keeping of records of all persons of nobility and distinction.³⁸

Īriyagama Muhandirama appears to have played an important part in the diplomatic undertakings of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha and of his predecessor King Śrī Vijaya Rājasimha. When the latter King died Īriyagama Muhandirama, Levukē Disāva, Migastānnē Ratēmahatmayā of Uḍa Dumbara and Aṁbanvela Muhandirama went to Colombo to announce to the Dutch the day of the accession of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha.³⁹ It is also recorded that Levukē Rālahāmi, Angammāna Mohoṭṭāla Rālahāmi, Gallāllē Raṭērāla, Mideniyē Muhandirama and Īriyagama Muhandirama arrived in Colombo on 24th January, 1751, to announce to the Dutch Governor that the sword-girdling ceremony of the new king had taken place.⁴⁰ If, as is stated in Vilbāgedara's account, Īriyagama Muhandirama had gone to Siam in 1750 and only returned in 1753, it is inconceivable how he could have been in Colombo in 1751. According to an *ōla* manuscript, the sword-girdling ceremony took place on the 3rd or the 14th of January in the year 1750. Actually the name of the year given is 'Poramādūta'⁴¹ i.e. the same year in which the embassy to Siam left Ceylon. Probably the Dutch records have given the year in which Īriyagama and his party arrived in Colombo as 1751 in error. It should have been 1750. If that were so, Īriyagama could have gone to Colombo in January, 1750, and still have gone to Siam in July of the same year.

After the abortive rebellion against King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha, the *paḍikāra mohoṭṭāla* Kahaṇḍava was removed from office and Īriyagama was promoted to that rank,⁴² and subsequently we see him actively engaged in negotiations with representatives of the Dutch Company as a full-fledged *mohoṭṭāla* of the Kandyan court.⁴³

Ayittāliyadde Muhandirama was a *muhandirama* in the district of Dumbara under the *veḍikkāra lēkama*, i.e. the department concerned mainly with matters pertaining to the King's hunt.⁴⁴ After his return from Siam Ayittāliyaddē seems to have been employed as a *muhandirama* in the King's court. According to Dutch records he was mostly employed in work connected with protocol, conducting representatives of the Dutch Company from the frontier to Kandy and vice versa.⁴⁵

The authorship of the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*,⁴⁶ the biography of the Saṅgharāja Vāliṇṇa Saraṇaṅkara, is generally attributed to Ayittāliyaddē. But his name is not mentioned in this work as its author, the only evidence for such a conclusion being the statement of an editor of this work who says that he learnt that the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* was written by Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama from a work called *Ādāhanavata* written by a monk named Īriminnē Vipassī.⁴⁷ The *Ādāhanavata* is not known to have been printed and manuscripts of this work, as far as the writer is aware, are not found anywhere in Ceylon or abroad. However, there is one statement in the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* itself which seems to refute the information said to be contained in the *Ādāhanavata*. In describing the arrival

of the Siamese monks in Trincomalee the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* says that the envoys accompanying the monks headed by the Venerable Upāli arrived in Trincomalee.⁴⁸ The envoys referred to here by name are the five envoys sent to Siam. This statement shows that the author of the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* was ignorant of the fact that Paṭṭapoḷa died in Siam and also of the fact that the Siamese monks arrived in Trincomalee in the company of only one envoy, namely Vilbāgedara Muhandirama. The author was also unaware that the other three envoys arrived in Colombo a few months before the arrival of the Siamese monks in Trincomalee. If Ayittāliyaddē were the author of this work he could hardly be expected to make this statement which he would have known to be factually untrue, unless he intended to distort the truth wilfully, so that he could get a share of the credit for accompanying the Siamese monks to Ceylon. To say the least it is very doubtful whether Ayittāliyaddē, who was a high official in the Kandyan court could be guilty of such a distortion. In the statement attributed to Īriminnē Vipassī there is no doubt that the person referred to as the author of *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* is the Muhandirama who was sent to Siam as an envoy.

The fifth member of the mission was Vilbāgedara Muhandirama whose full name was Vilbāgedara Hērat Mudaliyā. He was the *muhandirama* of the district of Tumpanaha under the *paḍikāra lēkama* which was mainly concerned with the payment of salaries and the supply of provisions.⁴⁹ He had been to Siam once before in 1745 A.D. in the company of some others to fetch monks from Siam. By a *sammasa* dated 1754. A.D. King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha granted to Vilbāgedara certain lands for his maintenance⁵⁰ though the present document and the account written by his grandson state that the lands were given to him in perpetuity to be entailed to his sons, grandsons and further successors.

The success of the mission must be fully attributed to Vilbāgedara. It was his singleness of purpose and indomitable courage in the face of great odds that alone enabled the Siamese monks to be brought to Ceylon in the time of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. It was possibly in recognition of his great contribution to the ultimate success of the mission that the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* has given first place among the envoys to Vilbāgedara,⁵¹ while the author of the *Saṅgarājavata*, a biography in Sinhalese of the Saṅgharāja Vālivita Saraṇaṅkara, refers by name only to Vilbāgedara in discussing the despatch of envoys to Siam.⁵²

Of the envoys who returned to Ceylon both Īriyagama and Ayittāliyaddē were offered high preferment by the King. Āllēpoḷa Mohaṭṭāla continued to serve the King as the *veḍikkāra mohottāla* till he was removed from office after the rebellion. Īriyagama was appointed to the post of *paḍikāra mohottāla* and Ayittāliyaddē occupied an important post in the Court. Vilbāgedara was offered some land by the King for his maintenance and there is no

record of any other recognition having been offered to him by the King or of his subsequent career. This may, perhaps, be explained by his social position. In the present account, Vilbāgedara describes himself as '*nayidā*,' which was a title usually added to the names of respected persons among some of the so-called low castes.⁵³ Considering the locality from which Vilbāgedara came the only castes to which he could have belonged are the goldsmiths' caste and the potters' caste, and as this title is more commonly used by people of the goldsmiths' caste, it is probable that he belonged to this caste. If this were so, then it is possibly the social position of Vilbāgedara that may have prevented further preferments being conferred upon him by the King.

Since the publication of P. E. Peiris' paper on Kirti Śrī's Mission to Siam, some very valuable material regarding this mission and the subsequent Siamese mission that arrived in Ceylon has been brought to light, and it will not, perhaps, be out of place here to discuss these different missions in the light of this new material.

The First Siamese Mission

The mission that was sent to Ceylon in 1753 by the King of Siam consisted of eighteen *thēras*, seven *sāmaṇēras*, five envoys and sixty nine other persons such as physicians, interpreters and cooks. The five envoys were Pra Sudanta Mistri, Governor of the Fort of Bangkok, Luan Si Senega, Kun Vacapiron, Kun Mahāpon and Kun Ratana Civit.⁵⁴ When the mission arrived in Trincomalee, Adigār Āhāḷēpoḷa, one of the two chief ministers of the Kandyan Kingdom, and other ministers and high dignitaries went there and conducted the mission to a place called Goḍapoḷa on the way to Kandy. Here they were received by Vālivīṭa Saraṇaṅkara, the chief of the monks of Kandy at the time, Kobbākaḍuvē Sāmaṇēra, the head of the Upōsathārāma Vihāra, Nāvinnē Sāmaṇēra, the head of the Asgiri Vihāra and the other monks of the two main *viḥāras* at Kandy. When the party crossed the river Mahavāli at the ford at Alutgama, they were received by the King himself and conducted to the city of Kandy with great ceremony.⁵⁵

The safe arrival of the Siamese mission in Kandy was a matter for great jubilation to the people of Kandy and without delay the King conveyed through a special mission his thanks to the Dutch Governor in Colombo for assisting him in this great venture by providing the envoys with ships for the journey to and from Siam. On this event the Dutch Governor Joan Gideon Loten wrote as follows: 'Towards the end of the same year 1753, as may be seen in detail in our letter to Batavia of January 20, 1754, there arrived at the Fort a highly distinguished embassy conveying an expression of His Majesty's exceeding great joy at the happy arrival in His Majesty's country through our efforts of the so-long-desired Siamese

priests, and also carrying with them an exceptionally valuable present in recognition of the extremely important service thereby rendered to that prince.⁵⁶

The first to be admitted to the order of monks and to receive the *upasampadā* at the hands of the Siamese monks who arrived in Ceylon was a Siamese minister whose name is not mentioned, and the first Sinhalese monks to receive the *upasampadā* from them were the *sāmañēras* Kobbākaḍuva, Vāliṭṭa, Hulaṅgamuva, Baṁbaradeṇiya, Tibboṭuvāvē and Nāvinnē in this order. The Venerable Upāli was appointed *upajjhāy*⁵⁷ and the Venerable Brahmajōti Thēra and the Venerable Mahāpuṇṇa Thēra were appointed *ācariyas*⁵⁸ to these monks and to others who were ordained in due course.⁵⁹

After their arrival in Ceylon the Siamese monks spent most of their time admitting laymen to the order of *sāmañēras* and conferring *upasampadā* on those who had already become *sāmañēras*. The Venerable Upāli was mainly occupied in instructing the local monks in the performance of ecclesiastical acts such as the admission of laymen to the order of *sāmañēras*, the conferment of the *upasampadā* on *sāmañēras*, the *kāṭhiṇa* ceremony, the *vassāna* ceremony and the recitation of *kammavācā*.⁶⁰

In due course the Venerable Upāli and the other Siamese monks together with the envoys who accompanied them went on a pilgrimage to Anurādhapura and Mahiyaṅgaṇa.⁶¹ But the *Cūlavamsa* states that they visited all the sixteen sacred places in Ceylon.⁶² Later some of the monks went to the out-lying districts of Kandy and lived there instructing the monks living in these areas.

Some of the monks died in Ceylon. One of the first to die here was the Venerable Mañijōti, a *thēra* expert in the recitation of *kamma-vācā*. He died at the Malvatta Monastery in Kandy and a *stūpa* containing his ashes is said to have been constructed in a plot of land situated above this Monastery. The other monks who are recorded to have died in Ceylon were the Venerable Upāli, the Venerable Indajōti, the Venerable Nāga and an unnamed monk. The Venerable Nāga⁶³ arrived in Ceylon as an envoy and, as stated, became a monk under the Venerable Upāli. He died of some form of indigestion at the Rajamahavihāra in Sat-kōralē in the North Western Province of Ceylon.⁶⁴

According to the *Cūlavamsa* the cause of the death of Venerable Upāli was a disease of the nose⁶⁵ but the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* states that he died of an ear disease.⁶⁶ When he fell ill the King visited him again and again and provided for him the best medical attention available at the time.⁶⁷ The date of his death cannot be ascertained with any degree of accuracy. The *Cūlavamsa* says that he died three years after his arrival in Ceylon,⁶⁸ while the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* states that he passed away

soon after the arrival of the second delegation of monks from Siam.⁶⁹ The order of events as narrated in the *Cūlavamsa* does not militate against this statement of the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*. As will be shown in the sequel the second mission from Siam arrived in Ceylon about January, 1756. Some monks who came in this mission returned to Siam with the monks of the first mission, leaving Colombo on 25th March, 1756.⁷⁰ The Siamese Commander-in-Chief's letter dated 15th October 1756 is based on reports made by these monks and envoys. They appear to have reported that at the time they left Ceylon the Venerable Upāli was assiduously engaged in religious activities in that country.⁷¹ The Venerable Upāli must have, therefore, passed away a short time after 25th March, 1756. If he had passed away in April of this year he would have spent three full years in Ceylon.

The Arrival of the Second Mission

When about three years had passed after the departure from Siam of the first mission, a second mission was sent to Ceylon by the King of Siam.⁷² The *Cūlavamsa* says that more than ten monks were sent on this mission with the two *theras* Visuddhācariya and Varāṇānamuni. The full list of monks given in the *Śyāmōpasampadāvata* is as follows:⁷³ Visuddhācāri Mahāthēra, Varāṇānamuni, the deputy *thēra*, Candasāra Thēra, Dhammasara Thēra, Indajōti Thēra and Suvannajōti Thēra. The letter of the Siamese Commander-in-Chief dated 25th October 1755 gives the names of the *sāmaṇēras* included in this mission. In fact there appear to have been altogether sixteen *theras* and eleven *sāmaṇēras* in this mission. As was usual in Siamese diplomatic practice the monks were accompanied by three envoys. Their names are as follows: Dut Visudha Maitri, Mun Vaidibhi, and Dut Mun Virida-sinhaya.⁷⁴

The whole mission together with a large number of Dutch people probably crew and passengers, travelled to Ceylon in the Dutch ship Elswout but before it could reach the harbour of Trincomalee it was carried off its course and wrecked in the sea near Batticaloa in the year 1756. Of the passengers and the crew only the three envoys, twelve *thēras*, nine *sāmaṇēras* and one hundred and seventeen Dutch people were saved. They landed at a place called Arugam on the eastern coast.⁷⁵ Later the Siamese monks and the envoys were conducted to Kandy. There is no possibility of ascertaining the date of the arrival of this second mission in Ceylon. Schreuder merely gives the year 1756. The Commander-in-Chief of Siam's letter dated 25th October 1755 shows that the second mission had left Siam before this date. Some of the monks who came to Ceylon on the second mission returned to Siam with the monks of the first mission on 25th March 1756. Thus the second mission from Siam should have arrived in Ceylon on a date falling within the period from October 1755 to 25th March, 1756. If the second mission had left Siam at the beginning

of October 1755, it should have reached Ceylon in the normal course of events in December 1755 or January 1756⁷⁶ the latter being the more probable time of their arrival in view of the statement of Schreuder that this mission arrived in 1756. It is perhaps worth mentioning here that the Siamese envoys who arrived in Ceylon with the first Siamese mission took three months to complete the voyage from Ceylon to Siam on their return journey.⁷⁷

Return of the First Siamese Mission

Of the members of the Siamese mission that arrived in Ceylon in 1753, the first to return to Siam were the envoys. Towards the end of this year or perhaps at the beginning of the next an embassy from Kandy went to Colombo and requested the Dutch Governor there to provide a ship for the Siamese envoys to travel to Batavia on their way to Siam. This request was granted at the earliest possible opportunity and according to Loten five Siamese ambassadors were transported to Batavia in the Dutch ship 'The Castle of Tilburg.' The King of Kandy had presented to the Siamese envoys three tusked elephants which they disposed of in Colombo, saying that elephants were plentiful in Siam and that therefore there was no need for them to carry them all the way from Ceylon. The Governor did not wish to cause any annoyance to the King and accepted the animals as a gift in return for which a part of the value of the elephants was paid to the Siamese.⁷⁸

When nearly three years had passed after their arrival in Ceylon, the surviving members of the first mission and some of the members of the second mission which had just arrived prepared themselves to leave for Siam. According to arrangements already made with the Dutch, the three Siamese envoys, twenty four *thēras*, five *sāmaṇēras*, three Kandyan envoys and ninety others arrived in Colombo on 18th March, 1756. The party was accompanied to Colombo by three Kandyan dignitaries led by the Disāva of the Three and Four Kōralēs. A week after their arrival, i.e. on 25th March, they left for Batavia in the Dutch ship 'Akerendam.'⁷⁹

It will be remembered that altogether twenty five monks arrived in Ceylon in 1753. Of these four died in Ceylon. Thus there should have been left only twenty one monks to return to Siam, the rest of the twenty nine monks being Sinhalese monks who wished to visit Siam and the monks of the second mission who wanted to return to Siam almost immediately after their arrival because the climate in Ceylon did not agree with them.⁸⁰

An account of the reception accorded to the Kandyan envoys and monks who accompanied the first mission back to Siam is contained in an official report sent by the Commander-in-Chief of Siam to the King of Kandy.⁸¹ The monks who came on the second mission from Siam, other than those who returned almost immediately after their arrival in Ceylon spent four

years in Ceylon⁸² and left for Siam in Dutch ships.⁸³ These monks had specialised in *vidarśanā* and their duties in Ceylon appear to have mainly consisted of instructing local monks in the practice of meditation.⁸⁴

It is not proposed here to assess the contribution made by the two Siamese missions towards the promotion of Buddhism in Ceylon. It may be briefly mentioned, however, that these missions were responsible for the complete revitalisation of the Buddhist Order of Monks in Ceylon. They instructed the local monks in all matters connected with their day to day life even to the extent of demonstrating the manner of cutting and stitching the robes in accordance with the rules laid down in the *Vinaya*. They brought with them numerous Buddhist texts and restored the traditional exposition of these texts, most of which had ceased to be studied in the country. They re-established the *upasampadā* and admitted to the order considerable numbers of laymen and conferred on them and other *sāmaṇēras* the *upasampadā* and placed the Buddhist Order of Monks on a sound footing. Within about the first six months of the arrival of the first mission four hundred and eighty were admitted as *sāmaṇēras* and the *upasampadā* was conferred on one hundred and fifty four *sāmaṇēras*.⁸⁵ When the first mission returned to Siam after nearly three years' service in Ceylon its members were able to report to the King of Siam that they had within that period admitted three thousand laymen as *sāmaṇēras* and conferred the *upasampadā* on six hundred *sāmaṇēras*.⁸⁶ The efforts of these Siamese monks ultimately brought about the foundation of perhaps the largest Buddhist monastic order in the country, namely, the *Siyam Nikāya*, the Siamese Sect.

The present translation of Vilbāgedara's account of the Kandyan Mission to Siam is based on a manuscript found in the Library of the University of Ceylon. The date of completion of copying is given as 5th February, 1888. I must thank Mr K. D. Somadasa, Assistant Librarian, University of Ceylon for bringing this Manuscript to my notice.

In translating this document into English I have attempted to be as faithful to the original as is consistent with English usage. The original is at times very involved and prolix in style and I was compelled in a very few instances to omit a sentence or two to avoid repetition. I offer my sincere thanks to Professor Phra Varavedhya Bisit, Chulalongkorn University, Bangkok, for sending me, at my request, some valuable notes on some of the Siamese words and place names occurring in the Sinhalese text, and to Mr B. Liyanamana who calculated for me the modern equivalents of the dates given in this document.

TRANSLATION OF VILBĀGEDARA'S ACCOUNT OF THE
MISSION TO SIAM

Hail ! Our Noble and Divine Lord, who is blessed with auspicious lotus-like feet, whose broad lotus-like feet rest on the heads of other subordinate kings adorned with crests, who is like unto a jewelled lamp to the whole world of animate beings, who is like unto a goose to the lotus-like Solar dynasty, who is rendered pleasant by his fame, glory and majesty spread in the various directions, who has crossed the ocean of learning, who is like unto an abode to the jewels of virtue, who is a patron of all the arts, and a source of aid to all learned men and a delight unto the eyes of the people of the whole world, who is like unto a lion in the destruction of elephant-like hostile kings, who is the king of kings and the unrivalled lord of kings, seated like the disc of the sun rising from the peak of Mount Meru, in the noble lion-throne set with diverse beautiful gems in the royal hall decorated with various multi-coloured paintings, and situated in the majestic city of Sēṅkhaṇḍa-śaila,¹ comparable to the assembly of gods, endowed with all the features of a city and rich with the accumulation of all prosperity, being surrounded by a retinue of ministers and chieftains well-versed in law, learned in all arts and possessed of moral character, made the following grants for the purpose of promoting the teaching of the Buddha : a royal *sannasa*² for his *pravēṇi* land³ and much-coveted titles to Paṭṭapoḷa Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭāla ; a royal *sannasa* for his *pravēṇi* land and much-coveted titles to Āllēpoḷa Veḍikkāra Mohoṭṭāla ; a royal *sannasa* for his *pravēṇi* land and much-coveted titles to Īriyagama Muhandirama and a royal *sannasa* for his *pravēṇi* land and much-coveted titles to Ayittāliyaddē Muhandirama. To me, Vilbāgedara Nayidā, the king granted a royal *sannasa* to my *pravēṇi* shares⁴ of the lands Ālavoṭuva, Vilbāgedara and Hāvanē and of Maḍavelandeniya and Hāmagahatānna from Galagedara⁵ together with much-coveted titles.

Then the following persons received orders to proceed to Siam as instructed, from the power of the divine sight of the incomparable and exalted compassion of our Noble and Divine Lord⁶, descended from the Solar dynasty in the line of Vaivaśvata Manu, the Lord of the Three Divisions of Laṅkā, who is like Kuvēra in respect of wealth and gifts, Lord of Speech and Wisdom and Sovereign Lord of Kings :

12 men from the *atapattuvē* division, namely, the *āracci* of Koṭagaloluva, the *āracci* of Aludeṇiya, the *āracci* of Gal-ālla, the *heṭṭi-appu* of Kāṭakumbura, the headman Jabāhu, the physician of the village

of Ūrāpoḷa, the *kaṅkāni*⁷ of Goḍigamuva, Valala Appu, Baṭūbāddā, Ratā the astrologer, the soldier of the washerman-caste from Varkādeṇiya and Hālyālayā—all from the *atapattuvē* division ;

10 men from the *veḍikkāra* division, namely, the *āracci* of Mullēgama, the *āracci* of Vēḍaruva, the *āracci* of Peramuṇē, Māradagoḍayā, Kōralayā, Talaguṇayā, Vēḍaruvā, the *kaṅkāni* of Bōlāpē, Deṇikayā and the low caste soldier from Vilātē ;

4 men of the same division from the *muhandiram*'s district of Dumbara, namely, the *āracci* of Vattēgama, Bunnāpāṇayā, Mīgahakoṭuvā and the low caste soldier called Hāḍayā ;

7 persons of the *nānāyakkāra* division from the *muhandiram*'s district of Yaṭinuvara, namely, the *āracci* of Vaṭarakgoḍa, the *āracci* of Mākehēvola, Palkaḍē Appu, Kālañciyā of Uḍavela, Hapugaha-aṅgā, Varakā-aṅgā and Māmuḍāvelayā ;

5 men of the *paḍikāra* division from the *muhandiram*'s district of Tumpānaha, namely, the *āracci* of Dunkuṁbura, the *āracci* of Kannādeṇiya, Tennakōṇā of Māvatapoḷa and the soldier from Hāḍabōvēkanda ;

3 men from the ' *tambōru* players,' namely, Siripāla Nayidā, Puran-sikku Nayidā and Ajjū Nayidā ;

3 men from the ' *purampēttu* players,' namely, the *āracci*, Jayatu Nayidā and Appu Nayidā ;

5 men from the ' *siṅgāram* players,' namely, Dunuvilayā, Ulpat-gedarayā, Hirivāndumpoḷayā, Sēruvāvayā and Kokāṇḍāyamā ;

2 men from the ' *horanā* players,' namely, Kalaldeṇiyā and Nābildeṇiyā ;

Besides the persons named above the following were also ordered to proceed to Siam with the envoys :

5 men, namely, Bodāvelayā, Gal-ānayā, Sāsirā, Paragaṅgulā and Uṅgā to attend on the *Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭāla* ;

Nayidappuvā to attend on the *Veḍikkāra Mohoṭṭāla* ;

Dehideṇiyā to attend on Īriyagama Rāla ;

Siyāmbalangomuvē Appu to attend on Ayittāliyaddē Rāla ;

the *vahumpurayā*⁸ and the *pannadurayā*⁹ from Kuṁburugomuva to attend on Vilbāgedara Rāla.

These men received from the King titles such as *āracci* and *hēvāyā*¹⁰ according to their status.¹¹

Two thousand two hundred and ninety three years, two months and five days have elapsed from the day the All-knowing Buddha, the Blessed Sākya Muni attained to *nibbāna*. From Thursday, the fifth day of the

dark half of the month of *Āsāḍha* in this the year called *Paramādūta*¹², two thousand seven hundred and seven years, nine months and twenty five days will be left in the future (to complete five thousand years).¹³

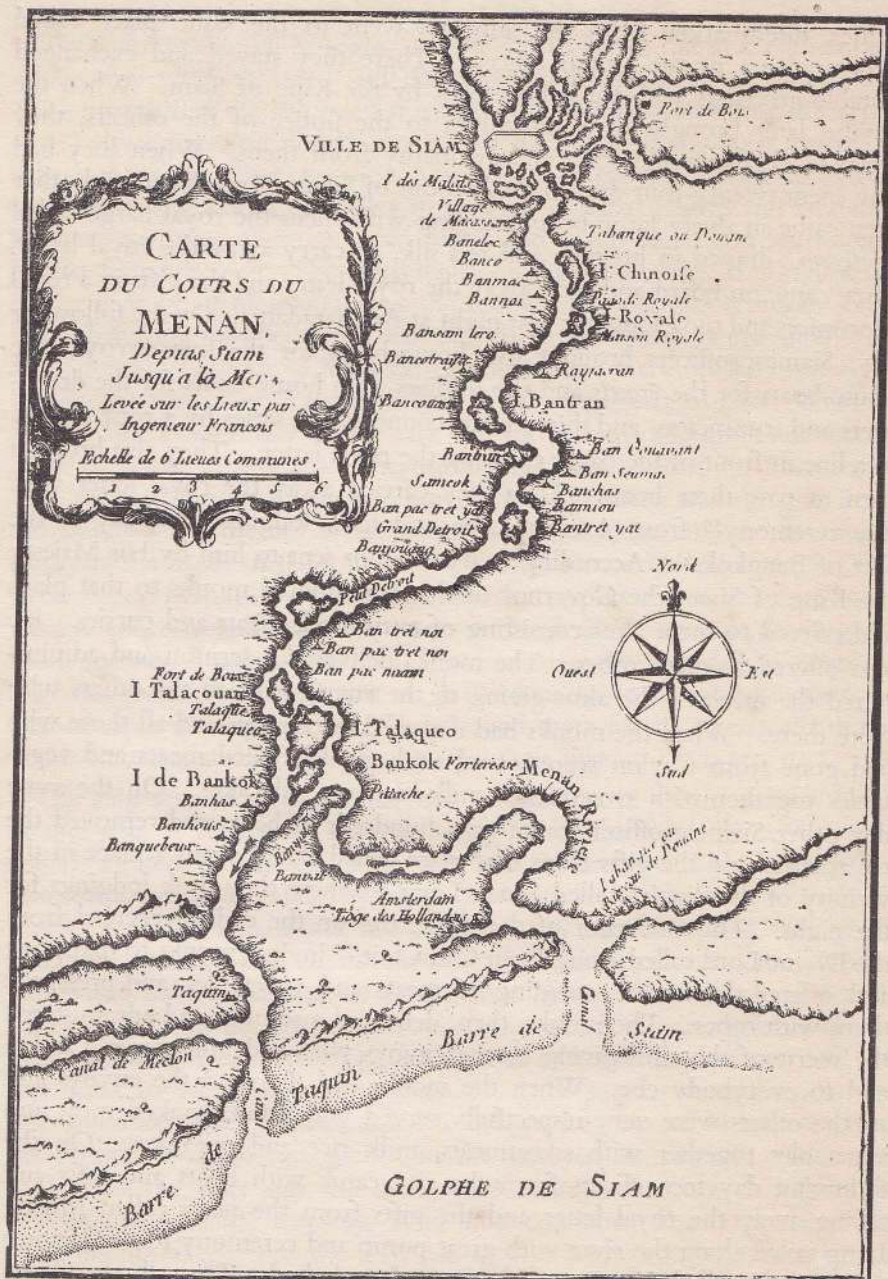
Thereafter the *Disā-mahatmayā* of *Mātale* from *Pinnapāya*, *Aṅgammana Mohottāla*, *Doḍanvola Raṭē-rāla*, *Nilāvaturē Muhandirama* and *Uḍas-giriye Muhandirama* were ordered to accompany, taking due measure for their security, the retinue, the envoys, the gifts and the royal letter to be presented to the Noble and Divine Lord, the Lord of the noble city of *Ayudhyā*,¹⁴ the letter to be presented to the *Saṅgharāja*, written in the Pāli language by the monk *Golahānvattē Dhammadassī*, the incumbent of the beautiful *Aṣgiri Vihāra*, a monk who is a support to the Triple Gem, an ornament to virtue and a repository of all learning, and the letter to be presented to the King written in the Pāli language by the monk *Vāliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara*¹⁵ resident in the pleasant *Puṣpārāma Vihāra*,¹⁶ a monk whose company is sought by a large following of other monks, who is of unblemished character, the only repository, as it were, of virtue, right conduct, steadfastness and good behaviour, a monk who is well-versed in all the teachings of the Buddha, and to see that they are safely embarked on board ship in the Port of *Trikūṇāmālē*.¹⁷ Accepting the King's order with great devotion and loyalty as if it were a wish-yielding gem, in intense joy, they set out from *Mahanuvara*,¹⁸ possessed of all the features of a city, on Thursday, the fifth day of the dark half of the month of *Āsāḍha* in the year called *Paramādūta*, i.e. the year 1672 of the Saka Era,¹⁹ at an auspicious time, in conformity with established customs rites and etiquette. When the order was given by the King that the royal letter be carried on the back of an elephant, and when the King holding it in the picture-like palms and bright red fingers of his royal hands, had given it over, it was placed on the back of an elephant and taken in procession to *Vaṭṭārantāṇṇa*.²⁰ They stayed there three days and having set out from there they stayed at *Goḍapoḷa*²¹ for two days. Then having in due course stopped at the halting places at *Nālanda*,²² *Gōnova*,²³ *Minnēriya*,²⁴ *Alutvela*,²⁵ *Gantalē*²⁶ and *Taṃbalagomuva*,²⁷ they approached the outskirts of *Trikūṇāmālē*, when five officers of the Honourable Company²⁸ came forward to meet the party, who exchanged suitable greetings with them. They then encamped in the flower garden of the commodore. The latter also enquired after the health of the members of the party and exchanged suitable greetings with them.

Then on Thursday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Nikini*,²⁹ at an auspicious time, the royal letter and the gifts were placed on board the ship *Veltrak*³⁰ according to custom and established practice and the officers who accompanied them to see them set sail, disembarked from the ship and waited there to see the ship depart. They saw the ship depart from the port of *Trikūṇāmālē* on Wednesday, the tenth day of the

bright half of the same month,³¹ and returned to Kandy. On Thursday,³² of the following week at night, a fierce storm broke out and eight masts of the ship were damaged and the ship was found to be in great peril. With great effort the sailors set the sails on the broken masts and saved the ship. On Friday, the fourth day of the dark half of the same month,³³ they sighted the country called Acciya.³⁴ On the third sixth day after this, which was a Sunday,³⁵ they sighted the Nicobar Islands and Sumatra. In these countries, there are gold mines and silver mines and hone stone is also found here.³⁶ The inhabitants of these countries are *Malayus*.³⁷ In the vicinity of these countries the sea was shallow and tranquil. The ship, therefore, was becalmed and with slackened speed ventured on and arrived at the harbour of Malacca, casting anchor there on the evening of Friday, the tenth day of the dark half of the month of *Biḍara*.³⁸ Then on Sunday, the twelfth day of the dark half of the same month,³⁹ ten officers came in a barge which was beautifully decorated, came on board and, with proper show of courtesy, removed the royal letter and the gifts from the ship. These articles were placed with due ceremony in the upper storey of the house of the fiscal. The envoys too were lodged there. The Governor of Malacca showed the envoys due respect and treated them with all due courtesy and provided them with all their expenses, leaving no room for any dissatisfaction on the part of the envoys. He also enquired after the presents and gifts that were being taken to Siam and exchanged pleasantries with the envoys. They stayed there for seven months as the winds were not strong enough to propel their ship.

The ship set sail from the harbour of Malacca in the month of *Vesak* in this year of *Prasāṇpati*, i.e. the year 1673 of the Śaka era, and in due course sighted the countries of Río and Johōru.⁴⁰ In these countries *ponnambra*, *mīnambra* and *haṇamiṭṭi*⁴¹ are found. Robbers there commit murder.⁴² The inhabitants are *Malayus*. When we sailed past these countries we sailed past the mountains called Pulu Timun and Pulu Hovuvara⁴³ and then the district of Pahān, the district of Kalantan, the district of Trangānu and the district of Patāni,⁴⁴ in which districts gold, lead and raw camphor are found. The inhabitants of these districts are *Malayus* and there are cannibals among them.⁴⁵ After passing these districts, the ship sailed past the countries called Kāmbōja, Lugōra and Muvan⁴⁶ and in the month of *Poson* cast anchor in the harbour of Siam.⁴⁷ Then the captain of the ship and the *āracci* of Kannādeṇiya from the *paḍikāramuhandiram-vasama*,⁴⁸ carrying with due ceremony the letter and the gifts, disembarked from the ship taking also with them the letter given to them at Mahanuvara which communicated to His Majesty the King of Siam that the envoys from Ceylon had arrived in Siam, and set out to Amasaradama.⁴⁹ On the second day after their departure, Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭāla and Īriyagama Muhandirama, complaining of various diffi-

culties, disembarked from the ship and went to the same place called Amasaradama of the Dutch officers. There they stayed and exchanged suitable greetings with the officers sent by the King of Siam. When the envoys later brought their difficulties to the notice of the officers, they received great consideration and sympathy from them. When they had thus spent twenty-four days in the harbour of Siam, three officers and other men came in thirty large boats bringing with them the royal barge called '*galiyam*,' draped in brocade and red silk, to carry away the royal letter. They came on board and took away the royal letter and the gifts in a royal procession and took lodgings that night at Amasaradama. On the following day, Siamese officers brought five house-boats for the five envoys, five house-boats for the *āraccis* and the soldiers, two house-boats for the drummers and trumpeters, and thirty boats connected in series by a rope to row in a line in front of the barge carrying the royal letter. They also brought men to row these boats. Then they carried away the royal letter with due ceremony⁵⁰ from Amasaradama and took lodgings that day in the fort of Bangkok.⁵¹ According to instructions sent to him by His Majesty the King of Siam, the Governor of that fort invited monks to that place and offered to them alms consisting of tasty food, meats and curries. He also offered to them robes. The monks delivered a sermon and administered the merit of the alms-giving to the envoys and all the others who were there. When the monks had departed the envoys and all those who had gone from Ceylon were served with food, cooked meats and vegetables together with sweetmeats, milk rice and oil cakes. On the same day other Siamese officers came with hundreds of boats and removed the royal letter and the gifts from that place called Bangkok to a place in the vicinity of the district called Muan Long,⁵² where they took lodgings for the night. The Governor of that place too on the orders received from the Divine Lord called Kong Luan Cau Civit,⁵³ invited monks to that place and offered them alms consisting of meats and vegetables, and presented them with robes. The monks, then, delivered a sermon and administered the merit of the alms-giving to the envoys who had gone from Ceylon and to everybody else. When the monks had departed the envoys and all the others were very respectfully served with food, cooked meat and vegetables together with sweetmeats, milk rice and oil cakes. On the following day too officers from the city came with boats and rafts and taking away the royal letter and the gifts from the place called Muang Long sailed along the river with great pomp and ceremony to the vicinity of a *vihāra* called *Vat Prasat*,⁵⁴ where they halted. Then three officers of the King of Siam, who served in the palace came there and enquired after the welfare of the envoys and returned to the city having provided them with pillows and cushions. On a later occasion officers from the Siamese court came to the *vihāra* called *Vat Prasat* with five hundred boats



Map I—The course of the River Menam, 1688

and the royal barge which was sixteen *bamba*⁵⁵ in length and was decorated with figures of lions and floral designs. In the centre of this barge there was a three-storied house where there was a lion throne plated with gold, on which was to be placed the royal letter that was to be presented to the Divine Lord, the Sovereign of Ayuddhya. They, then, carried the royal letter to the royal barge and having tied up and sealed the boxes containing the articles of offering and the eight requisites which were to be presented to the *San̄gharāja*, and the other gifts, covered them with canvas made of jute hessian and loaded them into the boats. The royal letter was carried up the river to the accompaniment of loud five-fold music and at the second palace decorated with diverse embellishments in paint and gold, it was received by the Crown Prince and the ministers. Then they spoke to the envoys as follows : ' Later, on an auspicious occasion, the royal letter and the gifts and you yourselves will be presented to His Majesty. Now will you please return to the resting place.' Then five officers accompanied the envoys to the resting place in the factory of the Dutch officers⁵⁶ and having seen that they were comfortably settled there, they went away. On the following day three officers came there with seven hundred ticals and gave eighty ticals to Atapattuvē Mohoṭṭā.a, eighty ticals to Veḍikkāra Mohoṭṭāla, eighty ticals to Iriyagama Rāla, forty ticals to Ayittāliyaddē Rāla and sixty ticals to me, Vilbāgedara Rāla. Three hundred and sixty ticals were given to the *āraccis* and the rest of the soldiers.⁵⁷ They also said that they had received orders from the King to supply them with all necessaries such as rice, coconuts, fish, salt and limes. So saying they went away. Thereafter three officers serving in the palace came there and talked to the envoys and explained to them how to present themselves before His Majesty the King and how to present to him the royal letter. Then they went away.

On the day that the envoys were to present themselves before the King, three officers came with sixteen boats and set out of the resting place with the envoys in the boats. At the gateway of the great rampart⁵⁸ they got out of the boats and through the gateway entered the street called Sitanen, where they got into horse-drawn carriages. When they had thus travelled up to the gateway of the inner rampart, they dismounted from the carriages and walked in through the gateway. Here they passed regiments of archers—thousands in number—armed with bows, wearing armour and brass helmets, squatting close together, regiments of soldiers armed with lances, wearing armour and squatting close together and regiments of riflemen, wearing armour and squatting close together.

When they had passed these regiments and had gone through the second gateway⁵⁹ they saw a line of elephants decked in all their trappings standing in circular formation, and a similar line of horses decked in their trappings. Next to them they saw a line of soldiers—thousands in number—armed

with swords, standing close together, and beyond them other soldiers seated on mats made of cane leaves and facing the palace, and still beyond these other soldiers seated on thin mats and facing the same direction. Beyond this when they passed through the inner gateway they saw more soldiers seated on carpets spread on the ground, facing the same direction and beyond them the soldiers of the *mahāmaṇḍalē*⁶⁰ who were seated on carpets covered with white cloth, facing the same direction. Beyond them, five *baṁbas* to the south of the great palace, decorated with beautiful gold work, in the elephant stables was the white elephant⁶¹ whose body was strapped with silver chains, tethered together with his female elephants as retinue. The white elephant was draped in trappings set with precious stones and there were bands of gold around his tusks. In front of him were set golden pots and silver pots, silver trays and gold trays and the goad made of gold and set with precious stones. Similarly they saw in the stables to the north of the palace, but not far from it, the black elephants with short tusks, whose body was strapped with silver chains, tethered together with female elephants as his retinue. In front of this elephant were set golden pots and silver pots and the goad made of gold and set with precious stones. On either side of the gateway situated to the east of the palace⁶² where His Majesty dwells and between the two stables, were the figures of lions and elephants and horses, each four cubits in height and wrought in *paslo*. On either side of the gateway were also six golden parasols set with rubies and blue sapphires. Then they entered the great palace decorated with various beautiful designs, and presented themselves before His Majesty the King, who was seated like Sakra, on his gold lion throne which was radiating the brilliance of numerous gems.

He inquired of them whether they were faring happily without suffering any discomfort either mental or physical. The King, then, graciously announced that he the lord of the noble city of Ayuddhyā would send representatives of the Great *Saṁgha*⁶³ to Ceylon in response to the noble request made for the promotion of the teaching of the Buddha by the lord of the noblest city in the world, who is blessed with all-auspicious lotus-like feet, whose broad lotus-like feet rest on the heads of other subordinate kings adorned with crests, who is the lord of the noble city of Śrīvardhana,⁶⁴ who is rendered immortal by his unblemished conduct, who is adorned by the pleasing quality of diverse virtues, who awakens the minds of good people as do the rays of the sun a patch of lotuses, whose voice is deep, whose speech is as mellifluous and pleasant as the song of the *kuravika*⁶⁵ bird, who is the foremost among those engaged in the promotion of the welfare of the whole world, who is the supporter of Śrī-kāntā⁶⁶ and who is excellent in every way. With this gracious assurance from His Majesty, the envoys left the palace with his permission and went back to their resting place. Then some officers came from the palace conveying a request

from the King that the envoys should proceed to a place called Mahā-sombatkalam,⁶⁷ where they were to be entertained to a meal of rice. Accordingly they went to that place, where in houses well-appointed with curtains and canopies, they were provided with all comforts and treated with great respect and courtesy. Each envoy was provided with three silver trays and in these were placed fifty one gold boxes which were filled with the five kinds of food, namely, hard food, soft food, food to be licked, food to be drunk and food whose taste has to be enjoyed. They were entertained to meals of rice in this manner on two occasions.

Thereafter, Blessings and Success!⁶⁸ Our Lord Buddha, who is endowed with two lotus-like feet decorated with numerous symbols such as the moon, the wheel, the umbrella, Mount Mēru and the universe, feet with very thick nails which rest on the jewelled crests of all gods and *asuras*,⁶⁹ having fulfilled the thirty *pāramitās*⁷⁰ during a period of four *asaṅkhyas*⁷¹ and hundred thousand *kalpas*,⁷² ascended the seat decorated with the *vajra*,⁷³ and fourteen cubits in extent, at the foot of the great Bodhi tree, [which was the battle field where the powerful Māra waged war against the Buddha, defeated Māra with his hosts who were invincible, and attained to Buddhahood. Then the Buddha, whose compassion extends to all living beings, repaired to the Golden Mountain of Saccabaddha, the ascetic. Seated thereon like Mount Mēru and radiating the six-fold rays, namely, blue, yellow, red, white, orange and a blend of these colours, the Buddha preached to that ascetic Saccabaddha in a melodious voice not different from the sweet note of the *kuravika* bird, that is intoxicated with honey, a note that is both pleasant and delightful. Then that ascetic purged himself of all defilements and attained to *arahantship*.⁷⁴ At the request of the ascetic the Buddha set the imprint of his right foot there on the mountain.

Āllēpoḷa Mohoṭṭāla, Ayittāliyaddē Rāla and I Vilbāgedara Nayidā from among the five envoys sent by our Divine Lord, the Sovereign of Śrī Lankā to fetch monks from the country of Siam, the *āracci* of Vēḍaruva, the *āracci* of Peramuṇē, Talaguṇayā, Deṇikayā, the *kaṅkāni* of Bōlāpē, Nayidā and the low caste soldier from Vilāta, from the *veḍikkāra lēkama*, Siyaṁbalan-gomuve Appu, Bunnāpāyayā and Migahakoṭuvā with Ayittāliyaddē Rāla, the *āracci* of Kuḍādunkuṁbure, the *āracci* of Kannādeṇiya, Galkandā, Māvatapoḷayā, Heṭṭi Appu, Upāsaka Appu, the *vahumpurayā* from Kuṁburugamuva, from the *paḍikāra lēkama*, the physician from Urāpoḷa and the *kaṅkāni* from Goḍigamuva, from the *atapattuvē lēkama*, Puransikku Nayidā, Aju Nayidā and Appu Nayidā from the *tamboru* players, Ulpat-gedarayā, Hirivāndumpoḷayā and Sēruvāvayā from the *siṅgāram* players—these persons set out when two thousand and ninety four years, four months and seven days had passed from the beginning of the Buddhist era, i.e. on Tuesday the eighth day of the bright half of the month of *Bak* of this the year Prasōtpati⁷⁵ to worship the Foot-Print.⁷⁶ They went through

the gateway of the wall and obtained leave after bowing down in homage, with their hands, knees and foreheads touching the ground, and passed by the copper flagstaff three spans in circumference. Then they ascended the lower terrace of the temple through the great stone step adorned with representations of cobra hoods. There too they paid homage as before, and entered the second terrace through the second stone step that was nearby and setting foot on the sand-strewn terrace, they walked around it thrice with their right hand towards the Foot Print before paying homage to it. Then along the steps of lead that were nearby, they ascended the third terrace which was flagged with stones over which were spread sheets of lead. Once again they walked around it thrice, with their right hand towards the Foot Print. Then they worshipped it once again and took leave to proceed to the temple of the Foot Print.

Over the rock on which has been set the Foot Print to a depth of one clenched-fist cubit, with the one hundred and eight auspicious signs of the Buddha, the Perfectly Enlightened One, the Master who set the Wheel of the Law a-rolling, is constructed the temple fourteen carpenter's cubits square and eight *ban̄ba* in height. In that building all the tiers of the roof from the spire downwards are thatched with gold tiles. The eaves are decorated with a border of representations of cobra hoods made of gold and as large as *bō* leaves. Its walls, both on the inner and the outer surfaces, are covered with sheets of gold set with precious stones. The wooden posts and the lintels of the doorway are also in like manner encased in sheets of gold. Inside it the rock base is covered with sheets of lead over which are again spread sheets of silver. In the centre of this shrine, which resembles a divine mansion, is the small three storeyed pavilion set with the seven kinds of gems and resting on supporting posts of gold. In the centre of this is the Sacred Foot Print in which is embedded a gold lotus set all round with precious stones. The Sacred Foot Print is covered first with a cloth of gold, then with a cloth of silver and then again with seven coverings of precious cloth. We clasped our hands over our heads in homage, bent down with the weight of our love and devotion. Then having approached it with bended knees we worshipped it in immeasurable joy and happiness, placing our hands and feet and head on the ground. These are the articles we offered to this shrine : one *varāgam*,⁷⁷ fifty three rupees, fifty *valaṅgudi*,⁷⁸ one tical, two pieces of multi-coloured cloth worth forty pieces of silver for screens, eleven *suruttu*⁷⁹ of fine material, eighteen cubits long and five and a half spans broad, which were estimated to be worth one hundred and sixty five pieces of silver, a piece of fine cloth, a thick coverlet made of cotton, a *sarāsaya*⁸⁰ nine cubits in length, a *lansōru*⁸¹ cloth four cubits in length for covering the body, a *lansōru* cloth six cubits in length, ten strips of cloth, ten, eight, seven and six cubits in length, a *tuppaṭṭi*⁸² made of silk, a strip of fine cloth, two water strainers,

a bag^{*} for betel, one hundred and sixty candles, sixty bundles of incense-sticks, a piece of sandal wood, nine alms-bowls, and articles such as cloves, nutmeg, mace, cinnamon, camphor, cardamons, needles, silver coins, *tuṭṭu kāsī*, *salli kāsī*,⁸³ flowers and lamps. They offered these articles with proper restraint of the three media of action, namely, body, mind and speech, and with absolute purity of mind, and remained there for five days. Having thus worshipped the Buddha and taken leave, they returned to Ayuddhyā. These are the details of the monies paid to those who worshipped the Buddha at the Sacred Foot Print on the gracious orders of the Divine Lord, the Sovereign of the country of Siam : forty four ticals to Veḍikkāra Mohoṭṭāla, thirty two ticals to Ayittāliyaddē Rāla, to me Vilbāgedara Rāla one hundred ticals,⁸⁴ twenty ticals each to the *āraccis* and the soldiers, twelve ticals each to the *tambōru* players and the *singāram* players, and four ticals to Jānisā. Thus five hundred and sixty four ticals were paid to those who had gone from Ceylon for worshipping the Buddha at the Sacred Foot Print, by the gracious generosity of His Majesty.

Following are the articles sent on the orders of His Majesty the King of Siam on Tuesday the full-moon day of the month of *Il*⁸⁵ so that the envoys who had gone from Ceylon could make a *kathina*⁸⁶ offering : a *saṅghāṭī*⁸⁷ robe, an ordinary robe, nine pieces of yellow cloth for under-wear, eleven pieces of cloth to be used in bathing, a cloth for wiping off perspiration, a belt, a girdle, a piece of velvet to sit on, an alms-bowl, a kettle, a spittoon, a brass tray, five *kattisāla*,⁸⁸ five cups, a box, an adze, an axe, a mammoty, two saws, three large knives, three chisels, two blades for the drill, two trays, six cups, a bag for thread, a sandal, twenty eight candles, a bag for the *navagaṇa*, a bag for betel, a handkerchief, a razor, a cushion, two fans, two bundles of *olā* leaves, three phials of oil, a *kāppaya*,⁸⁹ a piece of leather to sit on, two mats made of cane leaves, a *sāvān*⁹⁰ mat, a lamp stand with lamps, a jar of castor oil, a *kontēruva*,⁹¹ an umbrella, a pair of scissors, a *lōkaḍakaraya*,⁹² a *damarā*,⁹³ two cases for needles, a screen and a broom. We offered all these articles together with the *kathina cīvara*⁹⁴ to the monks dwelling in the monastery situated on the river-bank.

These are the articles offered to the Napanat *vihāra*⁹⁵ called Mahādatvārāma,⁹⁶ in which are deposited the corporeal relics of the Lord who set a-rolling the Wheel of the Sacred Law : a set of robes forming an item of the *aṭapirikara*,⁹⁷ a silver alms-bowl, a silver water jug, a silver spittoon, a bell, a yak's tail whisk, a fan, a piece of fine white cloth, incense, *dummala*,⁹⁸ lamps and other similar articles were offered to the Tapatat⁹⁹ *vihāra*.

The following are the articles offered to the Venerable Saṅgharāja of that Tapatat *vihāra*, a member of the august order of the monks descended from the line of Śāriputta and Moggallāna, the two chief disciples of the All-knowing Perfectly Enlightened One, the Teacher of the three worlds, the bearer of the ambrosia of the *dhamma* : two hundred and twenty six

pieces each of yellow cloth and red cloth, thirty red fans, thirty *navāgūṇa* strings,¹⁰⁰ thirty cases of needles, arecanut cutters, knives, lime containers, scissors, razors, styles, tooth-picks, chisels, mirrors, cloves, mace, nutmeg, cinnamon, candles, two alms-bowls, a *suruttu* cloth. All these articles were offered to the venerable Saṅgharāja.

Thereafter they worshipped the recumbent image at the Gaṅgārāma¹⁰¹ Vihāra and offered to it a *suruttu* cloth eighteen cubits in length, ten pieces of silver, perfumes, lamps and incense. Thus did they worship the Buddha. They offered in like manner a *suruttu* cloth, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon to the incumbent monk of this *vihāra*.

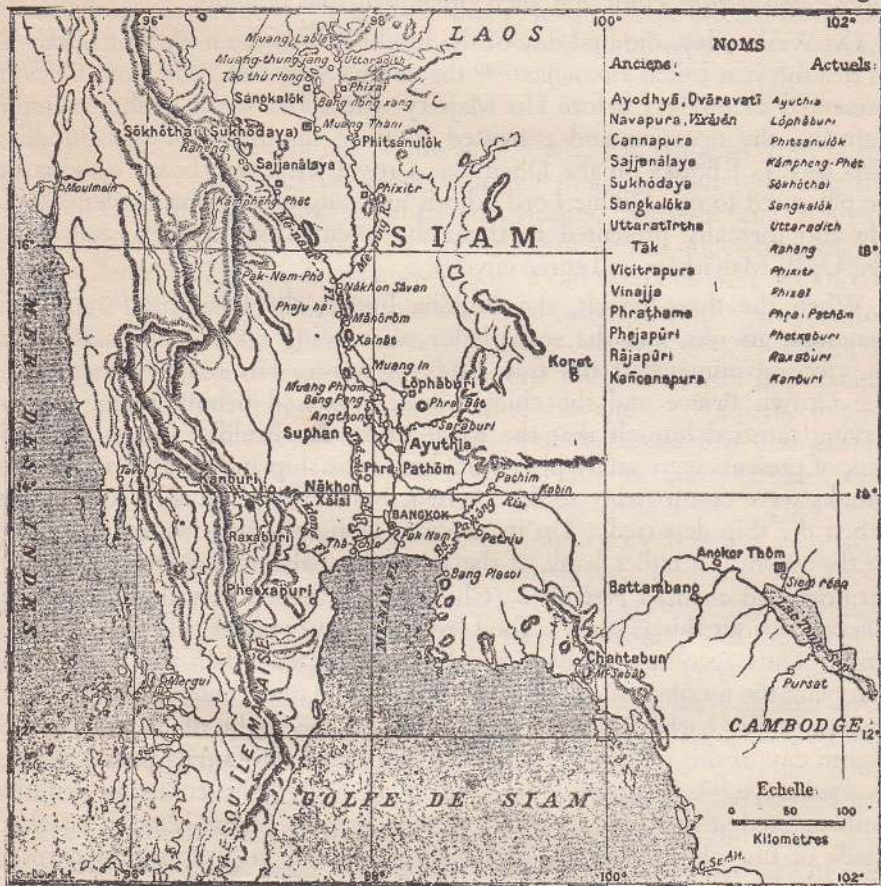
In like manner they offered to the golden *stūpa*¹⁰² not far from the river a *suruttu* cloth eighteen cubits in length, a *varāgam*, thirteen pieces of silver, perfumes, incense and lamps and thus worshipped the Buddha. To the incumbent monk of this *vihāra*, they offered in like manner, a piece of cloth, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon.

They offered to the sacred image at the Mahāpallaṅkāṛāma¹⁰³ a *suruttu* cloth, twenty five pieces of silver, perfumes, lamps and incense, and thus worshipped the Buddha. To the incumbent monk of this *vihāra* they offered in like manner a *suruttu*, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon.

On Monday the thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of *I*¹⁰⁴ they offered to the image at the Talārāma¹⁰⁵ a *suruttu* cloth, perfumes, rosin and lamps and worshipped the Buddha. To the incumbent of this *vihāra* they offered in like manner a piece of cloth.

Further more, robes were made from one hundred and twenty *suruttu* cloths and dyed and these robes were offered to the twenty four monks who were nominated to proceed to Ceylon. The following articles were also offered to these monks ; to *Pra* Upali, the chief monk, a set of robes, a cushion, two pillows, a *kāppaya* for draping round the body, sixteen *suruttu* cloths, each eighteen cubits in length, fifty rupees, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon ; to *Pra* Āryamuni Thēra, a *saṅghātika* robe, a cushion, two pillows, a *kāppaya* for draping round the body, five *suruttu* cloths, each eighteen cubits in length, thirty two ticals of silver, cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon. Further, sixty six pieces of cloth at the rate of three *suruttu* cloths to each, together with cloves, mace, nutmeg and cinnamon were offered to the other twenty two *mahāthēras*.¹⁰⁶ Nine pieces of cloth to nine *sāmañēras* and a piece of cloth to an elderly *thēra* were also offered. Four *suruttu* cloths, each eighteen cubits in length, were presented to two ministers.

Having faith in the Jewel of the Buddha, the Jewel of the Dhamma and the Jewel of the Saṅgha, we accompanied the great *thēras* to the resting place where we were staying and offered them seats, food, medicines and robes. After making these offerings we listened to sermons delivered by



Map II—The Basin of the River Menam

them and observed the five precepts. We also offered alms to thousands of monks who begged for food. Thus performing these meritorious deeds we stayed there.

On Thursday, the ninth day of the dark half of the month of *Il*¹⁰⁷ the envoys who had gone from Ceylon received (as gracious gifts from the King of Siam) silver boxes, gold boxes, gold plates, jackets made of fine cloth, *ottu-kacci*¹⁰⁸ cloth and such other valuable presents.

On Wednesday, the first day of the bright half of the month of *Uñduvay* in this the year called *Parasōtpatti*¹⁰⁹ the envoys who had gone from Ceylon presented themselves before His Majesty who spoke to them in a manner befitting the occasion and entrusted to them an image of the Buddha, two boxes of books on the Dhamma, a royal letter and boxes of gifts to be presented to our Divine Lord who is like unto an ever-benevolent God. He also formally presented to them the twenty four monks headed by *Pra Upāli Mahāthēra* and three envoys.

When the three Jewels, the Buddha Image, the Dhamma¹¹⁰ and the venerable monks, and the royal letter were being taken in procession to the accompaniment of the five kinds of music, His Majesty the King, the Crown Prince and the chief ministers walked behind them. Then having satisfied himself that the royal letter, the Buddha Image and the box of presents were safely placed on board the ship and that the venerable monks were comfortably settled therein, His Majesty returned to the city when the ship departed. On its progress along the river, monks residing in the *vihāras* on either bank of the river came aboard the ship, delivered sermons and chanted *paritta*.¹¹¹ Chieftains of the villages along the river offered various things such as food, robes and provisions necessary for the ship. Thus accompanied by a royal procession of other ships, the ship (carrying the monks) sailed along the river and having entered the sea cast anchor in the harbour. At fifteen hours on the night of Thursday, the eighth day of this month,¹¹² *Paṭṭapoḷa Atapattuvē Mohottāla* passed away. A *diyakacciya*,¹¹³ a strip of white cloth, a *tuppatti* eight cubits in length, embroidered at the corners, a thin white *tuppatti*, a *kamisa-hāṭṭa*¹¹⁴, a jacket made of fine cloth, a *jagalat-toppiya*,¹¹⁵ were used in dressing the corpse. A mattress was spread at the bottom of the coffin where the corpse was to be placed and two pillows were put under the head. When the lid was closed the coffin was covered with a *nila-karuppu*¹¹⁶ *tuppattiya* and taken to the upper deck of the ship. Then twenty *mahāthēras* who were in the other ship were brought to this ship. To thirteen of them thirteen dyed bathing robes were offered and to the others seven pieces of cloth and a cushion were offered. These monks were also offered food. They delivered a sermon and administered merit to the departed envoy.

Then the corpse was removed from the ship to an *iskōcciya*¹¹⁷ and when it sailed away a salute of thirty two volleys was fired from the cannon in

the two ships. It sailed for a distance of eight *gav*,¹¹⁸ when those who travelled in it went ashore and rested in a hall there. They bought rice and provided meals both during the day as well as at night to the twenty men who rowed the boat. On Saturday at ten hours in the morning the corpse was removed to the preaching hall of a temple called Vat Pakaton,¹¹⁹ where forty monks who were invited delivered a sermon and administered merit. Forty pieces of cloth, seven cubits in length, were offered to them. Then they bought a hundred pieces of firewood and cremated the corpse in the house where corpses are cremated. Then they came back to the ship where they remained.

At this juncture Nattam̃bure Gaṇinnānsē¹²⁰ who had come to Siam with me on my first visit and had hidden himself there without returning to Ceylon, came forward and claimed the clothes, weapons and money belonging to the dead envoy. He argued with us for one whole night without sleep. When the dead envoy's money and weapons were produced before His Majesty the King, he said that they belonged to the person into whose hands they had fallen as a result of the deceased envoy's kindness and that he could not give them to any one else. Then the *gaṇinnānsē* became very indignant and went to the other ship and asked for the things that our envoys had offered to the monks who were nominated to come to Ceylon. Because they were not given to him he attacked the *thēra* Āryamuni and a *sāmaṇēra* with a stick and injured their heads. They said that if they were thus injured in their own country by a person who had come from Ceylon, they would be subject to greater humiliation if they were to go to Ceylon and so refused to go there. Then Āllēpoḷa Mohottāla together with the three other envoys who were in the ship and the defiant monk got out of the ship, presented himself before the governor of the district around the mouth of the river and reported to him all that had happened. The governor ordered the rebellious monk to go back to the capital and directed that the monks should proceed to Ceylon. The envoys conveyed this direction to the monks and returned to the other ship.

They set out of the harbour of Siam on Wednesday, the thirteenth day of the dark half of the same month.¹²¹ On Saturday, the third day of the bright half of the month of *Durutu*,¹²² water leaked into the ship at numerous points from the lion figure in front of the ship down to the steering rudder at the bottom. Water entered the ship in spurts as thick as an ankle or a wrist, and the ship began to sink. Valuable articles stored in the ship were then jettisoned and the monks began to preach the *dhamma* both day and night. Because of this all persons on board and the gifts were saved. On Tuesday, the thirteenth day of the bright half of the same month¹²³ when they were about to reach Muan Lakon,¹²⁴ a territory that belonged to Siam, the ship sank in the mud. But no one was injured and all on board landed in the district called Muan Lakon. In this district is a large

city called Pāṭaliputra with ramparts around it. In the centre of that city is a *stūpa* as large as the Ruvanvāli *stūpa*¹²⁵ at Polonnaruva in Ceylon. This had been constructed by King Śrī Dharmāśoka who had enshrined relics of the Buddha there. From the spire down to the triple berm this *stūpa* still glisters like a newly made sheet of gold without a blemish.

Around this *stūpa* are three hundred images, seated, recumbent and standing, and two hundred *stūpas*, some nine carpenter's cubits and others eleven carpenter's cubits in height. There is also a *bodhi* tree here which had been taken from Anurādhapura at the request of King Dharmāśoka the Younger, who became king in that city in later times. We worshipped the Buddha at this *vihāra*, offering lamps and incense. The *stūpas*, the images and the *vihāras* in this country are all executed in gold. The venerable monks residing in these *vihāras* fulfil their duties regularly, recite the *paritta* and engage themselves in meditation. When the day dawns they set out to beg for their alms. As three officers called *Tammakrok*, *Tammakān* and *Saikhari* are appointed to look after the welfare of the monks living in all the territories belonging to the King of Siam, both the good people as well as the bad have to give alms to the monks and have to attend to the needs of the *vihāras*.

There are also many mines here which produce white lead and black lead. The country produces plentiful supplies of betel, arecanut, rice and other forms of wealth. But it is disturbed by the activities of robbers and practitioners of witchcraft and is also affected by the diseases called *aramaṇa-leḍa*¹²⁶ and *taṁba-kusṭa-leḍa*.¹²⁷

We took lodgings at the *vihāra* called Vat Kamvum in this country and worshipped the Buddha at the *vihāras* Mahā Datvārāma, Araññārāma, Vat Tuñyārāma and Vat Paṇḍurāma,¹²⁸ offering alms to the monks residing there, ministering unto them, offering flowers and lamps and sweeping these *vihāras*. In the meantime we discussed our plight with *Pra* Cinnarot,¹²⁹ the chief monk of the city of Pāṭaliputra, the officer called *Pra* Bhalat and the three gentlemen *Rāja-dut*, *Upadut* and *Tri-dut*,¹³⁰ who had been appointed envoys and with them decided that the King of Siam should be informed that our ship had been damaged and that it had drifted to this country called Muan Lakon. To this end we drafted a letter on paper and sealed it, and on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of *Navam*¹³¹ we despatched ten messengers with the letter to Ayuddhyā along the overland route. These messengers reached Siam in one month and six days and presented the letter to the King of Siam. The King handed over to the messengers a letter in reply requesting that the ship be repaired and brought to Siam. The messengers returned to the country of Muan Lakon on Tuesday, the eighth day of the dark half of the month of *Bak*.¹³² Thereupon we removed the royal letter and the boxes containing the gifts—all of which had been stored ashore—to the ship on

Wednesday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Poson*.¹³³ Having then found provisions for the ship we set out from the harbour of Muan Lakon on Wednesday, the twelfth day of the bright half of the same month¹³⁴ and brought the ship to the harbour of Siam on Tuesday the third day of the dark half of the same month.^{134b} While we were waiting in the ship, Siamese officers of suitable rank came on board the ship at the request of the King of Siam, and with due ceremony brought the ship to the river, where, at a village called Pakanon,¹³⁵ the ship halted for two days. Then again messengers came from the city of Siam and with due ceremony removed the ship from there and cast anchor at the fort of Luan Tonda Puri.¹³⁶

The following articles were given by the chieftain called Luan Tonda Pūri Śrī Samut to us on Monday, the ninth day of the dark half of the month of *Poson* :¹³⁷ eight boxes of rice, eighty four coconuts, eighty magosteens, twenty dry fish, one hundred and sixty dried *iskiricci*¹³⁸ fish, twenty five duck eggs, seventy one bundles of betel, twenty three bunches of tender arecanut, eight bunches of young coconut, twenty durians, forty six pine-apples, and eleven jak fruits. On Tuesday, the eleventh day of the dark half of the same month¹³⁹ the ship left the place called Luan Tonda Pūri and on Wednesday, the twelfth day of the same month¹⁴⁰ the ship cast anchor off the district called Luan Tonda Pūri¹⁴¹ and remained there. The following are the articles given to us by the officers named Kun Vipat Nakong Palatsāi and Mun Visut Akong Palakavān :¹⁴² fifteen durians, three hundred mangosteens, one hundred ripe mangoes, seven jak fruits, forty five pine-apples, ten bunches of plantains, nine bunches of young coconuts, seventy coconuts, sixty bundles of betel leaves, sixteen bunches of tender arecanuts, fifteen dried fish, sixty duck's eggs, one box of limes, one hundred dried *iskiricci* fish and five boxes of rice. The following are the articles given by the officer named Luan Tonda Pūri : twenty durian fruits, one hundred mangosteens, one hundred ripe mangoes, sixteen bunches of plantains, one hundred coconuts, fifteen bunches of young coconuts, twelve jak fruits, fifty bundles of betel leaves, twenty five bunches of tender arecanuts, five boxes of rice, eleven dried fish, one hundred dried *iskiricci* fish and fifty pine apples. The following are the articles given to us by the two gentlemen named Kun Rājapakaḍi Nayika Nōng and Kun Pakaḍi Sombatnāyi Pakanong, when our ship was brought to and halted at the place called Vat Prasat, on Saturday, the new moon day of the same month :¹⁴³ six durians, one hundred mangosteens, ten pineapples, two boxes of rice, one bunch of young coconuts, one *tattu*¹⁴⁴ of *habalapeti*,¹⁴⁵ thirteen mangoes, twenty dried fish, one *tattu* of *tuvarasōng*,¹⁴⁶ five *diyados*,¹⁴⁷ five pots of *jaggery*,¹⁴⁸ one *tattu* of red onions, one *tattu* of garlic, three bunches of tender arecanuts one hundred arecanuts cured in mud and ten bundles of betel leaf. The

following are the articles given to us by the gentleman named Kuri Rājapakaḍi Nayika Nōng : eight durians, sixty mangoes, one hundred mango-steens, ten pineapples, two *taṭṭu* of green gram, two *taṭṭu* of sesamum, one hundred lumps of *jaggery*, one hundred dried fish, then bundles of betel leaf, ten bunches of arecanuts and two boxes of rice.

Then on Wednesday, the third day of the bright half of the month of *Āsāla* of the same year,¹⁴⁹ on the orders of the King of Siam, the Commander-in-Chief came alongside the ship with five hundred boats and three storeyed pavilion, gilt and well decorated. He removed the images of the Buddha, the religious books and the royal letter in procession to the accompaniment of dancing and music. I too went with them and presented ourselves to His Majesty the King in the great palace. His Majesty, then, remarked that I appeared to be in a state of perturbation as I could not accompany the monks to Ceylon after having come from Ceylon with a royal letter and gifts, and as I was separated from the other envoys who had come with me from Ceylon. He asked me not to be perturbed in mind any longer and assured me that there would be no cause for such perturbation in the future and that he would provide me with whatever was needed by me. He further promised that he would make arrangements for the monks to proceed to Ceylon and asked me to return to my resting place and stay there. Then on the King's orders an officer named Long Sit accompanied the envoy back to his resting place in the factory of the Hollanders. Then having received permission from the King of Siam to embark on a ship at Mirigiya,¹⁵⁰ I completed all arrangements regarding the route, resting places and all other matters and was waiting for an opportunity to embark on a ship at Mirigiya. Then messengers came from Mirigiya with written messages that the large ship belonging to the King, which had carried a load of elephants to Sinnapaṭṭanama¹⁵¹ had been wrecked, resulting in the loss of the merchandise, the elephants and the crew and that seven or eight members of the crew who had got in to a boat had been saved and had drifted to the fort of the Portuguese. News also was brought by them that four ships that were in the harbour had on one and the same day snapped their anchor cables owing to a violent storm and had perished in the sea without leaving any trace of their whereabouts. On hearing of these disasters the King was greatly distressed. At this time the Crown Prince too died^{151b}. When the King inquired of me how he could despatch monks to Ceylon in the face of these disasters I replied to him as follows in writing : "I am very much distressed by what has happened. But these misfortunes that have occurred now are not unusual events but constitute the inexorable law of the material world. Therefore may I very humbly ask you to put into effect with all expedition those meritorious acts which you have contemplated doing." I informed him

further, in writing, that at first there were no Hollanders in Ceylon and how His Majesty Śrī Rājasimha sent royal letters and invited the Hollanders to guard the coasts of Ceylon and entrusted to them guard posts for the purpose.¹⁵² From that time, I informed His Majesty, the Hollanders had been loyal and had shown good-will to the King, and had brought valuable presents to him from various distant lands annually and had, in consequence, received token of honour and friendship from His Majesty.

When I had thus written to His Majesty, he sent two officers named Long Sit and Luvan Rājamudri to make inquiries from me personally. When they asked me whether people of other lands too brought gifts to His Majesty the King of Ceylon, I replied that people from Sinnapaṭṭanama, Madurā, Kancaōru,¹⁵³ Triccanapalli,¹⁵⁴ Kilakkara¹⁵⁵ and Mayisūr¹⁵⁶ annually brought gifts and presented them to His Majesty and received tokens of honour and good will from him and also permission to go to Mutusilān.¹⁵⁷

This is the dream that I dreamt on Thursday, the second day of the bright half of the month of *Uṇḍuvak* of the same year, at dawn before daybreak on Friday.¹⁵⁸ I set out with a herd of elephants with spots all over their bodies, sixteen elephants who were white in colour from the tail upto the backbone and whose trunks and the under side of whose stomachs from the genitals upto the lower chin were white with flanks and half their legs in black, one elephant all white in colour and other handsome elephants with lively limbs. Then I entered a threshing shed containing decaying straw, situated in a fallow field. Here the Paḍikāra Mohoṭṭāla and the *muihandirama* younger to me prepared a place for me and started talking to me. Then, all of a sudden, I saw that leeches were biting my legs below the knee, and then I awoke.¹⁵⁹ Two days after I saw this dream I asked Captain Nikkalas Bān and Captain Martiññu whether they would allow me to take the monks to Ceylon in their newly-built ship and they replied that they too were the servants of both the King of Siam as well as the King of Ceylon and that therefore they would be glad to place the ship at my disposal after duly providing the ship with all necessaries. They were then suitably rewarded.

At five hours on Friday, the tenth day of the bright half of the same month of *Unduvak*,¹⁶⁰ the royal letter and the gifts were placed with great ceremony on board this ship named '*Sēsasili*.' Then the ship left the vicinity of the *viḥāra* called Vat Prasat. After taking on board all the necessaries, the ship sailed along the river and entered the sea where in the harbour called Rājāvāpi¹⁶¹ it cast anchor. On Sunday, the third day of the dark half of the month of *Durutu*,¹⁶² the following seventy four persons came on board the ship: Pra Upāli Mahāthēra, well-known for the purity of his virtue, Pra Āryamuni Mahāthēra, well-known for qualities

such as the observance of precepts, Mahā-Indasuvap̃ṇa Thēra, Mahā-Brahmassara Thēra, Maha-Svar̃ṇṇa Thēra, Mahā-Maṇirasa Thēra, Mahā-Dhammajōta Thēra, Mahā-Muni Thēra, Mahā-Candasvar̃ṇṇa Thēra, Mahā-Assami Thēra, Mahā-Paññāsa Thēra, Maha-Sāracandana Thēra, Mahā-Puññajātō Thēra, Mahā-Candasara Thēra, Mahā-Indajōta Thēra, Mahā-Buvajōta Thēra, Mahā-Rat̃ṭha Thēra, Mahā-Candajōta Thēra, seven *sāmañēras*, the ambassador *Pra* Sudanta Misri of the fort of Bangkok, with two *āraccis* called *mum*, five clerks called *somiyan*, two attendants called *tanai*, and fifteen soldiers called *bōtōn*; the second ambassador named Luvan Si Senega together with an *āracci* called *mum*, a clerk called *somiyan*, at attendant called *nayi* and seven soldiers called *bōtōn*; the third ambassador called Kun Vancapiron together with two clerks called *somiyan*, two attendants called *tanai* and six soldiers called *bōtōn*, the fourth ambassador named Kun Mahapon, the fifth ambassador named Kun Ratana Civit, a guard to be in charge of the boxes containing the gifts namely *Pra* Kun Kruvan Rājapaṇṇakān,¹⁶³ eight servants to attend on these three officers, three attendants called *rājapaṇḍit*, two interpreters called *lam* two masseurs called *mō nuvan*, two physicians called *moyā*, a trumpeter called *cāvupi*, two horn blowers, two drummers called *cakkalōn*, two acolytes called *yon pra*. When these seventy four persons came on board, the ship set sail from the harbour called Nam Kiyavu Pak¹⁶⁴ at eleven hours on Wednesday, the sixth day of the dark half of the same month of *Uṇḍuvak*.¹⁶⁵ It passed the district called Bankasōi¹⁶⁶ and the district called Ponnadaliyam,¹⁶⁷ the kingdom of Kāmbōja, the mountains called Pulu Timiun, Pulu Pisan,¹⁶⁸ Pulu Hovara, the district called Palambam,¹⁶⁹ the district called Pulu Paññam¹⁷⁰ and the district called Lasipā¹⁷¹ and reached Batavia and anchored there on Thursday, the fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Mādin*.¹⁷² The Governor of Batavia showed all due respect to the monks and the ambassadors and provided them with all their expenses so that there would be no inconvenience whatsoever caused to them. He also offered to the monks eighty pieces of thin white *sēla*¹⁷³ cloth and to the ambassadors three guns, two pieces of velvet and twenty *tuppattis*. Sixty nine *sēlas* were offered to the soldiers. The Governor also provided all the necessaries for the sea voyage so that there would be no hardship on the way. On Sunday, the seventh day of the dark half of the month of *Mādin* of the same year,¹⁷⁴ the royal letter and the gifts were removed to the large ship named Oskāpel.¹⁷⁵ It set sail from the port of Batavia with great ceremony and reached the harbour of Trikōṇāmalē and cast anchor there on Monday, the thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of *Vesak* in this year *Śri-mukha*,¹⁷⁶ that is, the year one thousand six hundred and seventy five of the Śāka era.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. *upasampadā*, the ordination conferred on a *sāmaṇēra*. The conferment of *upasampadā* makes it obligatory for a monk to observe a larger number of precepts. His privileges are also enhanced.
2. *sāmaṇēra*, a novice in the Buddhist Order of Monks.
3. *Vinaya*, the section of the Buddhist canon dealing with the discipline of monks.
4. Paranavitana, S., Religious Intercourse Between Ceylon and Siam, Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (Ceylon Branch), Vol. XXXVI, pp. 190-213 ; Jayatilaka, D. B., Sinhalese Embassies to Arakan, same journal, Vol. XXXV, pp. 1-6.
5. Codrington, H. W., A Short History of Ceylon, London, 1927, pp. 159-140.
6. Sinhalese MS. No. 7. Another copy of this document is to be found in the Library of the British Museum, London : see, Wickremasinghe, D. M. de Z., Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum, London, 1900, No. 69. V.
7. A Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1935, p. 6 footnote 1.
8. Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, Colombo, 1935, p. 9.
9. Sinhalese MS. No. 7. Another copy of this document is to be found in the British Museum Library, London ; see, Wickremasinghe, D. M. de Z., Catalogue of Sinhalese Manuscripts. No. 69. V.
10. Vilbāgedara is not quite clear as to how the Siamese and the Sinhalese were distributed in the ships. The *Syāma-varṇanāva* states that the Siamese were travelling with Vilbāgedara Muhandiramā at this stage in a Siamese ship, while the other three Sinhalese envoys and their entourage were travelling in a Dutch ship.
11. *Syāma-varṇanāva*, published by D. B. Silva Appuhami and H. P. Perera Appuhamy, 1897, p. 30. The ships set out from Ayuthia. Paṭṭapoḷa died when the ships reached the sea.
12. The three Sinhalese envoys reached Malacca on 13th December, 1752 and reached Colombo on Saturday, 13th January, 1753. There appears to be some discrepancy in the dates given in the version translated by P. E. Peiris and the printed version of the *Syāma-varṇanāva*.
13. See notes to the translation.
14. The *stūpa* mentioned in the text is probably the *stūpa* called Wat Na P'ra Tat at Nakon Śrī-Tammarāt, see, Le May, R., A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam, Cambridge, 1938, p. 41. The *stūpa*, in Sinhalese style, of the temple at Nakon Śrī-Tammarāt is illustrated in fig. 38 of Le May.
15. The account written by Vilbāgedara's grandson does not mention Mideniyē Rāla. The *Sanḅharājasādhucariyāva* mentions the names of all the three envoys.
16. The most important officers of the Kingdom of Kandy lived in the palace or in its vicinity and not in the territorial districts which they administered. The highest officers of the King were the two chief ministers called the *adigārs*. Then came the four Great *Disāvas* or the Governors of the four chief provinces : Sat-Kōrale, Sabaragamuva, Tun-Kōrale and Satara-Kōrale, and Ūva. There were also four minor *disāvas* in charge of some smaller districts. Next in importance were the *mohottālas* or secretaries who were in charge of the functional divisions to which all the people in the kingdom were assigned. There were five *mohottālas* as follows : 1. *paḍikāra mohottāla*, the treasurer and accountant who enters in books all salaries that are paid, 2. *nānāyakkāra mohottāla*, who keeps records of all persons of nobility and distinction 3. *atapattuvē mohottāla*, who keeps records relating to the soliders who guard the palace, 4. *vaḍanaturakku mohottāla*, who keeps records of all the large and small fire arms at the palace and 5. *vedikkāra mohottāla*, who keeps records of all functionaries connected with the King's hunt. In addition to keeping records the *mohottālas* had to perform various administrative and military duties such as utilising the members of their respective functional divisions in the performance of their allotted services. The *mohottālas*, as were other officials, were usually known by the names of their respective native villages. For example if the *atapattuvē mohottāla* was a man from the village of Paṭṭapoḷa he would be known as Paṭṭapoḷa Atapattuvē Mohottāla. The *mohottālas* lived in Kandy and administered their functional divisions through officers known as *muhandiram*, who were entrusted with the administration of a functional division in specified territorial districts. Thus in each territorial district there should have been, at least theoretically, five *muhandiramas* to represent the five functional divisions. Also see : Codrington, H. W., Notes on Some Principal Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen and Their Dresses, Colombo, 1910, pp. 11-12 ; A Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1935, p. 4.

17. An *āracci* was originally a military officer of the rank of captain, but later the rank of *āracci* seems to have been only that of a sergeant. A *muhandiram* occupied a position equal to that of a major. *Araccis* and *muhandirams* had both civil and military duties to perform. See also, Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council 1762, edited and translated by J. H. O. Paulusz, Colombo, 1954, pp. 174—175.
18. Dumbara is a district on the outskirts of the city of Kandy.
19. Yaṭinuvara is a district situated to the south of the city of Kandy.
20. Tumpanaha is situated about twenty miles to the north west of the city of Kandy.
21. *tambōru*, a kind of drum.
22. *purampāttu*, a kind of clarinet.
23. *siṅgāram*, a kind of drum.
24. *Syāmavarṇanāva*, p. 1.
25. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* lists the names in the following order : Vilbāgedara, Ayittāliyaddē, Paṭṭapola, Āllēpola and Īriyagama.
26. *Nayidā* is a title usually added to the names of respectable persons among certain so-called low-castes, specially the goldsmiths.
27. *Cūlavamsa*, Vol. II, edited by Wilhelm Geiger, Oxford, 1927, 100.59-60.
28. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 14.
29. *Syāmavarṇanāva*, p. 1.
30. Lawrie, A. C.. A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon, Colombo, 2 volumes, 1896—1898, p. 462.
31. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, translated from the original by E. Reimers, Colombo 1946, p. 32.
32. See note 16.
33. Lawrie, p. 216.
34. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, p. 32.
35. Lawrie, p. 386.
36. Lawrie, p. 386.
37. *Syāmavarṇanāva*, p. 1.
38. See note 16.
39. Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. II, Colombo, 1916—1917, p. 156.
40. Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. II, Colombo, 1916—1917, p. 156.
41. Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. II, Colombo, 1916—1917, p. 156.
42. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, p. 32.
43. Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council 1762, pp. 20 and 36.
44. Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, p. 4.
45. Secret Minutes, pp. 36, 62, 65.
46. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, 1. edited by K. Sumaṅgala Sthavira, Galle, 1916 ; 2. edited by Nāhalla Paññāsēna and Puñcibandāra Sannasgala, Colombo, 1947 ; 3. edited by H. Piyananda Sthavira, 1954.
47. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, ed. K. Sumaṅgala Sthavira, p. 1. Hereafter all references are made to this edition.
48. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 14.
49. See note 16.
50. Lawrie, p. 953.
51. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 13.
52. *Saṅgarājavata*, edited by M. Siddhattha, Kandy, 1898, p. 10.
53. Peiris, R., Sinhalese Social Organization, Colombo, 1956, p. 302. Dr K. W. Gunewardene of the Department of History has drawn my attention to a number of instances where the term '*nayidā*' is used in connection with names of persons of the Vellāla caste.
54. A letter addressed by the Commander-in-Chief of Siam to the Commander-in-Chief of Kandy gives only the names of three envoys. They are as follows: Pra Sudharma Maitri, Lawan Si Senaga and Kun Wamahiromma, J.R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XXXVI, p. 97. A Sinhalese version of this letter is given as an appendix to the printed *Syāmavarṇanāva*. In both these documents the names of the Siamese envoys appear to have been copied wrong. See the relevant notes to the translation of the text. The King of Siam, it would appear, never sent more or less than three ambassadors to a country and they were called *rājadūt*, *upadūt* and *tridūt*. It may be that the other two officers whose names are given by Vilbāgedara were of subordinate rank. See also, A Historical Account of the Kingdom of Siam, in Voyages and Travels edited by John Harris, Vol. II, London, MDCCV, Lib. II, p. 479.
55. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 15.
56. Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, p. 6.

57. *Upajjhāya* is a Pali term that denotes a senior monk who instructs a monk who has been admitted to the *upasampadā* in matters pertaining to monastic life and discipline.
58. *Ācariya*, is a Pali term that denotes a monk who teaches the Dhamma or scriptures to a monk who has been admitted to the *upasampadā*. An *ācariya* also instructs his pupil in the language in which the Dhamma is written, and in other subjects such as grammar and composition.
59. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 16.
60. Pāli, *kammavācā*, the text or a part of the text of Buddhist ecclesiastical Acts.
61. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 17 ; *Syāmōpasampadāvata*, edited by Giridara Ratana-jōti, Colombo, 1892, p. 39.
62. *Cūlavamsa*, 100. 128.
63. Naga may not have been his actual name. The Pali word *nāga* is a tentative designation given to a supplicant for *upasampadā*.
64. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 12.
65. *Cūlavamsa*, 100. 142.
66. *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*, p. 17.
67. *Cūlavamsa*, 100. 143.
68. *Cūlavamsa*, 100. 142.
69. *SaṅgharājaSādhucariyāva*, p. 18.
70. Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, 1935, p. 61 ; Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, p. 8.
71. Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 59.
72. J. R. A. S. (C.B.). Vol. XXXVI, p. 98.
73. *Syāmōpasampadāvata*, p. 39.
74. J. R. A. S. (C.B.). Vol. XXXVI, p. 98. The names of the envoys are not properly separated here. The word 'But' is obviously an error and should read 'Dūt.' The word 'Mun' is an official designation. This letter refers to the second *thēra* of the second mission as Nānamuni, whereas the *Syāmōpasampadāvata* and *Cūlavamsa* refer to him as Varāṇānamuni. The Pali adjective *vara*, noble, may have been used as an equivalent to the Siamese *P'ra*.
75. Memoir of Jan Schreuder, p. 16 ; Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 60.
76. *Syāmōpasampadāvata* (p. 39) gives the Saka year 1677 and the year called Yuva in Jupiter's cycle, which is 1755 A.D. No month or day is mentioned. According to the Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council, the second mission was wrecked off Batticaloa on 9th January, 1756. I am indebted to Dr K. W. Gunewardene for this item of information.
77. J. R. A. S. (C.B.) Vol. XXXVI, p. 97.
78. Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, p. 6. Loten refers to five ambassadors of the first mission as returning to Siam in the Dutch ship, 'The Castle of Tilburg.' Of the five ambassadors who came to Ceylon, one became a monk and therefore only four ambassadors could have returned to Siam unless the monk regarded his lay status. But he is recorded to have died in Ceylon. It is possible that Loten regarded the courier, who was in charge of the royal gifts, as an ambassador.
79. Memoir of Loten, p. 8.
80. Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 61.
81. Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, Appendix IX
82. *Syāmōpasampadāvata*, p. 39.
83. *Cūlavamsa*, 100. 178.
84. *Syāmōpasampadāvata*, p. 39.
85. J. R. A. S. (C.B.), Vol. XXXVI, p. 98.
86. Second Report of the Ceylon Historical Manuscripts Commission, p. 59.

NOTES TO THE TRANSLATION

1. The formal name of the city of Kandy.
2. A deed transferring land granted by the King. These deeds are usually written on plates of copper or silver.
3. The Sinhalese term used here is *pravēṇi-gama*, which meant a tract of land, usually large, given to a person by the King to be held in perpetuity.
4. The Sinhalese term is *pravēṇi-paṅgu*, a share of land allotted to a tenant by the landlord. The tenant held the right of cultivation in perpetuity in return for services he rendered. For *pravēṇi-gama* and *pravēṇi-paṅgu*, see Report of the Commission on Tenure of Lands, Government of Ceylon, Colombo, 1956, p. 2; Peiris, R. Sinhalese Social Organization, p. 53.
5. Lawrie has recorded a *sannasa* dated 1754 A.D. wherein King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha grants some land to Vilbāgedara. The list of lands given in this *sannasa* is slightly different to that given in this account. The *sannasa* mentions in addition a piece of land in the Sabaragamuva Province. Galagedara mentioned by Vilbāgedara is in Kaṭugampola-hatpattu, Bingiriya electoral district. For the *sannasa*, see Lawrie, p. 953.
6. This is a way of saying 'from His Majesty the King.' In documents of this period the King is often referred to in these or similar terms. The King referred to is King Kirti Śrī Rājasimha, (1747-1782 A.D.).
7. An officer below the rank of 'āracci', a Corporal.
8. A man of the jaggery makers' caste.
9. A man of the grass cutters' caste.
10. A soldier.
11. In this list of names of persons included in the entourage, some persons, as was the practice at the time, are mentioned by the names of their villages. For example, Baṭubāddā is a man from the village of Baṭubādda, cf. Londoner, a man from London. The name would have been sufficient at the time for easy identification. Men from the following villages are referred to here in this manner: Baṭubādda, Hālyāla, Māradagoḍa, Kōralē, Talagunē, Vēḍaruva, Deṇikē, Bunnāpāna, Migahakoṭuva, Hapugaha-aṅga, Varakā-aṅga, Māmuḍāvela, Dunuvila, Ulpātgedara, Hirivāṇḍumpola, Sēruvāva, Kalalḍeṇiya, Nābilḍeṇiya, Bōḍāvela, Gal-āne, Paragaṅgula, Dehideniya.
12. Thursday, 12th July, 1750 A.D.
13. This indication, almost abruptly, of the date in terms of the Buddhist era, was a practice devised to ensure the correct reckoning of the Buddhist era.
14. The King of Ayuthia at the time was Maha T'ammaraṇa II (Boromokot), 1733-1758 A.D. In some Sinhalese documents he is also called Dhārmika Rāma.
15. Vāliṇṭa Sarapaṅkara was appointed the Saṅgharāja of Ceylon soon after the arrival of the Siamese monks in 1753, see Jayatilaka, D. B., Sarapaṅkara, the Last Saṅgharāja of Ceylon, Colombo, 1934, p. 26.
16. The Malvatta Monastery, Kandy.
17. The Sinhalese form of Trincomalee, written in this document also as Trikoṇpāmalē.
18. Another name for the city of Kandy.
19. Thursday, 12th July, 1753, A.D.
20. Near Kaṭugastota, Kandy. This was a ford in the Kandy period.
21. In Matale Uḍasiya-Pattu, in the Matale Electoral District.
22. In Vagapanaha Uḍasiya-Pattu, in the Dambulla Electoral District.
23. Gōnova is about 15 miles to the north east of Nalanda. It is not marked in ordinary modern maps. John Davy who was employed in the medical staff of the Army in Ceylon during 1816-1820 appears to have travelled to Trincomalee from Kandy along the route taken by the envoys. After leaving Nalanda he passed through three stopping places at intervals of seven miles. These were Naycombera, Gōnova and Pecolam. See Davy, John, An Account of the Interior of Ceylon, London, 1821, p. 283 and map of Ceylon attached, for the location of Gōnova.
24. Minnēriya, in Tamankaḍuva, in the Polonnaruwa Electoral District.
25. The *Syāmavarmanāva* has Alut-vāva instead of Alutvela. Alut-vāva is the same as Alut-oya on the Habarana—Trincomalee Road.
26. The modern Kantalai.
27. The modern Tampalakamam about fifteen miles south west of Trincomalee.
28. The Dutch East India Company.
29. Thursday, 26th July, 1750.
30. Weltryg according to Reimers, see Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, p. 6, footnote.

31. Wednesday, 1st August, 1750 A.D.
32. Thursday, 2nd August, 1750 A.D.
33. Friday, 10th August, 1750 A.D.
34. The modern Achin in the north western corner of Sumatra.
35. The author does not mention here whether the day was in the dark half or in the bright half of the month.
36. There seems to be some confusion in the order of the names of the places passed by the envoys. They should have seen the Nicobar Islands first under normal circumstances. Referring to the products of Sumatra Linschoten says : 'The Island is very rich of Gold, Silver, Brass, precious Stones and other Metalls, of all Kinds of Spices, sweete Woods, Rootes,,' The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten edited by A. C. Burnell, Vol. I, London, 1885, p. 109. Thomas Bowrey mentions that there was plenty of gold in Achin in the western corner of Sumatra, Geographical Account of Countries Round the Bay of Bengal by Thomas Bowrey, edited by R. C. Temple, Cambridge, 1903, p. 294.
37. It is worthy of note that here Vilbāgedara has used the correct word to denote the inhabitants of these regions. R. C. Temple quotes the following statement from Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands by Crawford : 'The word is correctly Malayu in the language of the Malays themselves,' see Bowrey, Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, p. 237. Also see Travels of Peter Mundy, Vol. III, Part I, edited by R. C. Temple, London, 1919, p. 144, footnote 1.
38. Friday, 14th September, 1750 A.D.
39. Sunday, 16th September, 1750 A.D.
40. By Riō Vilbāgedara means one of the islands of the Riau Archipelago off E. Sumatra, in the South China Sea, at the entrance to the Strait of Malacca and separated from Singapore by Singapore Strait. Johōru is modern Johore. The two usual ways of getting through the Straits of Malacca to the Gulf of Siam were : through the Strait of Selat or Selat Seberau and through the Strait of Singapore. Vilbāgedara's ship appears to have sailed very much to the south of the Island of Singapore to have come in sight of the islands of the Riau Archipelago, unless Vilbāgedara refers to the islands by hearsay. For the different ways of negotiating the Strait of Singapore, see Peter Floris His Voyage to the East Indies in the *Globe* edited by H. W. Moreland, London, 1934, note on p. 100 and map entitled Course of the Voyage.
41. *ponnambra* and *minambra* are words that have been absorbed into Sinhalese from Tamil. *ponnambra*, literally gold amber, is evidently amber proper, while *minambra* literally fish amber, is ambergris. The meaning of the word *hanamiṭi* is obscure. Probably it is the same as *hana-pōru-gal*, hone-stone. For collection of and trade in amber and ambergris in this region, see Gerini, G. E., Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia, London, 1909, pp. 421 (footnote 1), 581, 582, 673 and 823. For the presence of 'porphyritic hornstone' in the eastern part of Malaya Peninsula, see Crawford, John, Journal of An Embassy to the Courts of Siam and Cochinchina, Vol. I, London, 1830, p. 87.
42. Some criminal tribes known as *Fanjab* seem to have been living in the southern parts of the Malay Peninsula or in some of the islands in the Rhio-Linga Archipelago, see Gerini, pp. 502-503.
43. These are actually the two islands called Pulo Timoan and Pulo Aor. Vilbāgedara believed them to be mountains because they are very high. In the log of the Rising Sun (Marine Records, Vol. CLII) under date 17th June 1701, occurs the following entry regarding the island of Pulo Timoan : 'so very high you can seldome see the top of it, by reason of the thick foggs and mist that continually hangs about it. see, Travels of Peter Mundy, Vol. III, Part I, p. 151, footnote 3. Peter Floris says of the same island : 'In the morning we were E. from the Ile Pulo Timon, being a great high iland.' see Peter Floris, p. 32. Vilbāgedara should have mentioned Pulo Aor first. Pulo Timoan is about twenty two miles north west of Pulo Aor, Peter Mundy, Vol. III, Part I, p. 151, footnote 3.
44. Modern Pahan, and Trengganu on the eastern side of Malay Peninsula.
45. Some form of cannibalism appears to have been practised in the southern part of Malay Peninsula, see Gerini p. 661. Hamilton also refers to a barbarous savage people living in the region of Malacca. They were known as the *Monacaboes*, see A New Account of the East Indies by Alexander Hamilton, edited by William Foster London, 1930, Vol. II, pp. 44-46.

46. Kāmbōja, Cambodia ; Lūgōra, Ligor : Muan here may stand for Muang Lakhon, i.e. Nakhon Śrī Tammaraṭ. Possibly at this time these two latter names may have been used to denote two different parts of the District of Ligor. For the etymology of the word Ligor, see Gerini, p. 109. Ships sailing past the Strait of Singapore could see the coast of Cambodia, see Crawford, Vol. I, pp. 90-95.
47. Actually the roads of Siam.
48. The territorial district in charge of a *paḍikāra-muhandirama*.
49. The Sinhalese form of the word Amsterdam. This was the name given to the principal island of a group in the delta of the Menam River. The whole group was known as the Dutch Islands. It would appear that they received this name on account of the ships of the Dutch East India Company which frequented Siam in the seventeenth century, being in the habit of taking shelter in them in the south west monsoon. Vilbāgedara and party travelled in a Dutch ship and the Dutch in Amsterdam would have made arrangements to accommodate the party. For a description of Amsterdam, see Crawford, Vol. I, pp. 293-297. For the location of Amsterdam see map I. The residence of the Dutch, to which Vilbāgedara has made reference, is also marked in this map as Loge des Hollandois.
50. Among the Siamese the principal honours are paid to the letter which is brought and not to the envoy who brings it. See Crawford Vol. I, p. 124.
51. The situation of the fort of Bangkok is indicated in Map I. According to this map it was situated on the left bank of the Menam opposite the Island of Bangkok.
52. This should read Muang Luang. This is the same place as is referred to later in this document as Luang Tonda Pūri. It was situated to the north of the Fort of Bangkok. Today it is identified as the place occupied by the Rajini School in Bangkok, Journal of the Burma Research Society, Rangoon, Vol. XL (1958), p. 271. See also notes 136 and 141.
53. Here Vilbāgedara refers to the King of Siam by two of his titles. The King was never referred to by his name by the Siamese. The two titles were : *Phra-pincha-chuit* and *Kong-luang*, see Crawford, Vol. II, p. 100. Vilbāgedara seems to have dropped the word '*pinchao*' and combined the two titles.
54. *Vat Prasat*, literally, The Palace Temple; *prasat* is the equivalent of Sanskrit, *prāsāda*. This temple should be to the south of the Second Palace mentioned in the sequel. The Second Palace mentioned there may be the Maison Royale indicated on the left bank of the river, in map I.
56. A comparison of map I with the map of Ayuthia in Hall, D. G. E., A History of South-East Asia, London, 1955, p. 308 will make clear the relative position of the Second Palace and the Factory of the Dutch. The Factory was to the south of the City or as Hamilton says about a mile below the Town, see Hamilton, Vol. II, p. 89. The Second Palace was still further south. Christopher Fryke who visited Siam in the last quarter of the seventeenth century has the following remarks to make on the Dutch Factory at Ayuthia : 'The House which the Dutch Factors have there is amazing both for its Largeness, Beauty and Strength. Above are all the Lodgings, which are wonderful Stately both without and within : Under are the Warehouses, which are of a vast bigness ; and richly stored with all manner of commodities.' Voyages to the East Indies by Christopher Fryke and Christopher Schweitzer, with Introduction and Notes by C. E. Fayle, London, 1909, p. 138.
57. It was the practice of the Siamese Court both in Ayuthia and later in Bangkok to provide even in token form the expenses of a foreign mission arriving in the capital. Crawford relates how he and his entourage were provided with their 'expenses,' see Crawford, Vol. I, pp. 157-158.
58. The city of Ayuthia was situated in an island in the Menam and is indicated in map I by the name, Ville De Siam, the town of Siam. The Portuguese called the capital city 'Siam' while the Siamese themselves called it Krung SiAyuthia and their histories Krung Theppa P'ra Maha Nakhon, see An Historical Account of the Kingdom of Siam in A Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels by John Harris, Vol. II, London, MDCCV, Lib. II, p. 465. It is about 60 miles from the coast in a direct line ; the windings of the Menam would bring the voyage to near 30 leagues, Floris, p. 45, footnote 2. The circumference of the ramparts round the city was reckoned to be ten miles, Hamilton, p. 86. For further descriptions of the city of Ayuthia, see Collis, Maurice, The Grand Peregrination, London, 1949, pp. 210-211 ; Christopher Fryke and Christopher Schweitzer : Voyages to the East Indies, p. 138.

59. The palace at Ayuthia was enclosed by three walls and any one entering the palace had to go through three gateways. The first gateway appears to have been at the very edge of the river bank. 'The king of Siam's palaces have three inclosures which at Siam i.e. Ayuthia, are so far distant one from the other that the space between them appears like vast courts. Within the innermost are the king's apartment, a court and garden called *vang* and the whole palace is called Prassat.' *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, Lib. II, p. 477. See also, Peiris, P. E., *A Report on Buddhism in Siam*, A. C. 1689 in J.R.A.S. (C.B.) Vol. XXXVI, p. 102.
60. I have not been able to ascertain the significance of this term. The soliders of this *mahāmaṇḍalē* appear to have been given a place of honour in guarding the palace. Possibly the term indicated some such military division as the king's bodyguard.
61. The king's white elephant is referred to in several accounts of Siam. Fernao Mendes Pinto, who visited Siam in the sixteenth century, appears to have seen the elephant dressed in the manner described by Vilbāgedara. Collis recounts Pinto's description as follows : "Next comes the White Elephant, always a distinctive feature of the Court of Siam a White Elephant was like a divine mandate. Pinto had a sight of the sacred animal. He says : 'Once I saw the White Elephant being taken to bathe in the river. He was shaded from the sun by twenty four servants carrying white parasols. His guard numbered three thousand men He had a chain of beaten gold on his back and thick silver chains girding him like belts. Round his neck were more silver chains. They told me that on feast days he wore, gold chains but silver chains when he was going to his bath'" See Collis p. 211. See also, Crawford, Vol. I, p. 150.
62. For brief descriptions of the palace, see *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, Lib. II, pp. 470 and 477 ; *A New History of the East Indies*, London, MDCCLVII, Vol. I, pp. 351-352.
63. The Buddhist Order of Monks.
64. Another formal name of Kandy.
65. The Indian cuckoo.
66. The goddess of prosperity.
67. This place cannot be traced in any available map. Probably it is a place in Ayuthia, near the king's palace.
68. The benedictory formula is employed here as the author begins to relate a story not connected with the main narrative.
69. Super-human spirits who were the opponents of the gods.
70. Perfections.
71. A period of time that cannot be calculated.
72. A cycle of time, an aeon.
73. The weapon of Indra. In Buddhist sculpture it often takes the form of the Tibetan *dōrge*.
74. Final and absolute emancipation in the Buddhist sense.
75. Tuesday, 17th September, 1751 A.D. In the Sinhalese text the name of the month is written as *Vak*. It should read *Vap*.
76. The Temple of the Foot Print is called *P'ra Bat* by the Siamese. It is situated to the north east of Ayuthia at a distance of about thirty miles. According to Alabaster the temple raised over the Foot Print is about 100 ft. in height. The walls are painted inside with Buddhist themes. The impression of the Foot when Alabaster visited it was a hole in the rock, about five feet long and two feet broad. Alabaster, H., *The Wheel of the Law*, London, 1871, pp. 281-284. Vilbāgedara says that the depth of the impression of the foot is one cubit reckoned from the end of the elbow to the tip of the fist clenched. This is confirmed by the account in *Voyages and Travels* Vol. II, Lib. II, p. 465, where the depth is given as fourteen to fifteen inches. For a discussion of Foot Print Temples, see Low, James, *On Buddha and the Phrabat*, *Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. III, London, 1835, pp. 57-124. In Vilbāgedara there is perhaps one of the most detailed accounts of this temple as existing in the middle of the eighteenth century. For location of *P'ra Bat*, see Map II.
77. This is the name given generally to any old silver or gold coin. Originally a *varāgam* was a Chālukya coin with the figure of a boar, Sk. *varāha*, as cognizance.
78. I have not been able to find out the meaning of this word. From the context it appears to be the name of some coin. It is also possible that this word has been wrongly copied for the phrase *valaṅgu-ridi*, valid silver larin. However it should be pointed out that it is not usual to use the word *valaṅgu* to describe coins as is done here.
79. A long piece of cloth.

80. *Sarāsaya*, a long piece of coloured cloth.
81. A word of Portuguese origin, meaning a painted cloth worn over the shoulders.
82. A cloth of some fifteen or twenty cubits in length folded round the waist and legs.
83. *Tuṭṭu kāsi*, copper stuiver ; *sallī kāsi*, copper coin of very low denomination.
84. It is interesting to note here that Viḷbāgedara receives the largest remuneration.
85. Tuesday, 22nd October, 1751.
86. The cotton cloth supplied by the laity annually to the monks for purpose of making robes.
87. One of the three robes of a Buddhist monk. This is the robe worn outdoors.
88. The meaning of this word is obscure. From the context it appears to mean some kind of vessel to hold food or drink.
89. A cape.
90. This is a kind of reed. Dried and flattened it is used in making mats.
91. The meaning of this word is obscure. It may possibly indicate some kind of vessel for containing liquids.
92. A bronze pan.
93. A beaker-like vessel with strainer attached.
94. See note 86.
95. A monastery.
96. This temple is probably the temple known as Wat Mahath'at at Ayuthia, see Le May, R., A Concise History of Buddhist Art in Siam, Cambridge, 1938, p. 23. Siamese, *mahath'at* means the great relic, Pali, *mahādhātu*.
97. The eight requisites of a Buddhist monk, namely : 1. the singlefold robe, 2. the doublefold robe, 3. the cloth worn underneath, 4. belt, 5. the alms bowl, 6. the razor, 7. the needle and 8. the water-strainer.
98. This is a kind of rosin.
99. This word is spelt in two different ways in this document, namely, *napanat*, and *tapatat*. In Sinhalese the *ta* and the *na* can easily be mistaken the one for the other. The letter *pa* in both the words represents the Siamese *P'ra*. Probably the *ra* is omitted by error. There is no doubt that the word *napanat* represents the Siamese Na P'ra Tat which has the same meaning as *mahādhātu*. Probably this temple was also known as Wat Na P'ra Tat. Other temples by this name are found in other parts of Siam, see Le May, pp. 40-41 and 124.
100. A rosary on which one counts the recitations of the formula containing the nine-fold virtues (*navagaṇa*) of the Buddha.
101. This temple cannot be identified.
102. The *stūpa* also appears to have been in the temple referred to above. This temple cannot be identified with any certainty. It may probably be the temple called Wat Sri Sanpetch.
103. May be identified with the temple known as Wat Mongkol Bopitr, one of the most elaborate temples in Ayuthia before it was destroyed by the Burmese in 1767 A.D. There is also here a celebrated Buddha statue in the cross legged posture, Pali, *pallaṅka*.
104. Monday, 4th November, 1751 A.D.
105. This temple cannot be identified.
106. Senior monks who have been admitted to the *upasampadā*.
107. Thursday, 31st October, 1751 A.D.
108. A piece of cloth 17 feet x 1½ feet worn by bridegrooms. Available in red black or blue.
109. Wednesday, 6th November, 1751 A.D.
110. Here *Dhamma* represent the religious books that were being sent to Ceylon.
111. Certain selected discourses from the Pali canon recited for the purpose of conferring protection against evil.
112. It is not possible to be certain about this date as it is not indicated whether the day was of the bright half or of the dark half of the month. If it was of the dark half, as it probably was, the date would be Thursday, 28th November, 1751 A.D.
113. A cloth worn when bathing.
114. A shirt-like vestment.
115. A red cap.
116. The words *nila-karppu* here probably stand for *nila-karuppu*. *Nila*, official ; *karuppu* has the sense of plain here. *Karuppu āṇḍuma* was a plain cloth worn by *mohottālas* of either unexceptional birth or of remote areas. *Karuppu tuppottiya* was a plain piece of cloth worn by such *mohottālas*. For further details see, Codrington, H. W., Notes on Some of the Principal Kandyan Chiefs and Headmen and Their Dresses, Colombo, 1910, pp. 25-26.

117. A type of river craft, a sloop.
118. A measure of linear distance, which has varied from time to time. It is generally regarded as being equal to four miles.
119. The form Vat Pakaton is probably a copyist's error. It should read Vat Pr'a Patom. This temple is situated at a place called Pr'a Patom, which could be reached by sailing along the Menam and taking a turn to the left along a canal. Vilbāgedara says that the body of the dead envoy was taken to a place at a distance of eight *gav* i.e. thirty two miles along the river. It is not clear whether the party had to travel further to reach Vat Pr'a Patom. Pr'a Patom is about fifty miles from the sea along the river and canals. The distance of eight *gav* was probably a rough estimate. For the topography of Pr'a Patom see, Fournereau, Lucien, *Le Siam Ancien*, being *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. XXVII, 1895, Paris, p. 118.
For location of Pr'a Patom see map II, where it is indicated as Phra Pathom.
120. A *sāmanēra*.
121. Wednesday, 4th December, 1751 A.D.
122. Saturday, 7th December, 1751 A.D.
123. Tuesday, 17th December, 1751 A.D.
124. Nakon Sri Tammarāt, i.e. modern Ligor.
125. This is the *stūpa* called Ran-kot-vehera today. In the *Cūlavamsa* it is called Ratanā-vali-cētiya, see *Cūlavamsa*, Part II, translated by W. Geiger, London, 1930, p. 108 and pp. 128 and 129; Tennent, J. E., *Ceylon*, 2 vols. London, 1859, Vol. II, p. 591, footnote. The *stūpa* in Ligor referred to here is that of the temple called Wat Na Pr'a Tat. It is said to have been built in the 11th century, modelled on the Sinhalese type of *stūpa*. Whether it was built in the time of the Siamese King Dharmāśōka is questionable. It may be that it was repaired by him. For further details see, Le May, p. 41. For legends connecting King Dharmāśōka of India with Ligor see Gerini, p. 108.
126. *Aramana* (probably connected with Arakan) in Sinhalese denotes an incurable sore. *Aramana-leda*, lit. incurable disease, may be syphilis.
127. Literally, copper leprosy.
128. This and the preceding temples I am unable to identify.
129. The Pali equivalent would be Jinārāja.
130. The King of Siam always sends two ambassdors to a foreign country, see *Voyages and Travels*, Vol. II, Lib. II, p. 479.
131. Monday, 13th January, 1752 A.D.
132. Tuesday, 24th March 1752 A.D.
133. Wednesday, 6th May, 1752 A.D.
134. Wednesday, 13th May, 1752 A.D.
135. The village of Pak Nam to the east of Amsterdam, on the left bank of the river. There is a village called Ban pac naam marked in Map I, north of Bangkok. But the village referred to here must be to the south of Bangkok. It is correctly indicated in Map II. It is about 2½ miles from the mouth of the river Menam, Crawford, Vol. I, p. 110.
136. Another name for Muang Luang; it is known as Dhonburi today. It was the capital of Siam from 1767 A.D. to 1782 A.D.
137. Monday, 25th May, 1752 A.D.
138. The name of some kind of fish, which cannot be identified.
139. Tuesday, 26th May, 1752 A.D.
140. Wednesday, 27th May, 1752 A.D.
141. The ship stopped first at the fort of Luan Tondapūri and then stopped at the City of Luan Tondapūri.
142. The six most important degrees of conferred rank, in decending order, are as follows: Somdet Chao Phya, Phya, Phra, Luang and Khun, — Haas, Mary R., *The Declining Descent Rule for Rank in Thailand*, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. LIII, 1951, p. 586. Mun is an officer of the status of an *dracci*.
143. Saturday, 30th May, 1752 A.D.
144. A layer.
145. Boiled rice crushed and made into flakes.
146. I have not been able to trace the meaning of this word *tuvarasong*. It is probably an article of food.
147. This too is probably an article of food.
148. Crystallised treacle made into lumps.
149. Wednesday, 3rd June, 1752 A.D.
150. Mergui, north of the Isthmus of Kra, on the western coast, see Map II.

151. This is most probably Madras. Sinnapaṭṭanama is the Sinhalese equivalent of Chennapaṭṭanam, the name by which Madras was known to South Indians, see, Love, H. D., *Vestiges of Old Madras*, London, 1913, Vol. I, p. 84. Another name for Madras was Chinapaṭam, *ibid.* p. 83.
- 151b. The King of Siam, Somdet Phra Chow Barommakote, had three sons who were of the first rank. They were : 1. Chowfa Dhammadhibae, who was given the title of Krom Khun Senabatak and appointed *Uparāt* or Crown Prince, 2. Chowfa Akat'at who was given the title of Krom Khun Anurak Montri and, 3. Chowfa Utumphon who was given the title of Krom Khun Phonphinit. There were also four other sons of lower rank. Of these latter only one prince was friendly towards the Crown Prince. The Crown Prince's death had occurred under tragic circumstances. For some reason or other he had caused some officers employed under the three princes, who were not friendly towards him to be punished, and in retaliation these princes had reported to the King that the Crown Prince had committed adultery with one of his wives, a princess called Sangwan. On inquiry the accusation was found to be true and the King had ordered that the Crown Prince be punished for the offence he had committed. The punishment, evidently, was very severe and the Prince died while the punishment was being administered. For further details see, Prince Dhamrong, *Row Robe Phama*, translated into English by U. Aung Thein, *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, Rangoon, Vol. XL (1958), pp. 294-296. The date of the death of the Crown Prince is not mentioned in this work but it is said here that a successor to the late Crown Prince was appointed in 1757 A.D. According to Vibhāgedara, however, the death of the Crown Prince occurred towards the end of the year 1752 A.D. There was disagreement in the royal family regarding the choice of a successor and it is probably this circumstance that delayed the appointment of a successor for about five years.
152. Here Vibhāgedara is distorting history to his advantage.
153. Modern Tanjore in South India.
154. Modern Trichinopoly in South India.
155. A seaport in Ramnad Tahsil in Madura District, Madras.
156. Modern Mysore in South India.
157. I am inclined to believe that this is Junk Ceylon, though I cannot account for the component Mutu-. Junk Ceylon was a territory of Siam at this time as it is today, and was administered by a governor or *rājā*. Vibhāgedara here tries to impress upon the Siamese that all these South Indian towns and ports traded with Junk Ceylon with the approval of the King of Ceylon and that if the king so desired he could prevent the Siamese from trading with these South Indian towns and ports. Evidently the Siamese were impressed to Vibhāgedara's satisfaction.
158. Thursday, 7th December, 1752 A.D.
159. This is an instance of a wish-fulfilling dream. Vibhāgedara set out (in the dream) with four types of elephants : 1. a herd of elephants with spots all over their bodies representing the members of the Siamese entourage that accompanied the monks, 2. sixteen elephants who were partly white representing the senior monks, 3. an all white elephant representing the Venerable Upāli and 4. other handsome elephants with lively limbs representing the young *sāmaṇēras* who were in the party of monks who came to Ceylon from Siam. The threshing floor probably represents a place where the party on their way from Trincomalee to Kandy rested. It may in fact have been a threshing shed. Officials on tour would appear to have rested in granaries and possibly in threshing sheds or *kamata*. Davy records how he rested in an *aṭṭa* or granary surrounded by fields in the vicinity of Teldeniya, Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*, p. 372. The Paḍikāra Mohoṭṭāla was the superior officer under whom Vibhāgedara would have worked as a *muhandirama* of the *paḍikāra* division. The *muhandirama* who was younger to him was probably a brother. When Vibhāgedara and the party of monks arrived in Trincomalee and proceeded thence to Kandy a party of Kandyan dignitaries met them at a place called Goḍapoḷa, the place where they halted last before reaching Kandy. These dignitaries were : (1) Dumbara Disāva of Matale, (2) Aṅgamāna Mohoṭṭāla the chief secretary, (3) Mōladandē, the Raṭṭē Rala of Yaṭinuvara, (4) Allēpoḷa Kahaṇḍava Mohoṭṭāla, the *paḍikāra mohoṭṭāla* and (5) Vibhāgedara Junior, *muhandirama* of the *paḍikāra* division. It would have been only courtesy for the two officers mentioned last to have gone to meet Vibhāgedara and party at Goḍapoḷa. It will be remembered that Vibhāgedara himself was a *muhandirama* of the *paḍikāra* division. For details of the reception accorded to the Siamese monks at Goḍapoḷa see, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* Vol. XVIII, 1903-1905,

pp. 37-38. The Sinhalese phrase '*maṭa bāla muhandiramata*' occurring in this account shows that Vībāgedara Junior was a brother of the envoy Vībāgedara. There are two other significant aspects of this dream which are worth noting : 1. the time at which the dream occurred and 2. that Vībāgedara's legs below the knees were bitten by leeches. The time was the last 'watch' of the night just before daybreak. According to traditional interpretation of dreams, a dream that occurs at this time will prove to be true as a forecast within five or ten days. Being bitten by leeches in any part of the body, according to traditional interpretation, indicates acquisition of wealth, the birth of a son and success in undertakings, which will bring fame to the person who has seen the dream. For the above interpretations, see *Svapnamālāya* by Hisvāllā Paṇḍita, published by C. C. Appuhāmi, Colombo, 1889, stanzas 22 and 37. The accuracy of the dream as a forecast of coming events can be seen in what follows.

160. Friday, 15th December, 1752 A.D.
161. Literally, the King's lake ; may be a lake-like formation in the river. Though it is said to be in the sea it appears to have been in the river delta.
162. Sunday, 21st January, 1753 A.D.
163. The names of the first three ambassadors as given in the Commander-in-Chief's letter dated 25th October, 1755, appear to be slightly different from the names given here. Obviously some errors appear to have crept into one or both of the documents in the process of copying. See, J.R.A.S. (C.B.). Vol. XXXVI, p. 98.
164. This place cannot be identified with certainty. In the map showing the course of the Menam, to the west of the Island marked Amsterdam there is a village, Siamese *ban*, called Banquebeux. In Sinhalese the sound 'b' can be replaced by the sound 'p.' It is possibly this place that is referred to by the name 'Nam Kiyavu Pak.' If this assumption is correct the ship seems to have taken the course to the west of Amsterdam.
165. Wednesday, 24th January, 1753 A.D.
166. 'From the details given in Linschoten's *Reys Gheschrift*, Ch. XXI, it appears that Buncasey or Bancosea was a port in the north west corner of the Bight of Bangkok ; it has not been found on modern maps,' Floris, p. 41, footnote. Vībāgedara's account confirms the location of Buncasey which is identical with Bankasoi. It is situated on the coast, to the west of the mouth of the river Tha-chin. See Floris, map illustrating the course of the voyage. For the river Tha-chin see Map II.
167. This place cannot be identified.
168. Pulu Pisan is an island situated to the north of Pulo Aor and to the south of Pulo Timoan.
169. Modern Palembang, the largest city in Sumatra, in the south east of the Island.
170. This is known today as Pulau Panjang. It is an island at the entrance to Bantam Bay.
171. Modern Lucipara, a very small island south of Banka Island in the Banka Strait, see Floris, map of the course of the voyage.
172. Thursday, 8th March, 1753 A.D.
173. A piece of expensive cloth.
174. Sunday, 25th March, 1753 A.D.
175. Oost Kapelle in Dutch.
176. Monday, 14th May, 1753. Dr. K. W. Gunewardene informs me that according to Dutch Record 114 [Govt. Archives] this event took place on 30th May, 1753.

A NOTE ON THE MAPS

Map I showing the course of the River Menam in 1688 is based on a larger map prepared by M. La Mare, Engineer to the King of France, and was published by La Loubere in his book '*Du Royaume de Siam*' in 1691. Map II showing the basin of the River Menam is a modern map. The two maps are reproduced here from '*Le Siam Ancien*' by Lucien Fournereau, Part I, being *Annales du Musée Guimet*, Vol. XXVII, with the kind permission of the Director, Musée Guimet, Paris.

THE CREWE — McCALLUM REFORMS (1912 - 1921)

A. J. WILSON

THE opening years of the twentieth century saw Ceylon in a state of comparative prosperity. A census had been conducted in 1901 and the information derived revealed the great advances made by the Island. In 1834 the population had stood at 1,167,700; in 1906 it had increased to 3,984,985. For the same years the revenue had been Rs. 3,779,520 and Rs. 35,030,660 respectively and exports had increased from Rs. 1,458,340 to Rs. 112,516,914 respectively.¹ Education too had spread far and wide. In 1834 there were 13,891 scholars; in 1906 there were as many as 276,691.² In 1905 there were 554 Government schools and 1582 aided schools.³ These vast strides made in education, trade, commerce, and population did not fail to register their effects on the thinking processes of the educated Ceylonese of the time and one of the immediate consequences was further agitation for constitutional reform. Associations and societies were formed for the purpose of addressing memorials, petitions, and 'prayers' to the Secretary of State for the Colonies. A peculiar feature of this movement was that it was mainly confined to a particular section of the community—the men of property and the professional classes. It failed to reach the proportions of an Island-wide mass movement or popular upheaval as in India. This was evidenced by the various organisations formed during this time and the members who comprised them. The Low Country Products Association came into existence in 1907 and though as its name indicated, it was expected to promote the economic interests of the Ceylonese planter, it spent more of its time in dealing with political questions. The majority of its members were landed proprietors.⁴ The Jaffna Association was composed of Tamils residents in the north of Ceylon who belonged mainly to the commercial and professional classes.⁵ The Chilaw Association similarly consisted of Ceylonese residents belonging to the professional and commercial classes who were living or had interests in and around the district of Chilaw.⁶ Likewise the Ceylon National Association consisted of members drawn from the professional and merchant classes of the Western Province.⁷ According to Governor McCallum it was a debating society and had "nothing in its organisation or membership which gives it any claim to the title which it assumed."⁸ Besides, it is significant to note that this organisation according to the official history of the Ceylon National Congress originally started as the Ceylon Agricultural Association.⁹ It might, therefore, be reasonably assumed that its members were

largely drawn from the landed gentry. The nationalist flood was thus kept within the bounds of a middle class intelligentsia of professional, commercial and proprietary folk. They did not trouble to stir up mass feeling or to rouse the popular conscience. They believed in constitutional agitation and hence the Nationalist Movement generally remained peaceful in character.

The middle class character of this movement presented the Secretary of State for the Colonies with the opportunity of offering the same excuse as his predecessor, the Earl of Grey, had done (in his Despatch dated 17th July, 1848) when the European Unofficials of the Legislative Council had asked for further reforms. Grey saw in the body of European proprietors, capitalists and merchants living in the midst of the native population, "the nucleus of a future population of free men around which native intelligence and education may cluster and which may hereafter be the basis of a more extended representation." He thought that with the indigenous population, "partially educated and imperfectly informed.... and unfitted for self-government because unaccustomed to self-control....," it was not practicable at that stage to introduce the principle of direct representation into the legislative body. The Ceylonese Nationalists too made similar demands as the European Unofficials had made in 1848 (though for very different reasons)—the abolition of the existing system of racial representation and the introduction of the elective principle in place of nomination. The Ceylonese Nationalists were of the view that "local representation will (however) be of little advantage unless the people are given the right of electing their representatives."¹⁰ Governor McCallum however resisted their claims. His reasons were similar to those proffered by Earl Grey. In his Despatch to the Earl of Crewe, K. G. (dated May 26, 1909) McCallum stated that this new class of Ceylonese was an exclusive group with a tendency to pay progressively less attention to factors like racial, religious and caste distinctions by which their less progressive countrymen are rigidly divided but that even they had not reached the stage of complete unity. They had, in his opinion, come to form a separate class of people and as such distinct from the rest of their fellow countrymen. He was, therefore, willing to consider nominating one of their number to the Legislative Council. It was his view that "the intellectual and political development of the peasantry of Ceylon—and the peasantry form the vast majority of the population—is not such as to enable them, in my opinion, wisely or usefully to exercise the power to elect persons to represent them in the Legislative Council, nor have they evinced any desire to possess or exercise this privilege." Until such time as this educated class of Ceylonese were able to organise themselves into an association like the Europeans and submit names for nomination to the Governor, McCallum held that one of them should be nominated by him to represent

their interest. The Earl of Crewe, however, did not agree with McCallum's proposal. He decided that the Educated Ceylonese Member (as this representative came to be styled) should be elected on a restricted franchise.

A series of other reforms too were introduced. The European community had their representation reduced from three to two. Their representatives were henceforth and for the first time in their history to be elected from two separate electorates defined as the urban electorate and the rural electorate. The Burghers too were to be organised into a special electorate and for the first time they too were allowed the right to elect their representative. The educated Ceylonese too, as was mentioned earlier, were allowed this privilege. Arrangements for the election of these four members were embodied in Ordinance No. 13 of 1910.

Provision was also made for an increase in the number of nominated members. The Low-Country Sinhalese improved their position by a further addition. The Tamils too increased their number by one. Thus in the new Legislative Council, the Unofficial strength was increased to ten while the Official majority was reduced to only two.

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The position of the Governor under the new reforms continued in many respects to be the same as during the earlier dispensation. But there were certain important changes brought about as a result of usage and custom. It was true that the Governor yet continued to be ultimately responsible for the good government of the country but the development of various conventions and practices made him appear a less powerful potentate and a more cautious ruler than his counterpart had been in the preceding period. There was a tendency on the part of the Governor to increasingly depend on the advice of the Executive Council and the sanction of the Secretary of State for the measures he sought to introduce into the Legislative Council. The Governors of this period (1912 to 1921) showed considerable tact in dealing with matters that came up for discussion before the Legislative Council. They were more attentive to public opinion and were willing to listen to such opinion whenever it was expressed in an organised and articulate manner. The only exception was Governor Sir Robert Chalmers (later Lord Chalmers) but he was unfortunate in that he lacked experience in colonial administration and that he functioned as Governor during a troublous period in the history of the Island. Sir Henry McCallum who inaugurated the new reforms maintained satisfactory relations with the Legislative Council and Sir John Anderson did much to restore the goodwill and confidence in British rule that had been lost or undermined during the short while that Sir Robert Chalmers (who succeeded McCallum) officiated

as Governor. Sir William Manning, Anderson's successor, not only cultivated friendly relations with the Legislative Council but also steadily endeavoured to foster an atmosphere of goodwill and co-operation between the Government and the Nationalist Movement. It was mainly due to his efforts that the National Congress and other political organisations were persuaded into accepting the Constitution of 1921 even as a temporary expedient though at first there was general opposition to it, especially from the National Congress.

The desire to pay increasing attention to local opinion was manifested in more ways than one.

To begin with there was a statement of policy enunciated by Sir Henry McCallum in paragraph 44 of his Despatch to the Secretary of State, the Earl of Crewe, dated May 26, 1909 and confirmed by the latter in his reply of December 24, 1909. The Governor in his Despatch had stated that he required an official majority only to enable him to safeguard imperial interests. As regards local questions, it was his view that the official majority had been of very little consequence to him. "I have never had occasion to make use of it," he wrote, "and were any question to arise concerning which official and unofficial opinion were so sharply divided that the vote of the Unofficial Members was given unanimously against any Government proposal, I should hesitate greatly before deciding to pursue the policy proposed in the face of such united disapproval." It might be argued that unanimous unofficial opinion against the Government would not have been possible in view of (a) the Governor's right to nominate six of the Unofficial Members to the Legislative Council; (b) the sense of fellowship and the feeling of sympathy that tended to develop between the two elected European Unofficial Members and the Official Members in the Legislative Council and (c) the patronage at the disposal of the Governor which could have been utilized to wield unofficial opinion in his favour. But in spite of such powerful factors militating against possible unanimity on the part of Unofficial Members, there were occasions when they tended to cohere as a group, resulting in the Governor falling in line with their views, or accepting a compromise, or offering one to them as a suitable alternative. A perusal of the Hansards of this period will illustrate quite a few occasions where Governors deferred to the wishes of the Unofficials even when the latter failed to fulfil the condition of complete unanimity. What was more significant was that the Secretary of State gave his approval to Governor McCallum's statement of policy with however a further condition added to it. In what amounted almost to a directive to the Governor, the Secretary of State wrote that "in ordinary circumstances," "the Government would not persist in a proposal which was unanimously opposed by the Unofficial Members, unless the question

was one affecting Imperial policy, or unless in the opinion of the Government, the proposed measure was essential to the efficient administration of the colony." The added qualification was that the Official majority could be used if a proposed measure was essential to efficient administration, but the Secretary of State's sanction to the Governor's statement of policy transformed it almost into a constitutional principle under the new Constitution. Unofficial Members were not slow to seize upon this to compel the Government to accede to their views whenever these did not affect imperial policy or the needs of efficient administration.

Another method of eliciting local opinion was the practice of holding durbars of native chiefs—a practice initiated by McCallum which however did not survive his period of Governorship. At these durbars the Governor took the opportunity of discussing with the chiefs, subjects of interest which might also have been topics for legislation or matters of public concern.¹¹ In his Review of the Administration of Ceylon, Governor McCallum informed the Legislative Council that he had decided early in his Administration to revive the custom of summoning the chiefs to a Durbar with a view "to bring the chiefs, and through them the people of the colony, into the closest possible touch with the Governor and the Government, to give both sides an opportunity of expressing and comparing their views in important subjects of general interest, to enable the chiefs to hear one another's views, and to consult together on matters of common concern."¹² The assembly functioned not as an advisory body but as a consultative chamber, and Durbars were held regularly in 1908, 1909, 1910 and 1912.¹³ The Durbar of November 1912, according to the Governor proved extremely useful in that it threw valuable light on the pestilential question of land fragmentation in Ceylon, and the suggestions made by the assembly to tackle the problem seemed so useful that the Governor hoped his successor would be able to grapple with the complicated situation.¹⁴ At any rate these organised assemblages of influential sections of local opinion showed that some effort was being made to frame policies and legislative programmes in the context of local opinion, whereas in contrast in the past, Governors had tended to be satisfied with the advice given by official counsellors.

The Governors of this period were also inclined to take Unofficial Members into their confidence whenever it was convenient for them to do so, or even to have direct dealings with them on an informal level, in the disposal of topics of legislation still under contemplation. There were quite a few occasions when a conference between Governor and Unofficials ended in a settlement acceptable to both parties. The following instances

will indicate how anxious Governors were to meet the wishes of Unofficial Members even on questions which might have been of a vexed nature.

(1) On April 25, 1913 when the Burgher Member gave notice that he would ask a question at the next meeting of the Council regarding the acquisition of certain lands on Horton Plains and that he would also ask for some assurance that the Government would not lease these lands to any individual or clubs for any exclusive purposes, the First Low-Country Sinhalese Member was able to intervene at that stage and inform his fellow Unofficial that he had spoken to the Governor on the subject and had obtained a written assurance from him that the land in question would not be sold or leased but be kept for the use of the public.¹⁵

(2) When on October 14, 1915, the Attorney-General moved the second reading of an Ordinance to provide compensation for losses by riots, and the Ceylonese Member complained that the Government did not appear to have consulted representative opinion in the country on the subject of the disturbances of 1915, the Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers replied that with the exception of two Unofficial Members, he had come to know the views of the rest of the Unofficial Members by personal conversations of a confidential nature.¹⁶

(3) On June 13, 1917, the Second Tamil Member in supporting a motion of the Treasurer for the raising of a War Loan thanked the Governor for taking the Unofficial Members into the confidence of the Government by appointing a Committee which consisted of only three officials and all the Unofficials to decide on the amount of war contribution and the sources from which it was to be raised. "This is indeed a privilege conferred on the Unofficials" stated the member, "and shows the confidence reposed in them by the Government." The member went on to compare the action of the Ceylon Government with that of the Government of India and drew attention to the democratic approach adopted by the former in contrast to the arbitrary attitude of the latter in its attempt to foist on the Viceroy's Council a proposal of a similar nature without having taken the Unofficial Members of that body into its prior confidence.¹⁷

(4) On December 11, 1918, the Ceylonese Member speaking on his motion with regard to the reform of the Executive and Legislative Councils expressed the view that he had seen enough of the new Governor, Sir William Manning, to convince himself that he would not be led into taking decisions on matters of public importance by depending on the advice and prejudices of the men on the spot like the Colonial Secretary or the Treasurer. He went on to add *inter alia* that "we are thankful that, as you have often told us, you yourself study the whole ground and come to a conclusion upon the question raised upon its own merits"¹⁸

The above are random illustrations representative of a general tendency which appeared to manifest itself during this period. Governors were not willing to trust themselves to advice from selective sources. They were keen to examine every aspect of a question, to consult the maximum of opinion available before they came to a decision, or formulated measures for legislative approval. No doubt there were also occasions when Governors chose to pay little attention to the voices of Unofficialdom. Select committees used to be 'packed' at times with yes-men, and patronage tended to remind members that persistent opposition would not always pay. But what is important to note is that the general tendency was for the Governors of this period to pay increasing deference to representative Ceylonese opinion which was indeed a marked improvement on the attitude adopted by their counterparts during the earlier phase.

The Finance Committee too proved another valuable aid to the Governor in his task of governing the country. Besides being a useful source of legislative suggestion, it also proved a ready device for ascertaining Unofficial reaction to Government proposals. Originally, it was constituted with a view to providing Unofficial Members with the opportunity of scrutinizing and sanctioning Government expenditure while the Legislative Council was not in session. But during this period there was a tendency to interpret finance in its broader terms, and the Committee as a result began steadily evolving itself into a Chamber of Consultation. The Government seemed to find it a convenient body for referring controversial matters and also for canvassing support for its future legislative projects.

The Governors of this period did not merely show themselves increasingly attentive to local opinion. Their cautiousness was further seen in their unwillingness to take decisions on their own responsibility. They tended to become more and more dependent on the distant advice of the Secretary of State on even such trivial matters like the extension of a railway line. The extension of the Pelmadulla line had to await the sanction of the Secretary of State,¹⁹ and similar authority had to be obtained when the construction of the Badulla line was mooted, even before the preliminary surveys were conducted, or the estimates prepared.²⁰ Likewise a scheme for providing a water supply for the town of Batticaloa,²¹ and for subsidising the Municipal supply of water for Colombo²² had to receive the rubber stamp of the Secretary of State before the Governor could furnish the Legislative Council with any definite information.

The Crewe-McCallum Governors had further to contend with a more representative body of Ceylonese opinion in the Legislative Council than their predecessors had to deal with during the preceding period. Out of the ten Unofficial Members, four were elected by exclusive electorates (two European, one Burgher and an 'Educated' Ceylonese) and six were nominated by the Governor. The nominees of the Governor were how-

ever not so docile to their patron, as most of their counterparts had tended to be, during the earlier period. With a precarious majority of two, against the possibility of a united front of Unofficial Members, the Governors had to tread warily on their legislative path and placate sections of Unofficial opinion whenever such action was necessary to carry through their measures. Some of their nominees like Mr O. C. Tillerkeratne turned out to be their most trenchant critics. Others like Mr K. Balasingham and Sir (then Dr) Marcus Fernando were only willing to render qualified assistance. Their task was made all the more difficult as a result of a decision of the Secretary of State in 1913 that re-nomination should be regarded as more the exception than the rule and that re-nomination for a second time would definitely be barred unless the Governor was prepared to declare on his conscience that no other candidate was available.²³ The prospect of re-appointment which might have acted as a seductive influence on nominated members was by this decision considerably minimized and Unofficial Members under the new dispensation appeared to display greater independence in their attitude to the Government than their counterparts had ever attempted during the earlier period. Governors had, therefore, to try and win over at least sections of Unofficial opinion if they wanted a safe passage for their policies and programmes in the legislative chamber of the Island.

The Governors of this time did not only have to reckon with criticism or opposition from within the country. There were occasions when discontented sections carried their grievances to the Secretary of State either by going to him in deputation or by forwarding memorials and petitions. The Secretary of State did not always turn a deaf ear to these representations. Besides, in addition to such methods of protest, there were also associations and organisations in London itself which were not sparing in their efforts to bring pressure to bear on the Secretary of State if matters went awry or if the Governors tended to ignore public opinion in the conduct of affairs.²⁴ It is true that some Governors did chafe and complain against these attempts to impose checks and restraints on their authority but in an age when nationalist opinion was becoming increasingly aware of its rights and functions, it was certainly a wiser course of action for the Secretary of State to pay careful attention to the protests and representations made to him. In fact there is not a little evidence to show that the Secretary of State was tending to become an arbiter in the disputes and differences that developed between Governors and discontented sections of opinion in the country during this period.

A notable instance of such a role played by the Secretary of State was when the Ceylonese Nationalists sent memorials to him expressing their disagreement with Governor McCallum's approach to the question of constitutional reform. This was just before the inauguration of the re-

formed Constitution of 1912. The Governor had in his Despatch to the Secretary of State recommended that a member be nominated from among the educated sections of the Ceylonese community to enable them to give expression to their viewpoint in the Legislative Council. The Nationalists on the other hand strongly objected to the principle of nomination and requested inter alia the Secretary of State to introduce the system of election. The Secretary of State concurred with the latter view. Governor McCallum was piqued at this decision of the Secretary of State to ignore his advice and in paragraph four of his Despatch of March 23, 1910, gave expression to his disappointment in the following terms :—

“When, however, His Majesty’s Government—led by the demands in the memorials (of the Nationalist Ceylonese) which I forwarded in my despatch—determined to initiate an entirely new policy, by which class distinctions are in future to be abolished, and all communities possessing western education are to be represented in Council by popular franchise and not by nomination, I could not but feel that the ground had been cut from under my feet”

Sir Henry McCallum was not the only Governor who had to lose face as a result of representations made against him to the Secretary of State. Sir Robert Chalmers (later Lord Chalmers) who succeeded McCallum was another who suffered a worse fate for a more serious reason. The Governor lacked experience in colonial administration and when religious riots between Muhammadans and Buddhists broke out during the months of June and July 1915, he took panic, construed the disturbances as a rebellion engineered by Nationalists against constituted authority, and led by the advice of ill-informed counsellors, permitted the committing of serious excesses by the military which had been called out to deal with the situation. The actions of the Governor resulted in considerable injustice to a number of innocent persons. Bitter complaints were made against his administration by Ceylonese who found their way to the Colonial Office, and to some extent due to these representations, the Governor had his career shortened and a high official at the Colonial Office, Sir John Anderson, a permanent Under-Secretary, was sent to act the role of a peace-making Governor to the Island.

The evidence cited above provides sufficient material for a detached observer to conclude that the position of Governor of Ceylon was by no means an enviable one. There were so many factors that a Governor had to contend with, and there were numerous sections of opinion that he had to reckon with, in formulating policy. True, it might have still been that the Governor was the Government of Ceylon. But this was only the legal position. There were political factors which tended to modify this situation. There had emerged a new generation of Unofficial Members who had ceased to be the still small voices that their counterparts had been

in the preceding period. The Nationalist Movement was fast outgrowing its fledgeling stage and was becoming more articulate and forceful in giving expression to its views on political and constitutional questions. The newly constituted Legislative Council which was based partially on the elective principle proved more watchful of the interests that it represented. Above all the men of these times began to realise that they were no longer living in a static era but were citizens of a dynamic age, of stirring times which called for changes of an equally revolutionary nature. The Governor of Ceylon was not ruling lotus-eaters who craved for some form of paternalism. He was ruler in the midst of an intelligent and politically conscious section of the community who had acquired for themselves a western education and a nationalist outlook and were no longer content to let authority reside at Queen's House. They wanted that authority to find a securer base in the masses whom they claimed to represent and the Governors of the Island had therefore to act in such a manner as not to make themselves vulnerable to a charge that they were ignorant of local sentiment or disregarded indigenous opinion in the formulation of their legislative policies.

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The Legislative Council was the most important organ of government and the centre of political controversy in the country. It was the premier body to which the Governor had to pay considerable attention in framing policy. It consisted of twenty two members. Of these, twelve including the Governor were Officials and ten were Unofficials. The Governor functioned as President of the Council. He had an original vote as well as a casting vote.

The Official members of the Legislative Council besides the Governor comprised the following: (1) the Senior Officer for the time being in command of the regular troops within the Island, if he was not below the rank of Captain in the Army; (2) the Colonial Secretary; (3) the Attorney-General; (4) the Controller of Revenue; (5) The Colonial Treasurer; (6) the Government Agent for the Western Province; (7) the Government Agent for the Central Province; (8) the Government Agent for the Southern Province; (9) the Principal Civil Medical Officer. The tenth and eleventh members were to be appointed from among persons holding office in the Island by the Governor who would act on instructions from the Secretary of State.

It might be noted that among the ex-officio members, there were two new additions viz. the Government Agent for the Southern Province and the Principal Civil Medical Officer. These two were, for besides other reasons, meant to preserve the Official majority in the Legislative Council as the Unofficials had their numbers increased from eight to ten. So long as the Governor continued to be responsible for the good government of

the country, it could not be practicable, without embarrassing consequences for the Official group, to be reduced to a minority. These circumstances excepted, the Government Agent for the Southern Province was expected to represent the Sinhalese population of half a million who came within his jurisdiction²⁵ while the Principal Civil Medical Officer was appointed because Governor McCallum felt that his presence would be useful as questions regarding his Department frequently came up for discussion before the Council.²⁶ The Secretary of State endorsed the Governor's recommendation regarding the Principal Civil Medical Officer and added that his presence would be important in view of the fact that matters of sanitation and medical administration are essential factors for consideration in a tropical country.²⁷

The Unofficials increased their numbers from eight to ten in the new Council. In the previous Legislative Council they were all nominees of the Governor. They comprised three Europeans, a Low-country Sinhalese, a Kandyan Sinhalese, a Ceylon Tamil, a Muslim and a Burgher. In the reformed Council, the Europeans had their representation reduced from three to two, the Kandyan Sinhalese, Muslims and Burghers retained their representatives, while the Low-Country Sinhalese had their representation increased to two as was the case with the Ceylon Tamils. Finally, there was the novel addition of an 'educated' Ceylonese member who was expected to represent the new class of western educated Ceylonese, a good many of whom were nationalistic in outlook and had of late been responsible for putting forward persistent demands for a change in the Constitution. They had clamoured for the introduction of the elective principle and a territorial scheme of representation with a reduction to a minimum of the nominative and communal method of selection. Their agitation had only fructified in their obtaining a separate member to represent their point of view in the new Legislative Council. Governor McCallum characterised this new generation of enlightened Ceylonese as an 'alien' community who had by virtue of their education and enlightenment cut themselves adrift from the rest of their fellowmen and formed themselves into a separate community altogether. This conclusion was not quite correct. It was too sweeping a judgment to make of a class of men who had some definite interest in promoting the well-being and good of their fellow countrymen.

The elective principle was the leading feature of the new Legislative Council but it was a disappointment to the Ceylonese Nationalists in that it did not conform to their wishes for a general system of territorial electorates. Instead, separate communal electorates were created for the purpose of returning the two European members and the Burgher member. The two European seats were styled European Urban and European Rural. The Burghers were formed into an all Island electorate and a special board was constituted to determine who a Burgher was. The 'Educated' Ceylonese

member was on the other hand to be the representative of a general territorial electorate comprising voters who possessed a professional, an income, or an educational qualification, and who were not registered in either of the European electorates or in the Burgher electorate.²⁸ The newly constituted Legislative Council thus had a total elected membership of four.

The nominated group consisted of six members. The two new members were to represent certain interests in the Sinhalese and Tamil communities which had hitherto hardly received any recognition. No specific mention was made in the provisions relating to the reformed Council as to what these interests should be but it happened that the new Sinhalese member was at all times drawn from the Karawa section of the Sinhalese community while the additional Ceylon Tamil member was a Christian. The existing Sinhalese and Ceylon Tamil representatives continued to be nominated from the Goigama and Vellala sections of the two communities respectively. There was no change in the Kandyan or Muslim membership.

There was however an important change in the system of nomination during this period. Governor Anderson at a meeting of the Legislative Council on December 13, 1916 announced to the members that the Secretary of State had in 1913 laid it down as a condition that re-nomination should henceforth be more the exception than the rule and that re-nomination for a second time should be out of the question altogether unless the Governor was prepared to declare on his conscience that no other possible candidate could be found. This meant that Nominated Members would no longer be weighed down by considerations of obtaining re-appointment. They would be freer and could be more forthright in putting forward their point of view and in subjecting governmental policy to more careful scrutiny and greater criticism than their predecessors had been accustomed to do during the previous period.²⁹ A careful perusal of the debates of the Legislative Council during this period reveals that this was in fact the case. Debates were more long drawn out. Members were more critical of the policy of the Government.³⁰ Legislation was more carefully scrutinized before it found its way into the statute book. Above all, adherence to the rules of the Legislative Council was demanded of the Official group in greater measure and Unofficial Members tended to display a greater vigilance in safeguarding and conserving their rights and privileges.

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The legislative powers of the re-constituted Council remained more or less the same. This was in fact only to be expected. For as long as the Island continued to remain a crown colony, the Governor had to be responsible for the good governance of the country. There were however certain important concessions made to the Unofficial Members. A wider tolerance was extended to them. Practices and usages tended to develop which were rare or unheard of in the preceding period. Part of these

gains was due to the pressure employed by the more assertive among the Unofficial Members. Partly however the Governors themselves made a serious effort to liberalize the laws rules relating to the Constitution.

In matters relating to legislative measures of a domestic nature, the Governors endeavoured to honour the statement of policy laid down by the Earl of Crewe in his Despatch of December 24, 1909 to Governor McCallum viz : "the Government would not persist in a proposal which was unanimously opposed by the Unofficial Members, unless the question was one affecting Imperial policy, or unless, in the opinion of the Government, the proposed measure was essential to the efficient administration of the Colony." This virtual directive in fact became the leading string of the Constitution. It was loosened or held back according to the interpretations that each Governor gave to the policy laid down by the Secretary of State. True enough, Unofficial Members were always not in a position to present complete unanimity on certain controversial matters which came up for discussion before the Legislative Council. Some of the nominated Unofficial Members adopted a docile attitude as perhaps a path of least resistance. The European Unofficial Members too tended to veer towards the Government's side in most matters as they were inclined to feel now that more could be obtained by co-operation than by persistent opposition. But Governors were considerate in that they did not insist on an arithmetical fulfilment of the condition laid down by the Secretary of State, for the Government to withdraw controversial projects. For instance, on August 30, 1912, at the end of the debate on the second reading of the Criminal Procedure Code Amendment Bill, when 7 out of the 9 Unofficial Members present indicated their disapproval of the measure, the Attorney-General announced that as some members seemed to rest under a misapprehension as regards certain aspects of the Bill, he proposed to refer it to a Select Committee where he would discuss the Bill with those members.³¹ This was one of a number of instances where the Government showed reluctance to proceed with a Bill, even though it had been passed at the second reading by 13 votes to 7, as a considerable section of the Unofficial group were not satisfied with its provisions.

There were times when bills proved unsatisfactory or altogether unacceptable to Unofficial Members. On such occasions they were referred to Select Committees and the latter either (a) recommended the complete withdrawal of the controversial measure or (b) if it was partially unsatisfactory, amended it so as to make it acceptable or (c) advised abandonment of the Bill and the substitution of another in its place. The Select Committee appointed to consider the Tea Thefts Ordinance of 1919 did not appear to be satisfied with its provisions and recommended its withdrawal.³² Government readily fell in line with its views. The Select Committee appointed to consider the Stamp (Amendment) Ordinance of 1918 recom-

mended that it be withdrawn and in its place the Committee submitted the draft of another Bill which it felt would prove more acceptable to the Council.³³ A similar course was recommended by the Select Committee appointed to deal with the Land Registration (Amendment) Ordinance of 1918.³⁴ In both instances the Government agreed to adopt the advice of the Committees and did not proceed with the Bills. Instead, fresh legislation was drafted and submitted for consideration to the Council. The legislation was designed to meet as far as was possible the wishes of the dissenting Unofficial Members. The debate of February 26, 1919 on the Estate Duty Ordinance too reveals how conciliatory the policy of the Government was even though it possessed a majority in Council and could have had its own way if it so desired. Expediency led it to adopt a different approach and the Ceylonese Member speaking on that occasion had some interesting comments to make *inter alia* :—

“The Bill originally submitted to the Council consisted of a few clauses, and there was an outcry, both in Council and outside it, that the Bill required amendments in several respects

“The Government very rightly did not want to force that Bill through. They adopted the wiser and more constitutional course of burying that Bill and so giving us all an opportunity to understand the subject once more if possible.”³⁵

Urgency sometimes required that a Bill had to be adopted by the Council in order to meet the requirements of efficient administration. Unofficial Members had criticisms to make and suggestions to offer. The Official majority was however utilized to get the measure through—but the Government even on such occasions did not wish to leave room for bitterness. A conciliatory course was often adopted. This was for instance the policy followed in regard to the question of the revision of the salaries of the Public Service. On April 17, 1913, the Acting Colonial Secretary brought up the report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Council on the proposals contained in Sessional Papers XXXV and XXXVI of 1912 and VII of 1913. The Burgher Member and the First Tamil Member had dissented from the views of the majority of the Committee and during the course of the debate on the Report, (which was continued on April 18, 1913) the First Tamil Member moved an amendment to the motion of the Acting Colonial Secretary. The Officer Administering the Government declined to accept the amendment stating that it was the intention of the Government to take a direct vote on the motion proposed by the Colonial Secretary. The motion was passed by 12 votes to 6. However, the Officer Administering the Government informed the Unofficial Members that he would put before the Secretary of State all the recommendations made by the minority with such representations as he may decide to make on the subject.³⁶ This was an instance where the Government amicably

settled a dispute by submitting it for ultimate decision to the Secretary of State. An equally conciliatory attitude was adopted by the Government when the Ceylonese Member proposed certain amendments to rules made by the Governor under section 30 of the Notaries Ordinance, 1907. According to the regulations of the Legislative Council, the Ceylonese Member should have moved his amendments within forty days of the promulgation of the rules made by the Governor. This period had lapsed when the Member moved his amendments. The Government did not want to take advantage of this technical hitch. Instead, the Colonial Secretary informed the Member that even though the rules had come into operation, (as the 40 days had expired) he would confer with the Registrar-General to give effect to those suggestions of the Honourable Member that may properly be adopted.³⁷

Government at times anticipated vigorous opposition to its projects from the Unofficial sector. Its slender majority would have enabled it to push through the contemplated measure. But it chose the more prudent path of inviting the Unofficial critics to sit round a table. For the Government was well aware of the soothing effects that the sedate and deliberative atmosphere of the committee room had on its most fiery critics. The Second Tamil Member (Mr A. Sabapathy) gave frank expression to the effect of the committee system on the Unofficial Member when he stated in the course of the debate on the Stamp Amendment Bill, on March 12, 1919 (*inter alia*) :—

“I beg in this connection to submit that the principle and policy of Select Committees of this Council, instead of revising the details of the Bills submitted to it, of drafting new Bills with new principles, with the approval and concurrence of Unofficial Members of that Committee, is highly objectionable. It enables the Government to rush those Bills through the Council without giving sufficient time to the other Unofficial Members and the public to study them. This procedure also places not only the Unofficial Members outside the Committee but also those on it, in a false and delicate position. The former find themselves powerless effectively to oppose distasteful measures so introduced; and the latter, although they might subsequently see that some of the provisions to which they had agreed were unfair and unjust, find themselves unable to open their mouth to remedy a wrong done”³⁸

The Firearms Ordinance moved by the Attorney-General on June 9, 1916 was an instance where the Government expected to encounter serious opposition and for that reason preferred to refer it to a Select Committee for further consideration. When the second reading was taken up for discussion on June 29, 1916, seven of the Unofficial Members indicated their disapproval of it. The Attorney-General requested the members

not to divide for the second reading but to accept it on the understanding that it would be referred to a Select Committee and if the latter failed to produce a measure which was in accordance with the general sense of the Council, members would be free to take whatever course they wished to, thereafter. The solution suggested by the Government was accepted by the members.³⁹ The Vehicles Ordinance was another instance where Government anticipated trouble and so the Colonial Secretary in moving its second reading on March 17, 1915, requested members to accept it at that stage and discuss the controversial aspects of it at the Select Committee level. This course was eventually adopted.⁴⁰ In the case of the Treasurer's motion of March 6, 1918, with regard to War Allowances to Government Servants, Government chose to follow a more tortuous route. The Treasurer introduced the motion as one involving a matter of urgency, permission for which he subsequently obtained from the Presiding Officer. Thereafter he indicated that he did not propose to discuss the motion (as he expected criticism) but expressed the desire that it be referred to a Committee for a report after which a debate could take place if necessary. There was strong criticism of the procedure adopted but the Government succeeded in winning its way through. When the report of the Select Committee came up before the Council on April 10, 1918, it was accepted without much comment.⁴¹

An invitation to its opponents or critics to come into its parlour and discuss terms with it was still another means adopted by Government to avoid controversy. For instance, when on August 3, 1914, the First Tamil Member moved his motion to amend Ordinance No. 1 of 1886 by increasing the age of youthful offenders from 16 to 20, the Attorney-General replied that a Committee was sitting on the subject and that he had been instructed by the Governor to ask the member to join the Committee "to share its deliberations and take part in its conclusions." The Member readily acceded to the invitation and withdrew his motion.⁴² Similarly, when the Attorney-General moved the second reading of the Local Boards Amendment Ordinance on August 23, 1916, he stated amongst other things that he understood that the Second Tamil Member had an important proposal to make and that the Governor had granted his approval to it. When the Council went into committee, the Member concerned moved his amendment and it was adopted.⁴³ In the case of the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals Amendment Ordinance, the Attorney-General informed the Council that two Unofficial Members had requested him to refer the Bill to a select committee and that as he expected that one of its clauses would "give rise to very considerable trouble," he would accept their suggestion.⁴⁴ The Government frequently resorted to this device of coaxing Unofficial Members to accept a Bill at its second reading and

settle disputed points at the committee stage. It was a convenient means of evading public discussion of an embarrassing or controversial subject and also of helping Unofficial Members to realise their objects.

There were times when Associations, Unofficials and even members of the public influenced the Government in its legislative career. The Ceylon National Association was partly responsible for the Ordinance to consolidate, amend, and extend the provisions for local government in Ceylon which was introduced in 1919⁴⁵ while the Ordinance to amend the Customs Ordinance 1869 was submitted to the Chamber of Commerce for its views after it had been approved by the Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁴⁶ The Ceylon Planters Association and the Low Country Products Association too played important roles in the legislative affairs of the Government of Ceylon during this period.

In the case of Unofficial Members, it is worthwhile to record that the motion to rescind the export duty on cardamoms which was introduced by the Acting Colonial Secretary on January 31, 1916, and passed by the Legislative Council was mainly due to the representations made to the Acting Governor by the European Rural Member.⁴⁷ The Trust Ordinance which was introduced on November 15, 1916 by the Attorney-General owed its origins to the joint efforts of the First Tamil Member Mr (later Sir) A. Kanagasabai and the Ceylonese Member Mr (later Sir) P. Ramathan⁴⁸ while the paternity of the Money Lenders Ordinance, introduced on November 15, 1916 by the Attorney-General was attributed to the Second Tamil Member, Mr K. Balasingham.⁴⁹ The final form which the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance took was in no small measure due to the efforts of a Kandyan Nominated Member, Mr Moonemalle, as the Attorney-General himself stated when he moved its first reading on March 5, 1917.⁵⁰

Interested members of the public too played their part in assisting the Government in the formulation of its legislative policy. The Attorney-General in moving the second reading of the Ordinance to amend the Land Registration Ordinance 1891, stated (on September 12, 1917) that he had a few verbal amendments to make on points that had been suggested to him by people who were good enough to write to him,⁵¹ while on September 20, 1917 when replying to some objection raised by the Ceylonese Member during the debate on the Stamp Validation Ordinance, he stated that he had considered the several letters written to him and had endeavoured as far as was possible to meet the grievances of the public.⁵²

The above instances will show that the Governor alone was not the sole fountain of legislation in the country. There were other sources as well. His Excellency was not an oriental potentate governing in his own right according to his private whim and fancy. Nor did he depend entirely on the advice and instruction of a junta of Officials. It might be true that

effective administration was carried on by Officials and ultimate responsibility for good government depended solely on the representative of the Crown. But Officials and Governors were helped in the performance of their public duties by the wealth of local knowledge placed at their disposal by Unofficial Members of the Legislative Council, interested members of the public, and associations and groups organised for the purpose of achieving political objectives or safeguarding economic interests. From an era of a Government of well discussed laws, it seemed obvious that under the Crewe-McCallum dispensation, Ceylon had entered into a period of Government by co-operation.

There were however instances when Government insisted on having its way even though it broke the hearts of the Unofficial Members. These were in matters relating to taxation and finance. The requirements of state compelled Government to rush through legislation without taking the Unofficial Members into its prior confidence. This was the only course the Government could follow to obviate the possibility of goods being imported while the Council was deliberating on whether an increase for instance on import duties was wise or ill-advised. This was what was done in the matter of the resolution moved by the Colonial Secretary on December 18, 1914 for the increase of import duties on spirits and tobacco. Notice of the motion was given in the very indefinite form that the Colonial Secretary was to move certain financial resolutions. Some of the Unofficial Members declined to support the resolution on the ground that they were not consulted beforehand while others in supporting it expressed the desire that they should have been given some notice before their consent was asked for. On the occasion concerned, the Governor, Sir Robert Chalmers explained the reason as to why no notice was given and concluded his statement with the very significant words :—

“I should like Honourable Members to feel that I am fully alive—I think they will observe that I was alive—to every desire to consult them individually and otherwise on matters which are open to consideration and public notice—and this is not one of them.”⁵³

The same course was adopted by the Government on September 30, 1915, when the Colonial Secretary moved a resolution for the imposition of new export duties on agricultural products. There was a chorus of protest from the Unofficial ranks. The Ceylonese Member moved an amendment that the consideration of the motion be postponed by three weeks (i.e. till October 22, 1915). A division was taken. All the Unofficial Members present, numbering nine, voted for it, while the full complement of Officials voted against it. The Government however persisted in having its way and the Colonial Secretary's motion was put to the House and carried on the same day that it was moved.⁵⁴ A similar course was again followed on January 31, 1916 when the Colonial Secretary moved a resolution to

rescind the export duty on cardamoms which had been imposed by Government on September 30, 1915. On this occasion however there was very little sulking in the Unofficial ranks, as Government was acting on the persuasion of the Unofficial European Rural Member.⁵⁵ In fairness to the Government it must be stated however that so long as it was responsible for the good government of the country, it had no other alternative but to follow the secretive course it had adopted. Any other course might have resulted in traders taking unfair advantage of the delay caused by debate and discussion in the legislative chamber.

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The vigilance of the Unofficial Members could not however be exhausted by the assiduous efforts of the Government to placate them. They were a new generation of men, keenly sensitive to the political temperature of their times, and they were therefore extremely zealous in the protection and maintenance of their rights and privileges. Their watchfulness was rewarded in the important changes they were able to secure from the Government in matters of legislative procedure. Thus for instance on May 8, 1912, at the committee stage of the Public Performances Bill, the First Tamil Member was able to obtain an assurance from the Attorney-General that the rules framed under section 3 of the Ordinance (which gave power to the Governor in Executive Council to make rules for the regulation of public performances) would be placed on the table of the Legislative Council and if a resolution was passed within forty days of their being laid on the table, praying that any of them should be annulled, such rule would be declared invalid, without of course any prejudice to whatever might have been done under them during the interim period. The Attorney-General further promised that he hoped, some day, to introduce legislation to ensure that all such rules should as a matter of course be laid on the table of the Council for a period of forty days within which members would be free to suggest any amendments.⁵⁶ The Unofficial Members were however not satisfied that the rules made by the Governor in Executive Council should merely pass through a dim path of legislative twilight. They were all for a policy of subjecting these rules to closer scrutiny. Hence when the Council met on May 31, 1912, to consider the Excise Ordinance and when section 31 was taken up for consideration at the committee stage, the Ceylonese Member stated (on behalf of the Unofficial Members) that they had not been satisfied with the negative action of Government in providing that the rules made by the Governor in Executive Council should be made to merely lie on the table. They had wanted some sort of provision so as to enable them to actively interfere in case any intervention was necessary. Hence they proposed that the prevailing kind of negative action should be superseded by a more positive form of procedure. They proposed that after the rules had been placed on the table, some member

on behalf of the Government should introduce a motion in confirmation of the rules made by the Governor and if any action was necessary at that stage, members would be in a position to offer amendments or make suggestions. The proposal was accepted by the Government.⁵⁷ A further concession was obtained by the Burgher Member on February 16, 1914 when he moved a motion that "whenever under any Ordinance, duly passed by the Legislative Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court or other Heads of Departments are empowered to frame, constitute, and establish general rules and orders, as to them shall seem meet, for giving full and complete effect to the provisions of the said Ordinance, and it is provided that such rules shall be laid before the Legislative Council, and after forty days of their being so laid before the Council, shall come into force, that in every such case, copies of the proposed rules, orders, and regulations be served on each member of the Legislative Council simultaneously with the laying of them before the Council." The Colonial Secretary expressed willingness to accept the motion and to have the rules referred to, printed and issued to members simultaneously with the laying of them on the table of the Legislative Council.⁵⁸ This was indeed an important concession obtained by the Council, for it ensured that the rule making authorities concerned would not abuse their powers.

Another important change in legislative procedure that was effected during this period was the deletion of the clause: "and shall come into operation on such date as the Governor shall, by Proclamation in the 'Government Gazette,' appoint." The tacking on of this clause had become a regular practice prior to this change. In the preceding period it was more the exception than the rule. The importation of this clause left room for conjecture and doubt as to when an Ordinance would actually come into operation. It was necessary in Ordinances which required machinery to be set up, or which dealt with matters connected with Government Departments, but it seemed an incongruity to make it the usual practice for all Ordinances. This was the position taken up by the Acting European Urban Member (Mr F. A. Hayley) when the Quarantine and Prevention of Diseases Amendment Ordinance came up for consideration on July 16, 1919. As a result of his intervention, the Governor (Sir William Manning) instructed the Attorney-General that the practice should be abandoned altogether, except when it was desirable for creating machinery, or for the purpose of obtaining the prior sanction of the Secretary of State.⁵⁹

A change of greater significance was the one requiring that an introductory speech on a Bill should, in the first instance, be made at its first reading. This was quite a novel feature and it was recommended by the Select Committee of the Legislative Council appointed at the beginning of the new Council to consider and revise the Rules and Orders of the Council.⁶⁰ The purpose of the new rule was to enable Unofficial Members to have a complete exposition of Government's policy so that they might be the

better prepared to deal with a Bill when it came up for consideration at the second reading. The Unofficial Members were not concerned about the fact that it might have meant that the proposer of any Government measure would have had the opportunity of making two speeches where one might have sufficed.

The instances cited above were concessions of a far reaching nature which Unofficial Members were able to obtain for themselves during the period of the Crewe-McCallum dispensation. They provided the Unofficial Members with greater room for manoeuvre and they also put the executive on its guard. The latter could not henceforth afford to ignore the Legislative Council in the performance of their administrative functions and in the formulation of policy. For the first time the Unofficial camp was made to realise that Government was willing to cooperate with them if they showed keenness to emphasise their rights and to demand closer correspondence between executive and legislature. The cult of an exclusive bureaucracy governing in the name of efficiency was tending to gradually wear thin—and public officials began to realise that they were being watched by a body of representative opinion who would be critical of their conduct.

The changes effected in legislative procedure were however not solely due to the efforts of Unofficial Members. There was also a tightening up of procedure as a result of exertions in the Official sector. This affected the Unofficial Members considerably. The first was with regard to the asking of questions by Unofficial Members during question time in the legislative chamber. The second related to the practice of tacking on a motion to a question when a member sought information from the Government, also during question time. A detailed study of the history behind these exertions will help to place them in their proper perspective.

The question asked regarding Jaala Bridge on August 19, 1912, by the Ceylonese Member brought to the forefront for the first time in the newly constituted Council the issue whether a member when putting questions had the right to explain such questions. According to the interpretation of the rules by the Colonial Secretary, "nothing in the nature of a speech was to be made on a question," a question could only be put in writing and any explanation of the question had also to be put in writing.⁶¹ The Ceylonese Member on the other hand took up the position that the question should be put in writing when notice was given but on the day the question was actually asked, a member had a right to make an oral interpretation when addressing the question.⁶² The original rule of procedure read as follows: "Questions may be put at the beginning of business to any Official Member of the Council relating to public affairs connected with his department. At least four days' notice shall be given of such question, which, with the answer, shall be put in writing and read by the Clerk to the Council. No member shall address the Council upon any question, nor in putting any

question shall any argument or opinion be offered, or any fact stated, except in so far as may be necessary to explain such question.”⁶³ The Governor (Sir Henry McCallum) on the particular occasion held with the Ceylonese Member—that a member when addressing a question had a right to make an oral explanation with it. At the next meeting of the Legislative Council, on August 26, 1912, the Colonial Secretary (Sir Hugh Clifford) had to present the Report of the Select Committee appointed to consider and revise the Rules and Orders of the Council (dated July 13, 1912), for adoption by the Council and he made use of the opportunity to obtain the assent of the Council to his own interpretation of the rule regarding the asking of questions.⁶⁴ In the general rush of things the request for the clarification of the rule was not particularly noticed and the Council granted its assent to the Select Committee’s Report and the Colonial Secretary’s amendment. The matter was however brought to the notice of the Ceylonese Member and at a meeting of the Council on September 3, 1912, he moved the Council into committee to consider the particular question. The Ceylonese Member protested that the Colonial Secretary had taken advantage of the inadvertence of the Council on August 26, 1912, to get it to agree with his (i.e. the Colonial Secretary’s) interpretation of the rule regarding the asking of questions. It was his contention that “the distinction that was observed in the olden times up to August 1912, the distinction between a written and an oral question has been destroyed that hereinafter a member can only read the question standing in his name, and that the question cannot be explained orally”⁶⁵ The Colonial Secretary however protested that he had no intention of attempting to smuggle into the Rules of the Council his own interpretation of things but that he had merely tried to bring the rule in question into conformity with the practice prevailing in the House of Commons. If the Council wanted to change the practice, he would have no objection. The European Rural Member (Mr Edward Rosling) also indicated his approval of the Colonial Secretary’s interpretation when he stated that his experience of the Council went so far back as 1902 and that during the whole of that time questions were put in writing and no debate was allowed nor was the asker of a question permitted to explain his reason for bringing up the question, though in certain cases he may have been given the liberty of merely explaining the question.⁶⁶ The Ceylonese Member however stated that he could quote numerous precedents before 1892 to show that a question put by a member admitted of explanation on his part.⁶⁷ The Governor on the other hand stated that he had made a mistake when he held with the Ceylonese Member over the case of the Jacla Bridge on August 19, 1912, and that he now agreed with the views expressed by the European

Rural Member and the interpretation of the Colonial Secretary.⁶⁸ The Council eventually divided on the issue, two voting for the Ceylonese Member and nineteen against.

There was however still no certainty as to what the correct procedure was—for when the Burgher Member⁶⁹ attempted to supplement his question on 'Houses for Members of the Public Service in Colombo' on May 7, 1913, with an explanation, the Officer Administering the Government (Mr R. E. Stubbs) reminded the Honourable Member that he must ask only his question. The Burgher Member however requested the Officer Administering the Government to make his order on the relevant rule. The Officer Administering the Government settled the issue by ruling that if the Council agreed to the Honourable Member explaining his question further, he would have no objection. As no objection was raised the Burgher Member was allowed to make his explanation but when he attempted to exceed his rights by asking for further information he was called to order.⁷⁰

The question came up for decision again during the Governorship of Sir John Anderson. On this occasion, it was the European Urban Member (Mr Harry Creasy) who was involved. On June 9, 1916, he stated that he had tabled his questions relating to 'Traffic Arrangements with the South Indian Railway' and he proceeded to explain his reasons for asking the questions. The Governor however intervened and stated that it would be more regular if he put his question but that if he wished to raise a discussion, he should give notice of motion. The European Urban Member insisted that he was following the practice of the Council in making a statement when asking a question. The Governor however ruled him out of order.⁷¹

In view of the mistaken decision regarding the case of the Jacla Bridge and the latitude allowed to the Burgher Member when he asked his question on 'Houses for Members of the Public Service in Colombo' on May 7, 1913, it might be assumed that the general rule was that no oral statement could be made when a question was asked in Council but that if there was no objection raised or if the Council granted permission, a member could supplement his question by an oral explanation. The insistence on the part of the Official Group that their Unofficial colleagues should adhere to the rules of procedure as illustrated in the incidents aforementioned indicate however that they were not willing to make concessions all along the line. They were as eager to safeguard their rights and save themselves the discomfiture of being confronted with embarrassing statements when questions were asked, as their colleagues were anxious to conserve any laxities that might have occurred in legislative procedure as a result of oversight on the part of the Official Members.

A second important event in the legislative history of this period was the decision of Governor Chalmers to restrict what appeared to have been almost a right of interpellation enjoyed by the Unofficial Members. Under this right, a member could ask a question and move for papers. It enabled the proposer of a question to state his reasons for asking information and to ventilate his views so as to find out whether they were acceptable to members of the Council or not. On November 28, 1913 the European Urban Member (Mr Harry Creasy) had on the Order Paper two questions relating to a 'Footpath along the Sea Coast Railway Line.' The questions were associated with a motion to move for papers. Before the European Urban Member could rise to ask his question, the Governor stated that his attention had been invited to the fact that the Member proposed to ask a question and to also move a motion for papers and that the correct procedure would be to merely ask the question while the request for papers should properly form the subject of a separate motion. The Ceylonese Member (Mr P. Ramanathan) who had had long experience as a Councillor protested that the procedure followed by the European Urban Member had been for long the practice of the chamber and appealed to the Governor to maintain this privilege. His Excellency however ruled that "a question is a question, and a motion is a motion, and that they should be divided." The European Urban Member was allowed to proceed with his question on that footing and the Unofficial Members thus lost their right of 'near interpellation.'⁷²

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In the sphere of finance, the powers which the Government had under the old Constitution were retained. The right to initiate expenditure and to introduce financial measures continued vested in the hands of the executive power. But just as concessions were made in the legislative sector under the new dispensation, so in the financial sector too Unofficial Members were permitted considerable latitude. There were indeed certain epoch-making alterations in financial procedure. Many of these innovations were due to the bold initiative of Governors and the willingness of Officials to tolerate their Unofficial colleagues as partners in the governmental process. These changes were however not due merely to the voluntary generosity of the executive authority. The new generation of Unofficial Members was of a kind that was not prepared to be steam-rollered by the constitutional rights vested in the executive authority. They showed unusual activity. Not infrequently they resorted to coaxing and cajoling the Governors to grant them certain concessions. By a process of hard work and also sporadic inquisitioning of Official Members in matters financial, they succeeded in persuading the executive to share with them some of their power, if time and trouble were to be saved in getting financial measures through in the legislative chamber. Most noteworthy

was the device of the Finance Committee. It had been introduced towards the latter part of the preceding period, but it considerably improved its position and powers under the auspices of the Crewe-McCallum dispensation. There were other changes too. Members were allowed at times to propose motions which involved expenditure from public funds. At other times they were permitted to introduce motions involving expenditure with suggestive formulae like 'it is desirable that Government' etc. However, it might be noted that the freedom permitted was not unrestricted. There were occasions when the executive authority tended to become impatient with Unofficial efforts to encroach on its preserves. These instances of attempts to impose checks on Unofficial activity were few and far between but they were indicative of the fact that the executive authority was anxious to emphasise that the concessions granted were solely at its discretion and due to its good sense. A brief sketch of the progress made by Unofficial Members in this sector will help us to realise the extent to which and limits within which they were permitted to exercise their recently gained concessions.

It was the Finance Committee which made considerable progress during this period. It made its appearance during the latter part of the previous period and was instituted by Governor McCallum for the purpose of approving (a) any proposed additional expenditure while the Legislative Council was not sitting before the same was incurred and (b) the transfer of any sum from one authorised item of the Budget to another. The existing practice had been for the Governor to sign warrants covering any unforeseen expenditure required by the Government during the intervals when Council was not in session. When the Council assembled, a supplementary supply bill covering these warrants was presented to it for approval. The major defect of this system of signing special warrants was that the Council was not consulted before the expenditure was incurred. Governor McCallum hoped that he would remove this defect by this constitutional innovation.

Under the Crewe-McCallum Constitution, the Finance Committee made considerable headway. It provided Unofficial Members with an opportunity of keeping in close touch with the administration and many of them took a great deal of interest in its proceedings. It helped in promoting a spirit of friendliness and co-operation between the Official Members of the Finance Committee (the Colonial Secretary, the Controller of Revenue, and the Treasurer) who were in a minority and their Unofficial colleagues. (the entire body of whom were members of this Committee). At first Unofficial members were suspicious of its purpose and were not willing to grant it too many powers. For instance when the Select Committee on the Rules and Orders of the Legislative Council was considering the revision of the rules of the Council, the Ceylonese Member (Mr P. Ramanathan)

wanted to introduce a provision that only minor votes under a certain sum of money should be dealt with by the Finance Committee and that the larger votes should be discussed in open Council. The Colonial Secretary however pointed out that the Committee as constituted was potentially capable of wielding greater authority if its powers were left undefined. Rules of procedure were however laid down and would have to be followed. Members fell in line with the views of the Colonial Secretary.⁷³

Though the Finance Committee was specifically constituted for the purpose of voting money while the Council was not in session, it tended to expand its powers in other directions too. Strange though it may seem, the initiative for expansion came not from the Unofficials but from the Government side. The reason was not far to seek. Government felt if it could take the Unofficials into its confidence and discuss with them in the sequestered precincts of the committee room some of the measures which it proposed to bring before the open Council, it could minimize probabilities of opposition and ensure a safe passage for legislation in the Council chamber. The latter could become a stamping device while actual discussion and compromise could be worked out in the seclusion of the committee room. This was what in fact the Finance Committee developed into during the period of the Manning Constitution (1921-31) but the slow transformation began under the Crewe-McCallum Constitution.⁷⁴

For instance a slight variation in procedure occurred in 1912, when the Colonial Secretary in presenting a list of supplementary supply bills for the approval of the Council stated that he had called a meeting of the Finance Committee to consider papers dealing with the items of expenditure listed in the bills. The prevailing practice was for the Finance Committee to be summoned only for the purpose of voting moneys while the Council was not in session, but the Colonial Secretary gave the rule a new interpretation when he stated that it could be summoned at any time for the purpose of considering papers which might be laid before the members of the Committee.⁷⁵

The significant position that the Finance Committee began to develop for itself became apparent when on March 7, 1913, the Acting Colonial Secretary moved a resolution to the effect that the Address dated January 22, 1913, presented to His Excellency Sir Henry McCallum on the occasion of his departure from the Colony be entered in the Minutes of the Council. The Acting Colonial Secretary explained that the Address was presented under extraordinary circumstances. The Governor was ill and it was not possible to summon a meeting of the Council. The Acting Colonial Secretary therefore took upon himself the responsibility of committing a 'technical irregularity' (as he himself termed it). He took the opportunity of a Finance Committee meeting

to obtain permission from the members present to approve an Address to the Governor. Later he also obtained the assent of quite a number of those who were not present at that particular meeting. Clearly this was something quite alien to the intended functions of the Finance Committee but it was evidence of the fact that its powers were flexible and not adequately rigid and that it could be utilized by the Executive for more purposes than one. The Acting Colonial Secretary as he himself admitted had committed a 'technical irregularity' but the Council regularised the procedure by granting him its assent despite the protests of the Ceylonese Member (Mr P. Ramanathan).⁷⁶

It was however in the matter of the annual budget that the Finance Committee came to wield considerable influence. This was sometime during the middle of this period and it was sufficient evidence of the fact that in this Committee, Government had discovered a convenient shock absorber which would help to cushion Unofficial criticism of the annual Estimates when they were taken up for consideration by the legislative chamber. During the early years of the new Constitution, the Supply Bills of 1912-13, 1913-14, and 1914-15 were referred at the end of the second reading to Select Committees consisting of a few Official and Unofficial Members appointed by the Governor.⁷⁷ An important change however occurred in financial procedure when the Colonial Secretary summoned the assistance of the Finance Committee to consider the Annual Estimates for 1915-16 even before they were presented for their first reading to the Legislative Council. The Colonial Secretary explained that he had adopted this procedure because of the disturbed condition of the country during the months of June and July 1915 and the consequent postponement of the meeting of the Legislative Council. It was his view that it would save the time of the chamber if Unofficial Members were given this opportunity of examining the Estimates before their presentation to the Council. In introducing the first reading of the Supply Bill for 1915-16, the Colonial Secretary stated that he was so satisfied with the change in procedure that he wished to regularise the practice and to utilize the services of the Finance Committee in like manner for future years.⁷⁸ This was indeed evidence of the Government's growing confidence in the Finance Committee as a constitutional mechanism which might help in solving many of its problems instead of these being openly discussed and criticised on the floor of the legislative chamber. The Ceylonese Member (Mr P. Ramanathan) however did not approve of the change in procedure. Hence, the Supply Bill for 1916-17 was first presented to the Council but when it came to the stage of being referred to a Select Committee, the Colonial Secretary moved that the Committee be composed of all the members of the Finance Committee. The Governor as President of the Council granted his approval to the change.⁷⁹ There-

after the same procedure was followed when the Supply Bills for 1917-18, 1918-19 and 1919-20 were considered by the Legislative Council. The Government had evidently discovered in the Finance Committee a useful device for minimising opposition and for settling differences with the Unofficials. The ego of the Unofficials too was satisfied in that the Official Group showed willingness to obtain their co-operation and assistance to evolve a financial policy which would be acceptable to the Legislative Council as a whole.

Financial procedure was also liberalised when Un-official Members were permitted from time to time to propose measures which involved expenditure from public funds. There was however no novelty in this because even under the earlier Constitutions, Standing Order No. 15 provided that Unofficial Members could propose such measures with the approval of the Governor.⁸⁰ Thus when the Ceylonese Member proposed a motion that the Council approves the expenditure necessary for the 'despatch of a Ceylon Contingent to Europe,' on October 7, 1914, he informed the Council that he had obtained the prior sanction of the Governor for the introduction of the motion.⁸¹ The same procedure was followed when the First Low-Country Sinhalese Member, on November 18, 1915, moved his motion asking the Council "to vote one million pounds sterling for ten years" as Ceylon's contribution to the Imperial Government towards the expenses of the war. Before the member moved his motion the Governor announced that the member concerned had received his permission under Standing Order No. 15.⁸²

The Government however was not always liberal in granting permission to Unofficial Members to introduce measures which involved the public finances. A notable instance of a Governor's strict interpretation of Standing Order No. 15 was when the European Urban Member (Mr Harry Creasy) gave notice on November 29th, 1916, that he would at the next meeting of the Legislative Council move a resolution that "the Council considers that the Government and the people of Ceylon should make further and greater efforts to assist the Imperial Government in carrying on the war." Sir John Anderson the Governor, however ruled that as the motion involved expenditure he could not in the public interest allow it. The Unofficial Member was however not to be outmanoeuvred. He had his motion amended by introducing the phrase 'other than pecuniary' into it so that it read: "that this Council considers that the Government and the people of Ceylon should make further and greater efforts other than pecuniary, to assist the Imperial Government in carrying on the war." In this form, the motion was taken up for consideration and debated at the meeting of the Legislative Council on December 13, 1916.⁸³

There were other ways too by which Unofficial Members attempted and succeeded in thwarting the efforts of the Government to keep them within

the straight jacket of the rules of financial procedure of the Legislative Council. They would usually introduce phrases like 'it is desirable that Government' or 'in the opinion of this Council, Government should take immediate steps' etc. and by these means circumvent any attempt on the part of the Executive to compel adherence to the rules of procedure. Thus for instance the First Tamil Member on March 12, 1919, was able to move a resolution that "in the opinion of this Council it is desirable that a pension scheme should be formulated by Government for all teachers in grant-in-aid schools" without interference from the Governor at the time, Sir William Manning, though the motion by implication, if accepted, would have involved financial expenditure.⁸⁴

Much however depended on the person of the Governor. If he was a stickler for procedure, he would insist on Unofficial Members conforming to the rules. Sir Robert Chalmers (later Lord Chalmers) and Sir John Anderson appear to have belonged to this category. On the other hand Mr R. E. Stubbs, who officiated as Officer Administering the Government (from March 24, 1918 to September 10, 1918), on the demise of Sir John Anderson, and Sir William Manning who succeeded Governor Anderson allowed a fair amount of latitude to Unofficial Members. For instance on August 7, 1918, the Muhammadan Member (Mr N. H. M. Abdul Cader) was actually able to move a resolution by which he sought to get the Legislative Council to recommend to Government that "in view of the backward state of the Muhammadan Community in the matter of education ... a sum of Rs. 150,000 be voted annually for the promotion of education amongst Muhammadans, and that this sum be raised, if need be, by a special tax on Muhammadans." This motion was introduced during the stewardship of Mr Stubbs. No permission appears to have been obtained from the latter nor did Mr Stubbs attempt to call the member to order.⁸⁵ Likewise the First Tamil Member (Mr K. Balasingham) was able, on November 26, 1919, to move a resolution to the effect that Government should set apart annually about Rs. 5,000 for granting pensions to meritorious and needy authors in the vernacular literature with a view to encouraging the study of the national languages (Tamil and Sinhalese). The Governor at the time, Sir William Manning, expressed no objection to the motion though it involved the public finances and he even stated that he would try to attend to the request of the Unofficial Member.⁸⁶ On the other hand, Governor Anderson called the European Urban Member to order when the latter moved a resolution which in similar terms sought to obtain an expression of the views of the Council with regard to requesting Government to take immediate steps to construct a footpath along the seaside railway line from Kollupitiya to Mount Lavinia.⁸⁷

From the above precedents it is possible to draw the conclusion that there was no rigid orthodoxy as to what transgression into the financial

sector actually meant. Much depended on the individual interpretation of Governors. At any rate, Unofficial Members circumvented the relevant rules of procedure by the introduction of circumlocutory phrases and clauses suggesting to Government to do something though not seeking to actually compel it to act forthwith. Above all, it should not be forgotten that under the Crewe-McCallum Reforms, the executive authority endeavoured to achieve its objectives by friendly co-operation and not by making any attempt to enforce its will on a critical and vigilant Unofficial minority.

In the realm of taxation and related fiscal measures however, Government was of the view that so long as it held the reins of authority, it would have to formulate policy without consulting the Unofficial minority. This was only to be expected, for no Government in the world could be prudently called upon to disclose fiscal policy beforehand, even in confidence, without the danger of such information finding its way into the commercial world. The Unofficial minority complained bitterly about Government's failure to consult it and about Official disregard for its views, but there was no suitable alternative. Hence, whenever Government introduced measures which sought to increase taxation or change the customs duties, there was opposition from the Unofficial side. There were rare occasions when the Government consulted the interests affected. There were also occasions when it accepted the advice of an Unofficial Member—but these were more the exception than the rule. Thus for instance in the matter of imposing an export duty on plumbago, the Colonial Secretary in moving the first reading of the Ordinance on August 2, 1916, stated that he had discussed the question with a deputation from the Plumbago Merchants' Union because plumbago was a difficult article to tax and some sort of arrangement had to be arrived at with the traders. Besides it could not be shipped in a hurry.⁸⁸ The Ordinance however passed through all stages on the same day. Similarly, on January 31, 1916, when the Acting Colonial Secretary moved a resolution of urgency to waive off the increased export duty on cardamoms and there was criticism from the European Urban Member on the insufficiency of notice given by the Government, the Officer Administering the Government (Mr R. E. Stubbs) disclosed the fact that he had been led to this step by the persuasions of the European Rural Member.⁸⁹ This was however a rare instance of Government altering its fiscal policy on the advice of an Unofficial Member. The general rule was that Government introduced taxation measures as matters of urgency and obtained suspension of the necessary Standing Order (No. 13) to enable these to pass through all stages on the same day that they were introduced. Notice was given, if at all, in a very vague way such as 'the Colonial Secretary will move financial resolutions' etc. There was no other alternative—for if detailed information was provided, traders

would have taken unfair advantage of the information thus given.⁹⁰ The Unofficial Members complained bitterly, but as a Colonial Secretary (Mr R. E. Stubbs) once remarked (when winding up a debate on the 'New Export Duties on Agricultural Products' on September 30, 1919) :—

"The proposition that the Government should give notice of the taxation which it proposes to raise is one which is beyond the wildest dreams of any other assembly of which I have ever had the pleasure of reading the debates.... I would ask them (i.e. the Unofficial critics) Sir, whether they suppose that a few days ago, when Mr McKenna introduced the Budget in the House of Commons, there was any private member of the House of Commons who was aware of what the Government was going to propose. I would ask the Council, Sir, not to make itself the laughing stock of the civilised world."⁹¹

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From all that has been mentioned above, it will be seen that the Crewe-McCallum Reforms were a landmark in the history of constitutional development in Ceylon. They marked the first stage in the regeneration of modern Ceylon. The English educated middle class had won the first round in their campaign for further self-government. They had obtained a vital concession—the right to elect one of their number to the Legislative Council. They had also succeeded by their agitation in reducing the numbers of the Official Group in the Legislative Council so that the latter had under the reformed Constitution only a bare majority of two. What was more significant was that the Governor along with the Secretary of State had decided not to persist in any policy if such policy met with the unanimous disapproval of Unofficial Members—unless the subject concerned was one of imperial interest or was necessary in the interests of sound administration. These were concessions of a far-reaching nature. But they did not in any appreciable measure satisfy the aspirations of the nationalist minded English educated middle class. For this reason, however, the latter were not going to follow a policy of barren opposition. From their position of vantage in the Legislative Council, they were eminently successful in extracting further concessions and in compelling the Official Group to recognise them as partners in the governmental process. Not all the members of the Unofficial Group however were representatives of the Nationalist Movement—but those who were, acted as a leavening influence, and in the process of time they were able to win over many of their colleagues to their side in their campaign for the recognition of their rights. Further, the majority of Unofficial representatives in the Legislative Council tended to be more independent than their predecessors of the earlier period. Evidence of their unwillingness to readily conform to the wishes of the Official Group was borne by the way in which they pruned the estimates

of the various departments of state. For the period 1915—16, the supplementary estimates presented for the approval of the Finance Committee amounted to over 6 million rupees ; for 1917—18, it was 7 million rupees ; for 1918—19, 14,634,000 rupees ; and for 1919—20, 14,189,000 rupees.⁹² According to the Colonial Secretary, these yearly increases in the volume of the estimates were due to the tendency on the part of Unofficial Members to cut down the annual estimates of the Heads of Departments to such an extent that the latter had no alternative but to ask for additional funds.⁹³

Outside the Legislative Council, the Nationalist Movement gained added momentum. The concessions obtained under the Reforms of 1912 only served as an appetizer. The Nationalists were not going to be satisfied. On the contrary, these reforms encouraged them to agitate for further changes. Their Movement received a fillip in the success with which they attracted into their ranks those sections of the middle classes whose cultures were exclusively Sinhalese and Tamil. The agitation for reforms thus became more broadbased. The culminating point was reached with the formation of the Ceylon National Congress in December 1919. There was no doubt that other factors too helped in the strengthening of this Movement—particularly the great War of 1914 and the outbreak of Sinhalese—Muslim riots in 1915. The War of 1914 helped small nations to become more aware of their rights and their existence. It also compelled the Allies to liberalise their colonial policies in order to secure the co-operation of the colonies in their struggle against the enemy. The Sinhalese—Muslim riots roused national feeling owing to the severity with which they were put down by the British authorities. Many Ceylonese began to feel that if such misrule was to be avoided in the future, it could only be done by Ceylonese gaining a greater share in the administration of the country. Both these events were however subsidiary factors in promoting this movement for further reform. The feelings they generated were in large measure due to the fact that the Reforms of 1912 had helped Ceylonese to realise the potentialities that lay before them if they organised themselves into a well-knit movement. To this extent, it might be correct to say that the Crewe-McCallum Reforms of 1912 were a forerunner of the numerous constitutional changes that occurred subsequently, culminating in the grant of independence to this country. Hence the view that these Reforms marked a very significant stage in the history of constitutional development in this country.

NOTES TO THE TEXT

1. See also 'The Ceylon National Review,' Vol. II, No. 6, p. 174. A. Padmanabha, 'Reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council' for further information.
2. Refer *ibid.* also for further details.
3. 'Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon,' p. 221.
4. Vide Governor McCallum's Despatch to the Earl of Crewe, K. G. dated May 26, 1909 in 'Papers relating to the Constitutional History of Ceylon' 1908—24, pp. 5 and 6.
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*
8. *Ibid.*, p. 6.
9. 'The Handbook of the Ceylon National Congress,' edited by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, p. 38.
10. Vide (a) the Memorandum of Sir (then Mr.) James Peiris to the Under Secretary of State for the Colonies dated December 19, 1908 in 'Papers relating to the Constitutional History of Ceylon,' p. 3. (b) an article on 'Reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council' by F. J. de Mel in 'The Ceylon National Review,' Vol. II, No. 4, p. 32 where he writes *inter alia* :— "At the outset it may be as well to state that we do not seek self-government, but advocate the following reforms :—
 i. that Unofficial Councillors should be chosen by the people, both native and European,
 ii. that there should be more control by the people over finance."
 (c) the memorial of Mr H. J. C. Pereira (dated March 3, 1909) signed by himself and 760 others. This too contained similar demands as those made by Sir James Peiris. vide 'Papers relating to the Constitutional History of Ceylon' 1908—24, p. 13. (d) Mr A. Padmanabha's article on 'Reform of the Ceylon Legislative Council' in 'The Ceylon National Review,' Vol. II, No. 6, p. 173. Stress was also laid here on the importance of introducing the elective principle.
11. Vide Governor McCallum's Despatch of May 26, 1909, paragraph 25, in 'The Handbook of the Ceylon National Congress' edited by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike, p. 55. For further information on the Durbars refer 'The Ceylon Manual, 1912—13,' p. 363.
12. Hansard 1912—13, pp. 423—424.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 424.
14. *Ibid.*
15. Hansard 1912—13, p. 494.
16. Hansard 1913—16, pp. 507—508.
17. Hansard 1917, pp. 162—163.
18. Hansard 1918, p. 358.
19. Hansard 1912—13, p. 26.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 22.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
23. Vide, Hansard 1916, p. 355.
24. Note the remarks of the Ceylonese Member, Mr (later Sir) P. Ramanathan on July 15, 1914, when the Government through the Colonial Secretary informed him that it could not accept his motion that "the Government do take measures to remove the discrepancies which exist as regards the telegraphic charges payable for messages between any two stations in India such as Dhanukodi and Kashmir, and between a Ceylon and Indian station such as Talaimannar and Dhanuskodi." Said the Ceylonese Member *inter alia* "..... the removal of the discrepancies which now exist as regards telegrams between India and Ceylon cannot be withheld from us. There are persons away in England who are ready to join hands with the authorities here and work for the abolition or mitigation of these discrepancies " Hansard 1913—16, p. 61. Here is evidence that there were lobbies and pressure groups in London which a Governor may certainly have had to take into consideration in making his political calculations and decisions.
25. Vide Despatch of Governor McCallum to the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Crewe dated May 26, 1909, paragraph 43.
26. *Ibid.*
27. Vide Despatch of the Rt. Hon. the Earl of Crewe to Governor McCallum dated December 24, 1909, paragraph 10.
28. For details regarding the nature of these electorates and the qualifications of voters, vide Ordinance No. 13 of 1910.

29. Note the remarks of the Second Low-Country Sinhalese Member (nominated) Mr O. C. Tillerkatne, when, on September 20, 1917, in thanking the Government for information given to Unofficial Members as regards financial provision for a Bulk Oil Installation at Kolonnawa, he stated:—
 "On behalf of the new Members of this Council in particular, I should like to say that, when His Excellency the Governor nominated us, it is presumed that we were looked upon as people of at least ordinary intelligence. It is therefore not very pleasant for us to be asked to vote large sums on cut-and-dried schemes of Government, without being informed of the reasons therefor. Surely we are not automatic registers placed here to register money votes to order when called upon to do so If we are treated with confidence by Government, we shall gladly reciprocate that feeling. We have no desire to be obstructionists." Hansard 1917, p. 328.
30. Note the remarks of the Ceylonese Member, Sir (then Mr) P. Ramanathan when speaking on the subject of the reinstatement of Messrs. Bayly, Baines, and Sly in the Police Force (on November 19, 1919) :— "We Unofficial Members are colleagues of the Official Members and the two sets together are charged with the duty of carrying on the affairs of Ceylon as regards finance, legislation and administration. And it is the particular function of Unofficial Members to watch the acts of the Executive Government and point out its defects or excesses." Hansard 1919, p. 396.
31. Hansard 1912—13, p. 290.
32. Hansard 1919, p. 319.
33. Ibid, p. 27.
34. Ibid, p. 37.
35. Ibid, pp. 65—66.
36. Hansard 1912—13, vide, pp. 433 and 473—475.
37. Hansard 1916, vide pp. 170—172. A similar arrangement was arrived at between the First Low-Country Sinhalese Member (Dr Marcus Fernando) and the Colonial Secretary when the former moved a motion on November 14, 1918, with reference to the Excise Notification No. 79, tabled at the meeting of the Legislative Council on August 7, 1918. The Member in introducing his motion explained that he had to resort to this procedure as the forty days had elapsed within which he might have given effect to his wishes. The Colonial Secretary in his reply regretted that the 'Notification' had been "laid at a session of the Council which was not followed within the statutory interval by another meeting at which they might have been discussed" and added that he would be prepared to waive technicalities and discuss with the Member the points he had brought up for consideration in his motion. The member withdrew the motion on the assurance given by the Colonial Secretary. Refer Hansard 1918, pp. 218—220, 222 and 226.
38. Hansard 1919, p. 112.
39. Vide proceedings, Hansard 1916, pp. 28, and 77—85.
40. Hansard 1913—16, p. 297.
41. Hansard, 1918 pp. 28, 30—35 and 50—51.
42. Hansard 1913—16, pp. 151—152. A somewhat similar procedure was adopted in the matter of local government reform. The First Low-Country Sinhalese Member, Dr (later Sir) Marcus Fernando, had addressed a meeting of the Ceylon National Association on the topic of reform in local government. About this time, Government too was giving consideration to the matter. The Governor, Sir John Anderson, subsequently appointed a Commission of Inquiry and appointed Dr Marcus Fernando as a member. The recommendations of this Commission were for the most embodied in the 'Ordinance to consolidate, amend, and extend the provisions for local government in Ceylon.' When it came up for discussion on December 3, 1919, Dr Fernando commended it to his fellow Unofficial Members and informed them of the part he had played in shaping the provisions of the Ordinance. Refer Hansard 1919, p. 448.
43. Hansard 1916, pp. 209 and 212.
44. Hansard 1919, p. 41.
45. Hansard 1919, p. 448.
46. Hansard 1913—16, p. 48.
47. Ibid, p. 573.
48. Hansard 1916, p. 246.
49. Ibid, p. 253.
50. Hansard 1917, p. 83.
51. Ibid, p. 317.
52. Ibid, p. 344.
53. Hansard 1913—16, p. 255.
54. Vide Ibid, pp. 420—432 for a full record of the proceedings.
55. Ibid, pp. 571—573.
56. Hansard 1912—13, p. 182.
57. Hansard 1912—13, refer pp. 191—199 for a full account of the proceedings.
58. Hansard 1913—16, p. 37.
59. Hansard 1919, pp. 227—229.

60. Hansard 1912—13, p. 231. "An Ordinance relating to this short Titles Ordinance" was the first motion introduced and explained by the Attorney-General, under the new rule, at the first reading—on August 26, 1912. Refer *Ibid*, p. 250.
61. Refer *Ibid*, pp. 301—302.
62. *Ibid*, p. 207.
63. *Ibid*.
64. *Ibid*, pp. 230—231.
65. *Ibid*, p. 300.
66. *Ibid*, p. 304.
67. *Ibid*, p. 305. The Acting Controller of Revenue (Mr L. W. Booth) took the view that the general rule was and had always been that there should be no speech, on a question. If however on the day that the question was read, the President of the Council considered that an explanation of the question was necessary, the member was permitted to make an explanation. If the President considered that no explanation was necessary and a member still attempted to supplement his question with a speech, the President could rule him out of order. *ibid*, p. 303. Eventually, the view taken up by the Acting Controller of Revenue became the settled practice of the newly constituted Legislative Council.
68. *Ibid*, p. 304.
69. Sir (then Mr) Hector Van Cuylenberg.
70. Hansard 1912—13, pp. 513—514.
71. Refer Hansard 1916, pp. 10 and 11 for an account of the proceedings. Note—on November 28, 1913, too, the question came up in a different context. On this occasion the European Urban Member (Mr Harry Creasy) was ruled out of order by Governor Sir Robert Chalmers when he attempted to associate a question with a motion for papers. He was permitted to ask only his question. The member intended to ask the permission of the Council to withdraw his questions and so before he actually asked his question, he attempted to preface it with a statement as to his reasons for withdrawing the question. Before he could make any headway, the Governor called him to order and requested him to ask his question as put on the paper. The member then explained that he wished to withdraw his questions and that he wanted to offer his reasons for so doing. The Governor then permitted him to make a brief statement. Thus, to sum up, three Governors (McCallum, Chalmers and Anderson) and an Officer Admitting the Government (Mr R. E. Stubbs) were of opinion that a question could only be asked as stated on the Order Paper. The Officer Administering the Government (Mr Stubbs) was willing to let a member explain his question if the Council had no objection. Governor McCallum was of the view (when he agreed with the opinion of the European Rural Member, Mr Rosling) that he could on his discretion allow a member to only explain his question. Governor Chalmers on his own initiative permitted the European Urban Member (Mr Creasy) on November 28, 1913, to make a brief explanation as to why he was withdrawing his question. On these precedents, we might settle the issue with this conclusion—that members under the Crewe-McCallum Constitution ceased to enjoy the privilege of raising a discussion when asking a question. A question had only to be asked as it was originally stated on the Paper when notice was given. The President of the Council could however on his discretion permit a member to make an oral statement on a question, if he felt that an explanation was necessary. Vide Hansard 1913—16, pp. 11—12.
72. *Ibid*, pp. 11—12.
73. Hansard 1912—13, pp. 231—232. The rules of procedure of the Finance Committee were briefly as follows :— A quorum consisted of the Chairman and three Unofficial Members. The full strength of the Committee consisted of the Colonial Secretary (the Chairman) the Controller of Revenue, the Treasurer and all the Unofficial Members, numbering ten. Unofficial Members could refuse any vote that may have been proposed in the Committee. It could have been possible for a member who had given his assent in the Committee to a vote proposed by the Government, to have it re-discussed in open Council, and to have even voted against it. It is important to note however that the Finance Committee had no power to vote moneys while the Council was in session. Further, according to Standing Order No. 45, there was provision that "except when the report (of the Finance Committee) deals with expenditure proposed to, but not approved of by the Committee, the question 'that the report of the Standing Committee on Finance be adopted' shall be put without debate, unless at least three members present otherwise demand."
74. Refer statement of the Colonial Secretary in page 35 of Hansard 1918 :
 ".... the Finance Committee is merely a side track, the object of which is not to waste the time of the Council by discussing small details. The Finance Committee's proposals have to be approved by the Council, and I personally have always abstained from bringing important matters before the Finance Committee, preferring to bring them up in Council." Note although

the Colonial Secretary stated that he personally abstained from bringing important matters before the Finance Committee, the Treasurer in asking the Legislative Council on July 9, 1919 to grant its sanction to such an important and controversial matter like the 'Increase of Salaries and Pensions and Grant of Passages to Public Officers' stated *inter alia* :— "The various schemes are fully set forth in the memorandum which is laid on the table with other papers today, and I explained them very clearly at the recent meeting of the Finance Committee. I therefore do not propose to take up the time of this House with any further explanations or details....." Refer Hansard 1919 pp. 136 and 140. This is one of the number of instances where the Government discovered that the Finance Committee could serve as a useful sounding board for its legislative proposals when they were still in their incubatory stage and also as a means for saving the time of the legislative chamber.

75. Hansard 1912—13, p. 295.

76. Refer *ibid*, pp. 345—347 for a full account of the proceedings.

77. Note (a) The Select Committee on the Supply Bill for 1912—13 consisted of the Colonial Secretary (Chairman), the Acting Controller of Revenue, the Treasurer, the Acting Government Agent, Western Province, the European Urban Member, the European Rural Member, the Ceylonese Member, the Burgher Member, the Senior Low-Country Sinhalese Member and the Senior Tamil Member. *ibid*, p. 149. The Select Committee did not have a Kandyan or a Muhammadan representative in it and in so far as the representatives of these communities did not participate in the proceedings, there might have been a probability that their interests were not fully represented—though the Tamil Member may have been expected to represent the Muhammadan interest and the Sinhalese Member the Kandyan interest.

(b) The Select Committee on the Supply Bill for 1913—14 consisted of the Acting Colonial Secretary (Chairman), the Controller of Revenue, the Treasurer, the Acting Government Agent of the Western Province, the European Rural Member, the Burgher Member, the Kandyan Sinhalese Member, the Second Tamil Member and the European Urban Member. *ibid* p. 495. There was once more no Muhammadan representative. The Kandyan representative was however included but on this occasion there was no one to represent the Low-Country Sinhalese interests. Evidently the Kandyan Member was expected to voice the needs and views of the entire Sinhalese community.

(c) The Select Committee on the Supply, Bill for 1914—15 comprised the following members :— The Colonial Secretary (Chairman) the Controller of Revenue, the Colonial Treasurer, the Government Agent, Western Province, the Principal Collector of Customs, the Ceylonese Member, the Burgher Member, the First Low-Country Sinhalese Member, the Second Tamil Member and the European Rural Member. Hansard 1913—16, p. 80. This time there was no Kandyan or Muhammadan representative. The employment of the Finance Committee to consider the Supply Bills from 1915—16 onwards however solved the problem of providing full and adequate representation to all sections of the Ceylonese community in the final determination of the Government's annual financial policy.

78. Hansard 1913—16, p. 362.

79. Hansard 1916, pp. 179 and 180.

80. Standing Order No. 15 under the Rules and Orders of the unreformed Legislative Council stated *inter alia* :—

".....every Bill, vote, resolution, or question, the object or effect of which may be to dispose of, or revoke, alter, or vary any such disposition or charge shall be proposed by the Governor, unless the proposal of the same shall have been expressly allowed or directed by him....." See 'The Ceylon Manual, 1911,' p. 63. The substance of the aforementioned rule was retained under the Crewe-McCallum Constitution with only a slight alteration in the wording. vide Hansard 1913—16, p. 136.

81. Hansard 1913—16, p. 179.

82. *Ibid*, pp. 538 and 539. Similarly on an earlier occasion, on August 3, 1914, when the Ceylonese Member moved a motion regarding the 'Abolition of the Poll Tax,' the Governor (Sir Robert Chalmers) ruled that the motion came under Standing Order No. 15 and that the mover required his permission as it dealt with public finances, that under normal circumstances he would have disallowed it but under the special circumstances (since the motion was in accordance with Government policy) he would permit the Member to move his motion. *Ibid* pp. 136 and 137.

On November 29, 1916, when the European Urban Member (Mr Harry Creasy) gave notice of a resolution to the effect that 'in the opinion of this Council, Government should take immediate steps to make a pathway for foot-passengers along the seaside line from Colpetty to Mount Lavinia,' the Governor, Sir John Anderson ruled that as the motion involved public expenditure, it would not be in order for a private Member to move it (Hansard 1916, p. 314). This was far too strict an interpretation of Standing Order No. 15 especially as the Member had introduced the phrase "in the opinion of this Council" in his resolution. By this he only sought to have an

expression of the views of the Council. It was not his intention to compel Government but to persuade it to do something. However, the Governor appears to have relented, for at the next meeting of the Council on December 13, 1916, the European Urban Member introduced his motion and informed the Council that His Excellency had granted him the necessary permission. (Refer *ibid*, pp. 314 and 340).

83. For a record of the proceedings refer *ibid*, pp. 314, 346 and 351.
84. Hansard 1919, pp. 92 and 99.
85. Refer Hansard 1918, p. 161.
86. Refer Hansard 1919, pp. 424 and 427.
87. Refer Hansard 1916, p. 314.
88. *Ibid*, p. 187.
89. Refer Hansard 1913—16, pp. 571—573.
90. There was in fact one such instance where traders did take advantage as the result of the lapse of a day after notice of an increase in the import duty on cigarettes was given. This delay was due to an extraordinary circumstance. On November 13, 1918, the Governor, Sir William Manning, made an announcement to the Legislative Council on the Government's intention to increase taxation on certain items and also to reduce the export tax on rubber. It happened that the day also marked the conclusion of hostilities with the Germans. On account of the special occasion, the meeting of the Council was adjourned for the morrow. When the Council met the next day and Unofficial Members complained of the rash policy of the Government, the Colonial Secretary in his reply stated that traders had already taken advantage of the delay in disposing of the motion on the same day that notice of it was given—by removing cigarettes from the warehouse before the new duty came into operation. Refer Hansard 1918, pp. 199—200 and 216—217.
91. Hansard 1913—16 refer pp. 424—432 for a full record of the proceedings.
92. As contained in a statement of the Colonial Secretary in Hansard 1921, p. 286.
93. *Ibid*.

BOOK REVIEW

KRISTOF GLAMANN, *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620-1740* (Danish Science Press, Copenhagen, The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1958, xii-334 p. Danish Kroner 42).

One of the characteristics, one might even say defects, of historical writing on European activities in Asia is the tendency to concentrate on its political side. Compared to the volume of output on the expansion of European political power in Asia, it is unfortunate that much of their commercial and financial facets still remain vague and almost unexplored. Yet trade was the original cause and continued to be the basic sustaining factor behind European expansion for about three centuries after Vasco da Gama. The Dutch East India Company was the biggest trading organisation of its kind operating in the East. A study of its trade mechanism, price policy and methods of accounting would serve to spotlight the problems of East-West trade in the 17th and 18th centuries. Such studies as have already appeared give us glimpses of some particular aspects of this vast commercial concern and whet our appetite for more. By and large the economic side of the history of the V.O.C. deserves the term *terra incognita* applied to it by the author. Mr Glamann, Reader in History at the University of Copenhagen, has set himself the task of exploring this *terra incognita*. Already, in the form of research articles to various learned journals, he has shed light on specific problems such as the Company's trade in Japanese copper, its trade in Bengal and other similar themes. *Dutch-Asiatic Trade* is, however, his *magnum opus*, the cumulative result of his investigations into the Archives of the V.O.C. at the Hague, supplemented by material collected from the Economic History Archives of Holland, other regional records in this country and relevant sources from competitor nations such as the French, the English, the Danes, the Swedes and the Belgians.

The theme of the work is the trade carried on by the V.O.C. in its Asian comptoirs and between Europe and Asia. The period selected 1620-1740 has, in the opinion of the author, the advantage of permitting discussion of the Company's affairs in its three different stages: early beginnings and expansion, height of its trade, and beginnings of decline. The starting point of the author's investigations is the Company's office in the Netherlands—the factory Nederland—and this enables him to throw a lot of light on a hitherto dark aspect of the Company's trade—viz, the interdependence between the European market and the Asian market. A thorough analysis of the sales and prices of Eastern commodities in European markets has resulted in the production of a lot of statistical data and hitherto unpublished lists of original sale prices. Equally useful is a discussion, at the outset, of the kind of goods that were brought over from the East showing the changing emphasis in different periods. In the first half of the 17th century pepper was the most popular item followed closely by spices of all kinds. In its second half and in the 18th century pepper loses its importance to textiles on which the Company now tends to invest most of its money. The author sees in the last decades of the 17th and the first years of the 18th century a period of transition in the Company's trade which changes its character. It is a change reflected both in the nature of the commodities brought from the East and in an increase in the volume of trade. The sale of these commodities in the factory Nederland was an 'international event' and had to be planned with precision. Here the author feels on firmer ground in the 18th than in the 17th century owing to the absence of proper information. The description of the manner of these sales and the names of firms involved in them, brought together by the author, is of interest to the development of capitalism in the Netherlands. The despatch of European goods to the East was another aspect of the activities of the Nederland factory.

Having described the framework of the activities of the factory Nederland, Mr Glamann now splits up his theme into its various sub-sections, dealing individually with the major items of East-West trade. Bullion and money, being in many respects the life blood of this trade, is treated first. Moneys of various kinds, Reals, ducats, Kroonen and stuivers, were exported from Holland in accordance with the demands made from Batavia which varied from year to year. The precious metals for trade could also be found in Asia and here certain countries where these metals were in abundance were of importance. From this point of view Japan and China were of great value. Gold was to be found in the west coast of Sumatra and Malacca. Another area was the north western part of India and Persia. Comparing Asia and Europe as sources for the supply of gold and silver for the Company's trade, it is seen that, for a greater part of our period, Asia was the greater supplier. One of the most difficult problems, in this connection, was that of reminting coins to keep up with the rate of conversion in the different centres where trade was carried on. The decline of political authority, especially of the Moghuls in India, resulted in a debasement of coinage. This created difficult problems of exchange and in turn gave rise to a class of money changers who were indispensable to trade. The overall policy was to secure, as far as possible, the precious metals from Asia itself, but, if this was found impossible, to increase the export from Europe. In some years more bullion had to be exported from Europe than in others.

Now the author goes on to discuss individually the specific commodities of Asian trade—pepper, spices, raw silk, piece-goods, sugar, Japanese copper, coffee and tea—one chapter being assigned to each of these articles. For a greater part of the period under review pepper formed the most important article of trade. At certain periods more than half the money spent on goods to be sent to Europe was invested in the purchase of pepper. And, though later proportionately it ceases to be so important, in terms of actual quantities carried to Europe there was an increase. In fact the increase in the quantity of pepper brought to Europe by both the V.O.C. and other European companies causes a decline in price which threatened to make this trade unprofitable. In spite of the dominant position occupied by the Dutch in relation to the pepper trade, right down to about 1680, other European nations were able to secure pepper freely at Bantam. A great part of the pepper was sold in Asia. As it was more difficult to sell larger quantities of pepper in Europe, it was sought to increase sales in Asia. Pepper was most profitably sold in the outlying areas such as Persia, Taiwan and Japan. After the fall of Bantam, the Dutch were the most important carriers of pepper to Europe and the demand was increased. Production, in the East, could not, however, cope up with this demand. The author rejects the idea that the Dutch were at any time able to secure a monopoly in pepper but had constantly to cope with competition, though in varying degrees.

Spices, the author asserts, were monopolised with a greater degree of success by the Company, but only after decades had passed. Nutmegs and cloves, and, with the conquest of Ceylon, cinnamon became monopolised products. The chapter describes how this monopoly was secured and traces the effect of the monopoly on prices and quantity that was put out on the market. As a result of the monopoly, the Company was in a position to fix the prices both in Europe and Asia, and control the amount that was produced. If, in one year, the amount harvested was believed to be excessive, order were given for the destruction of part of the crops.

The trade in piece goods was more important from the point of view of sales in Indonesia than in the Netherlands. Much of the coarse cloth sent to Holland was reexported through the West Indian trade. One of the most complex problems here is the diverse kinds of cloth that was to be found in various parts of Asia. One comes across many names from different languages connoting types of cloth. Mr Glamann explains many of these names to us and describes the various kinds of cloth that were in vogue. He even describes the technique used in weaving and painting of fabrics. The method of acquiring textiles varied. One method was the purchase from Indian traders who were either individual merchants or were grouped in a company. Another was to contract with the weavers and printers and pay them advances. A third means, adopted after the Company had acquired more political power, was to employ artisans in their factories under their supervision. Competition was most intense between the Dutch and the English companies in the textile trade. Towards the tail end of the 17th century Bengal precedes Coromandal as the chief supplier of cloth and political unrest in the latter place is beginning to affect the quantities available. By the middle of the 18th century the quantity of Dutch imports of cloth to Europe had so declined that even Dutch merchants tended to look more to the English and the French for more up to date varieties of cloth. This trade was then one of the spheres in which the English continued to nag the Dutch throughout the 17th century and drew out to the lead in the 18th.

Coffee and Tea, two important items in the East-West trade, attracted Dutch attention somewhat later in our period. Coffee became a regular commodity in the return sheets only in the 1690s and tea even later in the 18th Century. In this century there was a great increase in the amount of coffee taken by the Dutch to Europe and this was caused by an increasing taste for coffee in Europe. Mocha had all along been the chief market but now there was increasing production of coffee in other parts as well. The Dutch tried it in their territories in Java and Ceylon, with great success in the former place, but all efforts to replace Mocha coffee with that from Java in the Indian markets failed. Tea was to be purchased from China and the Dutch could not cut into the English trade. One problem here was the necessity to find goods that could be sold in China in order to dispense with the need to pay for the tea in cash. The English, towards the end of the 18th century, struck on opium and were at a great advantage.

The last chapter, *Profit and Loss*, seeks to bring together the points that have emerged in the earlier discussion of individual items of trade, and looks at the Company's trade as a whole. There is an attempt, at the outset, to explain the complicated system of accounting adopted by the Company. It emphasises the heterogeneous character of the Company's book-keeping. Never was a central accounting system including all items of trade of the entire concern in all its factors ever evolved. The author pin points the defects of the Company's way of keeping its accounts and his remarks are invaluable to any student of any aspect of the history of the V.O.C. if he is to avoid the pitfalls of misinterpretation of its balance sheets. The views of W. M. F. Mansvelt (*Rechtsvorm en geldelijk beheer bijde*

Oost-Indische Compagnie, Amsterdam 1922) are considered critically and rejected in parts. In general, the author refuses to go very far in accepting the now held view that its defective accounting system was the chief cause of the Company's decline. One of the most fruitful parts of the work is the new approach Mr Glamann takes to the question of the causes of the Company's decline. He is of the view that corruption has been overemphasised as a contributory factor of decline. Starting off with the contention that too much stress has been placed on the Company as a monopolistic enterprise, he argues that the decline of the Company in the second half of the 18th Century is due to the numerous forces of competition that it was up against. Though a monopoly had been acquired in spices, these were not the only important articles of trade and their importance begins to diminish in the 18th Century. Most of the other goods that the Company was trading in were goods which had to face competition from related products in Europe or from countries overseas. Thus the prices of these Asian goods in Europe depended on a number of factors and were by no means stable. Demand in Europe was changing constantly. Similar competitive factors were in operation in the trade in Asia too. This aspect of the problem, however, has still to be worked on further. Our knowledge of the characters of Asian trade and economy in this period is yet indefinite and it is too early to arrive at conclusions on this matter. The author exhorts Asian historians to continue these investigations.

"Competition and changeableness rather than monopoly and constancy," says the author, "was what characterized the Dutch Company as a trading company." He has made a major contribution towards the understanding of the nature of this competition and change in Dutch-Asian trade. Indeed, he has opened new vistas in the study of European trade in Asia and, under the impact of his researches, many of our text-book generalisations have now to be revised. *Dutch-Asiatic Trade 1620—1740* is one of those rare works which renders obsolete all that preceded it on the subject it deals with.

S. ARASARATNAM.

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