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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

I. H. VANDENRIESEN, B.A. (Cey.), Ph. D. (Lond.), Lecturer in Economic History, University of Ceylon.

J. E. JAYASURIYA, M.A. (Lond.), A.B. Ps. S., Professor of Education, University of Ceylon.

S. ARASARATNAM, B.A. (Cey.), Ph. D. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon.

SIRIMA WICKREMASINGHA, B.A. (Cey.), Ph. D. (Lond.), Lecturer in History, University of Ceylon.

SIRI GUNASINGHE, B.A. (Cey.), Docteur de L'Universite (Paris), Lecturer in Sanskrit, University of Ceylon.

P. E. E. FERNANDO, B.A., Ph. D. (Lond.). Lecturer in Sinhalese, University of Ceylon.

D. M. KANNANGARA, B. Com., Ph.D. (Melbourne), Bank Supervision Department, Central Bank of Ceylon.

H. A. I. GOONETILEKE, B.A., Dip. Lib. (Lond.), A.L.A., Assistant Librarian, University of Ceylon.

G. OBEYESEKERE, B.A., (Cey.), M.A. (Washington), Assistant Lecturer in Sociology, University of Ceylon.

SOME TRENDS IN THE ECONOMIC HISTORY OF CEYLON IN THE 'MODERN' PERIOD.

I. H. VANDEN DRIESEN.

The Economic History of Ceylon has still to be written, written that is, in comprehensive and coherent form, tracing the thread of economic development from primitive times to the present day. The researches of innumerable students over the past half-century, however, have built up such a fund of valuable literature, that it is fast becoming possible for one to paint a broad picture of the Island's economic history in modern times. True, the canvas is a large one, and the strokes of the brush, broad and sometimes tentative. Yet they appear to be adequate enough to portray the general lines of development with a fair degree of accuracy.

One fact immediately becomes clear. Namely, that the dividing lines of political history, — the categorization into Dutch, Portuguese and British periods[1], has little relevance to the course of economic growth. The political historian has tended to identify the beginnings of Western rule with the dawn of the modern era, but few chroniclers of economic affairs are likely to agree with him. Effective Portuguese and Dutch sovereignty rarely extended beyond twenty miles of the Western coast, (if we exclude the region of scanty rainfall along the Eastern sea-board, where population was sparse and agriculture comparatively undeveloped). They were content moreover within this area, to allow the machinery of Government which they found on their arrival, to continue without serious change or interference. The old feudal economy thus remained largely unchanged, and in the economic sense the years 1505 - 1796, notwithstanding the presence of the European powers, belongs properly to the realms of medieval economic history.[2]

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1. Portuguese influence in Ceylon was first felt in 1505 when Don Lorenco de Almeida established a fort and trading station at Colombo. This developed into (a) indirect rule of the maritime provinces in 1551, when a Portuguese puppet was placed on the throne, and (b) direct rule of these regions in 1597 when sovereignty was invested in the King of Portugal. The Dutch East India Company ousted the Portuguese in 1658 and exercised control over more or less the same areas until they were in turn replaced by their British counterparts in 1798.

2. S. G. Perera, "A History of Ceylon" — The Portuguese and Dutch periods;
P. E. Pieris, "Ceylon and the Hollanders";
P. E. Pieris, "The Dutch Power in Ceylon"; P. E. Pieris, "Ceylon and the Portuguese";

For the first few years of British rule, administrators confined themselves to collecting revenue and farming out taxes in the maritime areas in much the same way as their predecessors. Such innovations as they introduced applied mainly to details of administrative procedure and routine, and did not affect the objects of government or the realms of economic policy. No fundamental changes were immediately wrought even when British power was extended to cover the entire island in 1815, and as late as the end of the third decade of the 19th century, Ceylon's economy was in the basic sense, still overwhelmingly feudal in nature.[1]

Into this context came the plantation, with all the suddeness of a revolution. Bringing with it new modes of economic behaviour and a host of concepts foreign to the prevailing economic system, it ate quickly into the foundations of the existing structure. Capitalism had arrived, and it is with its advent that the Island's modern economic history takes its start. A virile commercial agriculture soon displaced in importance the old pursuits of the people and within the short space of a few years, coffee had made itself responsible for almost a third of the government's income.[2] The stake was large enough to render it the state's most favoured child. In the years that followed the problems of the planter came to be regarded as synonymous with those of the country, and in the quest to solve them, - an undertaking to which the government lent its energetic support, - much that was old was swept away and much that was new introduced with startling rapidity. Thus did Ceylon dance to the coffee growers' tune for the greater part of the 19th century. In the process a new economic structure began slowly to evolve. The factors of production, — land, labour and capital, took on a new meaning, roads, railways and ports appeared where there had been none before, political affairs were invested with a novel significance and class in the modern sense of the term began its slow growth.[3] Along with these developments a money economy emerged, bringing with it a consciousness of prices, profit, wages, rent and

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1. C. R. de Silva, "Ceylon under the British occupation - 1796 - 1833"; Mills, "Ceylon under the British".

2. I. Vanden Driesen, "Coffee cultivation in Ceylon" in 'The Ceylon Historical Journal, III (July 1953), pp. 31 - 61; and III (October 1953) pp. 156 - 172. Extensive coffee cultivation began in 1837. By 1843 of a total revenue of £383, 118 a sum of £111,575 was gathered from sources connected with coffee.

3. I. Vanden Driesen. — "Some aspects of the development of the Coffee planting Industry in Ceylon - 1823 - 1885" — an unpublished thesis submitted to the London School of Economics November 1954.

credit, and starting off a variety of socio-economic events, the like of which the indigenous population had not encountered in the past.[1] The Trade Cycle was one of these. Appearing for the first time (1846-49) in a country where responsibility for the vagaries of trade had hitherto been attributed to drought, disease and warfare, its strange impersonality and apparent independence of man's control proved a terrible and novel experience.

With a slow but inexorable power, the new forces undermined the foundations of the established economic order. The instrument of penetration,-coffee culture, embraced acre upon acre with the advance of the century, and by 1875 none could doubt that capitalism had been firmly rooted.[2] True it is, that barely ten years later, King coffee's reign was over, his end brought on by the insidious progress of a fungoid disease.[3] But while he yet lay on his death-bed, the old monarch could take pride in the thought that the new economic design he had created would live on. For the end of coffee did not induce a collapse of the plantation system. The course that capitalism had taken had so entrenched it, that all that was necessary for its survival was the substitution of other commercial crops in place of the old. The new products merely took over the edifice which their predecessor had created, and in the years that followed,-indeed right down to the present day, plantation agriculture and the cultivation of cash crops have exerted a predominant influence on the course of Ceylon's economic development.[4]

Here then is the first rough draft. The framework to which some details must be added, if it is to be even that merely general outline we are attempting to draw. For if the picture is to be adequate, one must at least adduce reasons for coffee's sudden coming, indicate the main channels along which its influence flowed to erode the ancient feudal structure, and describe the results of its impact upon the country's people.

Much of this fortunately, can be done. Prior to 1834, coffee cultivation was not unknown in Ceylon,-but it was merely a minor crop haphazardly

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1. R. Pieris.—"Society and Ideology in Ceylon during a Time of Troubles. 1795-1850"-University of Ceylon Review, IX (July, 1951), 171-185, IX (October, 1951), 266-279; X (January, 1952), 79-102.

2. The area under coffee in 1875 was approximately 249,000 acres. — See the Ceylon Blue Book.

3. I Vanden Driesen. op. cit. pp. 69-83.

4. S. Rajaratnam. — "The development of Plantation Agriculture in Ceylon." 1889-1931" in "Itihasaya" Vol. I. No. I.

grown in the little gardens surrounding the peasants' homes, with a total output of a few thousand hundredweights per annum.[1] There was little reason then to expect any radical increase in this figure. The best techniques of coffee-growing were unknown, even amongst the commercially-minded English businessmen in the colony; demand abroad stood at an unstimulating level, and in any case, the West India interest was strong enough to secure from the British cabinet, a tariff favourable to the import of the coffee grown on their slave worked plantations. The outlook could not possibly have been blacker [2]

Yet, within three years,- by 1837, the stumbling blocks to coffee's progress in Ceylon were completely removed. An English immigrant, Mr. R. B. Tytler brought with him knowledge of the advanced methods of cultivation practised in Jamaica; world demand for the beverage showed a prodigious increase; import duties on Ceylon and West Indian coffee were equalised, and the abolition of slavery led to the decline of the industry in Jamaica, Dominica and Guiana.[3] The expanding market, dwindling competition and the introduction of the new techniques sufficed to engender an immediate interest in the potentialities of large scale cultivation. An ever-increasing stream of investors from abroad poured into the Island, and by 1840 the tide had reached proportions large enough for contemporaries to bestow upon it the title of "the coffee mania".[4]

It is from this point in history that the decay of the medieval economy becomes most apparent. The new generation of planters found themselves confronted by an array of problems the solution of which was vital to the future of their investments. Complexities of tenure, the scarcity of land due

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1. J. E. Tennent. (1860) — "Ceylon" Vol. II. pp. 226 . 227, A Bertolacci - "Agricultural Commercial and Financial Interests of Ceylon." p. 156;

   J. W. Bennet. (1843) — "Ceylon and its capabilities". p. 134, C. O. 54. 84. 23rd September. 1824; C. O. 54. 138. 28th December, 1833.

2. I. Vanden Driesen. op. cit. pp. 15 - 20; C. O. 54 105 15th July 1829; C. O. 54. 105. 15th August, 1829.

3. Tennent. "Ceylon" Vol. II. pp. 228 - 229; Mills. op. cit. p. 227; Danson. - Economic and Statistical studies, pp. 205 - 206; C. Pridham (1849) An Historical Political and Statistical account of Ceylon - Vol. II p. 871.

4. Ceylon Blue Books 1834 - 1842; Ceylon Government Almanac of 1847; C. O. 54. 130. 2nd Nov. 1833; C. O. 54. 179. 9th April, 1840; C. O. 54. 71. 16th July, 1839; C. O. 54. 189. 9th August, 1841; C. O. 54. 190. 22nd Nov. 1841; C. O. 54. 199. 18th Nov. 1842; C. O. 54. 203. 23rd March, 1843.

to defects in the government's land sales policy, the shortage of labour, the absence of roads, the lack of a railway, and the shyness of capital towards a new colony;— these were the questions to which the pioneers had to find ready answers. Small investors most of them, they well knew that their resources were too limited to allow of anything but quick success [1] Imbued with that desperation which the fear of impending bankruptcy so easily gives birth to, they addressed themselves to their task, with an enthusiasm which at times almost amounted to ferocity. It was in the pursuit of this object of "making good" that they transformed the character of the Island's economy.

It was in the demand for land that the activities of the planting fraternity found its first expression. The type of soil and climate best suited to the cultivation of coffee lay in the newly acquired districts of the old Kandyan Kingdom. It was in these regions that the demand for land was heaviest, and it was here also, that the planters early found themselves in conflict with the old scheme of things.[2] Under the Kandyan rulers there had existed a right to the periodical cultivation of forest land, technically known as chena cultivation, which had a different connotation from the term as it was understood in the remaining parts of the country. In the latter, areas previously ruled by Portugal and Holland, it had come to be admitted that all land not privately owned was the property of the Crown, and that all forests were under its exclusive control. In the Kandyan districts however, the chena consisted of portions of forest land which though not legally admitted to be the property of the individual farmer had nevertheless been periodically cultivated as a matter of custom. Upon this land the planters soon focussed their attention. For when the coffee boom got under way, it was discovered that much of what the government had previously regarded as Crown land was being claimed by the Kandyans as chena forest.[3] Aware of the disastrous results that this could have upon the expansion of the young and promising coffee industry, Governor Stewart Mackenzie urged the Secretary of State to deny the old rights of usage and declare that the Crown possessed "a catholic

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1. Vanden Driesen. op. cit. pp. 315 - 217; Vandendriesen. "Coffee Cultivation in Ceylon" in "The Ceylon Historical Journal III July, 1953, pp. 31 - 61.

2. Vanden Driesen. "Plantation Agriculture and Land Sales policy in Ceylon - The First Phase - 1836 - 1886 "Part I in "The University of Ceylon Review" Vol. XIV. pp. 6 - 25.

3. Vanden Driesen. — "Land Sales Policy and some aspects of the Problem of tenure - 1836 - 1886" - Part II in "The University ef Ceylon Review" Vol. XV. pp. 36 - 52; chenas were lands periodically cultivated with dry grains. It may be briefly described as a system of cultivation where there was a rotation of the soil instead of a rotation of the crop; C. O. 54. 345. 29th August, 1859.

right to all land not proven to have been granted at a former period".[1] The Colonial Office, hesitant at first, did not withstand this pressure for long. Ordinance 9 of 1841, promulgated when the "mania" was at its height, demanded from the peasants, a legal title to possession of chena properties and though the distress of the local population found expression in open violence, the armed forces called out to restore peace, soon compelled a bitter acceptance of the new legislation.[2]

One can do little more than regard these events as the inevitable consequence of the impact of a commercial agriculture upon a feudal economy. It reflects well the change in land usage, i.e., the substitution of cash crops for the old food staples. The coffee growers moreover, were concerned not with subsistence but with profit; with large units, not small, and above everything else with outright legal ownership. These were all concepts foreign to these areas and their introduction could not but produce conflicts of a serious nature on a society which was feudal, made a fairly extravagant use of land, and grew part of its crops by means of a shifting cultivation on land it did not own in the modern sense of the term. Difficulties of this nature were in their essense very similar to those which existed in India and are still present in modern East Africa. The land problem which the development of the coffee industry created in Ceylon was thus nothing unique, - it is a common - place of colonial history.

It was in the nature of things that a primitive economy could not of itself loosen the tie which bound the agriculturist to the soil, in order to oblige the coffee planter with the supply of labour he so sorely needed. The traditional system of service labour had been abolished in 1833,[3] but the expected "free market" did not immediately take its place. The peasant, indifferent still to the philosophy of money continued to cultivate his little holding, and turned a deaf ear to the offer of wages.[4] This was an unanticipated reaction, for the

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1. C. O. 54. 171. 16th July, 1839.

2. Ibid;. C. O. 54. 178. 10th February 1840; C. O. 55. 81. 15th June 1840; C. O. 54. 182. 9th December 1840; C O. 55. 81. 25th August 1841; C. O. 54. 210. 24th January 1844; C. O. 54. 190. 15th November, 1841.

3. Mendis, G. C. — "The Colebrooke — Cameron Papers" Vol. I. pp. xxiii — xxx; C. R. de Silva - op. cit. Vol. II. pp. 385 - 413.

4. C. O. 54. 315. 8th June, 1855; Tennent op. cit. Vol. II. p. 233; C. O. 416, 2 Questions 28 - 30, Agent of Seven Korales; Ibid A 8. Q. 54. Matale Agent, C. O. 54. 235, 21st April 1847; J. Steuart - "Notes on Ceylon" p. 73; R. Pieris. - op. cit. pp. 80 - 81.

British officials assumed that the Sinhalese would offer their services for money wages in order to "better themselves." But that was an assumption based on experience of human behaviour in an individualistic society. In traditional Ceylon ..... the basic structure of the social fabric and the constitution of its ethos were such that there was no inducement for individuals to exert themselves in accumulating wealth "[1] "For what should they do with more than food and raiment."[2]

The emergence of that cash nexus which was a prerequisite to the break up of the old economy had obviously to await the further development of the plantation system, with the result that the planter was obliged to look elsewhere for his labour. It was his good fortune that cheap labour in almost unlimited quantity was available in the great neighbouring country of India where objections to working for wages no longer existed.[3]

In the early years of the coffee era this labour arrived in Ceylon in increasing numbers, under the two-fold impetus of worsening economic conditions at home and the offer of relatively attractive wages and security of employment on the plantations.[4] But before long a reversal of the trend set in, when planters faced with a severe shortage of capital commenced to exploit the immigrants through the default of wages, the infliction of cruel punishments and the provision of poor housing conditions.[5] The annual rate of entry, which had risen from 3,814 in 1840 to 76,745 in 1844 fell back to 32,172 in 1848.[6] "The treatment meted out to the coolies by their employers, was not in every instance or in every particular, such as humanity or even policy would have required, in order to encourage and secure a continuance of their resort to Ceylon", was the observation of Lieutenant Governor Tennent in 1847.[7] Considerations both of prudence and humanity

1. R. Pieris - op. cit. p. 177.

2. "An Historical Relation of Ceylon" - Quoted by Pieris. op cit. pp. 80 - 81.

3. On this early development of a labour market in India, see Vanden Driesen. "Some aspects of the development of the coffee planting industry in Ceylon - 1823 - 1885" - p, 179.

4. C. O. 54. 227. 11th November 1846; C. O 54. 243. 25th February 1847; C. O. 54. 235. 21st April 1847.

5. C. O. 54. 235. 21st April 1847s C. O. 54. 258. 13th April 1849; C. O. 55. 89. 6th August 1847.

6. Danson. — od. cit. pp. 202 - 203; Ferguson - "Ceylon, Summary of useful information" (1859).

7. C. O. 54. 235. 21st April 1847.

soon compelled the Government to step in and organize medical services and amenities for the immigrants at the ports of entry and round and about important planting centres. The planter himself came to see the wisdom of a more humane treatment of his labour,[2] and the result of this new concern, both official and private is found in the steadily mounting figures of immigrants in subsequent years. The arrivals rose to 58,276 in 1855 and to around 100,000 per year by the end of the coffee era.[3]

This influx of workers from abroad is of uncommon significance to the economic historian. There had appeared for the first time a landless working class proper; a class tied to their employers by the cash nexus alone. Again not only was this class relationship something original, it had certain other novel characteristics as well. The new working-class was composed entirely of immigrants and opposed to a class of employers as alien as itself. Their settlement moreover took place in particular districts, i. e., those in which the estates were situated, and they lived there in the separate concentrated groups which the provision of 'line' accomodation forced upon them. In a sense it was very like the import of a little piece of India, with all its customs, religious beliefs and other sociological relationships.

The first arrivals came with the very definite intention of returning home after a period of time. But with the passing years many decided to make Ceylon their permanent home,[4] and as a result the Indian Tamil community numbered well over 200,000 persons by the end of the coffee era. Nearly a million strong today they comprise the second largest racial unit in the Island and, employed largely on the plantations, continue to fulfil the function for which they were first intended.

Since plantation agriculture concerned itself with the market and not with subsistence, transport immediately became the pivot on which the entire economy turned. Ceylon's system of communications thus came in the course of time, to bear the stamp imposed upon it by the needs of the coffee planter.

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1. C. O. 54. 227. 11th November 1846; C. O. 54. 235. 21st April 1847; C. O. 55. 87. 18th January 1847; C. O. 55. 89. 7th August, 1847.

2. B. P. P. 1847 - 48. XLII p. 29; C. O. 54. 227. 11th November 1846; C. O. 54. 228. 4th November 1846.

3. Ceylon Blue Book for the relevant years.

4. Vanden Driesen. 1850 – op. cit p. 183; H. C. Sirr. – "Ceylon and the Cingalese" p.161; C. O. 54. 243 25th February 1847.

Though roads were not unknown in Ceylon prior to the coming of the British, those that existed were limited to the environs of the larger towns in the maritime provinces and to a broad track running along the coastal belt.[1] By the beginning of the coffee era strategic and administrative considerations had led to the opening up of a few lines of communication with the interior of the country, but these were merely trunk routes and in any case too restricted in number to be of much use to the coffee grower.[2]

With the flood of investment in the 1840's the call for roads became insistent.[3] The government was not in principle opposed to this demand. Road building was a traditional function of the state and it was moreover, hardly logical for the government to encourage planters to take up land and then leave that land inaccessible.[4] But so many roads were demanded, within so short a space of time, that the financial aspect of the question soon assumed formidable proportions. On the one hand construction costs were heavy. Ceylon though only 143 miles in breadth at its widest, rises in the central districts to an elevation of over 8,000 feet. Steep inclines and generally rugged country are thus a feature of this part of the Island. It was precisely in these regions that the coffee industry came to be located. The new roads in the hill country thus abounded with sharp gradients, heavy cuttings and tortuous curves, - all of which necessitated a heavy expenditure of both time and money.

The problem of maintenance soon took on an equal importance. Heavy rainfall, extreme heat, and the thin iron rimmed wheels of the carts which plied between the estates and the shipping centres, combined to destroy even the newest of road surfaces within a month or two.[5] The annual expenditure on these items mounted at so incredible a rate - £23,147 in 1842, £35,431 in

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1. Tennent. - "Ceylon" Vol. II. p. 120; Mendis. "Ceylon under the British" p. 11; C. R. de Silva. - op. cit. Vol. I. p. 263.

2. C. O. 54. 92. 8th February 1826; C. O. 54. 104. 11th March 1829; C. O. 54. 127. 4th January 1833; C. O. 54. 136. 15th December 1834; C. O. 54. 27th November 1835; C O. 54. 142. 28th November 1835; C. O. 54. 128. 4th May 1833; C. O. 54. 135. 10th August, 1834; C. O. 54) 128. 2nd April 1833; C. O. 54 118 1st October 1832; C. O. 54. 132. 12th September 1833; C. O. 55. 75. 12th September 1833

3. C. O. 54. 190. 21st October 1941.

4 C, O. 54. 189. 9th August 1941.

5. C. O. 54. 379. 1st September 1863; C. O. 54. 453. 9th February 1870; C. O. 54. 494. 26th October 1874; C. O. 54. 513. 9th June 1878.

1844 and £64,947 in 1846, that by the latter date it accounted for over 15% of a revenue, which growing increasingly dependent on the coffee enterprise, now tended to fluctuate with the state of the market.[1]

And yet the planters were dissatisfied. The acreage under coffee grew faster than the roads, and bitter investors, alleging discrimination, conscious neglect, indifference and the like, launched a political movement notable for its open hostility to official policy and personnel.[2]

A worried government, saddled with the added embarrassment of the depression of 1846 - 49, fell back on one desperate expedient after another. Under the guise of a road tax a brief return was made to the service labour of feudal times;[3] new methods of construction were tried out and fresh maintenance techniques experimented with. But all failed. It was the government's good fortune that prosperity returned early in the '50's and enabled it to assuage the planting community through a heavy expenditure on transport.[4]

One important highway however, remained in a bad condition. This was the main Kandy road which ran through the heart of the coffee region, meeting on its way a multitude of branch lines. So heavy was the volume of traffic upon it and so greatly did it increase each year, that in 1866, Governor Hercules Robinson remarked that "no merely metalled road however good the material may be, can stand the wear to which this line is subject. In actual amount it is probably far in excess of that upon any merely metalled road in England, and the effect upon the road is increased by the enormous weight, from 40 - 45 cwts - usually placed upon a single pair of wheels."[5]

The obvious answer lay in the construction of a railway. Aware of the many advantages that would follow upon such a step, the planting community

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1. Ceylon Blue Book.

2. C. O. 54 10th November 1846; C. O. 54. 238. 3rd August 1847; C. O. 54, 247. 8th March 1848; C. O. 54. 251. 16th October 1848; C. O 54. 278. 25th March 1851; C O. 54. 301 16th September 1853; C. O. 54. 309 26th September 1854; C. O. 54 314. 13th January 1855.

3. C. O. 54. 248. 6th May 1848; C. O. 54. 251 13th September 1848; C O. 54. 252. 14th November 1848; C. O 54. 252. 11th December 1848; C. O. 54. 252 13th November 1848.

4. C. O. 54. 344. 4th July 1859; C. O. 54. 353. 15th June 1860; C. O. 54. 360. 7th June 1861

5. C O. 54. 415. 15hh October 1866

rushed instantly to its support. The idea had in fact been mooted early, i. e. in 1845, when it was pointed out that a railroad would reduce transport costs and pilfering, and give greater protection from the elements to goods in transit.[1] But the suggestion was then received with little enthusiasm by the government. The general revenue, depleted by the depression was in far too precarious a position for the state to offer investors the guaranteed minimum dividends they demanded.[2] Now in the 1860's things were different. Surplus revenues were large and the government well disposed towards the venture.[3] Top priority was therefore given to the railroad and by the end of 1867 the Colombo - Kandy line was ready for public use.[4] Around this solitary line the remaining years of the coffee era saw the growth of a substantial network. The fingers of railroad reached out to bring within their grasp the larger part of the coffee-growing regions,[5] giving planters the advantages they had hoped for, - particularly in the matter of transport costs, which fell rapidly by between 60% to 75%.[6]

It was upon transport that the government spent most lavishly in the modern period. From 1837 to 1886 roads accounted for a sum of approximately £5¾ million and railways for £ 3¾ million, - a total of £9½ million. When this is compared with the total general revenue of nearly £40 million over the same years, the high percentage devoted to roads and railways - about 24%, provides one with a fair index to the importance the government attached to the provision of transport facilities.[7] And this had to be. The condition of the general revenue was too intimately connected with the fortunes of coffee for official policy to have been otherwise. A mere ten years after the "mania" the industry had come to provide more than a quarter of

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1. C. O. 54. 220. letter of 2nd September 1845; C. O. 54. 241. 15th April 1847; C. O. 54. 235. 16th May 1847; C. O. 54. 233. 13th February 1847; C. O. 54. 235. 7th April 1847

2. C. O. 54. 371. 8th September 1848; C. O. 54. 315. 17th March 1855; Pridham op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 406 - 407

3. C. O. 54. 371. 29th November 1862; C. O. 54. 374. 2nd January 1863; C. O. 54. 372. 11th September 1863

4. C. O. 54. 427. 4th September 1867; C O 54. 437. 14th November 1868.

5. Vanden Driesen. - op. cit. pp. 455 - 482; G. F. Perera. - "The Ceylon Railway" pp. 121 - 196

6. Vanden Driesen. - op. cit p. 481

7. Ceylon Blue Book

the total revenue, - a proportion which was maintained for almost the entire coffee era.

The improvements in communications effected during the coffee era, brought in their train most of the results traditionally associated with such a process. There was a breaking down of rural isolation, - making people more receptive to the new values and way of life which a growing commercialism gave rise to. There was a bringing together of previously self-sufficing area and a standardization of prices with in them. The country was bound together in the political and economic senses; - made an entity as it were. and in addition linked with the outside world as part of the world market economy.

The coming of road and railway tended also to lessen the importance of mere geographical contiguity. Parts of the Island (and for that matter of the world) that were geographically remote came in terms of behaviour, to be actually much closer to one another than adjoining regions, which from the historical stand point were supposed to share a larger body of common understandings.[1]

This opening up of the Island and particularly of the central region, was in marked contrast to the old policy of the Kandyans, who for strategic reasons chose to render their country as inaccessible as possible. The planter of the '70's, riding along the Kandy highway, must have found it difficult to credit the sarcastic verse wherein a former Chief Justice of Ceylon had described the self-same journey barely two generations earlier.

"Marshes and quagmires, puddles, pools and swamps,
Dark matted jungles, and long plushy plains,
Exhaling foetid airs and mortal damps,
By Kandyan perfidy miscalled a road,
Through which the luckless traveller must wade,
Uncheered by sight of man or man's abode" [2]

Superimposed upon the technical problems of land, labour supply and transport was the all important question of capital investment. The danger of sinking funds in a new and comparatively unknown colony led English financial institutions to adopt a rather hesitant attitude towards Ceylon in the

1. Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences Vol. IV. p. 80

2. Sir Hardinge Gifford, Chief Justice of Ceylon - See "The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register". Vol X Part I. p 58

first decades of the 19th century. The early purchasers of land were thus government officials and military men stationed in the island who made use of their private savings to finance their experiments.[1] After coffee-growing was well tried and proven a sucess however, other investors began to enter the field. A few were prepared to put large amounts into the enterprize but the vast majority were men of moderate means, of the category normally described as small capitalists. These latter began to appear in 1840, and apparently entered the industry in considerable numbers until the price of land rose from 5 shillings the acre to 20 shillings in 1844. After that date a sum of about £3,000 was the minimum needed to set up as a planter, and though this was not an inordinately large sum, it probably closed the door to several would-be investors. Of those who did enter the industry a very big proportion must have possessed the bare minimum of capital needed, for few large estates were opened up after that date. A survey conducted in 1875, when coffee culture was at its peak revealed that the 1351 plantations then being worked, were on an average only 356 acres in extent.[2]

Though the company-owned estate was becoming common by the end of the third quarter of the 19th century, it is nevertheless true, that the coffee company did not at any time dominate the scene. Even in the mid 1870's individual planters looking after their own estates accounted for almost two-thirds of those in production. Out of a total of 1351 plantations, no less than 800 were owned by individual proprietors, who in 250 instances, resided on and managed their own property. Of the remainder, 400 lived in the Island, but left the running of their estates to others.[3]

The small investers who poured into Ceylon with the coffee mania were in most cases dependent on borrowed capital, obtained through the old West India plan of "advances on crops". By this system planters were given loans by agency houses in London or Colombo on the understanding that the agencies would have a claim on the future crops of the estate, until the debt and interest due had been paid off. Some planters it is true, started off quite independently, but a good number of them also came in time to depend on the agency. For men of limited means were often unable to weather a

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3. "The Economist" (1846) p 961.

4. Ibid; Tennent; op. cit. Vol. II pp. 238 - 243; Ferguson. - "The Ceylon Directory 1875". pp. 761 - 762

5. Ibid.

succession of bad seasons and when times became difficult were forced to fall back on borrowed money.[1]

The agency did not long remain the only source of financial accomodation available to the planter. A number of banks, most of them branches of well-known foreign houses soon made their appearance in the colony, Of these institutions, some made such heavy advances to the coffee industry, that they were unable to survive the years of the latters' adversity, but others were more prudent, and overcoming every crisis yet continue, to contribute to the working of the country's economic machine.[2]

The Banks and Agency Houses, like sensitive barometers, recorded every fluctuation of the money markets abroad. The rise and fall of international business optimism was immediately transmitted to Colombo. The slump of 1846—49; the pessimism of 1866; the Great Depression of the 1870's and 80's. Each of these was faithfully reflected in the Island. In this way was Ceylon tied even more firmly to the world economy.

Before he vanished from the economic scene, the planter had made a notable contribution to the political development of the country. In 1833, following a commission of inquiry a legislative council with nine official and six nominated unofficial members had been established for the first time [3] The unofficials were at the outset representative of the small mercantile body resident in Colombo, (there had not yet grown up a planting community of any importance) and were for the most part content to accept governmental policy unquestioningly. After the '40's however the planters began to move gradually into the political sphere and it was their achievement that within a decade they were able to make their influence felt in the running of the colony.[4]

The political concern of the planting body was chiefly centred on demands for better road and railway transport. This was the recurrent refrain of almost the whole period of their tenure of legislative positions. If the government

1. "The Economist" — 1846. p. 961; S. W. Baker. "Eight years in Ceylon" pp. 85 - 86.

2. C. O. 54. 187. 3rd February 1841; B. R. Shenoy. — "Ceylon Currency and Banking" pp. 103 - 110; Ferguson — "Ceylon summary of useful Information".

3. Mills. op. cit. p. 72; Mendis "Ceylon under the British", pp. 12 - 15; C. R. de Silva. — op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 569 – 594; Mendis. "The Colebrooke Cameron Papers."

4. Vanden Driesen. — op. cit. pp. 490 – 527.

was active in the provision of new roads and in the extension of railways, harmony usually prevailed, but whenever expenditure on these items was thought to be inadequate, a campaign for greater political power, sufficient to allow control of the budget, was immediately set on foot.[1] The struggle for constitutional reform, so prominent in the history of 19th century Ceylon, was thus, like almost every other form of activity, strongly influenced by the needs of the coffee-planting industry. Planters and merchants for a time formed the vanguard of the movement; their enthusiasm fired, not by questions of human rights or social welfare, but by the simple practical issues important to the businessman.[2]

It follows of course that political activity of this sort; geared so closely to the state's public expediture programme, had necessarily to be somewhat spasmodic in nature. And so it was for the first fifteen years. During that time political agitation waxed and waned with fluctuations in governmental disbursements upon the transport system. Then in the 50's there appeared on the stage a new and rising force, destined ultimately to supersede the planter on the council floor. This was the indigenous middle-class. Its political wing, largely composed of doctors, lawyers and members of the old land-owing classes, voiced the claims of Ceylonese to the plums of administrative office and to a greater measure of self-government.

Political apprentices of the planting representatives at first, the Ceylonese soon outgrew their tutelage. The lessons they had learned were well used. For though the government was able to resist their demands for a season, the growing power of Ceylonese opposition was strong enough by the 20th century to compel the Colonial Office to embark upon that series of concessions which led eventually to full Domination Status in 1948.[3] The foundations which the planter laid were thus called on to stand their real test at a time when coffee was no more than a name in Ceylon's economy.

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1. C. O 54. 227. 10th November 1846; C. O. 54. 238. 3rd August 1847; C. O. 54. 247. 8th March 1848; C. O. 54 16th October 1848; C. O. 54. 278 25th March 1851; C. O. 54. 301. 26th September 1853; C. O. 54. 367. 13th February 1862; C. O. 54. 358 28th Jan. 1860; C. O 54. 351. 17th January 1859.

2. C. O 54. 374. 9th February 1863; C. O. 54. 377. 4th July 1863; C. O. 54 378. 20th Aug. 1863; C O. 54. 385. 14th January 1864; C. O. 54 394. 30th November 1864; B. P. P. of 1867 - 68 Vol XLVIII; W Digby, "Forty years of Citizen life in Ceylon" Vol, I. pp. 322 - 3 & Vol. II pp, 39 - 49; C, O, 54, 433, 21st March 1868,

3, Mendis, "Ceylon under the British", pp, 52 – 54, 105 - 122; I, D, S, Weerawardana, "Government and Politics in Ceylon",

The idea of representative government; — a seed which the coffee interest did so much to nurture, was a concept quite foreign to the Ceylonese people. But they were not slow to see its advantages, for there are few diseases as infectious as the demands for representation and the franchise. It was the planter therefore who quite unwittingly initiated what ultimately became a popular movement for political independence. The supersession of insurrection, the old vehicle for the expression of opinion, by the voice of the people on the council floor, was thus one of the distinct and valuable contributions commercial agriculture made to the moulding of a modern Ceylon.

The rise and fall of coffee, the multiplicity of the problems raised during its lifetime and the variety of the solutions offered, combined to produce an impact on the indigenous population which was well-nigh revolutionary. Some of these effects have already been alluded to but numerous others quite as important, yet remain to be mentioned

As early as the middle 1850's there were indications that large sections of the peasantry were becoming conscious of money, profit, markets and all that these signified. Many were now sophisticated enough in the commercial sense to notice the success attending the larger plantations, and giving up the haphazard methods of coffee cultivation previously employed, followed the examples of economy and good management set by the European planter.[1]

This conversion to commercial agriculture was so rapid, that in the prosperous fifties and sixties, it was estimated that of the total acreage of 130,000 under coffee, about 50,000 acres belonged to the peasantry. This area is said to have accounted for 1/5 to 1/4 of the annual output and the income it brought in was put at between £250,000 and £300,000 per year.[2]

Exemplified here is the growth of an attitude to economic phenomena that was previously of little importance in the peasant sector. Economic individualism was evidently growing stronger, its development hurried on by the expanding network of roads and railways; the flood of money which poured in with the coffee "mania" and the settlement of thousands of wage-earning immigrant labourers in some of the most backward regions of the Island.

1, C. O. 54, 335, 5th July 1858; C. O. 54, 332, 8th January 1858.

2, C O. 54, 328, 20th June 1856; C. O. 54, 328, 20th January 1866; Ferguson, "Ceylon in the Jubilee Year" p. 62, Ceylon Blue Book.

As the scope of economic activity increased, a considerable widening of the existing administrative structure became imperative. New posts had to be created, and many fresh deparments set up. Personel for the higher appointments were normally recruited in England, but the other positions were filled from amongst the local population. A class of white-collared workers and petty officials consequently came into being; — a knowledge of English constituting their chief claim to employment

Aware of the advantages of investing in the education of the younger generation, this new social category produced from its ranks, within the next twenty-five years, a number of professional men, - lawyers, doctors and teachers, - the equal of any to be found in the West.

In the meantime certain of the less conservative Ceylonese families had embarked upon commercial careers. Some became transport agents, others general merchants, and a few, growers of coffee on scientific lines. They too turned early to the education of their sons, and so helped to swell the stream that flowed to Medicine, the Bar and Academic learning.[1]

Of these widely differing strands; clerk, doctor, merchant, planter and lawyer, was woven the Ceylonese middle-class. As a new phenomenon on the social scene, with economic interests and political aspirations quite unknown in the past, it constitutes one of the most outstanding characteristics of the modern period in Ceylon history.

The Ceylon of 1900, with its roads and railways; its commercial agriculture; its growing money economy; its new classes; its political movement and its changing social and economic values, was thus almost as far removed from the Ceylon of the 1830's as that era was from the Ceylon of a thousand years earlier. The new forces set in motion by the coming of capitalism had been at work for a mere seventy years, yet they had in that short time broken the fetters which had for so long trammelled economic progress. The changes they had wrought were fundamental, and it is this which justifies the economic historian's endeavour to find for this period a distinguishing label.

1, Mendis, — op. cit. pp. 106 - 109. Mills op. cit. pp. 107 - 120, 266 - 271.

SOME STUDIES OF EARLY SCHOOL LEAVING IN CEYLON

J. E. JAYASURIYA.

The problem of the early or premature school leaver is one that has caused concern in very many countries. Almost every school system is organised on the assumption that children would spend a certain number of years at school, and from whatever angle we look at the problem, wastage is likely to occur if children do not remain at school during the period of years planned for them. We may briefly refer at this stage to three aspects of this wastage. In the first place, early leaving may cause wastage and disruption in the administrative arrangements made to accommodate and teach children at school over a definite period of years. Secondly, early leaving often interrupts the course of a child's school career and thus prevents him or her from developing fully as an individual. Thirdly, the interruption of schooling may not be without harmful consequences from the occupational and social angle, for not only is the early leaver often unlikely to be quite fit for the occupation which he takes on, but it is also possible that had he continued schooling he would eventually have gone into an occupation more congenial to himself and more useful to society. Considerations such as these have made many countries take a serious view of the problem of early leaving.

It is, of course, necessary as a first step to gather data regarding the incidence of early leaving. In England, the Minister of Education asked the Central Advisory Council in 1952 to undertake an inquiry into early leaving and this Council, after a survey spread over nearly two years, published its findings in a report entitled *Early Leaving*. In Ceylon, there has been no indication yet that the Minister of Education is interested in this particular problem, but to his credit it must be said that he has recently appointed a committee to go into an ever greater problem, namely that of children who have never been to school.

The studies reported in this paper represent an attempt to gather a little data about the problem of early leaving as it exists in Ceylon. These studies can be divided into two categories- In the first category are the studies carried out in three rural areas, namely the circuits of the Inspectors of Schools of Agalawatte, Kirindiwela and Rikillagaskada. Almost every school in the areas was included in the survey. In the second category are a study carried out on a restricted scale in a semi urban area — Balapitiya, where this problem was studied in respect of three schools, and in a rural area — Ibbagamuwa,

where the problem was studied in respect of the Government Central College. I should at this stage express my thanks to Messrs D. Arampatta, K. M. Punchinilame, K. S. Palihakkara, N. H. Jinasena and D. D. K. Senanayake - all post graduate students reading for the Diploma in Education - who were responsible for collecting the data on which this paper is based. It must be stressed that the findings are necessarily tentative. They appear, however, sufficiently important and interesting to be worth reporting. Let me begin with an account of the three studies carried out at Agalawatte, Kirindiwela and Rikillagaskada.

The Agalawatte Inspector's circuit is situated at the extreme southern end of the Western Province, and is bounded on the south by the Southern Province and the south east by the Sabaragamuwa province. The area is generally hilly and has a high rainfall. Paddy is grown fairly extensively but the main cash crop is rubber. The chief occupations of the people are paddy cultivation and rubber tapping. The economic level of the average man is poor. Communications in the area are difficult because of the hilly nature of the land. Almost a third of the 66 schools in the area are not accessible by motor vehicle, and one school in fact has to be reached by walking a distance of 10 miles. Of the 66 schools, 14 schools have only primary classes. There is no central school in the circuit and about a third of the schools are one teacher or two teacher schools.

The Kirindiwela Inspector's circuit consists very largely of the Siyane Korale east and is bounded on the south by the Kelaniganga and the east by the Sabaragamuwa province. It is watered by a number of tributaries of the Kelaniganga and is annually submerged in parts when the river swells during the south west monsoon rains. Paddy cultivation is the main occupation of the people. Coconut and rubber are also grown but not on as extensive a scale as paddy. The economic level of the people is poor. There are about 60 schools in the area and almost every school is accessible by car.

Rikillagaskada is a junction town situated 20 miles away from Kandy, on the Kandy—Ragala road running through Hanguranketa. The Inspector's circuit covers an area of about 10 miles radius from this point. This region is situated on the nothern slopes of the central hills of Ceylon. It can be divided into two geographical regions, namely a western section which is a plateau and an eastern section which is the depression of the Mahaweliganga. The western section consists mainly of tea estates and the indigenous population is negligible. It is in the eastern section that the real Kandyan peasantry lives. Paddy, tobacco and vegetable crops are grown but as the area gets rain only

during three months of the year, the yield from the land is low and the bulk of the population lives on the verge of starvations. Communications are difficult but the area is well served with schools dotted here and there. There are 40 schools but the majority are of recent origin and go back only to the days when the M. P. for the area, Mr. M. D. Banda, was the Minister of Education

Thus in the Agalawatta and Kirindiwela circuits we get two typical low country rural areas, and in the Rikillagaskada circuit a typical up country rural area. Not one of these areas has a school of the so called English type with a name and a tradition. Consequently, the more well to do inhabitants who are, of course, very small in number send their children to well established schools situated outside the area. Hence, each area caters to the needs of a kind of residual school population only. A survey was made of all children who, having been in attendance at schools in these areas had left school during the six months 1st October 1957 to 31st March 1958 for a purpose other than continuing schooling elsewhere. In respect of every school leaver, the following information was collected.

1. Age at admission to school:
2. Date of leaving school:
3. Last standard passed:
4. If child had failed in any class during schooling, particulars of such failures:
5. Teacher's estimate of child's class work:
6. Teacher's estimate of child's participation in extra curricular activities:
7. Teacher's estimate of interest shown by child in school work:
8. Teacher's estimate of child's conduct:
9. Teacher's opinion as to whether child would have profited if child had continued schooling:
10. Father's occupation, if living:
11. Mother's occupation, if living:
12. Teacher's estimate of economic condition of parents:
13. Number of siblings in the family:
14. Reasons for leaving. Teachers were asked to state, in respect of each child, not more than three reasons for the child's leaving. The following reasons were listed.

    (a) No higher classes in school
    (b) Unable to conform to the rules of the school

(c) Not able to profit by continuing education
(d) Lack of interest in learning
(e) To help in parental occupation
(f) To obtain other employment
(g) Caste disabilities
(h) Family breakdown
(i) Death of parent or other relative.
(j) Reluctance to continue schooling for girls
(k) Parental lack of interest in education
(l) Economic difficulties
(m) Family become too large
(n) Physical disability.

15. Who made decision that child should leave?
16. Occupation, if child is engaged in any employment:

Over 95% of the schools in the areas described above cooperated by supplying this information.

The studies conducted at Balapitiya and at Ibbagamuwa took a different form in the sense that instead of collecting information about those who left during a six month period, follow up information was gathered about children who had been in the sixth standard in 1953 in three schools in Balapitiya and in the Government Central College at Ibbagamuwa. In the ordinary course of events, these children should have taken up the S. S. C. in 1957 had they remained in school and not failed any classes.

In the case of all these studies the subjective nature of the information called for by a good many of the questions must be borne in mind. Most of the information collected consisted of teachers' estimates or teachers' opinions regarding various matters. Even in regard to the reasons for leaving, the reasons given for a child's leaving were those which the teachers thought had been operative in the case of the particular child. Elements of subjectivity and reliance on another's opinion can hardly be eliminated from a survey of this nature. If it had been possible to get in touch with leavers themselves or with their parents, light might have been thrown on aspects of the problem overlooked or suppressed by teachers. There was very little direct information that came out regarding the extent to which teachers themselves were at least partly responsible for some of the early leavers. The Balapitiya study, where a little information was gathered from those who had been classmates of the leavers, showed that there was at least one case of early leaving resulting more or less from teachers' attitudes. There was some indirect evidence on the same

lines from the Rikillagaskada study. Generally speaking, however, the fact that most of the information was collected from teachers resulted in teachers' not being shown up in any unfavourable light. Reliance had also to be placed almost exclusively on teachers' opinions in collecting information about children's progress at school, interest in school work, capacity to profit by further education etc. This is, of course, not an entirely satisfactory procedure but it could hardly be helped. It is necessary to bear these limitations in mind in interpreting the findings.

Early leaving itself can be understood to mean one of two different things. It may mean leaving school before the statutory age for completing compulsory education is passed. This age is 14 years in Ceylon. More frequently, however, and particularly in the British investigations early leaving has been taken to mean leaving school before completing the courses provided in the schools — courses which would normally extend beyond the minimum school leaving age. It may, of course, be that the former situation does not obtain in England and therefore needs no investigation. In Ceylon, however, both situations exist and it is certainly the former — namely, leaving school before completing the minimum school leaving age that should cause the greater concern.

Some Facts About Early Living

(*a*) *Children leaving school halfway through their primary education*

About 25% of early leavers from the Agalawatta and the Kirindiwela areas, and about 45% of early leavers from the Rikillagaskada area had left school only after passing standard 3, and generally before the age of 10. This shows that early leaving is at its highest in the up country rural areas. A child who has passed only standard 3 is hardly literate and his schooling has generally been too short for him to derive any benefit from it.

(*b*) *Children leaving school without proceeding beyond the fifth standard stage*

About 60% of early leavers from the Agalawatta and the Kirindiwela areas, and about 75% of early leavers from the Rikillagaskada area belong to this category and had left school generally before the age of 12.

(*c*) *Children leaving school before reaching the minimum school leaving age of 14 years.*

About 75% of early leavers from the Agalawatta and the Kirindiwela areas and about 80% of early leavers from the Rikillagaskada area belong to this category.

(*d*) *Children leaving school after reaching the minimum school leaving age of 14 years but before completing the courses provided in their schools.*

This category completes the children we are considering. They constitute about 25% of early leavers from the Agalawatta and the Kirindiwela areas, and about 20% of early leavers from the Rikillagaskada area.

Some Facts Associated with Early Leaving

(*a*) *Economic condition and early leaving*

The lower the economic condition of the parents in an area, the greater appears to be the incidence of early leaving. This does not, of course, mean that every family in a poor economic condition withdraws its children from school. In all these areas, there were children from the poorest homes who had not been withdrawn early from school. There are certain other factors which go to constitute the background pattern of the early leaver.

(*b*) *Family size and early leaving*

The size of the family appears to be an important factor in early leaving. Parents from poor economic levels having large families seem to withdraw their older children from school so that they could be at home looking after the younger ones while the parents are out at work.

(*c*) *Percieved usefulness of schooling and early leaving*

Evidence of this factor emerged when the pattern of early leaving in the Agalawatta, Kirindiwela and Rikillagaskada areas was contrasted with the pattern of early leaving from the three Balapitiya schools and the Ibbagamuwa Central College. In the Agalawatta, Kirindiwela and Rikillagaskada areas, the highest examination which a student in the vast majority of schools could pass was the Sinhalese Senior School Certificate Examination, and several among those who had passed this Examination had not been able to obtain employment. In fact, it turned out that the early leaver in these areas was often in a better position — whether to assist parents in their occupations or to obtain paid employment — than the leaver who had passed his Sinhalese S. S. C. In such a situation, it is not a matter for surprise that parents encouraged early leaving. In one of the Balapitiya schools—a Swabhasha school with a Sinhalese S.S.C. class—the position was much the same and there was a high incidence of early leaving. But in a neighbouring school which had English S. S. C.

classes and which also drew children from more or less the same economic levels there was a tendency for much less early leaving to take place. And furthermore, as the English S. S. C. is the avenue to so many jobs, the leaver who had passed the English S. S. C. was genereally better off than the early leaver. Ibbagamuwa, though as rural as Agalawatte, Kirindiwela and Rikillagaskada, had in its Government Central College an institution that prepared students for the English S. S. C and the University Entrance Examination. Hence, the perceived usefulness of schooling was greater at Ibbagamuwa than at any of the other places and consequently the incidence of early leaving was low, notwithstanding the poor economic level of parents and their large families. In Agalawatta, it was found that early leavers were competing for the handful of places available in weaving schools and carpentry schools in the area, and this shows that some children have the foresight to run away from a schooling that seems useless and to seek another kind of schooling that seems useful.

(*d*) *Summary of factors associated with early leaving*

From the above considerations, it would seem that early leaving is encouraged by a certain pattern of factors operating together, namely poor economic conditions, large families, and perceived uselessness of the available schooling from the employment angle. While the importance of the first two of these factors — poor economic conditions and large families — cannot be minimised, yet as educationists we ought to remember that it is a telling indictment of our school system and its curriculum that schooling, far from fitting children for life in the community, renders them misfits in the community unable to adjust themselves to the occupational needs and opportunities of the community, and that the early leaver, who keeps away from school even before the compulsory minimum school leaving age is reached, is in the long run in a better position economically than the child who stayed on at school and passed his Sinhalese S S. C., joining the fraternity of the S. S. C. unemployed. In this connection, one is reminded of a short story that appeared some years ago in the Sinhalese newspapers. A school mistress by the name of Bagalawathie was so exacting in her demands from children that they should do good work at school and pass examinations that all but one boy fled her school. This boy endured all thrashings and whippings, sat at his books as he was told, burning mid night oil, and passed his Sinhalese S. S. C. examination. Some years later, he turned up at his old school, his mind distraught by inability to obtain employment, and he challenges Bagalawathie to tell him what good had come to him of following her advice, when those who had disobeyed her and fled school were all in some employment or other.

He severely manhandles her when she cannot give him a satisfactory answer, and thus the story ends. We are content in this country to follow, in schools in the heart of Colombo as well as in the most distant and inaccessible rural school, the same uniform scheme of studies drawn up 20 years ago. In the post primary classes, it is modelled on the British Grammar school curriculum which is really intended for the most intelligent 15 to 20 per cent of English children. No great insight is necessary to visualise the harmful effects of trying to make 100 per cent of our children follow a curriculum that only the top 15 to 20 per cent of English children can cope with. We may summarise them very briefly by saying that education in Ceylon, far from socialising children, makes the vast majority of them completely unfit for society.

Some Further Findings regarding Early Leaving

(*a*) *Girls*

The early leaving of girls appears to have underlying it a more complex pattern of causation than the early leaving of boys. Certain factors appear to operate in one direction sometimes and in the opposite direction at other times. Some parents seem to withdraw girls earlier than boys as continued schooling would not be of very much benefit to them from the employment angle. Other parents withdraw boys earlier than girls as some immediate employment is available for the boys, but they let the girls continue at school as there isn't anything useful they could do at home. As the size of the family increases, girls tend to be withdrawn earlier than boys so that they could stay at home and look after their younger siblings. In the case of the smaller family, a girl may be withdrawn from school to be given in marriage, but it is also common for girls from smaller families to be allowed to continue in school. It is particularly difficult to disentangle the employment aspect in the case of girls who leave school, for among those who are not employed are many who are not interested in seeking employment because of social customs.

(*b*) *Caste*

Caste prejudice is responsible for a small number of early withdrawals from school in the Rikillagaskada area. The role that teachers play in this matter is not clear but indications are that they are not completely free from blame. There is no evidence that in low country areas caste constitutes a serious disability in so far as schooling is concerned.

(*c*) *Attendance Laws*

The laws regarding compulsory attendance appear to exist in the statute books only, and there is no evidence of their being enforced. This may be because the State does not as yet have effective machinery for enforcing these laws. It may also be that sufficient school places cannot be found for all children if they are to be brought in to school. Until there is grater diversification of the school curriculum, it may certainly be kinder by children not to enforce the laws regarding compulsory attendance

(*d*) *The Headmaster and the Early Leaver*

The opinion of Headmasters was that about a third of early leavers were capable of profiting by further schooling. It is not known whether Headmasters try to dissuade such children from leaving school early or whether parents ignore the advice given by schools. It would appear, however, that in the past when the Headmaster's scale of salary was payable only if the school had a certain minimum attendance, Headmasters took a great deal of interest in keeping children at school, regardless of their capacity to profit by further education.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it must be pointed out that the studies reported in this paper have touched but the fringe of the problem of early leaving and that a number of large scale studies are necessary for a deeper understanding of the problem. What light has been thrown by these studies is on the problem of the early leaver in a rural setting. We know nothing of the early leaver in the urban area and it is very necessary that investigations into the problem of early leaving in urban areas should be put in hand.

REVEREND PHILIPPUS BALDAEUS — HIS PASTORAL WORK IN CEYLON 1656 — 1665*

S. ARASARATNAM

In the annals of Protestant Christianity in Ceylon, the name of Rev. Baldaeus must take an important place. On his shoulders fell the task of founding the reformed faith in Ceylon, with all its attendant difficulties, soon after the explusion of Portuguese power from the island. In 1656 Colombo, the capital city, had fallen to the Dutch and, by June 1658, the remaining Portuguese footholds in Mannar and Jaffna were removed. With the flag came the cross. Apart from the normal incentives to promote proselytising activity, the East India Company had now urgent reasons to back this policy with the full weight of its power and patronage. For some time after the explusion of the Portuguese from Ceylon, their power was very much in evidence in this quarter and it took another six years or so for their strongholds along the Malabar coast to be completely annihilated. The coastal area of Ceylon and Madura were littered with the successful results of the policy of conversion of Catholic missionaries and the Catholic religion and Portuguese power were inextricably interconnected. These Catholic communities were then so many pockets of potential Portuguese support and if Dutch power was to be established with any degree of security and if they were to realise the aims of their policy in Ceylon these people had to be weaned away from Catholicism to the Protestant faith. The work of reforming the Ceylon Catholics as much as that of converting the non-Christians fell to the Rev. Baldaeus.

At the age of 21, in 1654, Baldaeus completed his theological studies in Amsterdam and was ordained a Minister of the Reformed Church. The urge to devote himself to the task of evangelism in far off lands must have been great for in two years he accepted service under the Company as a Predikant and proceeded to the East. He came at a time when the Dutch were making a concerted attempt to expel Portuguese power from Ceylon and the East Indian coast. He took up residence in Galle, a port in the South of Ceylon which the Dutch had held for some time, and from there accompanied Dutch forces as army chaplain. As each station successively fell to the Dutch —

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Tuticorin, Nagapatnam, Mannar, Jaffna — Baldaeus was there to take charge of the religious establishments of the Catholics, to convert the Churches into Chapels.

Political conquest being complete by July 1658, the Dutch settled down to organise an orderly administration. It was discovered that there were over a hundred thousand indigenous Christians spread all over the island,[1] whose care, protection and further growth must necessarily take an important place in the Company's administrative structure. There were also a number of of churches constructed by the Catholics, some of them huge and magnificent structures, others small thatched roof huts; these ought not to be allowed to deteriorate but put to the best possible use for the new regime. Particularly was this so in the old kingdom of Jaffna, an indigenous Kingdom occupied and ruled for a long time by a Tamil-speaking people till 1619 when it lost its independence to the Portuguese power. Catholic proselytising activity had concentrated here with considerable success and in 1658, when the Kingdom fell to the Dutch, it was found that there were over 50,000 Tamil Christians here and about 150 churches scattered in its innumerable villages.[2] It was felt by the political authority that Rev Baldaeus could work most profitably in this area. In the middle of 1658, he was appointed as chief Predikant in the commandery of Jaffna where he remained till the end of his sojourn in the East. Jaffna was then the main theatre of his religious activity and the innovations he made in methods of proselytisation were based on the experience of his work among these people.

The problems of spreading the reformed faith were many and varied. In the first place, there was the difficulty of weaning away the Catholics from a set of beliefs which they had recently been converts to, and to put across to them the differences between Catholicism and Protestantism. This was made no easier by the fact that as between popular Hinduism and Catholicism there was some similarity, at least in its outer forms of worship, while the form of Protestant worship was in appearance completely alien and unfamiliar. While then Catholicism could have been, and indeed was put across to the indigenous inhabitants in a manner that would not conflict violently with his traditional beliefs, could this be done with Protestantism? Throughout a century and

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1. Corte verhaal van de gestalte der kerken en scholen Van Gale ende die daeronder sorteeren op'teiland Ceijlon aan d' E. E H H. Bewindhebberen en de deputeerde tot de Oost - Indische Kerkelike saken — Henricus Bougart; 4th February 1660. Koloniale Archief (Hereafter referred to as K. A) 1120 f 322.

2. Van Goens to the Governor General and Council, 6th July 1658. K. A. 1117 f 287.

a half of its existence in the East, particularly in South Asia, ingenious Catholic missionaries had devised novel means of access to the mind and the heart of the non-Christian The process of indigenisation of Catholicism had gone far during this time. A Father Roberto de Nobili, a St. Francis Xavier had arisen from time to time to give a stamp of originality and individuality to this process The success of these efforts was there for all to see in the middle of the 17th century, in the form of pockets of Christian communities in Ceylon and all over the Indian coastline. Now Rev. Baldaeus was called upon to perform, or at least to initiate, for Protestant Christianity what had already been done for Catholicism.

To some extent the opposition of Catholicism was settled by the political predominance of Dutch power. The Dutch never permitted any Catholic priest of whatever nationality to enter their dominions and this helped Baldaeus in his work in the Jaffna area. But conditions were different in the city of Tuticorin and the ports along the coast of Madura, where there were several Catholics. This area came under the administration of the Governor of Ceylon and as such Baldaeus's pastoral work had to be extended there too. Here the prohibition of Catholic priests was not effective and the converts stood doggedly by their Catholic faith. The experience of Baldaeus with these people demonstrates practically the difficulties that confronted Protestantism in its competition with Catholicism. Baldaeus's efforts to make them accept the Reformed faith were a failure and they continued to go with their children into the interior of the land, at great inconvenience and risk to themselves, to practice their religion with Catholic priests. Baldeaus records a particular instance in Tuticorin where the Paravas boycotted the church after the Dutch took it over. When he confronted some of them and asked them why they did not come to church for their devotions, they replied that it was because the church was now bare of its images and adornments. The Dutch were opposed to images and therefore they wanted to have nothing to do with them [1] Baldaeus admits complete failure in his efforts to make an impression on the coastal Catholics.

Language was another great barrier. If Rev. Baldaeus was to be something more than a Dutch padre administering to the spiritual needs of Dutch Protestant officers of the Company living in the city of Jaffna, he had to learn the language of the people. Nothing was more distasteful to him than to take such a limited view of his duties. He wanted to get down to the people,

1. Baldaeus, *Naauwkeurige brschrijvinge van Malabar en Choromandel en het Machtige Eyland Ceylon* (Amsterdam 1672), Part 1, p. 150.

to know them more and to understand them. He wanted to learn of their social habits, their religious beliefs. A lot of pioneering work had been done already by Portuguese missionaries and much of it was available to him in manuscripts in the Portuguese language found in Cochin. Most of what they said about South Indian society and religion applied also to the Tamils of north Ceylon. Probably because Protestant evangelism in the East was recent, no great attention had yet been paid by their pastors to the study of Asian languages. In fact the prevailing trend was to instruct a section of native inhabitants in Dutch and seek to communicate with them through this language Baldaeus rejected the view outright on the ground that it was easier for the few to study the language of the many than for the many to study the language of the few [1] Baldaeus was thus one of the pioneers of Protestant efforts to become proficient in Asian languages. His example was followed up later by a few Dutch predikants in Ceylon, some of whom became proficient in Tamil, others in Sinhalese.

Baldaeus realised that these problems should best be tackled throughout the whole island consistently and in a concerted manner. They should be faced as island-wide problems and common principles evolved that would serve as solutions everywhere. Especially was this so with regard to the manner in which the Reformed faith could be put across to the people. If a suitable formula could be evolved which would be simple enough to be understood by the common man and at the same time be true to the fundamentals of the faith, then a great step forward could have been taken in the propagation of this religion.[2] Baldaeus realised, as did the several missionaries in the East, who preceded him and succeeded him, that there was no purpose in seeking to burden the mind of the prospective convert with theological disputations or to drag him into the subtler nuances of the Christian religion. As Baldaeus himself and other observers of his time had noted, the knowledge of the Catholic converts of their religion was very elementary and limited to the repetition of some articles of faith.[3] And this was all that could be achieved by anyone, given the conditions of the time. Much of the ground work had thus been done and all that was left to Baldaeus was to introduce modifications consonant with Protestant beliefs into a system that had already been streamlined by the Catholics I will not deny, he says, that their lead

1. Baldaeus II p. 174

2. Baldaeus II p 174, 151.

3. Baldaeus II pp 150—1. Van der Meyden to the Directors of V.O C. 29th January 1662. K. A. 1124 f 20.

suited me well and I have willingly followed their footsteps in the reformation of all the churches and schools of Mannar and Jaffna, as long as this did not go against our religion, but was in keeping with the genius of the people of the land.[1] The result was the working out of a question-and-answer formula containing the fundamentals of the faith in an easily digestable form. This form was standardised and followed throughout the island in both the Sinhalese and the Tamil languages.[2] It was taught in all the schools and a thorough knowledge of it became the test of whether an individual was fit for baptism and admission into the Protestant Church.

Simultaneously, the study of the Tamil language was seriously undertaken. Here Baldaeus's knowledge of the Portuguese language was of immense use because there was in Jaffna at this time a group of Tamils who were quite well versed in Portuguese. Thus, through the medium of Portuguese, Baldaeus could be lead into the mysteries of the Tamil language. He was able to get hold of a good interpreter, Francois by name, who was well versed both in Tamil and Portuguese. With his help Baldaeus began the study of Tamil. His aim was to create a body of Christian literature in the Tamil Language which would make the ordinary Tamil familiar with the various aspects of the Christian religion, without having constantly to depend on the clergy. The translation of essentials was first undertaken — the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the Articles of Faith. These were published in Rotterdam in 1671 as small booklets and are reproduced in Baldaeus's own work, *Beschryving van Malabar en Coromandel.*[3] His own study of Tamil, though zealously pursued in traditional style — writing on sand, writing on olas with iron pens, etc — did not taken him very far in the knowledge of the language. This was partly because of his innumerable duties as chief Predikant of Jaffna and partly his rather sudden departure from Ceylon in 1665. He confesses that he found his studies hard going and the intricate and innumerable grammatical rules that governed the use of written Tamil did not make it any less easy. He, however, seems to have set about it intelligently and he has bestowed to posterity the results of his first attempt. His book contains the complete Tamil alphabet both written in the Tamil script and transliterated in Roman. He has also an elementary grammar of Tamil, where he lists some basic rules of grammer such as the verbal declensions, the various cases of the

1. Baldaeus II p 151

2. Baldaeus II p 151

3. Baldaeus I. between pp. 190 and 191.

noun, the use of singular and plural, etc.[1] The exact degree of concrete achievement may have been not very significant but considering the difficulties involved and the pioneering nature of his work, it was certainly of considerable importance.

The conflict between traditional social practices and the Christian religion confronted every Evangelist and Baldaeus had to deal with this problem. Baldaeus found it less easy than did the Catholic missionaries who preceded him to reconcile himself to the social customs of his Christian converts. He observed that, even though the people changed their religion, they clung tenaciously to their ways of life. He noted, with disapproval, the retension by the Christians of 'pagan' marriage customs. When Christian couples were married in Church, for example, they continued the practice of tying the *Thali* or bracelet round the bride's neck as a symbol of marital union.[2] Baldaeus tried his best to uproot this custom. So was it with regard to the habit of vegetarianism that was inborn in Tamil society of that age. Here again the new converts were reluctant to take to the consumption of non-vegetarian food as this would have made them outcastes in the eyes of their neighbours. Baldaeus had disputations with them and tried to argue them out of this habit and here too not with much success. The evidence shows that Baldaeus never really understood or was fully conversant with the life and habits of the country, due partly to his short residence there and his poor knowledge of the language of the people. His superficial comments on, and feeble attempts to change, these practices show that he had not made any serious effort at fusion and indigenisation comparable to what was done by his Catholic predecessors.

Baldaeus paid great attention to the establishment of schools and the education of the young. This was to be be a major weapon in his effort at conversion. Each church had a small extension to it where the school was housed. Instruction in the 3 Rs. was to be given with the main aim of making them good Christians Attendance in schools was compulsory and fines were imposed on parents whose children did not attend school. There were about 30 schools in the entire kingdom with as many as 18,000 children on roll.[3] Baldaeus was keen to provide all these schools with good school masters and recommended to the government that this be done on the

1. Inleydingh tot de Malabaarsche spraak – kunst, Baldaeus I pp 191– 8.

2. Baldaeus II pp. 182 – 3

3. Baldaeus II pp – 161 – 3

Company's account. But this was too much for the parsimonious authorities of the Company who insisted that the schools must pay their own way i. e. through monies collected as fines from the people.[1] Insufficiency of school masters to manage this wide network of schools was a constant complaint of Baldaeus

Baldaeus was keen on giving to the Protestant Church in Ceylon some central organisation and some cohesion. So far Predikants were appointed to various Commandaries or Districts into which the island was divided for administrative purposes. In February 1659, with the blessing of the political authority, all the Predikants in Ceylon met at Colombo. Their declared aim was to come to some agreement among each other, as to the means to be adopted for the establishment and development of the Church in Ceylon. Baldaeus played an important part in the deliberations of this Assembly On purely doctrinal matters, they came to some agreement over the conducting of Church ceremonies such as marriage, baptism, etc. The duties of a Predikant were defined. He was to preach to the indigenous population twice every Sunday and in his absence this would be done by the *krank - bezoeker*. On week days he was to be free to devote himself to the study of the local language. Catechism was to be conducted by him on Sunday afternoons in church and on Thursdays in school. The questionaire formula submitted by Baldaeus was accepted. Some sort of coercion was to be employed to prevent the back - sliding of converts. Failure to attend services regularly was punishable with a fine. These regulations brought about a certain degree of uniformity in the practices of the Protestant Church in Ceylon.[2]

This Assembly took some decisions regarding matters of Church administration which were of great importance. These decisions brought up the issue of relations between Church and State in Ceylon. The Predikants decided that it was necessary to institute some centralised authority to deal with religious matters in Ceylon. They put forward the idea of a presiding church, but this status was to be held in rotation by every one of the Churches of the island. This presiding church would receive and reply to correspondence coming from outside. Every year one of the Predikants, by turns, was

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1. Instructie by Opperkoopman Pavileon, voor Van Goens, 31 October, 1658. K. A. 1121 f 201.

2. Sommarisch verhael van het gene in de generaele vergaderinge aller Ceilonsche predikanten tot de meeste stichtinge van Godes kerk op desen Eijlande Ceillao in February 1659, binnen Colombo verhandede is, en behandight aen de Ed H. Rijckloff van Goens K. A. 1121 ff 611 - 13

to conduct a tour of inspection of the Churches in Ceylon. Once in three years there was to be a general gathering of all Predikants.[1] Though these were approved by the Ceylon Government, when the recommendations went up for final approval by Batavia, the latter had much to say. They saw that if they permitted any trend towards centralisation of the various churches in the island, it would be the beginning of endless conflicts with the state. The Church would then be in a position of greater strength in its relations with the state. They turned down the proposal of a presiding Church by rotation and ordered that all correspondence be attended to by the church in Colombo or any other place where the Governor shall have his residence. They also clamped down on the proposal to conduct island wide tours of inspection on the ground that the task of seeing that the Churches and schools in the Island are in proper order belonged to the Governor and Council and it was sufficient if each Predikant looked after his own individual Church. For similar reasons they turned down the proposed triennial congress of Predikants.[2] The political authority desired to keep the religious officers in strict subordination and in isolation to one another. If under the Portuguese is seen the one extreme where religious dignitaries were a great power in the land, the Dutch went to the other extreme of keeping their ministers as nothing more than paid servants of the state. People like Baldaeus, more imaginative and diligent in their work than the ordinary rung of Dutch padres in the East, were bound to come into conflict with such a narrow interpretation of their functions.

It was over the question of the control of schools that the conflict came to a head. It has been seen above that Baldaeus looked upon the net work of schools in Jaffna as his chief asset in the work of conversion. These schools were spread over almost every village in the land and was a vital point of contact with the rural folk. The Church assembly of 1659 had passed that each Predikant should periodically inspect the schools in his jurisdiction and generally be in charge of their maintenance. The policy of the Government, however, was that the political authority was responsible for the maintenance of schools and that the Predikants should merely do what they are told. For this purpose they appointed an administrative officer known as the *scholarch* from among the Company's servants. He was responsible to the Commander of the Province for all matters relating to the schools. He it was who appointed or dismissed school masters and imposed discipline. He went out on periodic

1. Ibid f 613

2. Governor General and Council to Governor of Ceylon, 28th August, 1659, India Office Library, Hague Transcripts Third Series Vol. V.

tours of inspection of the schools and took with him the Predikants. Though in other parts of Ceylon, it was strictly laid down that the Predikant should not go on his own to visit the schools unaccompained by the *Scholarch*, in Jaffna this rule was relaxed, with due deference to the position occupied by Baldaeus and in recognition of the good work done by him.[1] He was given a greater degree of freedom and independent control over the churches and schools under him.

In 1664, political control over religious matters was tightened further. Governor Van Goens, returning from Batavia for his second term of office, was instructed by the Supreme Government that the Predikants were not to be admitted in any matter of administration and supervision.[2] Van Goens's effort to give effect to this instruction brought him into headon collision with Baldaeus. On the basis of this, instructions were issued to the *scholarchen* all over the island, including Jaffna, further enhancing their power as against that of the Predikants. The Predikants now could not journey into the country, on any business whatever, without orders from the Commander or the Dissava of the Province. They could not give any orders on any matter to the village and headman or to any subordinate native officer. The power to punish children, impose fines or to remove them from the rolls was taken away from their hands.[3] Baldaeus found it impossible to accept these impositions and publicly repudiated them. He declared that he would not work under these humiliating restrictions and asked in July 1665 that he be relieved of his duties in June of the following year. The Governor and the political authority were taken a back at this drastic decision, for there was no doubt that Baldaeus was the most successful of Dutch ministers in Ceylon, and being yet in his early thirties, seemed to have many more years of fruitful service ahead of him. The political Council of Ceylon considered his request very untimely and appealed to him to stay on for at least two more years.[4] One of its members, Adrian Van Rheede, was sent to Jaffna to persuade him. Baldaeus replied curtly that he had already conveyed his intention to the Supreme Government at Batavia and was now awaiting their orders. Van Goens took objection to this and

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1. Van Goens to Directors, 28th September, 1636, K. A. 1131 f 604

2. Memoir for Van Goens and Council of Ceylon from Governor General and Council, 5th September 1664. India Office Library, Hague Transcripts, Third Series, Vol VI.

3. Van Goens to Commander and Council of Jaffna; 10th December, 1665, K. A. 1 142 f 973,

4. Resolution van Raad van Ceylon, 6th August, 1665. K. A. 1142 f 1090

considered it a personal affront to him, besides being greatly disrespectful of the political authority in Ceylon. He repudiated the implied suggestion that the Predikants are subordinate to none but the Government at Batavia, and that in Ceylon the administration of church affairs did not come under the purview of the Ceylon Government. The political Council of Ceylon passed a resolution reiterating its complete control over all matters, temporal and spiritual, in the island.[1] The great admiration and respect which Van Goens and other officials had for Baldaeus now turned into intense hatred.

It is not possible to make an impartial assessment of this dispute for all the facts are not now available, Baldaeus makes no reference to it in his work except in hushed undertones. On the other hand, the letters of the Company's officials now began to present Baldaeus as a pompous man who sought to lord it over the administration. They talk of the great lengths to which they had gone in accomodating him. He had been granted an increase in his salary and had been given a house and property of his own choice. More privileges were given to him than to the other Predikants. This is the gratitude he shows to the Company for all this. He should rather be called a hireling (*huyrlinge*) than a shepherd (*herder*)[2] This was too drastic a change of attitude from the praises that were being showered on him till as recently as an year back that it should not be taken very seriously. The Governor was piqued that a subordinate officer in Ceylon should have not heeded his words, and his subsequent action reveals this prejudice. Baldaeus had given an year's notice to be relieved from office and he probably expected to be sent back to Batavia and posted to any other Eastern quarter. The Council of Ceylon ruled that since he had defied their authority, he should be summarily despatch to Holland in the next available vessel. Though he agreed to continue till a successor arrived he was sent out by the end of 1665. From the Cape of Good Hope, he sent a letter to the Governor General at Batavia, complaining over this shabby treatment.[3] He had not even been given time to wind up his private affairs satisfactorily and as such suffered considerable loss. The Supreme Government itself was critical of this treatment. Thus an unfortunate quarrel brought to a premature end a career which was just beginning to show returns.

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1. Resolution van Raad van Ceylon, 4th November 1665 K, A. 1142 ff 1009 - 1015.

2, Van Goens and Council to Directors, 28th December 1665 K A. 1142 ff 545 - 6.

3 Governor General and Council to Van Goens and Council, 13th September 1666. K. A. 1147 f 212.

It is a fact that full use was not made of the undoubted talents possessed by Reverend Baldaeus and for this the Company's system must take a large share of blame. The obvious predominance of its commercial character and the strict control exercised over its territories made impossible the evolution of an imaginative religious policy in the island. Baldaeus himself repeatedly drew attention to the very materialistic approach of the age he was living in. There is a tone of regret throughout his work that he could not do more for the establishment of Christianity in the East. However, there is no doubt about the value of what little he was able to achieve, for succeeding missionaries built up on foundations laid by him.

CEYLON'S RELATIONS WITH SOUTH-EAST ASIA. WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO BURMA

SIRIMA WICKREMASINGHE

Ceylon's connections with South-East Asia can be grouped under three headings: political, cultural and commercial. The cultural ties between Ceylon and some of the South-East Asian countries are amply testified by both literary and lithic records of the Island. They supplement the overwhelming evidence of the Burmese writings and the not very exhaustive material afforded by Siamese and Cambodian texts. As to political and commercial relations, very little is forthcoming from South-East Asian sources and the evidence of the Ceylon Chronicles and inscriptions gives rise to problems which cannot be easily solved. The geographical situation of Ceylon close to the Southern border of India had the inevitable result of linking the fortunes of the Island with those of India. The kings of Ceylon were either involved in their own domestic troubles or interested themselves in the politics of South India, for a balance of power in this area was essential for the political security of Ceylon. But the fact that the country was cut off from the mainland helped it to maintain a continuity in its civilization. Buddhism, though it arose in India, submitted gradually to the encroachments of Hinduism and practically disappeared with the Muslim invasions. Theravāda Buddhism, which was introduced to Ceylon in about the third century B. C., maintained itself in spite of many vicissitudes and this was one of the factors which led to close links with South-East Asia at different times. Another reason which drew Ceylon away from India was its position on the highway of sea traffic, mid-way between Europe and the Far-East and this undoubtedly led to early contacts with South-East Asia.

The earliest reference in the Ceylon Chronicles to what is believed to be Burma is the introduction of Buddhism to Suvaṇṇabhūmi by the monks Soṇa and Uttara during the reign of Asoka in India. Yonakaraṭṭha and Mahāraṭṭha and Aparānta were three other areas to which missionaries were sent at this time.[1] This story is made much of in the Burmese writings of a much later date. The author of the *Sāsanavaṁsa*[2] identifies Yonakaraṭṭha and Mahāraṭṭha with the Shan states and Siam and Aparānta is thought to be the

1. *Mahavamsa* Ed. W. Geiger, P. T. S. London 1908, ch. XII, vv. 5 & 6

2. Ed. Mabel. Bode, P. T. S. London, 1897

Sunāparanta of the Burmese,[1] the region lying to the west of the Irrawady. However, it is well known that the areas in question were within India itself, and Yonakaraṭṭha has been identified with the country of the Greeks.[2] These later stories were obviously an attempt to establish the antiquity of the Buddhist religion in the countries of South-East Asia and to give it an official stamp. Suvaṇṇabhūmi is the only country which could be located in South-East Asia, the evidence for this being found in the *Jātakas*.[3] It appears quite certain that the story of the establishment of Buddhism in Ceylon by Mahinda and the account of the other Buddhist missions were known by about the first century A. D., the date assigned to the *Sīhalaṭṭhakathā* which formed the chief source of the early Pāli Chronicles.[4] Thus by this time it was well known in Ceylon that Buddhism had spread to South-east Asia. This in itself is not sufficient to establish any connection between Ceylon and this part of the world. There is however a faint suggestion of direct contact with Burma in the account of the building of the Ruvanvälimahāsāya during the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi in the second century B C. Many Buddhist theras from foreign countries are said to have been present at the foundation laying ceremony of this great stūpa. In this connection some of the well known monasteries of India are mentioned and the description of the foreign monks ends with the statement that the Great Elder Suriyagutta came from the Kelāsa monastery with a retinue of 96,000 monks.[5] The number is no doubt an exaggeration. There is no reference in Buddhist literature to a Kelāsa monastery in India and it is very probable that this was the monastery of that name in Burma. There seems to be no reason to doubt the authenticity of this particular statement of the *Mahāvaṁsa*, and therefore it seems fairly conclusive that there was a certain amount of contact between the Buddhist monks of Ceylon and Burma at least as early as the first century A. D. if not the second century B. C.

From this time onwards the Ceylon Chronicles maintain a long silence on relations with Burma or South-East Asia as a whole. However, an attempt is made by the Burmese Chronicles to establish a connection with Ceylon Buddhism in the fifth century A. D. According to Ceylonese tradition

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1. Sasanavamsa, pp 11 — 13
2. *Age of Imperial Unity*, Ed. R. C, Majumdar and A. D. Pusalker, Bombay 1953, p. 84
3. Jataka, Ed. Fausboll, iii, 188; iv, 15; vi, 34.
4. E. W. Adikaram, *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, 1946, p 41
5. Mahavamsa (Mhv.) ch XXIX, v. 23

Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator, came to the Island from North-eastern India.[1] This does not seem to be a historical fact for the internal evidence of the Commentaries suggests that Buddhaghosa was a South Indian by birth and belonged to the Āndhra or Telugu country [2] Some of the Burmese texts have preserved a different tale. In them we are told that Buddhaghosa was born in the city of Goḷa near Thaton in Lower Burma.[3] Goḷa is also referred to as the place to which the theras Soṇa and Uttara came during the reign of Asoka.[4] It is stated in the Talaing Chronicles that the Commentator resided in the Kelāsa monastery in that city.[5] It has been argued with a great deal of justification that the word *Talaing* applied to Buddhaghoṣa in the Burmese sources is a corruption of the word *Telanga*, a native of the Telugu country,[6] thus supporting the view that he belonged to Āndhra. The detailed geograpical knowledge of South India displayed by Buddhaghoṣa and the elaborate details regarding the Āndhra kingdom are some of the reasons adduced in favour of this view. More recent research has established the identity of Moraṇḍakheṭaka, the home of Buddhaghoṣa according to the colophon of the Visuddhimagga, with the two places Kōṭanemalipuri and Gundlapalli. This area is full of ancient remains and is close to the well known centres of Buddhism in the Āndhra country. Frequent references to a group of Commentarial works known as the *Andhakaṭṭhakathā*, no doubt written in the Telugu language, add further weight to this argument [7] Thus the Burmese contention that Buddhaghoṣa was a Talaing from Lower Burma seems to be a later fabrication and finds no corroboration in any source outside Burma. There is also the view that the Talaing were of the same stock as the Telugus of South India[8] and it has even been suggested that the Talaings brought these

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1. Culavamsa (Cv.) I, P. T. S. London 1929, ch, XXXVII, v, 215.

2. A. P. Buddhadatta — "Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator", *Ceylon Historical Journal* (C. H. J.), vol. 11. Nos. 3 & 4, pp. 238 — 241.

3. James Gray — *Buddhaghosuppatti*, London 1892, Introduction p. 22.

4. "A Preliminaty Study of the Kalyani Inscriptions" — Taw Sein Ko. *Indian Antiquary* vol XXII, 1893. p. 16

5. Vide f. n. 3

6. Ibid.

7. A. P. Buddhadatta — "Buddhaghosa; the Great Commentator", C.H.J. vol; II, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 239.

8. D. G. E Hall — *A History of South-East Asia*, London 1955. pp. 20 & 122.

traditions about Buddhaghoṣa from their original home.[1] The Ceylonese tradition that Buddhaghoṣa was a native of Madhyadeśa was also known in Burma, for the author of the Glass Palace Chronicle gives both traditions side by side with their respective sources, the Great Chronicle and the New Chronicle.[2] Once again the Burmese sources record the return of Buddhaghoṣa to Lower Burma together with texts on the Buddhist Canon[3] but the *Cūlavaṁsa* states that he returned to Madhyadeśa to pay his respects to the Bodhi-tree.[4] There is hardly any evidence to suggest that the Pāli Canon was introduced to Burma by Buddhaghoṣa.

The next phase in the cultural relations between Burma and Ceylon opens in the eleventh century A. D. Nothing is known of contacts during the intervening period, from either Burmese or Ceylonese sources. But the very close political and cultural relations of the eleventh century were no doubt the result of a long established friendship between the two countries. This particular period in Ceylon history was marked by political anarchy and foreign domination and it was in A D. 1070 that Vijaybāhu I succeeded in liberating Ceylon after half a century of Coḷa rule. It was during these years of political trouble that there is the first mention of a political relationship between Burma and Ceylon. Vijayabhāhu I in his struggle against the Coḷas is said to have sought help from the king of Rāmañña. The language in the *Cūlava ṁsa* is rather curious and not at all clear. Vijayabāhu sent many people and many costly treasures to the king of Rāmañña. This was followed by the arrival of many ships laden with various suffs, camphor, sandalwood and other goods in the Island, and the king was able to win over his soldiers by giving them valuable gifts.[5] This passage in the *Cūlavaṁsa* has been differently interpreted by historians. Nilakanta Sastri is of the opinion that Vijayabāhu's request for help did not meet with the desired response. According to him "the ruler of Burma .. had evidently no inclination to entangle himself in the wars of a distant land. The mission sent by Vijayabahu got him no addition to his military strength and virtually resolved itself into a trade or

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1. A. P. Buddhadatta - "Buddhaghosa, the Great Commentator", *C. H. J.* vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 239

2. *Glass Palace Chronicle* - Translated by Pe Maung Tin and G. H. Luce, London, 1923 pp. 46 - 50

3. Ibid. p. 48

4. Cv. ch. XXXVII, v. 246

5. Ibid ch LVIII, vv. 8 - 9

courtesy enterprise."[1] Others maintain that Vijayabāhu received substantial support from Burma.[2] Vijayabāhu was confined to the South of Ceylon during the Coḷa occupation, and this too he had secured after a long period of fighting. Apart from this frequent Coḷa inroads to the South and the probable pressure of population in this part of the country, due once again to the foreign occupation of the north, would have been a severe strain on the resources of Rohana. Therefore Vijayabāhu appealed for financial aid from Burma and there is no reason to believe that he was disappointed. This is further substantiated by the stronger cultural ties between the two countries which followed the accession of Vijayabāhu I as ruler of the whole Island.

In Burma the middle of the eleventh century witnessed the conquest of Rāmañña by Anoratha and the introduction of Therāvada Buddhism to the north.[3] At this time, when there was a great revival of Buddhism in Burma under Anoratha, the religion was suffering under severe stress in Ceylon, and the clergy was corrupt. One of the main tasks of Vijayabāhu I, after the expulsion of the Coḷas, was the rehabilitation of the Buddhist Order. According to the Ceylon Chronicles the number of ordained monks at the time was not sufficient even for the performance of certain essential religious acts among the Saṅgha like the *uposatha*. In the circumstances, Vijayabāhu looked to Burma again for help and requested from King Anuruddha bhikkhus who were versed in the dhamma.[4] The reestablishment of the proper ordination in Ceylon by the monks of Rāmañña is also mentioned in a Tamil inscription which may be dated a few years after the death of Vijayabāhu I.[5] King Anuruddha of Rāmañña was no other than Anoratha, an identification supported by the Glass Palace Chronicle.[6] Anuruddha was the king of Rāmañña or Lower Burma. This however is not strange in view of the fact that Lower Burma was better known to the Sinhalese than was the North on account of Theravāda Buddhism which was common to both countries.

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1. "Vijayabahu I, the Liberator of Lanka" *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch* (J. R. A. S. C. B), New Series; vol IV, Part I, p, 49

2. S. Paranavitana - *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Annual Report. 1949, p. 31.

3. D. G. E. Hall - *Burma*, London 1956, pp. 15 - 16

4. Cv. ch. LX, vv. 4 - 6

5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Ee. Zey.) II, No. 40, p. 252; lines 5 - 11

6. pp. 90 & 96

Burmese sources such as the *Sāsanavaṁsa* and the Glass Palace Chronicle also mention the religious contact between Ceylon and Burma at the time. [1]

There is still another tradition preserved in the Glass Palace Chronicle about Anoratha's dealings with Ceylon. The King is said to have contemplated capturing by force the Tooth Relic of the Buddha which was enshrined in the Island But he changed his mind as a result of divine intervention and a peaceful embassy was sent to secure the Relic. The details of the story are not very clear. The king of Ceylon according to this text was Dhātusena, who is also given the name Sirisaṅghabodhi.[2] The latter was a title used by Vijayabāhu I but there is nothing to suggest that he was ever known as Dhātusena. The only king of this name lived in the fifth century A. D. The confused nature of the story and the miraculous element in it, which suggests that the Tooth Relic duplicated itself in answer to the prayers of the Sinhalese king, cast a great deal of doubt on it. Whatever be the truth of some of these tales, there is sufficient evidence to show that a close cultural and political tie existed between the two countries during the reign of Vijayabāhu I.

The death of Vijeyabāhu was followed by a period of political anarchy. A number of civil wars were fought during a period of about half a century, before the country was united under the strong rule of Parākramabahu I in A. D. 1153. The kings and princes of this period were too deeply involved in their own domestic affairs to have cultural contacts with the outside world, and even if the Buddhist monks maintained regular intercourse with Burma, there is no reference to it in the Chronicles. The Burmese texts are also silent on contacts with Ceylon at this particular period, and it might well be that direct communication came to a temporary halt owing to unsettled political conditions in the Island. The accession of Parākramabāhu heralded a period of comparative peace and prosperity, He pursued a very ambitious and active foreign policy. Before his intervention in South Indian politics, he fought a war in Burma. Details of his campaigns are preserved in the Ceylon Chronicles as well as in an incription belonging to the reign of Pārakramabāhu I. The causes which led to the outbreak of hostilities and the ultimate results of the war are matters of great controversy.

The Author of the *Cūlavaṁsa* introduces the subject of the war with a brief synopsis of earlier relations with Burma. According to this there were

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1. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 88 ff.; Sasanavamsa, p. 64

2. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 88 ff.

no dissensions between Laṅkā and Rāmañña, since the two countries were inhabited by people who professed the true faith. The kings of Laṅkā and Rāmañña, were both true followers of the Buddha. Therefore from very early times the monarchs of the two countries lived in great friendship, sending each other costly gifts. Parākramabāhu I followed the same policy of amity and friendship with the king of Rāmañña for a long time, when hostilities broke out owing to the words of a slanderer who returned from Ceylon where he had served in the capacity of an envoy.[1] Reading through these introductory remarks one feels that the Chronicler is making an apology for the war. No doubt the friendly relations between Burma and Ceylon at the time when this part of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* was compiled, prompted this attitude.

It is difficult to imagine what the Burmese envoy reported to his master. The king of Rāmañña is said to have been antagonised by his words and he immediately issued orders which seriously affected Ceylon's trade in elephants. It is stated that he stopped his people from selling elephants to outsiders and also laid down that elephants hitherto sold for a hundred or a thousand silver *nikkhalas*[2] were to be sold for two or three thousand.[3] The exact implications of these measures are not made very clear. If the sale of elephants was stopped the question of prices would not have arisen Geiger, however, gives a very plausible explanation, when he says that it was the free trade in elephants that was stopped, putting in its place a royal monopoly. This, according to Geiger, was followed by an enormous rise in prices.[4] This however was not the only reason which led to strained relations. The king neglected the customary gifts to Parākramabāhu's envoys. Further, he stopped the age-old custom of presenting every vessel that conveyed gifts to his country with an elephant. Still another affront was the seizure of some Sinhalese who had brought a letter addressed to him. Their wealth was seized and they were cast into a fortress in Malayadesa, by which is obviously meant some moutainous district of Burma. The pretext for this action was the suspicion that they were envoys bound for Kamboja. Certain other ambassadors from Ceylon were also said to have been ill-treated and their elephants, ships and wealth confiscated. These hostile acts, according to the

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1. Cv. ch. LXXVI vv. 10-15

2. Apparently the Burmese tical, the dental *t* and *n* being liable to confusion in the Sinhalese script. – Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 80.

3. Cv. ch. LXXVI vv. 17-19

4. Cv. II (English Translation) p. 65, f.n. 5

Chronicler, disregarded the fact that the Burmese king's envoy, Tapassi by name, was well treated by Parākramabāhu. Further, the king of Rāmañña added insult to injury by binding pestles to the feet of the Ceylon envoys and employing them to sprinkle water in the prisons.[1]

The grievances of the Sinhalese were not yet complete. The king is said to have summoned the Ceylon envoys and forced them to agree to a written declaration that from that time onwards no Sinhalese ships would be sent to Burma, and no blame should be attached to the Burmese authorities if the envoys were killed The undertaking was given under the threat of detaining them indefinitely. Once it was obtained the envoys, Vāgissara Ācariya and Dhammakitti Paṇḍita ,were sent out to sea in a leaky ship. A further justification for the war was a breach of faith on the part of the Burmese king. Having taken the goods sent from Laṅkā for the purchase of elephants, he refused to hand over fourteen elephants and silver as promised. The final affront, which appears to have been the last straw, was the seizure of a Sinhalese princess sent to Kamboja. Parākramabāhu, when he heard of all the hostile deeds of the king of Burma, decided to settle the issues by war.[2]

Quite naturally the Ceylon Chronicle gives an extremely one-sided picture. It is rather unfortunate that no Burmese source deals with this particular expedition of the Sinhalese, and we are in no position to conjecture the grievances of the other side. This lack of evidence makes it difficult to test the authenticity of the statements in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*. From the nature of the reasons given, they do not all seem to be fabrications, but there are certain difficulties which do not make them wholly acceptable. The causes of war as given in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* may be broadly divided into two distinct categories. One group seems to centre round trade, and the other seems to have a political bearing. There seems to be a confusion between political envoys and officers sent by the king merely for purposes of trade. The common word *dūta* is used. However, from the nature of their transactions it is possible to make a distinction. It is not very easy to determine how often these officers were maltreated and how often their belongings were seized. It is not improbable that different versions of single incidents were known and put down as distinct from one another.

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1. Cv. ch. LXXVI vv. 16 & 20 – 25.

2. Ibid. vv. 28 – 36.

The reaction of the Burmese king to the reports of his emissary in Ceylon, which led to the imposition of trade barriers, would suggest disagreement over trade relations between the two countries. In spite of the monopoly placed on the elephant trade, it does appear that the Sinhalese traders attempted to carry on an illicit trade. This could be inferred from the subsequent action taken by the Burmese authorities, when a written statement was elicited from the Ceylon ambassadors that no Sinhalese ship would touch the Burmese ports. The subsequent seizure of ships, elephants and other goods was probably a result of continued piracy on the part of the Sinhalese traders.

The political reasons for the war bring Cambodia into the picture. The maltreatment of a certain delegation from Ceylon on the suspicion that it was bound for Cambodia, and the incident in which a Sinhalese princess was involved, give a clue to the political estrangement between Burma and Combodia. In these circumstances friendly dealings between Ceylon and Cambodia would have been resented by the Burmese king. The latter could, with very little difficulty, put a stop to contact between them, for the Ceylonese ambassadors seem to have used the land route to Cambodia through Burma. The evidence afforded is not sufficient to suggest a determined policy of political alignment with Cambodia against Rāmañña, but a certain amount of bitterness appears to have been roused as a result of Parākramabāhu's dealings with Cambodia. Very little is known of the political relations between Burma and Cambodia at this time. Sūryavarman II (1113 - 1150) of Cambodia was a very powerful monarch who is said to have campaigned against neighbouring countries both to the east and west of his own kingdom.[1] It is quite natural that neighbouring countries such as Burma would feel suspicious of the growing power of Cambodia, and it is not unlikely that feelings were strained between them. However, nothing is known of Ceylon's friendship with Cambodia at this time from records of that country.

Though the information in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* may not be accurate in every detail, there is sufficient reason to believe that certain events led to a breach in the good relations which existed between Burma and Ceylon. Parākramabāhu, according to the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, called together his ministers and gave instructions that the king of Arimaddana should be captured or killed. The *Gaṇakāmacca* or treasurer expressed his wish to undertake the expedition, as the venture was not sufficiently important for the chief minister to take a hand in. He assured the king that he would follow instructions and achieve success. With this

1. G. Coedes - *Less Etats Hindouises d 'indochine et d' Indonesie*, p. 269

the king was pleased, and all other army leaders were placed under him and arrangements were made for a speedy attack. Soon the land round the coast became one great workshop making hundreds of ships. Within five months ships, provisions and men were ready for the expedition. Of the many hundreds of ships that set sail on the same day from the port of Pallavavaṅkatittha[1], some, affected by adverse winds, were destroyed, while others were driven to foreign shores. One of the ships reached Kākadīpa,[2] where the Sinhalese soldiers fought with the inhabitants, took some captive, and brought them over to Ceylon.[3]

Five ships, however, arrived at the port of Kusumiya[4] in Rāmañña. The Sinhalese soldiers were led by a certain Nagaragiri Kitti. They are said to have begun fighting from the place at which they landed and to have killed many thousands of their opponents. The *Cūḷavaṁsa* describes the battle with vivid details of the felling of giant trees and the burning of villages, thus destroying a part of the kingdom. The ship of the treasurer, who had offered to lead the expedition at the outset, reached Pāpphālatittha.[5] He too fought a heroic battle, destroyed the enemy, captured many of the inhabitants alive, and created great confusion in the country. The invading army then entered the city of Ukkama and killed the monarch of Rāmañña. In this way they brought the kingdom under their sway. The Sinhalese generals mounted a a white elephant and went round the city proclaiming the overlordship of the king of Laṅkā. The people of Rāmañña decided to grant certain concessions to the Sinhalese in order to bring the war to an end. Envoys were speedily despatched with instructions to agree to giving any number of elephants the king of Ceylon wished to have every year. Letters were taken to the Community of monks in the Island and not to the king. The bhikkhus of the three Nikāyas interceded on behalf of the Burmese envoys and a friendly agreement was reached. Thus ended the war with Burma.[6]

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1. Cannot be identified.

2. Geiger suggests that Kakadipa was perhaps the name of one of the Andaman Islands. (Cv. II, English Translation, p. 68, f n. 6). The Islands lie south of the direct route from Ceylon to Burma and it is interesting to note that the two nothernmost Islands are known as the Great Coco and Little Coco — Coco bearing a striking resemblance to Kaka.

3. Cv. ch LXXVI vv. 39 - 58

4. Modern Bassein

5. Cannot be identified

9. Cv. ch. LXXVI vv. 59 - 75

This story again needs careful analysis. In spite of the elaborate preparations made for the expedition, the *Cūḷavaṁsa* very truthfully records that in all only six ships reached Rāmañña, and they too were divided, one landing at Papphālatittha with the leader of the expedition and the rest reaching Kusumiya. The number of soldiers in each ship could not have been very large, and there is very little probability of soldiers in six ships carrying on a large scale war. The war as described in the Chronicle seems to have been only a successful raid on some of the ports of Lower Burma, with a view to obtaining certain concessions in the elephant trade. The fact that the treasurer and not the leading generals was placed in charge of the expedition shows that Parākramabāhu himself did not attach very great importance to it. The fighting was concentrated in Rāmañña or Lower Burma. Besides the two ports Kusumiya and Papphālatittha, the Sinhalese soldiers are said to have attacked a city known as Ukkama, where the reigning king was put to death. On the basis of the accepted dates in Burmese chronology, the king of Burma at this time was Alaungsithu (1113 - 1165 or 1167).[1] He ruled over both Lower and Upper Burma from the capital, Pagan. Ukkama might have been an important trading centre ruled by a provincial chieftain. The identification of this place name is extremely difficult. The well known port of Martaban was known in early times as Muhtma or Muttama[2], and it is not impossible that Ukkama was a Sinhalese distortion of Muttama. This is of course highly conjectural, but if accepted, it would indicate that the raid was directed against three of the main ports of Lower Burma. It is significant that the city of Arimaddana (Pagan) is referred to only once in the narrative, when Parākramabāhu announced to his ministers that the king of Arimaddana should either be captured or killed. But the king who was put to death in the course of the war is referred to as the king of Rāmañña. Both Upper and Lower Burma were in fact under the same ruler at this time and it is not unlikely that ths Sinhalese identified the whole of Burma with Rāmañña. But this particular king of Rāmañña mentioned in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* seems to have resided at Ukkama and not at Arimaddanapura. It might be that the Sinhalese killed the local ruler of Ukkama, and this incident was probably exaggerated until Parākramabāhu was described as giving orders to capture or kill the king of Arimaddanapura. The final settlement reached through the intervention of some of the residents of Rāmañña and the monks of Ceylon, and the terms agreed to, make it quite clear that the Burmese war was an attack on the chief

1. D. G. E. Hall - *History of South East Asia*, Appendix p. 731

2. U. E. Maung - "Some Place Names in Burma", *Journal of the Burma Research Society*, vol. 39, Pt. II p. 191.

ports of Lower Burma in order to get certain trade concessions from the Burmese authorities. Although certain facts, already disscussed, indicate some amount of political tension between the two countries, it is difficult to decide whether these political affronts were a serious consideration in the war.

Further light is thrown on this episode by an inscription which belongs to the reign of Parākramabāhu I. It is a record of a land grant to Kit Nuvaragal (Kitti Nagaragiri) for carrying out successfully the expedition against Aramaṇa (Rāmañña). The inscription is dated in the twelfth year of Parākramabāhu,[1] and this gives a fairly accurate idea of the date of the Burmese war. It is very likely that the granting of land in recognition of the services rendered by Kit Nuvaragal followed soon after the termination of the war, which may therefore be ascribed to either the eleventh or twelfth year of Parākramabāhu's reign. Thus the war against Burma was over by A D. 1165. This, according to some historians, was the year in which Alaungsithu died[2] having fallen a victim to a court intrigue engineered by his sons. The reign of this monarch was said to have been marked by great internal revolts, one of which occured in Bassein,[3] one of the places attacked by the Sinhalese soldiers. If the date 1165 is accepted for the death of Alaungsithu, one might suggest a basis to the story of the Pāli Chronicle that the king was put to death by the soldiers from Ceylon the Sinhalese taking the credit for what was done by the king's own sons. However nothing conclusive can be said about it, for there is no unanimity of opinion on the date of Alaungsithu's death and it is difficult to work out precise dates for events either in Ceylon or in Burma in this period. A strong objection to this view is the fact that the king was killed at Ukkama and not at the capital city. Therefore the possibility that the Sinhalese soldiers killed the local ruler of Ukkama cannot be ruled out. If the identification of Ukkama with Martaban is acceptable, then the ruler in question would be the provincial governor of Rāmañña, for this place is known to have been the capital of Lower Burma, though the reference is to a later period. The Burmese Chronicles mention that the ruler of Martaban rebelled against the king of Pagan, Narathihapate (1254-1287).[4] It might well be that Martaban was the capital of Lower Burma a century earlier, and it was perhaps its ruler who met with his death at the hands of the Ceylon troops. Once again this proposition depends on the identification of Ukkama with Martaban, which is not conclusive.

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1. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, No. 34, p. 321, lines 15 - 16
2. D. G. E. Hall - *History of South East Asia*, Appendix p. 731
3. *Glass Palace Chronicle* p. 118
4. Ibid. p 161 - 163

There has been, however, an attempt to establish the claims of the Sinhalese to have killed the Burmese king. Maung Than Tun, who upholds this view, dates the war in the reign of Alaungsithu's successor, Narathu, to whom he assigns the period between A. D. 1165 (?) and 1174. According to the Burmese Chronicles, Narathu was killed by the Kalas of Pataikkāra,[1] and Than Tun asserts that his assasins probably came from Ceylon.[2] This is, however, not acceptable, firstly because of the chronological difficulty, for according to the dates assigned to Parākramabāhu the Burmese war was over by A. D. 1164. Secondly, it is very improbable that the Burmese Chroniclers would have confused Ceylon, so well known to them, with any other place.

Apart from fixing the date of the Burmese expedition, the Devanagala inscription furnishes us with a certain amount of information about the war itself, its cause and result. The inscription is unfortunately rather fragmentary, but nevertheless significant, being a contemporary record, unlike the *Cūḷavaṁsa*, composed at a much later date. The war is said to have taken place in the reign of Bhuvanāditta. This was a title used by more than one king of Burma, and Alaungsithu was one of these.[3] This therefore, does not throw any additional light on the problem. It is striking that this king's name is used only to date the event and is in no way connected with any of the details of the main body of the record. The *casus belli* was the refusal to enter into an agreement with Ceylon, but nothing is said as to its nature or by whom it was refused. Further we are told that a thousand ships were sent under Kit Nuvaragal, and Kusumiya was sacked. Thus the statement in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* that Nagaragiri Kitti attacked Kusumiya is corroborated. The next line is not very legible, but the words five months is quite clear. It might be suggested that operations continued for that length of time, for the next line reads that the people of Aramaṇa sent envoys to conclude a treaty. This again is a further verification of the story as given in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*. Another point worthy of note is that Kit Nuvaragal was granted favours for the success he achieved in forcing the people of Aramaṇa to send envoys to conclude a treaty, and not for any great military achievement. The only detail given of the actual course of the war is the attack on Kusumiya, this being the part played by Kit Nuvaragal and therefore relevant to the record.[4]

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1. Ibid. pp. 133 - 134

2. "The Buddhist Church in Burma during the Pagan Period' '— Thesis submitted to the University of London, 1956, pp. 268 - 69

3. *Glass Palace Chronicle* p. 115.

4. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* III, No 34, p. 312 ff.

There is a very slight suggestion that the king who was reigning in Burma at the beginning of the war was not alive at the end of it, for the incription reads, "when a certain king of Aramaṇa named Bhuvanāditya was ruling.....". The only plausible inference that one can make is that at the time the inscription was engraved he was not the reigning king. If the grant to Kit Nuvaragal was bestowed immediately after his return from his campaigns, as one would naturally expect, and if by that time the king during whose reign the attack was made was dead, it would follow that his death took place towards the end of the war or very soon after it. But there is no hint in this document that he met with his death at the hands of the Sinhalese soldiers, thus disproving that part of the *Cūḷavaṁsa* story, for a detail such as this would have been scarecely overlooked. The facts as given in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* and the Devanagala inscription, together with the evidence of the Burmese Chronicles relating to this period, strongly suggest that the Burmese war was a raid directed against the ports of Lower Burma and the king ot Burma had little or no connection with it. The ruler of Lower Burma was perhaps very largely independent of central control during the reign of Alaungsithu, and was able to carry on trade etc. on his own authority. The fact that the residents of Aramaṇa were finally left to make the best of the situation seems to indicate that the Sinhalese had put to death the provincial ruler who resided at Ukkama, which might be identified with Martaban. The final outcome of the war makes it quite clear that the issues at stake centred round trade concessions rather than any other factors.

Certain episodes connected with the reign of Alaungsithu described in the Glass Palace Chronicle appear to have some bearing on the Burmese war. The king is said to have visited Ceylon and also married the daughter of the Sinhalese king. In addition to this he is reported to have brought back with him to Burma an image of Mahākassapa Thera, which was an object of great veneration in the Island. These statements find no support in any Ceylon source, though there are the traditions already noticed that Parākrmabāhu had friendly dealings with Burma before the outbreak of hostilities and also the story of a Sinhalese princess being seized by the king of Rāmaññā on her way to Cambodia. What is of very great interest is that Alaungsithu had appointed a Kala in Ceylon, most probably in the capacity of an ambassador, who was later found to be corrupt in his allegiance to him.[1] It is probably this same ambassador who is called a slanderer in the *Cūḷavaṁsa*,[2] the envoy responsible

1. *Glass Palace Chronicle*, pp. 114 & 118

2. Cv. ch. LXXVI, v, 15

for hostilities between the two countries. It would appear that the ambassador in question had proved false both to his master and to his hosts. It is not impossible that this Kala joined Rāmañña against Upper Burma, and by his actions brought about hostilities between Ceylon and Lower Burma. This is the only way in which one can explain why this envoy stands condemned by both Burmese and Ceylonese sources.

In spite of political differences between Burma and Ceylon at this particular time, the strong religious bond which existed between them remained unimpaired. This can be seen even in the events which followed immediately after the war, for the people of Aramaṇa are said to have made an appeal to the monks of Ceylon to bring about a settlement with Parākramabāhu. Thus, quite apart from diplomatic and trade contacts there was independent religious intercourse between the two countries. The most important result of these contacts was the establishment of a sect known as the Sīhala Saṅgha in Burma.

Uttarajīva Mahāthera, the Ācāriya of the king of Pūgāma, is said to have visited Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu I The details of Uttarajīva's visit, and of the subsequent strengthening of existing religious ties, are found in an inscription belonging to the reign of Dhammaceti, who reigned in the fifteenth centry.[1] Uttarajīva was accompanied by a number of other monks, among whom was Sāmanera Chapaṭa. The latter received his ordination in Ceylon and stayed in the Island for ten years, mastering the *Tipiṭaka* and the *Aṭṭhakathā*. The elder monk left the Island in the meantime, having worshipped at the various shrines. The Kalyāṇī inscriptions date the visit of Uttarajīva 1714 years after the death of the Buddha and this would work out to A. D. 1171. Thus the establishment of the Sīhala Saṇgha ten years later, after the return of Chapaṭa, can be dated in about 1181. Coedés synchronises the arrival of Uttarajīva with the peace at the end of the war against Burma.[2] There is however, a six year gap between the date assigned to the end of the the war according to the Ceylon chronology and this event. It is not possible to ascertain whether the Kalyāṇī inscriptions contain very accurate dates. In view of this the suggestion of Coedés cannot be entirely rejected.

Chapaṭa, after his period of study in Ceylon, returned to Pūgāma accompanied by four other theras from Ceylon, Sīvalī, a native of Tāmalittha,

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1. *Indian Antiquary* vol. XXII, 1893, pp. 151 – 154

2. *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indochine et d'Indonesie* - p. 299

Tāmalinda Thera, who was the son of the king of Kamboja, Ānanda, a native of Kāñcipura, and Rāhula Thera, of Sīhaladīpa. These monks established a rather exclusive community refusing to associate with the bhikkhus of Pūgāma in the performance of religious acts. This community known as the Sīhala Saṅgha is said to have won the goodwill of king Narapathisithu (1173 - 1210). Under his patronage they held the Upasampadā ordination for the benefit of those monks who wished to join the Sīhala Saṅgha. After the death of the Chief Thera, Chapaṭa, dissensions arose among the leading members of the Sīhala Saṅgha. Rāhula Thera, who was attracted by a dancing girl, left for Malayadīpa, and the three other monks are known to have established their own separate Schools. Sāriputta, a pupil of Ānanda Thera, established a branch of the Sīhala Saṅgha in Rāmaññadesa. More and more branches of the Sīhala Saṅgha were established by the monks visiting Ceylon and gathering round them a following.[1] Texts such as the *Sāsanavaṁsa* give details of the arrival of monks from Ceylon at various times and this contact led to the mutual interchange of religious ideas and literature.[2]

The next reference to Burma in the *Cūḷavaṁsa* is in the reign of Vijayabāhu II, the successor of Parākramabāhu I. This monarch is said to have sent a letter written in the Māgadhī language to the king of Arimaddana and thus revived the friendly relations which existed in the day of his great grandfather, Vijayabāhu I.[3] It seems that Vijayabāhu II resumed the diplomatic relations broken off during the regin of Parākramabāhu I as a result of the Burmese war. Burmese sources, though they mention the purification of the Order during the reign of Vijayabāhu II,[4] do not refer to any specific contact with Ceylon at this time. Nissaṁkamalla in his inscriptions claims to have entered into friendly relations with Aramaṇa.[5]

Under Dhammaceti, who reigned in the fifteenth centry A. D., Burma witnessed a fresh religious revival. During the four centuries that preceded his reign the country was subject to a great deal of political disturbance and Buddhist practices seem to have been neglected as a result. Dhammaceti, who wished to re-introduce the *Upasampadā* Ordination and establish a consecrated place for the performance of religious ceremonies, sent a mission to Ceylon

1. Kalyani Inscriptions, *Indian Antiquary* vol. XXII, p. 29 ff.

2. Sasanavamsa, p. 42 ff.

3. Cv. ch. LXXVI, vv. 6 - 8

4. Sasanavamsa, p. 44

5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* II; Nos. 17, 26 & 27

to secure the valid Ordination. Two ministers, twenty two monks and their pupils constituted the mission. The king of Ceylon at the time was Buvanekabāhu VI, who gave them a warm welcome. The Burmese monks received the Higher Ordination at the hands of the Mahāvihāra fraternity on the bank of the Kalyāṇi river. On their return they consecrated a sīmā in Pegu. The Kalyāni inscriptions[1] give a detailed description of these events and the same events are described in a Pāli text known in Ceylon as the *Kalyānippakaraṇa*.[2] Strangely enough the Ceylon Chronicles do not make even a passing reference to this Burmese mission to Ceylon.

Next it was the turn of the Saṅgha of Ceylon to suffer decay and neglect. Owing to the Portuguese and later the Dutch occupation of Ceylon, Buddhism received a set back, and on two occasions the Ordination was restored in the Island with the help of monks from Arakkan, Rakkhaṇga of the Ceylon Chronicles.[3] These two events took place in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries respectively. Once again five monks were sent to Burma to be ordained there. This was done with a view to establishing a new Order in opposition to the Ordination at the hands of Siamese bhikkus.[4] The new sect was known as the Amarapura Nikaya and continues up to the present day.

Of all the South-east Asian countries Ceylon's relations with Burma were the closest. Cambodia, Malaya and Siam were the other more important countries with which Ceylon had a fair amount of political and cultural intercourse. Cambodia does not find mention in either the Ceylon Chronicles or the inscriptions until about the twelfth century. The friendship of Parākramabāhu I with Cambodia has been already noticed. It is very likely that, as with Burma, Theravāda Buddhism was one of the uniting factors with Cambodia. One of the monks who accompained Chapaṭa to Burma is spoken of as being the son of the King of Kamboja. Nissaṁkamalla, who ascended the throne very shortly after the death of Parākramabāhu I, states in his inscriptions that he maintained friendly relations with this country.[5] There is a curious reference to a class of bird-catchers know as *Kambodi* in one of Nissaṁkamalla's inscriptions. The king is said to have given them all the wealth they desired

1, *Indian Antiquary* vol. XXII, p. II ff.

2. Translated by Polwatte Sri Buddharakkhita Sthavira; Colombo 1924

3. Cv. ch. XCIV, v. 15 ff, ch. XCVII, v. 10 ff.

4. Malalasekara - *History of Pali Literature*, p. 309.

5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica II*, Nos. 17, 26 & 27.

and requested them to give up their sinful vocation.[1] *Kambodi* undoubtedly refer to Cambodians, but when and why they settled down in the Island cannot be easily determined. There is a suggestion that they were mercenary soldiers employed by the king of Ceylon.[2] In the twelfth century one of the city gates of Polonnaruva was known as *Kamboja-vāsala*[3] and it has generally been assumed that there was a Cambodian settlement in this part of the city. It has even been suggested that certain buildings at Polonnaruva are related to Cambodian monuments.[4]

Siam and Ligor were two other countries drawn into close association with Ceylon as a result of Theravāda Buddhism. This form of Buddhism seems to have become important in Siam only after the Thai occupation of that country round about the tenth century. Siam first came into contact with Ceylon in the reign of Rocarāja of Sukhodaya in the thirteenth century. The Jinakālamālinī, a Pāli work on the history of what was then known as Yoṇaraṭṭha, which forms part of modern Siam, deals with this incident. The text in question was written in the early years of the sixteenth century by a monk who belonged to the Sīhala Saṅgha. Rocarāja while on a visit to the king of Sri Dhammanagara in the Malaya Peninsula is said to have heard of the existence of a miraculous Buddha image in Ceylon. A joint embassy was sent by the two kings to secure the image which was handed over to them by the king of Ceylon. The ship on its return journey was wrecked but the image was miraculously washed ashore at Sri Dhammanagara from where it was later taken to Siam. Rocarāja cannot be identified with any certainty. Sri Dhammanagara has been identified with Ligor and is known in Malay as Nakhon Si Thammarat and in Pāli writtings as Tambaraṭṭha. In Sinhalese texts the names Tambalinga and Tamalingamu are also used.[5]

Evidence of religious intercourse between Ceylon and Tambaraṭṭha also goes back to the twelfth century. A fragmentary inscription of the period in

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1. Ibid. No. 13
2. Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon 1903, p. 16
3. *Epigraphia Zeylanica II*, p 74.
4. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, p. 247
5. S. Paranavitana, "Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the Thirteenth to the Fifteenth Centuries", *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, vol. XXXII, No. 85

Ceylon refers to a monk named Ānanda of Tambaraṭṭha[1] But no definite conclusions can be drawn owing to its fragmentary nature. The Cūḷavaṁsa records two invasions of the island by a Jāvaka king named Chandrabhānu in the reign of Parākramabāhu II,[2] whose period of rule extended from A D. 1236 to 1271. An inscription at Sri Dhammanagara dated in A. D 1230 gives the title Chandrabhānu to the ruling monarch and he is also referred to as Tāmbralingeśvara.[3] This monarch has been identified with Chandrabhānu of the Ceylon Chronicles and the ally of Rocarāja according to the *Jinakālamālinī*, for they both belong roughly to the same period. Coedés is of the opinion that the first invasion of the Island by Chandrabhānu was to secure the miraculous image, but having failed he joined hands with his ally Rocarāja and secured it by peaceful means.[4] According to the *Cūḷavaṁsa* the Jāvakas invaded Ceylon on the pretext that they too were Buddhists.[5] Therefore the conclusion of Coedés is not without justification. The second invasion according to the Chronicle was with the intention of capturing the Tooth and Bowl Relics of the Buddha, but the Sinhalese armies were able to hold their own against the invader. Parākramabāhu II is also known to have invited to Ceylon a famous monk named Dhammakitti from Tambaraṭṭha.[6]

Prior to any evidence of any direct contact between Siam and Ceylon, inscriptions from Sukhodaya refer to Sinhalese Buddhism in that country. It is very likely that Burma like Ligor acted as an intermediary. In fact a story in the *Jinakālamālinī* which describes the visit paid by a Siamese monk to Rāmañña to receive the Upasampadā at the hands of a reputed Sinhalese monk named Udumbaragiri,[7] illustrates this process. From the fourteenth century onwards Siamese inscriptions give details of direct contact with Ceylon and the coming over of Sinhalese monks to Siam and the performance of religious acts. The *Jinakālamālinī* describes an ordination ceremony held at Kalyāni in Ceylon, at which monks from Siam, Burma and Cambodia were present. This event is dated 1968 years after the death of the Buddha, and would therefore fall in

1. *Ceylon Journal of Science* vol II (Section G) p. 186
2. Cv, ch. LXXXIII vv 36-48 & LXXXVIII vv. 62-75.
3. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, vol. XXXII, No. 85, p. 195
4. Ibid p. 195; *Bijdragen tot de Taal-land-en volkenkunde von Nederlandsch Indie*, Deel 83.
5. Cv. ch. LXXXIII, v, 37
6. Ibid. ch. LXXXIV, v, 11 ff.
7. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch*, vol. XXXII, No. 85, p. 197 ff.

the reign of Parākramabāhu VI. Vanaratana Thera who received the monks and acted as their spiritual preceptor is known to have been the chief monk of the Island under Parāramabāhu VI.[1] The Ceylon Chronicles however do not make any reference to this mission.

By the eighteenth century however conditions had changed and Buddhism in Ceylon had suffered as a result of foreign occupation. Now it was Ceylon's turn to obtain monks from Siam for the establishment of the valid ordination. Sri Vijaya Rājasiṁha who reigned in the middle of the eighteenth century sent an embassy to Siam to secure monks from there[2] but nothing is known of its final outcome. The next ruler Kirti Srī Rājasiṁha also sent a mission to Siam for the same purpose and secured monks for the re-establishment of the Order.[3] It is recorded in the Chronicle that the king obtained from Siam even a copy of the *Mahāvaṁsa* and compared it with the same text then available in Ceylon.[4]

From about the eleventh century onwards the Buddhist countries of South-east Asia seem to have looked to Ceylon as the fountain-head of the pure Theravāda doctrine and modelled their religious institutions on those of Ceylon. But the debt they owed to Ceylon was duly repaid when Burma and Siam came to the rescue of the religion in Ceylon during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

Commercial Contacts — Apart from the trade in elephants with Burma, which has been already noticed, reference to trade between Ceylon and South-east Asia is almost totally absent in the Ceylon Chronicles. Ceylon, however, did not always import elephants, for Megasthenes in the third century B. C. states that they were exported from the Island,[5] and even in the sixteenth century elephants are known to have been exported [6] Ceylon lay midway along the trade route between China and the West, and traders both from the East and

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1. Hamsa sandesa, vv. 183 - 197
2. Cv. ch. XCVIII, v. 89
3. P. E E. Fernando, "An Account of the Kandyan Mission sent to Siam in 1750 A D." *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*. vol. 2, No 1
4. Cv. ch.XCIX vv. 78 - 79
5. Mc Crindle - *Ancient India as Described by Megasthenes and Arrian* p 173 - 175
6. *The Book of Duarte Barbosa* Hakluyt Series, vol, XLIX, pp, 113 - 115.

West met here and exchanged their goods. But there is no evidence to suggest that Ceylon took an active part in this trade. According to the Chinese text Chu-fan-chih, written in the thirteenth century, Ceylon paid tribute to Srī Vijaya.[1] It has been argued that in certain Chinese works tribute is synonymous with trade and the statement in the Chu-fan-chih has been taken to indicate trade with the kingdom of Srī Vijaya.[2] A Javanese inscription of the eleventh century mentions the arrival of some Sīhala merchants in that country.[3] This might add some weight to the inference that the payment of tribute to Srī Vijaya in fact suggests trade relations.

If a broad generalisation can be made, Ceylon's relations with South-east Asia were mainly of a cultural nature and it was very rarely and for very brief periods that any political impact was felt on either side.

1. Luciano Petech, "Some Chinese Texts Concerning Ceylon", *The Ceylon Historical Journal*, vol. III, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 217 ff.

2. B. J. Perera, "The Foreign Trade and Commence of Ancient Ceylon - III, *Ceylon Historical Journal* vol I, No. 4, p. 312

3. Ibid. p. 301 ff.

A SINHALESE CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE BUDDHA IMAGE *

SIRI GUNASINGHE

A number of free-standing Buddha images have been discovered at Amarāvatī and have been regarded as being products of the Amarāvatī school of the second or the third century A. D., without due consideration being given to some of their obviously non-Amarāvatī characteristics.[1] A group of Buddha statuettes in bronze was found by Rea at Amarāvatī and not far from the main *stūpa*. These statuettes were dated by him in the second or third century A. D attributing them thus to the same school.[2] Two very important but neglected Buddha torsos discovered at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa have been fixed in the same period as that of the other objects of the Amarāvatī complex and have been classed as products of the Amarāvatī school.[3] From the Kāmākṣidevī temple of Conjeevaram comes another free-standing image of the Buddha[4] belonging to this same ill-defined group of images to which we must add also a free-standing torso from Rāmatīrtha[5] and the well known Buddhas in the round from Campa, Celebes and Java, the date and place of origin of which have been subjects of controversy, opinion attributing them either to Ceylon or to Amarāvatī.[6]

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* This is a revised and enlarged version of an article entitled "Ceylon and the Buddha image in the round" which appeared in *Artibus Asiae* XIX (1957)

1. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906-7.
   J. Burgess, *Buddhist Stupas of Amaravati and Jaggayyapeta*, London 1887. Pl. LII, 1, 2, 3.

2. *Archaeological Survey of India*, Annual Report, 1908-9. Pl XXVIII.

3. Longhurst, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 55. Pl. VI (b).
   Ramachandran, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 71 Pl. X (a).

4. Gopinath Rao, 'Bauddha Vestiges in Kanchipura". *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XLIV June 1915. Fig. 1

5. *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1910-11. Pl, XLIII. 1

6. For a discussion and references see: Mirella Levi D'Ancona; 'Amaravati, Ceylon, and Three "Imported Buddhas," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. XXXV, No. 1. March 1925,

That these images display many common characteristics is obvious and in spite of some differences in the treatment of detail it would not be far from the truth to say that they have been derived from the same source even if it be too much, in the present state of our knowledge, to say that they have been exported from the same place. It is also obvious that they differ greatly from the normal Amarāvatī Buddha-reliefs although all opinion tends towards Amarāvatī as their provenance mainly on account of a few iconographical similarities between these free-standing images and the Buddhas in the Amarāvatī reliefs.

According to the reasoning of Douglas Barrett, the group of statues discovered at Amarāvatī belongs to the early school of Amarāvatī which, in his opinion, originally created this type of Buddha figure and should therefore be called the Amarāvati type. On grounds of style we would class the two torsos from Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa too with the statues from Amarāvatī but would hesitate in accepting them as the original creations of the Amarāvatī school. It would appear that this type of Buddha, with the left shoulder covered, left hand appearing to grasp the robe, right shoulder bare, right hand in *abhayamudrā*, hair two inches long and curled and the robe showing the unique swag at the bottom left — features that distinguish this type from all the other Buddha types of India, those of Gandhāra included — was created originally at Amarāvatī in the standing figures of the reliefs. But we would question the validity of the assumption that the group of statues in the round under consideration was the "creation of the Amarāvatī craftsman in the early third century A. D."[1].

The difference between these Buddha statues in the round and the standing Buddha figures of the Amarāvatī bas-reliefs does not lie in the iconography which is largely the same. It is obvious that in any form of religious art the element that changes least is the iconography, since any change in this respect must result from a complete recasting of the whole concept symbolised. No such conceptual change can be noticed in the iconography of the Amarāvatī bas-reliefs on the one hand and that of the free-standing images under discussion on the other. The difference between these two groups of Buddha figures is to be discerned not in a change in the form or the iconography but in the evolution of the Buddha image into a cult object.

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1. Douglas Barrett, "The Later School of Amaravati and its Influences." *Arts and Letters*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 2.

Douglas Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London 1954.

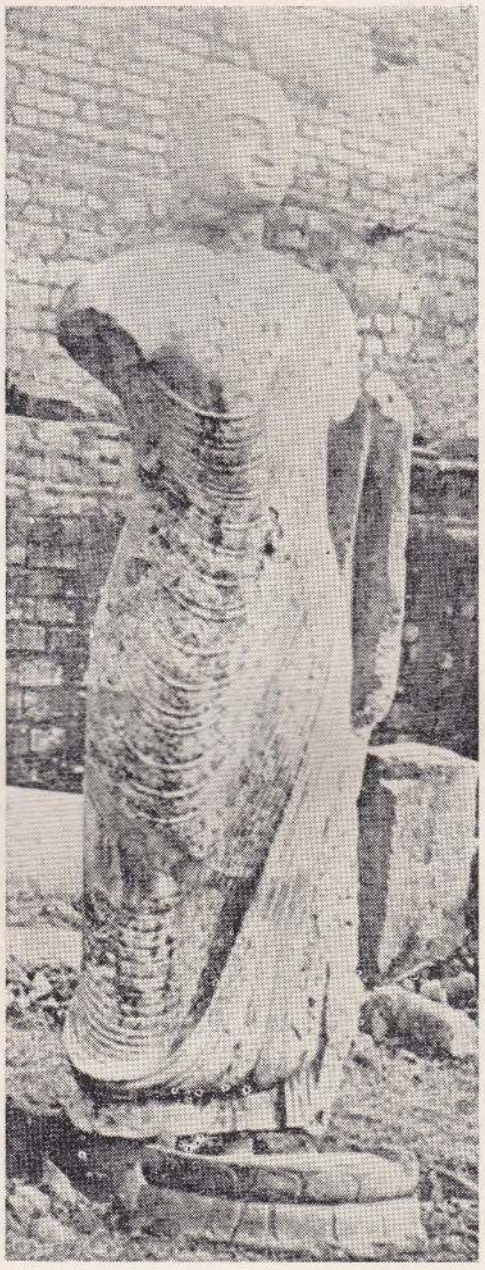

Fig. 1

Buddha from Ruvanvāli
Säya. Anurādhapura.

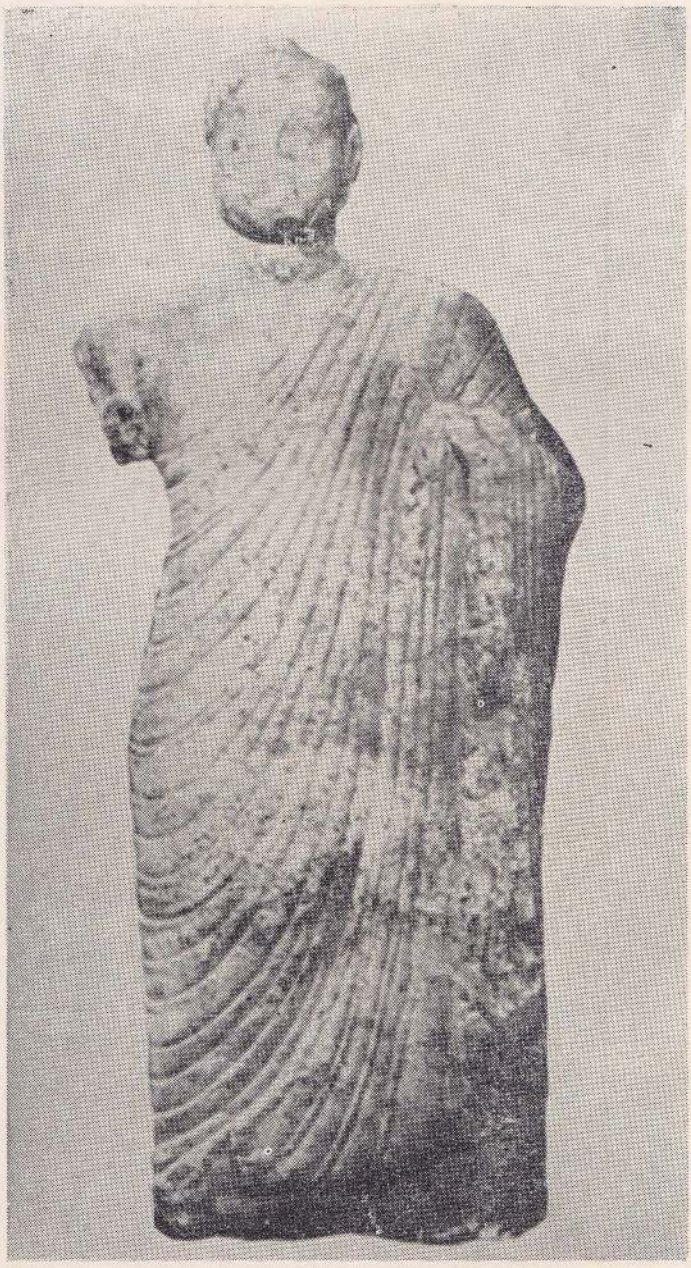

Fig. 2

Buddha from Amarāvatī

(Government Museum, Madras.)

Until we come to these free-standing Buddhas there is no sign of Amarāvatī having had a cult image of the Buddha.* In fact no part of India, Gandhāra included, has had during the early phase of Buddhist art an image meant exclusively for worship. These statues in the round, therefore, appear foreign in the religious and artistic context of Amarāvatī.

There is no evidence whatsoever to indicate that it was at Amarāvatī that the image of the Buddha meant exclusively for worship was created. Apart from creating a life-size image for purposes of worship, Amarāvatī had not been able to abandon the habit of representing the Buddha through symbols even during the last phase of its artistic activity as is revealed by the relief slabs of the *stūpa*. That, in fact, the Amarāvatī craftsmen were still experimenting with the Buddha figure could easily be seen from the variety of figure-types used in the reliefs. These types are, for the most part, adaptations of non-Amarāvatī models such as those of Mathurā and Gandhāra. This variety of of types here is the best index to the uncertainity of the Amarāvatī craftsman as to the real significance of the Buddha figure. He has not been able yet to fix upon one particular type embodying a particular idea. In fact he did not find it necessary to have recourse to a stereotyped icon: such an icon would have been a disadvantage to him in the practice of his narrative technique. He was still using a Buddha that could be made to sit, stand, walk, fly, meditate and preach: he needed a Buddha that would live with the rest of his environment. Buddha as a symbol of supreme enlightenment, of the deepest compassion and of the highest peace was not known at Amarāvatī where He is still only a human. We do not know of a single relief where the image of the Buddha is shown as the object of worship. In every case where the Buddha is represented, he is shown taking an active part in the episode that is being narrated. In these slabs the object of worship is always a symbol, taken from the older repertory — the wheel, the seat, the *stūpa* or, nearest to an icon, the feet of the Buddha — but not the image of the Buddha. In fact the object of worship *par excellence* at Amarāvatī is the *stūpa*, as it is in the other popular centres of Buddhist art like Sanchi and Bharhut for instance. This is easily explained on the basis that the *stūpa*, and that alone, contained the corporeal relics of the Buddha, and that the form of worship that has been in popular practice is the circumambulation of the *stūpa*. In consequence, the *stūpa* remained the centre

* We do not imply that life-size statues were unknown elsewhere in India. The arguments advanced by O. C. Gangoly with regard to the prevalence of the cult of the Buddha image in India, however, do not appear to be altogether convincing. Cf., " The Antiquity of the Buddha Image: the cult of the Buddha".
Ostasiatische Zeitschrift Neue Folge XIV, Heft 2/3.

of attraction and all the munificence of the lay devotee was lavished on the *stūpa*, the embellishment of which became the sole aim of all Buddhist art of this epoch. The clearest evidence in this regard comes from the innumerable inscriptions recording the donations of drum-slabs, *āyakakambhas* and other items used in the construction of the *stūpa*. In these drum-slabs the most important decorative motif is the *stūpa* itself as an object of worship. Not one inscription of the early school of Amarāvatī has so far been found to contain any reference to the donation of a statue of the Buddha; the earliest recorded dedication of a *pratimā* is that of Candraprabha found at Jaggayyapeta and dated in the fifth century A. D.[1] But the *pratimā* in this case too is only a representation of the Buddha in bas-relief.

It would appear that the large, life-size, free-standing Buddhas under consideration belong to a different sculptural tradition and served a different propose as compared to the bas-reliefs. They are not decorative motifs but cult images and their presence at Amarāvatī is puzzling if we do not take it for granted that during the last phase of Amarāvatī i. e., by the end of the third century A. D., the cult of the worship of the Buddha image suddenly sprang to prominence at the expense of the worship of the *stūpa*. One should conclude therefore that by the end of the third century A. D. the Amarāvatī school created the cult image of the Buddha, as has been proposed by Douglas Barret. But that this does not seem possible will be evident from an analysis of the other works discovered at Amarāvatī.[2] The latest phase at Amarāvatī shows only too well that Amarāvatī had not yet finally decided as to which of the many types of the Buddha figure preference should be given; and as we pointed out earlier, there is no mention anywhere of an image that was worshipped or of a building that housed such an image. Moreover these free-standing images display such a technical advance as compared with the relief figures of the classic period of Amarāvatī that one is compelled to postulate a much later date for them or a different place of origin where they have already had a long period of development. A date later than the third century A. D. does not seem plausible vis-a-vis the decline of the art of Amarāvatī that had already set in by that date. It is therefore natural that one must look for a different provenance for these statues in the round.

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1. J. Burgess. op. cit Pl. LV, fig. 5,

2. Cf., "Scenes from the life of Buddha are represented but in such minor positions that they do not warrant us in supposing they were intended for worship. One broken statue of Buddha, however, has been found, and may have been worshipped." Burgess, *Notes on the Amaravati Stupa*. Madras, 1882, p, 27

That the concept of the statue in the round, if not the finished product itself, could have been introduced to Amarāvatī does not seem impossible when one recognizes that of all the schools of Buddhist art in India that of Amarāvatī is easily the most heterogeneous Its repertoire is a conglomerate of items adopted largely from the art of Bhārhut, Sānchi and Mathurā and to a lesser degree from that of Gandhāra. One would not fail, however, to detect what could have been the original style of the region which stands out very clearly in the elongated body and sinuous lines of the human figure for example. Yet as regards the free-standing images under consideration, none of the traditions referred to could indicate a source of influence since this type of Buddha is not to be found among the works attributed either to the school of Mathurā or to that of Gandhāra; neither Bhārhut nor Sānchi will in any case enter into the question.

One should therefore look for a different source and on closer examination one could observe another current of influence beside those mentioned which has left its mark not only on these free-standing images of Amarāvatī and Nāgārjunakoṇḍa but also on some other little known specimens as those from Kāncipura and Travancore as well as the well known standing Buddhas from Campa, Celebes and Java. It may, perhaps, appear unorthodo but we feel that this other source of influence which has affected the evolution of the Buddha statue in India and the South East Asian region could have been Ceylon.

The relation between Amarāvatī and Anurādhapura is of course mainly a question of dates. As regards Amarāvtī and the other sites in the Āndhradeśa there is a consensus of opinion that requires no significant modification, according to which we may safely say that by the end of the third century A. D., this part of India had already ceased to be an active centre of Buddhism: the silence of Fa-Hien and the statements of Hiuen Tsang are not without significance. When we take into consideration the unsettled state of affairs after the fall of the Satavahanas it is difficult to assume that Amarāvatī could have at least successfully continued the tradition already current, not to speak of creating new ones. That the life-size free-standing Buddhas in the round could not have belonged to the classic period at Amarāvatī is clear from the remains of this period. We have already observed that the classic technique of Amarāvatī is that of the bas-relief and that the cult of the Buddha image does not seem to have been known in that tradition.

When we examine, on the other hand, the history of Buddhism in Ceylon during the Anurādhapura period it becomes evident that the cult of the Buddha image has been known at least from the second century A. D. We must admit

that as regards the chronology of Buddhist art in Ceylon no satisfactory sequence has yet been established. No attempt has been made to study the art of Ceylon independently of that of India. It has always been taken for granted by all students of Sinhalese art — with the exception of Mirella Levi D'Ancona[1] — that in Ceylon, art begins with Amarāvatī. This is very clearly a negation of at least four hundred years of religious contact between Ceylon and Central India. We have to admit that, among the early works of Buddhist Art in Ceylon, there are some that show definite non Amarāvatī characteristics. These works certainly date from before the second century A. D. when Amarāvatī begins to be an active centre of Buddhist Art.

There is ample evidence to show that before the classic period of Amarāvatī the Ceylon artist was working in stone on a colossal scale unknown to his Indian counterpart. This is clearly seen in the absence in India of any free-standing temples or any other religious buildings in stone of the earlier epoch, the popular form being the rockcut architecture, while in Ceylon, from the earliest times the free-standing building in stone had been common. We do not think that the Ceylon artist was always incapable of creating new motifs though there is no doubt that he was often satisfied with conveniently imitating his Indian master. One could note the changes brought about in the construction of the *stūpa* for which there are no parallels in India; there is the particularly Ceylonese arrangement of the monastery whose elaborate character is nowhere preserved in India; there is also the example of the *vaṭadāge* and the *bodhighara* which are peculiar to Ceylon; among the minor motifs one could mention the moon-stone, which, if not originally Ceylonese, is at least particularly Ceylonese in its elaboration, and the guard-stone. We need not therefore deny the possibility that Buddhist art in Ceylon could have produced a new motif like the free-standing image of the Buddha on the ground that there is no early Indian example. It seems we should be more cautious in disregarding the tradition recorded in the Mahāvaṃsa which attributes to Devānampiyatissa "the great and beautiful stone image" which was at first placed in the Thūpārāma[2] from where it was taken to Pācīnatissapabbata and then to Abhayagiri[3] where it remained for a long time as an object of worship of the same rank as the tooth relic. Apart from the references to this statue in the Mahāvaṃsa we hear of it many times in the inscriptions though, perhaps, it

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1. Mirella Levi D'Ancona, op. cit.

2. *Mahavamsa*, Ed. H. Sumangala, Colombo, 1908, XXXVI, 128.

3. Ibid. XXXVII, Colombo, 1908, XXXVI, 14,

may not be the same that Fa-Hien saw at Abhayagiri.[1] Mahāvaṃsa also mentions the statue enshrined by Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (101-77 B C.) in the Ruvanväli *stūpa*, the four images and their *paṭhimāgharas* built by Vasabha (127-171 A. D.) and the two bronze images made by Vohārakatissa (269-291 A. D.) and placed in the eastern *bodhighara*.[2] According to the Mahāvaṃsa we have thus to admit that by the end of the third century A.D. the worship of the Buddha statue was not unknown in Ceylon while at Amarāvatī it had not become a cult object. It is also to be noted that these statements of the Mahāvaṃsa become the more significant when we observe that it is the record of a Hīnayāna institution, the Mahāvihāra, averse to this sort of ceremonial which, as could be seen from the Mahāvaṃsa itself, was popular at Abhayagiri, a stronghold of Mahāyana. It would appear that the popularity of the cult of the Buddha image at the Abhayagiri was mainly due to the fact that this *vihāra* had developed a new school of thought resulting from a combination of Mahāyāna and Hīnayāna doctrines which according to Hiuen Tsang could be described as the "dharma of the Sthavira School of the Mahāyāna sect".[3] From Fa-Hien's account of Buddhism in India and Ceylon it becomes clear that the ritual current in Ceylon, i. e. at the Abhayagiri, was far in advance of that of India and that the cult of the image at the Abhayagiri was one that struck him most.

The history of the Buddha statue is necessarily bound up with that of the religious buildings in the various monasteries. Of the many buildings in a monastery, the most important for the history of the Buddha statue are the image house (*paṭhimāghara*), the shrine of the bodhi-tree (*bodhighara*), and the *stūpa*. Although the Mahāvaṃsa is silent about the *paṭhimāghara* in the early centuries of the Christian era (silence due to the fact that the doctrines of the orthodox Hīnayāna type of the Mahāvihāra did not accept the worship of the Buddha image) that the *paṭhimāghara* at the Abhayagiri was popular as a place of worship as noticed by the Chinese pilgrims needs no special mention. We could not hesitate in taking it that the other monasteries affiliated to the Abhayagiri had likewise the *paṭhimāghara* attached. The fact that from the fourth century A. D. the *paṭhimāghara* becomes a common feature in all the Buddhist monasteries implies that it may have been in use for quite some time before

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1. For further references to this image in the Mahavamsa and in the inscriptions see: W. Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1956,

2. *Mahavamsa*, XXX, 27, XXXV, 89; XXXVI, 31.

3. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Eastern World*, Vol. II, p. 247.

that date. In fact we have the evidence of the Mahāvaṃsa that in the third century A. D. the bodhi-tree had a terrace on which were made special niches to accommodate statues of the Buddha.[1] The religious edifice that implies most clearly the prevalence of the cult of the Buddha image in the early centuries of the Christian era in Ceylon is the *vāhalkaḍa*, a particularly Ceylonese contribution to the architecture of the *stūpa*. It is true that the *vāhalkaḍa* has presented a problem as regards its function[2] doubtless due to its absence in India; but there should be no doubt that the main purpose it could have served was to house the statue of the Buddha after the latter had established itself as the most significant cult object. The architectural character of the *vāhalkaḍa* with its three niches and the measurements, as given by Smithers for instance, show clearly that the *vāhalkaḍas* were meant to be chapels containing three images, if any thing, in the three niches.[3] The central niche undoubtedly contained the statue of the Buddha as Smithers suggests[4] with the two side-niches holding the figures of two companions. We have no means, however of verifying what these chapels contained since the upper part of all the *vāhalkaḍas* of early Anuradhapura days were discovered only in ruins. This should cause no surprise since it had been proved beyond doubt that they contained very useful material for treasure hunters. But the presence of the altar set up right in front of the *vāhalkaḍa* means that there was an object of worship in the niche above it, if it does mean anything. And from the example of the *vaṭadāges* at Tiriyāy and Mädirigiriya etc., it becomes clear that it was the statue of the Buddha that the central niche of the *vāhalkaḍa* of the early *stūpaṣ* could have housed: the *vaṭadāges* are clearly an evolution from the *stūpa* with the four *vāhalkaḍas*. We must observe that no comparison should be made between the *vāhalakaḍa* of Ceylon and the *āyakas* of the Andhradeśa although the term *āyika* has been used to describe the *vāhalkaḍa*[5]: there is no resemblance as regards function or architectural form between these two types of constructions. The *āyaka* platform in the Andhradeśa had no other function than to support the five *āyaka* pillars; the *āyaka* platform had no niche to hold an image nor was there an altar opposite it. It is possible that the *āyaka* platform with its pillars performed mainly a decorative function. A symbolic significance may have been attached to it, though we have no clear proof of it. At

1. *Mahavamsa*, XXXVI, 31.
2. See for example, Paranavitana, *The Stupa in Ceylon*, p, 58.
3. Smithers, *Architectural Remains, Anuradhapura, Ceylon*,
4. Smithers, op. cit., p. 21
5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, p. 255

Amarāvatī the *āyaka* platforms were decorated with reliefs depicting episodes from the life of the Buddha while at Anurādhapura, it would appear that only an image in the round could have been placed in the central niche of the *vāhalkaḍa* since the depth of the niche - five feet - need not have been maintained if it were only a bas - relief that was placed therein. It is significant that the number of bas - reliefs discovered in Ceylon is very negligible as compared to the large number of images in the round.

The age of the *vāhalkaḍas* is of course very important in establishing the age of the Buddha statue as a cult object since they pre - suppose the popularity of the worship of the Buddha image: the image, in all probability, did exist independently of the *vāhalkaḍa* before the latter became part of the *stūpa* architecture. By the first century A. D. the Ruvanväli possessed its *vāhalkaḍas* if we take it that the architectural member referred to as *addika* or *ādika*[1] in the Mahāvaṃsa could be the *vāhalkaḍa*. The Mahāvaṃsa refers to the eastern *addika* implying thereby that there were similar structures at the three other cardinal points. The *addika* cannot be taken as a gateway, for according to the Mahāvaṃsa commentary, the *addika* was constructed at the place where was placed a stone pillar[2] and the stone pillars that were discovered *in situ* are so close to the *stūpas* themselves that it does not seem plausible to take them as part of the gate. The *vāhalkaḍa* was no more than a projection from the platform on which the *stūpa* stood and these stone pillars could be taken to have stood just beside the *vāhalkaḍa*. The relative position of the *vāhalkaḍa* and the stone pillar would certainly help us to identify the *addika* of the Mahāvaṃsa Tīka with the *vāhalkaḍa*. When Mahāvaṃsa mentions Gajabāhu (173 - 195 A. D) as having built four *ādimukhas* at the four gates of the Abhayagiri it appears that the construction referred to is the *vāhalkaḍa*: *ādimukha* signifies the outermost member of the *stūpa* and this may mean therefore also the gates but it must be noted that in the passage concerned[3] the gate is called very simply the *dvāra* thus leaving us free to identify the *ādimukha* with the *vāhalkaḍa* There is no doubt that the term *ayika* in the inscription of Kaniṭṭhatissa (226 - 244 A D.) refers to the *vāhalkaḍa*. Whether this king constructed the *vāhalkaḍa* or repaired it matters little, since the the inscription makes the it clear that during the first half of the third century A.D. this member had become a necessary adjunct of the *stūpa*. The reference to the *addika*-identified with *vāhalkaḍa* - of the Ruvanväli implies that it is at least as old as the

1. *Mahavamsa*, XXXVI, 50. *Addika* in Geiger's edition and *Adika* in H Sumangala's.

2. *Mahavamsa Tika*, ed. Batuwantudave and M. Nanissara, Colombo, 1897, p. 459.

3. *Mahavamsa* XXXV, 119

first century A. D. The archaeological opinion tends to accept the second century A D. at the latest as a possible date for this invention.[1] We must arrive at the obvious conclusion, therefore, that while at Amarāvatī the *stūpa* was being decorated with sculptured slabs, at Anuradhapura no such decoration was done and, instead, four temples in which were kept four statues of the Buddha attended to by two companions were built at the four cardinal points and the offerings to the Buddha were placed on the altars opposite them.*

We do not propose to establish a detailed chronology of the art of the Anuradhapura period since our main purpose is to show that the statue in the round seems to have been a common feature in Ceylon before it gained any importance in India. One of the earliest statues of the Buddha is to be seen among those at the Ruvanväli (fig. I) dated by Coomaraswamy in the second century A. D.[2] Its archaic character is obvious and it is clearly much older than the other statues at Ruvanväli which could be dated in the third or the fourth century.

There is no direct evidence either literary or epigraphical to the effect that any statues were imported to Amarāvatī or to Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa from Ceylon just as there is no evidence to say that the free-standing Buddha statue of Ceylon was borrowed from Amarāvatī although such a borrowing has been taken for granted. The state found at Maha Iluppallama may be an exception; but it is certainly much later than the Ruvanvāli-statue referred to above. There is however some literary and epigraphical evidence to show that religious missions from Ceylon to India were frequent. The inscription of Bodhisiri at the Sīhalavihāra at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa records a tradition current in the third century A.D. that monks from Ceylon converted Kashmir, Gandhara, China, Chilata, Tosali, Avaranta, Vana, Vanavasi, Yavana, Damila and Palura.[3] Hiuen Tsang reports the story of a certain Deva, a reputed disciple ot Nāgārjuṇa, who was a native of Ceylon.[4] There is the inscription of Dharmakirtī[5] which speaks of an image-house at Dhaññakaṭaka which was

1. Hocart, *Ceylon Journal of Science*, Vol. II, part I, p. 4. Paranavitana, op. cit.

* Later examples of these little shrines attached to the *Stupas* can be seen at Polonnaruwa.

2. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* p. 161,

3. Vogel, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol XX, p. 23.

4. Beal, op. cit. p. 210.

5. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, IV, 100 ff. The inscription does not mention when it was originally built.

in a state of neglect and was repaired by him. There is however no mention of the date of the original building and until we have evidence to the contrary it may be said that it was constructed when Amarāvatī was yet an important centre of Buddhism, thus making it coeval with the Sīhalavihāra of Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa. There should be no difficulty in accepting the position that as in the case of matters doctrinal Ceylon may have had its influence felt in India in matters artistic. Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa appears to have been the centre of activity for Buddhists from Ceylon and a community of monks from Ceylon, indeed, had their permanent residence in the Sīhalavihāra mentioned in the inscription referred to above. We may perhaps observe that this monastery was built in accordance with the lay-out of the monasteries at Anurādhapura with all the necessary adjuncts as could be seen from its remains. In its general plan as worked out by Longhurst and Ramachandran and the arrangement of the various buildings such as the cells for the monks, the refectories, the image-house, the *caityas* and the *bodhigaras* etc., the Nāharallabodu complex of Nāgarjuṇakoṇḍa seems to resemble very closely any monastic establishment at Anurādhapura.[1] The presence of the bodhi-shrine gives it a particularly Sinhalese character and it is very significant that the inscription of Bodhisiri makes special mention of the 'shrine for the bodhi-tree at the Sihala-vihāra'. A feature very much Ceylonese in character is the decorated moonstone carved with the figures of lion, elephant, bull and horse, with figures of deer and boar added; this according to Ramachandran, is so unlike any other moonstone at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa and yet "may easily be expected as Buddhists from Ceylon had settled at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa".[2] One could also notice here a couple of balustrades of the same type as are seen commonly in Ceylon.[3] All these examples indicate clearly the contribution made to the art of Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa by this community of Sinhalese. Most significant among the discoveries at Nāharallabodu is a Buddha statue with relics enshrined in it. This custom of enshrining relics in statues though common in Ceylon was quite exceptional in India, and may have been introduced to Nāharallabodu from Ceylon. And significantly enough this statue was found in the image-house with the

1. See note 3 above.

2. Ramachandran op. cit. p. 13.

3. Ibid, pl. XXV; XXIX.

Ceylon type of monstone[1] As Longhurst has already observed, some of the *stūpas* at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa, including the great *stūpa* itself, resemble closely those of contemporary Ceylon in their simplicity of style.[2] Ramachandran sees a similarity between the *stūpas* at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa and those of Ceylon in the use of brick walls in place of the stone railing commonly used in India.[3]

There is no reason to doubt that the Vengi region being of very easy access from Ceylon could have become a centre of Buddhism as practised in Ceylon, making it possible for a community of monks from Ceylon to build themselves a monastery on the lines they were used to. The Sihalavihāra mentioned in the inscription of Bodhisiri belonging to the reign of Māḍharīputa Siri-Vīrapurisadata dated in the third century A. D., is certainly one of those Sinhalese monasteries. The community of monks referred to may have belonged to the Abhayagiri fraternity for they were more missionary-like than the Mahāvihāra monks and as Hiuen Tsang says they "studied both vehicles, and widely diffused the *Tripiṭakas*".[4] We have seen above that the worship of the Buddha statue was particularly popular at Abhayagiri and we might observe that the cult of the Buddha image, and with it the image in the round, was introduced to the Vengi region by these monks. in the second or third century A. D.

One of the earliest free-standing statues found at Amarāvatī is a standing Buddha now in the Madras Museum (fig. 2). Although the hands are missing and the face is rather abraded there is enough to show how closely it resembles the standing Buddha from Ruvanvali (Fig. 1) The difference between this and other statues at Amarāvatī and the normal Amarāvatī Buddha-reliefs is sufficiently clear for Coomaraswamy to have said that "they are much more

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1, Ibid. pl. XXII, B: pl. XIV and p. 14.

Deposits of relics and other precious objects have been found in some *Vahalkadas;* the relics may have been, there should be no doubt, placed under the statue of the Buddha. Reference is made to the habit of enshrining relics in images to render them worthy of worship (see, Rahula, op. cit., p. 126). In many of the ancient Buddha statues of Ceylon there is to be seen a small shallow hole, very carefully cut, which seems to have escaped the attention of most students of the Buddha-statue in Ceylon. This hole is so small that it could not have been used as part of of a device to hold back the statue. Neither could it have been used as a receptacle for a flame if this latter had been part of the Buddha iconography so early. In our opinion this hole was no other than a receptacle for a small reliquary.

2. *Archaeological Survey of India,* Annual Report, 1928-29, p. 101.

3. Ramachandran, *Indian Historical Quarterly,* Vol XXVIII, p. 118.

3. Beal; op. cit., p. 247.

nearly of the Anurādhapura (Ceylon) than of the Amarāvatī type".[1] The stocky proportions of the body so common in the early Anurādhapura Buddhas and the treatment of the robe in smooth folds giving it the effect of thin material as against the heavy folds common in the Buddha figures of the Amarāvatī - reliefs make it clear that this statue, if not actually brought from Ceylon, was almost surely made under the influence that came with the monks mentioned in the inscription of Bodhisiri. Such conclusion seems inevitable considering the fact that this statue could be dated in the third century as Coomaraswamy has done [2] The other statues in the round discovered at Amarāvati and Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa are much later if we may judge from the emphasised curves of the body, the rendering of the robe, the slight bulge of the belt appearing under the upper robe, and the presence of folds at the left on the lower hem of the under-garment.[3]

We may conclude that in about the 2nd Century A. D. a community of monks from Ceylon had established for themselves a monastery according to their own specifications at Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa. This Sīhala - Vihāra, as it was called, had among other things an image house which proves beyond doubt that these monks, who in all probability came from the Abhayagiri Vihāra where the worship of the Buddha image had already become popular, brought with them the cult of the Buddha image and the image in the round. Under their direct influence a number of images in the round were produced at Amarāvatī and Nāgārjuṇakoṇḍa, during the 2nd and 3rd centuries A. D. Although in its active form this influence seems to have died out at Amarāvatī about the 4th century A. D. there is evidence to show that it prevailed in the rest of South India until much later as could be seen from the remains at Kancipura.

1, Coomaraswamy, op. cit., p. 71.

2. Coomaraswamy, loc. cit.

3. A date in the second century A. D. as given by Longhurst seems to be too early. See, *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India No. 54*, pl. vi. (b)

INDIA OFFICE LAND GRANT OF KING KĪRTI ŚRĪ RĀJASIṂHA

P. E. E. FERNANDO

The literary works of the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha, such as the *Cūḷavaṃsa*,[1] the *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva* and the *Syāmōpasampadāvata*, and other subsequent Sinhalese and Pali documents do not make even an indirect reference to the rebellion that took place in his reign in the year 1760. The reasons for this reticence on the part of the authors of these works are not far to seek as some of the highest and the most respected in the land at the time appear to have been involved in the organisation of this rebellion.[2] But the King himself does not seem to have been averse to mentioning this event in at least one royal grant issued by him. In fact the only Sinhalese document referring to this event so far published is this *sannasa* or royal grant issued by King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha. This document, which has come to be known as the Gāṭabēriya Sannasa, was published by H. C. P. Bell in his Report on the Kegalla District.[3] By this *sannasa* the King had granted land to a person named Gōpāla Mudaliyā, who had loyally supplied prior information to the King regarding the proposed attempt made by Moladaṇḍē, the *raṭē-rāla* of Yaṭinuwara, to rebel against him. The land so granted had originally belonged to Moladaṇḍē, who was executed for high treason.

The *sannasa* , which forms the subject of the present paper, was granted by King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha to a Buddhist monk named Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita Unnānsē, who also had informed the King of the plans for a rebellion made by a person named Hanumatkoḍi who is described in the document simply as a rebel. It is written on a rectangular piece of *ōla* leaf measuring 21½" x 2½". On the left hand end of the obverse is incised the royal symbol *ŚRĪ*, which is separated from the body of the text by a vertical line drawn across the *ōla* at a distance of two inches from the left hand edge of the *ōla*. The length of each writing line is seventeen inches. The

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1. Only chapters 91 - 100 (Geiger's Edition) were compiled during the reign of King Kirti Sri Rajasimha.

2. P. E. Pieris, Ceylon and the Hollanders, Tellipalai, Ceylon, 1918, pp. 102 - 103.

3. H. C. P. Bell, Report on the Kegalla District of the Province of Sabaragamuva, Colombo, 1904, pp. 99 - 104. See Appendix.

handwriting is indifferent in quality, does not appear to have been executed by a trained scribe, and totally lacks that formal grace characteristic of documents of this type such as the Gāṭabēriya Sannasa mentioned above. The orthography of the document is also often faulty. On the evidence of the hand writting the document can be assigned to the latter part of the eighteenth century or to the beginning of the nineteenth. It is, however, later in date than the Gāṭabēriya Sannasa. On the left hand top corner of the reverse is scribbled in a morc modern but ill-formed hand the statement: පිටපොත සැබෑ බවයි හුලංගොමුවෙ උන්වහන්සේ, 'This is a true copy, Hulaṃgomuve Unvahansē.' It is difficult to say whether this note and the signature were written by a Hulaṃgomuve Unnānsē of a later day or were forged by an interested person and were intended to be regarded as an attestation of the original grantee, Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita Unnānsē.

The *ōla* leaf is perforated, as is usual in the leaves of an *ōla* book, with two holes through which the cord that bound the leaves of the book together were passed, but these holes have not damaged the writing as space has been left blank around the holes to accommodate them.

The strip of *ōla* containing the *sannasa* forms part of an *ōla* book, Sinhalese Manuscript No. 20 in the India Office Library, Commonwealth Relations Office, London.[1] This book contains three other short documents two of which are fragmentary. The book is enclosed between two wooden covers obviously removed from some other book.

The text of the *sannasa* is as follows:

1. ශ්‍රී ලංකෙශ්වර වූ ..... උතුම් ..... අපගේ දෙවිසවාම්දුරුවාණන් වහන්සේගේ ශ්‍රී මහා කරුණා දිවස් එළියේ මහිමතාවයෙන් වදුලා වූ පණත තම් හුලංගොමුවේ බුඩරකඛිත උන්නාන්සේ විසින් මහා වාසල ට

2. අපක්ෂ අපිරමාණ වූ හතුමත්කොඩි පෙරළියා මුල්ව කරන්ට සෑදූ පෙරළියේ වගසැටි මහා වාසලට අතිවිසවාසවූ සිනිත් ඔපපු කරවූ නිසා මෑතලෙ දිශාවේ ගඟල කෝරලේ බද තලංගොමුව නියත ගම් තැගෙනහිරෙන් ගල්

3. කඩුව හා දකුණු දිගින් කුකුල්නුගෙන් මේ පිට ද බස්නාහිරෙන් නියඳකඩුවෙන් මේ පිට ද උතුරු දිගින් පරගහකඩුල්ලෙන් මේ පිට ත් මීට ඇතුලත්වූ මුල් බිජු දෙලොහොමුනේ වපසරි යෙන් මුල් බිජු හාමුණ

1, The Librarian of the India Office Library has informed me by letter dated 21-1-59 that there is no record in the Library showing when or from whom this manuscript had been acquired.

4. ක [වප] සරියේ මෙම් බුඛරකඛිත උන්නාන්සේට සංඝසන්තක කොට පූජා කර වදරමින් මෙම තලංගොමුවෙන් ඉතිරි වූ හාමුනට හේවායින් දෙන්නකු හේවා කමක් පැමිනි විටඛදී දෙන සැටි

5. යට ද මෑතලේ කෝරලේ බද හුලංගොමුවෙන් බමුනුකුඹුර බිජු අමුන ද මූගුණව බිජු අමුන ද මෙම දැමුනට නියම වූ රාජකාරිය කරන ගවියට ද මිට අඩු තතු ගොඩ මඩ ගෙවතු ගඟ කොල මේ

6 කි සියල්ල ම ශ්‍රී ලංකා විපයෙහි රාජාඥම් පවතිනා තේකට මෙම උන්නාන්සේගේ වගයී පරම්පරාව පවතිනා තුරු නිරවුල් ව භුක්තිවිදිනා ..... රඟට ශකවම් එක්වාදහස් සසිය අසූදෙකට පැමිනි විකුම නම් වූ

7 මෙම වර්ෂයෙහි ඉල්මස පුර පැලවිය නම් තිථි ලත් සෙනසුරාදා මෙ දවස මෙම සන්නස දෙ වා දුල පත [ත] ත් ..... ඒ පකතත් මෙසේ ම ..... පනිවුඩ පනතයි ....

The decree proclaimed by the grace of the compassionate divine sight of our Noble and Divine Lord, the Sovereign of Śrī Laṅkā, is as follows: Whereas the Venerable Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita has caused to be communicated to His Majesty, in unbounded confidence, information in respect of the rebellion attempted to be raised under the leadership of the rebel Hanumatkoḍi who was hostile and disloyal to His Majesty, His Majesty offers to this same monk Buddharakkhita, as property of the *Saṅgha*, a piece of land six *amuṇas*[1] in sowing extent from the land twelve *amuṇas* in sowing extent, which is bounded by Galkaḍuva on the east, by Kukul-nugē on the south, by Niyadakaḍuva on the west and by Paragahakaḍulla on the north and which is situated in the village of Talaṃgomuva in Gaṅgala Kōralē in the District of Mātalē, and the rest of the land six *amuṇas* in sowing extent (was also given) with the proviso that two soldiers should be provided when an occasion arose for the services of soldiers.[2] A piece of land one *amuṇa* in sowing extent

1. *amuna*, a grain measure of five or six bushels. Here the word is used to indicate a measure of land as much as an *amuna* of paddy will sow. An *amuna* of land is generally reckoned at 2 to 2½ acres.

2. The chief characteristic of temple lands in general was their exemption from any tax or service to the Crown, which, out of deference to the superior claims of Buddha and the gods, relinquished all exactions other than the right to general military service in case of need, or other service of importance or urgencey, F. A. Hayley, A. Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese. Colombo, 1928, pp. 241 - 242. As has been shown it is probable that the land was offered to thd monk as personal property. Hence all the more reason for the retention by the King of the right to secure the services of soldiers.

in the field of Bamuṇukuṁbura in the village of Hulaṃgomuva in in the Mātalē Kōralē and another piece of land one *amuṇa* in sowing extent from Mūguṇava in the same village - these two *amuṇas* (were also given) on condition that the *rājakāriya* duties[1] appertaining to these lands were regularly performed. High land and low land, houses and gardens, trees and plants in these lands - all these are to be enjoyed without let or hindrance by the descendants of the family of this monk as long as descendants of his family shall live and as long as royal sovereignty[2] shall prevail in this Island of Śrī Laṅkā. This decree was proclaimed on this day Saturday, the first day of the bright half of the mohth of Il in this the year named Vikrama, which is the year 1682 of the Śaka Era.[3] This is the decree proclaimed and communicated.

Before the contents of this record and its historical importance are discussed it is perhaps necessary at this stage to offer a few remarks regarding the authenticity of this document. The provision of blank spaces to accommodate the holes in the *ōla*, indicating that it was meant to form part of a book, the unusually faulty orthography, the indifferent hand writing and above all the scribbled note on the reverse make it quite clear that this document is only a copy of a genuine *sannasa*. It is stated in the first part of of the document that the land was offered to the Venerable Buddharakkhita as property of the *Saṅgha*, that is, as property of the community of monks who were living then and of monks who would be living in the future as well. Thus the benefits secured by such a *sannasa* could not be enjoyed by the descendants of the family of the grantee, for when a *vihāra* or other property is dedicated as property of the community of monks, the property so granted devolves upon the grantee's pupils in succession.[4] The subsequent statement in the *sannasa* that the lands should devolve upon the grantee's line must, therefore, be considered a later interpolation perpetrated by an interested person. What, in fact, appears to have happened, however, is that by the

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1. This land was not exempted from ***rajakariya*** duties possibly for the reasons indicated in the latter part of note 2 on p. 74.

2. The word ***rajangam***, royal sovereignty, is unusual. It occurs also in the Gataberiya Sannasa, but in no other ***sannasa*** as far as the writer is aware It is commonly used in Tamil in the form ***arasangam*** in the sense of sovereignty, government.

3. Saturday, 8th November, 1760.

4. A Digest of Cases Reported During the years 1820 - 1895, edited by H. Tiruvilangam. Colombo, p. 1059. See also Hayley. pp, 547 - 557.

original *sannasa* land had been granted to Buddharakkhita Unnāansē as personal property with provision for the property to devolve upon the grantee's next of kin at his death[1] and that a monk in the line of his pupilary succession, who was not legally entitled to this property by virtue of this *sannasa*, introduced the phrase '*saṅgha santaka koṭa*', 'rendering it the property of the Saṅgha', in order to claim the property, but owing to ignorance or inadvertence failed to modify the rest of the document in such a way as to secure the desired interpretation. If it is assumed that the signature on the reverse of the document is that of a Hulaṃgomuve Unnānsē of a later day, who would then probably be the last known owner of the document, it becomes clear that the land that was granted to Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita Unnānse in the original *sannasa* was granted as personal property. It has also to be borne in mind that the services rendered to the King by Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita Unnāansē were of a personal and non-religious character and that therefore he would in the normal course of events be rewarded personally.

It is also worth noting that in the time of the Kandyan kings a copy of a *sannasa* without proper authentication would possess no validity as a legal document. If an original *sannasa* were lost or had deteriorated it was always possible to secure from the Court a *tuḍapata*, i.e., a duplicate copy of an original *sannasa* certified by one or two officials of the Court. However there is no reason to doubt the authenticity of the rest of the document. In form and phraseology this document resembles closely other *saannasa* issued by King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha and, in fact, agrees with the text of the Gāṭabēriya Sannasa of the same king almost word for word, the main differences being in the names of persons and places.[2]

The importance of this *sannasa* as a historical document lies in the fact that it would be the second contemporary Sinhalese record to be so far discovered that refers to the rebellion against King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha The rebel who is called Hanumat-koḍi in this document is indentical with the Adigar named Sammenakoddi mentioned in Dutch Records relating to the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha,[3] and with the *uḍagampahē adikārama* Samanakkoḍi referred to

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1. Private property of a monk does not devolve at his death upon his pupils, but passes to his next of kin according to the ordinary rules of inheritance, Hayley, p. 563.

2. The text of the Gataberlya Sannasa is given in the appendix.

3. See note 2 on p. 77.

in the *Syāmavarṇanāava*.[1] From the Dutch records it can be gathered that Sammenakoddi was holding the office of Second State Adigar in Kandy in 1757, that he was also the *disāva* of Sabaragamuva and that he was beheaded on suspicion of high treason in 1760 [2] The identity of this Adigar Sammenakoḍḍi or Samanakkoḍi with the Hanumat-koḍi of the present *sannasa* is established by an entry found in the journal of a person named Vellakkaṭṭu Mudiyansē wherein it is stated that Hanumakkoḍi Adikārama was the *disāva* of Sabaragomuva from 1675 to 1692 of the Śaka Era, i. e., from 1753 to 1760 A. D.[3] Both C. A. Galpin and P. E. Pieris appear to have thought that the name Sammanakkoḍi was identical with or was an erroneous form of the name Samarakkoḍi.[4] But no Adigar by this latter name is recorded to have served King Kīrti Śrī Rāiasiṃha.

Very little is known of the life of Adigar Hanumat-koḍi. A *sīṭṭu* dated 1742 records a judgment given in a land dispute by an officer named Bāladivākara Rājakaruṇā Hanumat-koḍi Vāhalamudiyansē Rālāhāmi[5] and he is described in this document as holding the offices of *kuṭṭaha nilame*,[6] Chief of

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1, *Syamavarnanava* published by D. B. Silva Appuhami and H. P. Perera Appuhami, Sastradhara Press, 1897, p. 33. Here the full designation of Samanakkodi is given as *'udagampahe adikaram nile labi-tibena Samanakkodi adikaram.' Udagampahe adikarama* was the Second State Adigar. The First State Adigar was known as *pallegampahe adikarama*. The office of *adikarama* or Adigar was equivalent to that of a chief minister.

2. Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, translated by E. Reimers, Colombo 1935, p. 4; Memoir of Jan Schreuder, translated by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1946, p. 31; Secret Minutes of the Dutch Political Council 1762, edited and translated by J. H. O. Paulusz, Colombo, 1954, p. 107.

3. Kiri-alle Nanavimala Sthavira, *Sabaragamuve Parani Liyavili*, Colombo, 1942, p. 7.

4. C. A. Galpin, The Johnstone Monuscripts, The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. II, Colombo, 1916-1917, p, 273; P. E. Pieris, An Account of King Kirti Sri's Embassy to Siam Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Vol. XVIII, Colombo, 1903, p. 38. But in Ceylon and the Hollanders, P. E. Pieris has Samanakoddy. In Dutch documents I have consulted the name is written in different ways: Sammenkoddi, Loten p. 4; Sammenakoddie, Schreuder p. 31; Samanakodi, Secret Minutes, p. 107. The Second State Adigar appears to have also been called Samankodi, A. C. Lawrie, A Gazetteer of the Central Province of Ceylon, 2 vols., Colombo, 1896 and 1898, p. 943. A family named Samankodıge is also recorded to have lived at Vahakotte in recent times, *Ibid.*, p. 895.

5. Lawrie, p. 838.

6. Officer in charge of the supply of oil cakes to the Royal Household.

the *mäḍige* department[1] of Hurīkaḍuva and Panagamuva, and *muhandiram* of the *maha - atapattuva*.[2] There is no doubt that this judgment had been given by Hanumat - koḍi before he assumed the office of Adigar in the reign of King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha. According to Loten he was a near blood relation of Levukē, the *disāva* of the Four Korales. He is also said to have been well disposed towards the Dutch[3]. When the conspiracy was discovered Hanumat-koḍi together with three other ring leaders was beheaded at Aṃpiṭiya.[4]

It cannot be definitely ascertained when Hanumat-koḍi became the Second State Adigar. According to a statement of Loten, the Dutch Governor of Ceylon from 1752 to 1757, Galagoḍa, the *disāva* of Ūva, became the Second State Adigar during his administration.[5] Therefore Galagoḍa's appointment as Second Adigar must have taken place between 1752 and 1757. But in the *Syāmavarṇanāva* it is stated that among the high dignitaries that proceeded to Goḍapoḷa to meet the Siamese monks who arrived in Ceylon in May, 1753, was the Adigar Samanakkoḍi, who held the office of *Uḍagampahē adikārama*.[6] Thus Hanumat-koḍi should have been appointed to to the office of Adigar between 1752 and 1753. According to the Journal of Vellakkaṭṭu Mudiyansē he became the *disāva* of Sabaragomuva in 1753. It can, therefore, be taken that he became Adigar in the same year.[7]

1. The *madige* people were in charge of carriage bullocks. For further details see John D'oyly, A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom, Colombo, 1929, p. 16.
2. *Maha-atapattuva*, the department responsible for guard duty in the royal palace. Hanumat - kodi appears to have held a post equivalent to that of a lieutenant in this section of the guards.
3. Memoir of Joan Gideon Loten, p. 5.
4. P. E. Pieris, Ceylon and the Hollanders, p. 103.
5. See note 3 above.
6. *Syamavarnanava*, p. 33.
7. During the reign of King Kirti Sri Rajasimha the tenure of the office of *disava* of Sabaragamuva appears to have been a special privilege of one or the other of the two Adigars. Appointment to the two offices, i. e., as Adigar and as *disava* of Sabaragamuva, appears to have been simultanous. See, Kiri-alle Nanavimala Sthavira, *Sabaragamuve Parani Liyavili*, p 7. C. A. Galpin following Lawrie sought to suggest that the Second State Adigar called Galagoda, who held this post in 1748, was identical with an Adigar named Samarakkodi who is said to have been alive in 1773. Here Samarakkodi evidently stands for Samanakkodi. Lawrie states that this Galagoda Adigar was ordered by the King, i. e , Kirti Sri Rajasimha, to go to Matara in 1765 during the Dutch war. Galpin and Lawrie seem to have here confused the Galagoda Adigar of 1748 with his namesake who was ordered to go to Matara as well as with Samanakkodi. They were three altogether different persons. Samanakkodi Adigar war beheaded in 1760 and could not possibly be identified with some one living in 1765. Samanakkodi was preceded by the second Galagoda and was succeeded by the third of that name. For further details, see The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. II, p. 273, foot note 7, and Lawrie, p 247. The Galagoda Adigar who held this post in 1748 appears to have been the first by that name.

It is not known exactly what part was played by the Adigar Hanumat-koḍi in the rebellion against King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha. A brief account of this rebellion written by one Appuhamy de Lanerolle states that the conspirators planned to inveigle the King to the Malvatta Monastery on some pretext and to bring about his death by means of a pitfall.[1] The Adigar Hanumat-koḍi was, according to de Lanerolle, among those associated with the conspirators and so was Moladaṇḍē, who it will be remembered, is mentioned as a rebel in the Gāṭabēriya Sannasa. It is significant that this document describes the attempted rebellion as having been raised under the leadership of Hanumat-koḍi whereas the Gātabēriya Sannasa refers to Moladaṇḍē only as attempting to rebel against the King. This evidence is sufficient to show that in the attempted rebellion of 1760 the leadership was taken by the second State Adigar himself and not by Moladaṇḍē who was at the time only a comparatively minor official in the Palace.

According to the present *sannasa* the person who informed the King of the attempted conspiracy and rebellion was the Buddhist monk Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita to whom land was granted by the King in recognition of his loyalty. But according to Appuhamy de Lanerolle the informant was a high priest called Jatiewatte, which name may be identified with the name Yaṭavatte. It is quite possible that information regarding the proposed conspiracy was commmunicated to the King by both these monks, Hulaṃgomuvē and Yaṭavatte. Perhaps the latter too was rewarded for his loyalty by the King.

Evidence is not wanting to show that some of the monks who came to Ceylon from Siam were associated with the Kandyan chieftains who were attempting to rid the country of the King as well as of his relatives who had migrated to Ceylon from South India at this time. According to Appuhamy de Lanerolle the two eminent monks Väliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara and Tibboṭuvāve were associated with the conspirators who attempted to assassinate the King at the Malvatta Monastery,[2] and it is possible that the monk Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita mentioned in the *sannasa* was a close associate of these two monks and of the chieftains who planned the conspiracy for otherwise it is difficult to conceive how he could have gathered any prior information about the conspiracy. The only monk from Hulaṃgomuva, who would have had

1. The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. II, p. 273. P. E. Pieris gives a slightly different version of this incident, see, Ceylon and the Hollanders, p. 103.

2. The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. II, p. 273.

sufficiently close connections with these two monks and perhaps with some of the chieftains, who were plotting against the King, was the monk who is called by the name of Hulaṃgomuvē Loku-Unnānsē in the contemporary *Saṅgharājasādhucariyāva*,[1] a short biography of Väliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara. This monks. Hulaṃgomuvē Loku-Unnānsē, was admitted to the *upasampadā* together with the monks Väliviṭa Saraṇaṅkara and Tibboṭuvāve on one and the same occasion by the Siamese monk, the Venerable Upāli.[2] It is this same monk perhaps that Lawrie refers to as being a son of Vihārēgedara Rālahāmi of Hulaṃgomuva. This monk is said to have died at Kandy in the reign of King Rājādhirājasiṃha who succeeded King Kīrti Śrī Rājasiṃha.[3]

If the name appearing on the reverse of this document represents the genuine signature of a monk of a later day, then this Hulaṃgomuvē Unnānsē may be identified with the Hulaṃgomuvē Unnānsē who was called with other monks to give evidence on Buddhist law before the Judicial Commissioner's Court in 1822.[4] The style of writing on the reverse is quite modern, and may be assigned to this period of time. In giving evidence before the Judical Commissioner these monks are said to have shown 'great ignorance and much stupidity'.[5] Hulaṃgomuve's writing and signature do not altogether belie these strictures.

With the available data it not possible to ascertain the person who was responsible for the interpolation in this *sannasa*. As it can be taken as certain that the present copy of the *sannasa* was made some time after the Gäṭabēriya Sannasa-probably towards the end of the eighteenth century, it was possibly a pupil of Hulaṃgomuvē Buddharakkhita that was responsible for the interpolation, but it is not possible to say whether he was the Hulaṃgomuve Unnānsē whose name appears on the reverse of this document. The attestation, made by this monk, however, shows that he himself, while entertaining doubts as to the genuineness of the document, desired it to be regarded by others as a document that was legally valid.

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1. *Sangharajasadhucariyava*, edited by H. Piyananda Sthavira, 1954, p. 16.
2. See note above.
3. Lawrie, p. 367.
4. Lawrie, p. 70.
5. Lawrie, p 70. If the Hulamgomuve Unnanse whose signature appears on the reverse of the document was the monk who went before the Judical Commissioner's Court in 1822, then he appears to have belonged to the Asgiriya Monastery. According to Lawrie the monks of this monastery 'had gained a reputation for expertness in forgery.'

APPENDIX

Text of the Gäṭabēriya Sannasa

1. ශ්‍රී ලංකේශ්වරවූ ..... උතුම් ..... අපගේ දෙවි සවාමිදුරුවාණන් වහන්සේගේ අසදිශ අතිගම්භීර වූ ශ්‍රී මහා කරුණා දිවස් එලියේ මහිමතාවයෙන් වදාල

2. වූ පණත නම් ..... මොලදඬේ පෙරලියා මහා වාසලට අපක්ෂ අපිරමාණකම් සිතා පෙරලි කරත්ට ශදු තැන්දී ..... පල්කුඹුරේ රාජකරුණා වෙ

3. ද්‍යාතිලක ගෝපාල මුදලියා ඒ වග ශටි ශලකරවම්න් ඉතා පක්ෂපාත වූ හොඳ කිතින් දුගහැණ හිටිනා නිසා ..... සිදුරුවාතා ශටිනු

4. වර ගඟපලාත බද මොලදඬෙන් මෙම පෙරලියා සන්තකවූ දුවකේ බිජු පස්පැලද මීගස් අඟ බිජු පස් පැල ද පල්කඩ බිජු

5. අමුනද අයඅඟ බිජු අමුනද ඇතුළුව මුල් බිජු හතරමුනු දෙ පැලේ වපසරියත් මීට අයිතිවූ ගොඩ මඩ ගෙවතු ග

6. ස කොළ ඇතුළුවූ දේ ශ්‍රී ලංකා ව්පයෙහි රාජාභම් පවතිනා තේ කට මෙම මුදලියාගේ දරු මුනුබුරු පරම්පරාව ද

7. ක්වා ප්‍රවෙනි සැලැස්මට නිරවුල් ව භුක්ති විඳිනා රහට ..... ශක වර්ෂ එක්වාදහස්සාසිය අසූ දෙකට පැමිණි

8. වික්‍රම නම් වූ මේ වර්ෂයෙහි බිහර මස අව එකොලොස්වක් නම් තිථියලත් සිකුරාදා මේ.

9. දවස මේ සන්ඛස දෙවා වදාළ පණතත් ..... ඒ පණතත් ..... මෙසේම ..... පණිවුඩ ..... පණතයි .....

FORMATIVE INFLUENCES IN CEYLON'S BANKING DEVELOPMENT.

D. M. KANNANGARA

No banking system can be properly understood in complete isolation from its past. The object of this article is to discuss some of the more important historical forces which have helped to shape the course of Ceylon's banking evolution up to about 1950. As a first approximation, it can be said that it has in the main been the impact of British colonial rule on Ceylon's traditional economy which has determined the character of Ceylon's financial development. This view is not new. Our purpose is to give more definite shape and content to this view by focussing attention more sharply on some neglected issues.

From an economic viewpoint, the British Empire may be viewed as having been a group of specialized primary producers, directed and co-ordinated by the United Kingdom which also served as the marketing centre and the prime supplier of capital, finance and manufactured goods. In this aggregation of economic units, Ceylon's role was to produce coffee - and, when the coffee industry was wiped out by a blight towards the end of the 19th century - tea, rubber and coconut to be exported to London, and to import British manufactures. The tea and the rubber industries were developed purely as export industries, largely with British capital, under British ownership and management, with cheap labour imported from South India. It was essentially an application of foreign capital, managerial skill and labour to local land by a relatively small number of British firms of high financial standing. From the start, these industries were organized on relatively efficient, large - scale, capitalistic lines. But this new export production had to be carried on alongside the old indigenous economy of small peasant producers, fundamentally different in organization and character from the large - scale export industries. In this sector little capital or managerial skill was employed. It was largely the application of family labour to small plots of local land on traditional lines. Except as a supplementary source of labour, the British entrepreneur was little interested in this sector of the economy.

Thus, there was a fundamental dichotomy between the two main economic sectors of the country from the very beginning of British export production in Ceylon. The impact of British institutions, export production and foreign trade on the traditional economy later produced a new class of

Ceylonese entrepreneurs, civil servants, politicians and intellectuals which, to some extent, has blurred the sharp contours of this simple model. But the basic bifurcation continues to remain. Banking evolution in Ceylon must be appraised against the wider canvas of these economic developments.

Banking development was closely conditioned by this pattern of economic growth. Just as religion and capital followed political annexation, so banking followed capital. Most of the larger foreign banks of today commenced operations in Ceylon in the latter half of the 19th century, following the large inflow of Britist capital into the plantation industries and the accompanying growth in foreign trade, in order to meet the expanding demand for remittance and other banking facilities.[1] It must be remembered that until 1939[2], commercial banking in Ceylon was conducted — with the exception of one abortive experiment[3] —by foreign banks. The more important of these foreign banks were branches of a few financially strong British banks whose operations straddled across many colonial territories. As such, the local branches of these foreign banks were essentially British, under British management, dominated by British traditions of "deposit banking", with its stress on "self-liquidating" short-term commercial loans.

Until 1950, there was no monetary authority to regulate the operations of banking institutions in Ceylon. The functions of the Board of Commissioners of Currency were administrative, not monetary. The laws relating to banking were rudimentary, antiquated and inadequate. Up to 1950, and particularly before 1938, there was scarcely any state intervention in banking. Banking policy, consequently was largely a matter of private decision. But if the state did not introduce any important constraints into banking decisions, there were a number of other factors that did.

It is a general characteristic of extra-territorial colonial banking that the head office places limits on the size and types of loans that local branch managers can make at their discretion. All liabilities of the local branches are ultimately liabilities of the head office and the amount of credit available at any moment in a given colony, depended not on the asset-distribution of the local office in relation to its deposit liabilities, but the head office view of the over all position.

1. See *Report of the Ceylon Banking Committee,* Chapter IV. Also *Currency and Banking in Ceylon,* B. R. Shenoy, pp, 99-129.

2. In 1939, the first major indigenous commercial bank - the Bank of Ceylon - was opened under the *Bank of Ceylon Ordinance No 57 of 1938.*

3. This was the ill-fated Bank of Colombo.

The local branch, unlike a purely local bank, does not suffer from the absence of central banking and short-term money market facilities in the local economy. The local branch could rely on the head office to supply additional loan funds in case of need, and central-banking facilities were available to the London office. Idle funds of the local office could be freely transferred to London where they could earn some income[1]. Even overnight balances brought in some return which varied with the call-money rate in London. There was no risk arising from exchange-rate fluctuations because, under colonial monetary arrangements, exchange risk was eliminated.

The local activities of these banks were closely determined by British banking traditions and practices on the one hand, and by the course of local economic development on the other. The first determined the general character of banks' association with economic enterprise, types and maturities of loans regarded as legitimate on "sound" commercial banking principles, and the criteria of "credit-worthiness" as applied to borrowers. Within this framework of permissible business, the pattern of local economic development determined the volume and the distribution of the effective demand for bank accommodation.

The role of orthodox British banking tradition in moulding Ceylon's banking evolution up to 1950 needs to be underlined,[2] and its unhampered sway was no doubt facilitated by S. 3 of the Joint-stock Banking Ordinance No. 2 of 1897 (which was operative up to 1931) which made banking in Ceylon a preserve of the British Empire. The British influence was both direct and indirect. Directly, British traditions and practices were imported to the local scene through the local branches of British colonial banks which constituted by far the most important segment of Ceylon's banking system. The indirect influence emanated from the fact that British banking, with its stress on self-liquidating short-term commercial loans calculated to produce an admirable condition of banking solvency, had become a model for respectable deposit banking in Ceylon as elsewhere in the British Empire. Thus

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1. Under the Currency Board System, the transfer and retransfer of funds between Colombo and foreign centres involved the payment of a commission to the Currency Board. This introduced a minor friction into the otherwise free flow of funds. *Currency Ordinance, No, 21 of 1941*. S. 17.

2. From 1950 to 1959 there were two landmarks in Ceylon's banking evolution - the establishment of the Central Bank in 1950 and of the Development Finance Corporation in 1956. For expert advice on ihe formulation of the first, Ceylon turned to the Federal Reserve System rather than the Bank of England. For the second, guidance came from the I. B R. D. and the Central Bank.

indirectly, but nevertheless effectively, British practices influenced local banking in the first place through their impact on the Indian banks which operated branches in Ceylon In the second place, they strongly influenced indigenous banking evolution through their impact on the official policies of the British administration. Finally, indigenous banking, recent in origin and lacking the experience of foreign banks, naturally tended to imitate the British model in their day-to-day operations.

The British banks are designed essentially to serve as a source of short-term capital, as opposed to the "Continental" model which combined deposit banking with the financing of long-run investment. The German banks, which may be regarded as an extreme example of the Continental model, with their large industrial portfolios and their device of nominally short-term, but actually long-term current account credits, acquired a high degree of ascendancy over industrial enterprises. In addition to financial control, banking in Germany sometimes extended even to the sphere of entrepeneurial and managerial decisions and exerted a powerful influence on the evolution of industrial organization such as the cartelization movement. "Continental banking, in this sense, may be regarded as a specific instrument of rapid industrial development in a relatively backward economic system where capital and entrepreneurship were scarce. In England, the more gradual character of industrialization and the larger accumulation of capital largely obviated the need for this type of banking. English bankers have always frowned upon the finance of fixed capital and these attitudes were imported to Ceylon both directly and indirectly.

The first consequence of the influence of British traditions, then, is the complete absence of integration between banking and other economic enterprises in Ceylon. In the development of Ceylon's plantations or in other agricultural or industrial activities, the banking system did not play a role similar to that of the German banks vis-a-vis German industrialization.

In this connection, it is of interest to note that the Ceylon Banking Commission of 1934, after a careful analysis of the contemporary scene, recommended the formation of an indigenous state-aided bank with powers, among others, to "underwrite, subscribe, and invest in shares of joint-stock banks and other companies registered in Ceylon", provided such investment in local banks and companies did not exceed 50 per cent and 25 per cent respectively of the total subscribed capital of such concerns.[1]

1. *Ceylon Banking Commission, op. cit.*, p 84, para. 351.

This proposal for "mixed banking" which received the unanimous support of the State Council, was rejected by the Secretary of State for Colonies as being "dangerous", on the advice of an Expert Committee of British Bankers, and with the concurrence of lhe British Treasury and the Bank of England[1]. The reasons for rejection adduced by the Expert Committee who, on their own admission, " .. approached the question as bankers without any special knowledge of conditions in Ceylon....."[2], may be summarized as follows;-[3]

(i) "——there should be clear distinction between investment financing and deposit banking",

(ii) "—— experience of other countries has clearly demonstracted the dangers arising when deposit banking becomes too closely identified with the fortunes of particular industrial concerns",

(iii) "——a considerable stake in a commercial company mighr tend to influence its loan policy to the detriment of sound banking",

(iv) a bank's association with a particular company "——may influence third parties in their dealings with such a ccmpany",

(v) the bank may feel a "—— moral responsibility to support the concern (in which it has a stake) in times of difficulty",

(vi) "the use of such powers by a deposit bank is diametrically opposed to banking practices in Great Britain——" and involves "——a departure from well tried and accepted principles of banking".

The first reason adduced by the Expert Committee is no more than a rule of thumb. Reasons (ii) - (v) call for caution, for recruiting an efficient banking staff, and perhaps for limiting the bank's shareholding in any one company or a narrow group of companies, but does not justify outright rejection of at least some investment banking. Alter all, one expects an efficient bank manager to be selective and discriminating in his choice of ong - term assets.

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1. *Sessional Paper 1 - 1937,*
2. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
3. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 - 32.

It is probably the sixth consideration which weighed most heavily on the Expert Committee. It is clear, however, that a state-aided bank is not a purely profit-maximizing institution. A state-aided bank is not completely indentical with a private deposit bank.

Moreover, the Committee made no adequate analysis of why private deposit banking cannot be successfully combined with some limited investment banking. Factors such as the extent of the market, the volume, stability and continuity of a bank's liabilities, and the shiftability of its assets are surely crucial to the question and should not have been ignored.

Even the point made by Professor Sayers[1] — but not by the Expert Committee — that commercial bankers, who are specialists in assessing the balance-sheet position of credit applicants, are not equipped to judge the long-term repayment capacity of borrowers is not an adequate argument against combining deposit banking with investment banking. The character of a bank's staff must necessarily change with the character of its business. It is only an argument for recruiting staff capable of conducting the type of business transacted by a bank.

Finally, the entire question of the contribution that might be expected from a combination of investment and deposit banking to the larger problem of economic development was altogether evaded by the Expert Committee.

The influence of British banking tradition on indigenous banking development through its impact on the official attitudes of the British administration is clear. Ceylon's only major indigenous commercial bank, the state-aided Bank of Ceylon, was compelled by this decision to follow the British model closely.[1] It is a clear example of the tendency to examine colonial banking problems, not in the light of the specific institutional set-up of colonial territories but in the light of the experience of the United Kingdom.

The second consequence of the impact of British tradition on Ceylon's banking development can be seen in the well-known reluctance of banks to lend against the security of immovable property which is amply reflected even in current banking statistics.

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1. *Modern Banking*, R. S. Sayers, 3rd ed., pp. 231-2.

2. See *Bank of Ceylon Ordinance, No. 53 of 1938*. Also S. 340 of the *Companies Ordinance* of 198, as amended by the *Ordinance of 1942*.

The third consequence relates to Ceylon's choice in indigenous banking development between unit banking and branch banking. The Ceylon Banking Commission definitely favoured a modified unit banking system on the ground that such a system would (i) be more responsive to local needs, (ii) lead to more intensive harnessing of local deposits and (iii) ensure more intimate banker - customer relations. They argued that the main advantage of branch banking lies in " — facilitating the transfer of surplus capital from one place to another where it can be more profitably utilized".[1] In order to secure the best of both worlds, they proposed that local unit banks should be linked to the state - aided bank by means of the latter (a) subscribing half the share capital of local banks, (b) acting as agent for the local banks and vice versa, and (c) providing guidance and assistance without curtailing their independence.[2]

However, it should be noted that these proposals would not necessarily remove all disadvantages of unit banking nor secure all the advantages of branch banking. Intimate banker - customer relations are not necessarily a monopoly of unit banking When branch employees are encouraged to mix freely with the local population, they could also be secured under branch banking. But it may be conceded that they could be more surely achieved under unit banking. Nor is banker - customer intimacy an unmixed blessing. A branch manager is usually better placed to reject unsound loan applications by pleading head - office red tape. But in an economy characterized by a great scarcity of assets which can serve as effective collateral, intimate banker - customer relations are absolutely necessary if banks are to serve adequately the purposes of internal economic development. Thus the Commission's preferences could be justified.

Branch banking, however, is more successful in spreading risks geographically. Even cyclical depressions do not affect all areas and all industries uniformly. Secular changes affect particular industries. Where industries are strongly localized, branch banking has obvious advantages The Commission made no mention of this difference possibly in the belief that the point was irrelevant in the context of Ceylon's largely undiversified economy. Nevertheless, regional specialization is a matter of relativity, and economic growth might well have been expected to bring about greater regional specialization. The point was sufficiently important to have deserved explicit consideration. Moreover,

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1. *Ceylon Banking Commission, op. cit,* paras, 360 - 61.

2. *Ibid* , paras 88 - 91, 366 - 380.

elsewhere in the Report[1], the Commission deplores the absence of cheap and efficient internal remittance facilities. Under the Commission's proposals, internal remittance facilities similar to those obtaining under branch banking would be available. Neverthless, there is a presumption that branch banking would be able to offer such facilities more cheaply. The Commission ignored this facet of the problem.

Finally, the choice between unit and branch banking had important implications for future central-bank control. Briefly, the general position is that a well integrated branch banking system lends itself more easily to central-bank control. These implications did not receive the attention of the Commission. Whatever the merits of their practical proposals, their analysis was weak.

But the Expert Committee of British bankers rejected these proposals, not because of there fundamental weaknesses, but on the sole ground that it would be imprudent for the state-aided bank to subscribe to the capital of local banks without possessing "full control".[2] The implicit comparison with its highly integrated British banking system is plain, for the Committee is at pains to stress the importance of "full control" and the dire consequences likely to follow from any-"-departure from well-tried and accepted banking principles'[3], This decision of the Expert Committee, accepted by the Secretary of State. launched Ceylon's indigenous banking firmly on the path of branch banking.

The fourth consequence of the penetration of classical British banking attitudes is seen in the high importance attached to collateral security and the extremely conservative assessment of credit risks by commercial banks in Ceylon. It is noteworthy that a definite lag appears to occure in the evolution of attitudes to collateral security among British bankers in the United Kingdom and those in Ceylon. In the contemporary English scene, bankers are guided far more by their judgement of the proposed 'venture' and their knowledge of the client than by the market value of the collateral security.[4] No such change of heart has been evident in banking circles in Ceylon where collateral continues to play a crucial role.

Three further factors - which may be viewed as weaknesses inherent in extra-territorial banking in underdeveloped multi-racial economies - appear

1. *Ibid*, p. 72, para 303.
2. *Sessional Paper I - 1937*, p. 31.
3. *Ibid*, p. 32.
4. *Modern Banking, op cit*, p. 304.

to have significantly reinforced the constrictive influence of British tradition on banking operations in Ceylon. The first of these was the practice of the head office to place limitations on the types and maturities of local loans[1] which was already referred to. The second was the inability of ordinary Ceylonese under prevailing conditions, to gain access to European branch managers or even their junior officers[2]. The third was the reluctance of foreign banks to open branches outside Colombo and a few other major centres because of high administrative expenses[3] and the ignorance of local conditions on the part of European bank managers.

The commercial banks in Ceylon, consequently, played a largely passive role. They had certain standards and were willing to accommodate borrowers who had access to them, provided they were able to meet the bankers' standards relating to credit-worthiness, minimum size[4], maturities and types of the loans.

It should be obvious that foreign (or local) commercial banks are ill-equiped to meet directly the needs of a peasant economy. The savings of the individual peasant - if any - are extremely low while peasant activities are spread widely over the Island. The mobilization of such savings is uneconomic for commercial banks Traditional peasant production requires little capital. Peasant fortunes depend more on the vagaries of the weather than on conscious planning. The assessment of the ability of peasants to repay loans is notoriously difficult The only collateral which the peasant can offer - if he can offer any - is land. But banks working on the traditional British model dislike land as collateral. Moreover, the piece of land owned by the peasant is small, and its capacity to serve as collateral is further weakened by past encumbrances as well as by the "—age long defective system of documents evidencing ownership in land".[4] For these reasons, as far as commercial banks are concerned, the demand for credit arising from the peasant sector is not effective demand.

The bank's clients must, therefore, come mainly from expatriate enterprises operating in Ceylon. Banks could expect to provide the working

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1. *Ceylon Banking Commission, op. cit.*, paras. 300-1.
2. *Ibid.*, paras. 110 and 289.
3. *Ibid.*, para. 299.
4. *Sessional Paper-1937*, p. 42, para. 2.
5. *Ceylon Banking Commission, op. cit.*, para. 143.

capital requirements of estates and of firms engaged in the export and import trades. For this task, the expatriate banking system was ideally suited. From the start, the local British community were no strangers to the banking habit. They had the fullest confidence in the local branches of British banks. The banker, for his part, knew his man. He had ample confidence in British entrepreneurial ability and business integrity. The British entrepreneur had the type of collateral favoured by the banker. Indeed one of the main functions of commercial banks in Ceylon was to provide a safe and convenient depository for the large liquid funds of expatriate business houses.

But as for supplying the working capital of British plantations, it is necessary to remember the strong financial position of the firms in questions. Their capital resources were large. Their dividend policies were conservative and ploughed - back profits continually added to their liquid resources.[1] We can also expect expatriate firms with extensive connections in London to obtain their credit requirements in London rather than in Colombo if interest rates in London were lower than local rates. These tendencies to limit the local demand for bank advances were no doubt reinforced by the physical conditions of production on the plantations, characterized by a marked absence of large seasonal fluctuations in output[2], which might be expected to even out working capital requirements through the year. Moreover, part of their admittedly low credit needs were supplied by local estate agents[3] out of their own resources and from private savings entrusted to their care as well as from commercial bank advances. All these factors combined to limit the dependence of the plantations on commercial banks.

The banks found that the main local outlets for advances were the export and import trades. Even here the fact that Ceylon's foreign trade was so closely controlled by wealthy expatriate firms tended to limit the demand for bank accommodation. In the short run, the demand for loans depended mainly on factors such as the value of exports, temporary shipping delays and bottlenecks, speculative stockpiling of exports and other similar factors. Local advances formed only a small part of the business of commercial banks. Remittances, drafts, transfer and other exchange transactions formed the bulk of their business[4]. The high normal day - to -

1. *Ibid.*, para. 636,
2. *Ibid.*, para. 46 and 637.
3. On the operations of estate agents see *Ibid.*, paras. 634 - 5.
4. e. g. see "Banking in Ceylon", H. D. Andree, *Fergvson's Directory*, 1864 - 5; p. 84; John Exter, *Sessional Paper XIX - 1949*, p. 45.

day requirements for transfers and remittances necessitated the maintenance of large working balances in London. The low volume of local effective demand for advances, coupled with the high volume of local deposits, created a large degree of dependence on the London market for the employment of their idle funds.

Thus the banking system was inherently unsuited to meet the needs of the indigenous peasant economy. It was eminently equipped to cater to the needs of expatriate enterprises, but the needs of the latter were limited. The fundamental weakness of the banking system was its inability to find a way out of this apparent dilemma. It failed to find a profitable outlet for its ample funds in the growing activities of the increasingly important indigenous middle class. The Ceylon Banking Commission estimated that in 1934, 90 per cent of rhe total acreage under coconut, 55 per cent of rubber and 20 per cent of the tea acreage was under Ceylonese ownership and control. There were also increasing numbers in the internal retail and wholesale business, transport and other similar activities, who needed both short-term and long-term credit. Unlike the expatriate concerns, this sector had no great capital resources. It had no perennially high liquid balances obviating the need for working advances. Nor could it rely on the London market for its requirements. Could not the banking system have adapted itself to meet the Pressing needs of this emergent indigenous entrepreneur?

Admittedly there were difficulties. British deposit banks would not in any case engage in long-term lending on any substantial scale so that the problem narrows down to the financing of the short-term requirements of the indigenous entrepreneur. Even this field was not free from obstacles. For instance, there was the dearth of local assets which could serve as effective collateral security; defective titles to land; legal difficulties in the way of speedy realization of collateral, the tendency on the part of some Ceylonese borrowers to use short-term advances for long-term purposes; the under-capitalization of many business enterprises; the relative absence of the joint-stock form of business organization; the poor accounting methods employed by some Ceylonese businesses; the ignorance on the part of many Ceylonese of the functions, services-and, in some cases, even the existence-of commercial banks; and so on.

It must be stressed however, that these difficulties did not apply uniformly to all Ceylonese entrepreneurs. The history of the Bank of Ceylon has conclusively demonstrated that these obstacles need not prevent a bank, following the principles of "sound deposit banking", from building up an

extensive short-term loan business with the local population. The failure of foreign banks to exploit these possibilities must be found mainly in (a) the social barriers which existed between European bankers and the Ceylonese borrowers and the consequent ignorance of the former of local conditions, (b) the reluctance to grant small loans, (c) bankers' excessive stress on collateral and their highly conservative assessment of local credit risks - which were partly the result of (a) - and (d) close head-office control of local branches.

To a limited extent, for a time, the expatriate banks were able to over come some of these obstacles through two classes of intermediaries - the Shroffs and the Chettiars.[1] The lending activities of the Chettiars, however, shrank rapidly after 1929 with the heavy losses incurred in the depression and a combination of other circumstances. The operations of the Shroff came increasingly under popular criticism[2] so that his role changed rapidly from that of a guarantor and intermediary to that of a credit investigator. But even in their heyday, these intermediaries filled the gap between the banks and the local entrepreneur only partially and imperfectly.

In the 19th century, the most significant feature of Ceylon's economic development was the growth of the plantations as export industries carried out with foreign capital and enterprise. This process was largely completed by the 30's. In the 20th century, the Ceylonese middle class was throwing off its subservient character and asserting itself with increasing vigour. The balance of economic power to some extent, and the balance of political power to a far greater extent, was shifting rapidly from expatriate to local elements. The political reforms of the early 30's created a large measure of self government in internal affairs which intensified the claims of the local population for a larger share in the economic cake. As the inability of the expatriate banks to accommodate Ceylonese borrowers became more irksome, the demand for indigenous banking became more insistent. Changes in Ceylon's financial institutional structure in the first half of the 20th century can be explained essentially as the product of the inflexibility of the expatriate banking system in the face of a rapidly changing economic, social and political milieu.

It must be rememberd that the inflexibility operated in three main directions. First. by its very nature the existing banking system was unable

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2. See *Ceylon Banking Commission, op. cit.*, paras. 111-118, 159-182; Shenoy, op cit. pp. 124-8,

1. e. g. see *Ceylon Banking Commission, op. cit.*, paras. 111-119.

to cater to the needs of the peasant economy. Second, it was unable or unwilling to be a source of medium and long-term credit for the local agriculturalist and industrialist. Third, it was unable or unwilling to meet even the short-term credit needs of the Ceylonese business community. In theory, the position could be remedied by introducing greater elasticity into the existing banking structure. or by the growth of intermediaries, or by the development of new financial institutions, or by a combination of all three forms. In Ceylon, it took largely the third form.

To overcome credit gaps vis-a-vis the peasant sector, co-operative organizations were started which, from small beginnings in the first quarter of the century, began to make substantial strides in recent years. For the supply of medium and long-term loans, the Ceylon State Mortgage Bank and the Agricultural and Industrial Credit Corporation were established in 1931 and 1943 respectively. Unfortunately, the general approach in the formulation of these two institutions was one of extreme caution. Numerous rules of thumb were embodied in their highly restrictive constitutions[1] which narrowly limited the scope of their operations, so that their combined contribution to Ceylon's economic development has not been impressive. It was not until 1956 that an institution with a flexible constitution, embodying a sufficiently wide sweep of conception, was established in the form of the Development Finance Coprporation of Ceylon[2]. For the provision of short-term credit to the Ceylonese business community, an outstandingly successful organization, the state-aided Bank of Ceylon, was organized in 1939.

The emergence of the Bank of Ceylon as a formidable competitor in the short-term market, the rapid social and political developments culminating in the attainment of political independence in 1948, and the pressure exerted by the Central Bank of Ceylon after its establishment (as a corollary to political independence) in 1950, combined to introduce greater flexibility into the expatriate banking system. Admittedly, the latter still confines itself largely to the short-term financing of the country's foreign trade. But the Ceylonese borrower operating in this sphere is no longer an unwelcome element.

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1. See *Sessional Paper XXI - 1929: Ordinance No. 16 of 1931;* and *Ordinance No. 19 of 1943.*

2. *Development Finance Corporation of Ceylon Act No. 35 of 1955.*

Theoretically, changes in the financial structure must be the result of evolution or of state initiative. Evolutionary changes are typically the outcome of the existence of some profit possibilities combined with the ability to grasp such possibilities. Changes initiated by the state are usually the result of the awareness of defects in the existing system, not automatically corrected from within the system to a sufficient degree or with sufficient speed. It is noteworthy that all the major indigenous financial institutions launched in this period were wholly or partly state- sponsored or state-aided. The reasons for this are probably to be found in the inability of indigenous private enterprise to exploit existing profit possibilities partly because of the relatively small prior accumulation of capital, partly because of the reluctance of available capital to enter new, and therefore presumably risky, avenues of investment and partly because of the dearth of financial experience and technical knowledge.

A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE VEDDAH: THE CEYLON ABORIGINAL

H. A. I. GOONETILEKE

> *"He arrived near the people who are called the Bisadae (Visadae). They are a very small and weak tribe. Some of them live in rock caverns and know how to get about by scaling owing to the rugged nature of the land. The Bisadae are small-made, shaggy, large-headed, unshaven and have fine hair."*

(Excerpt from the *"De Moribus Brachmanorum"*, translated from the original Greek work ascribed to Palladius, Bishop of Helenopolis, who died about 410 A. D.; probably the earliest description of the Veddas, based on a Theban traveller's personal encounter with them in Ceylon.)

This bibliography aims to offer the student and casual reader alike, a generous record of the literature dealing with the Ceylon Veddah. The desire to make the list as inclusive as possible has led to the inclusion of both ethnographical investigations and popular accounts, but it does not profess to be exhaustive, and several references may easily have escaped the compiler's attention. Newspaper articles and reviews have been excluded. Brief though interesting, references in the early travel and other writings from Palladius? about 400 A. D. to Pedro Teixeira in 1610, as well as scattered notices in anthropological and historical literature have also been omitted. Annotation has been dispensed with for reasons of economy. The arrangement of entries is alphabetical according to author, rather than chronological according to date of publication. Every effort has been made to check the accuracy of the references, and grateful acknowledgement is due to Dr. M. A. Baird of the University of London Library, who verified references not available in Ceylon.

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SINGHAL, D. P. *The Annexation of Upper Burma.* (Eastern Universities Press, Singapore, 1960. pp. vii, 129, map.)

The first and second Burmese wars, and the annexations that followed them, had left the Kingdom of Burma truncated, land-locked and weak. After the rough handling Burma received at the hands of the expansionist Viceroy Lord Dalhousie, the accession to the throne of the prudent king Mindon in 1853 considerably improved the situation. He gave the land a 25 year period of much needed peace and some valuable foreign contacts. But the dependence of the kingdom on the interests of the British was clear and its remaining years were, as a Burmese historian put it, "a lease of life". The above work subjects these last few years of the life of the kingdom to a detailed and critical scrutiny. As sources of his theme, the author has utilised contemporary official records in manuscript, and private papers of the three major personalities of his period, Lords Lytton, Ripon and Kimberley. The value of the work is enhanced by the fact that this is the first examination of the latter category of papers for Anglo-Burmese relations.

Dr. Singhal introduces his subject with a survey of the origin and development of the kingdom through its various stages of conquest and consolidation and its various dynasties. With the end of the reign of King Mindon of the Konbaung dynasty Dr. Singhal's theme begins. As between the Burmese royal administration and the British there were a number of causes of conflict. They were mostly of a commercial character, as a considerable net work of commercial relations was spreading between the British and Upper Burma. British Companies with their base in the British occupied lower provinces were operating increasingly in Upper Burma. Furthermore, there was the feeling that if trade could be opened with the province of Yunnan in China, across the Burmese frontier, there was a large export market that could be utilised. Time and again disputes arose over the conflicting claims of the commercial companies and the administrative officials. The internal instability of the kingdom under Thibaw, who succeeded to the throne in 1878, resulted in frequent attacks on British shipping up the river Irrawady which were causes of annoyance to commercial interests. These interests were, therefore, bringing a great deal of pressure to bear on the British government both inIndia and at home.

There were other causes of dispute as well, issuing from political and diplomatic events. There was the famous 'Shoe Question' which arose over the Burmese insistance on the British envoys conforming to their ancient court etiquette just as the Chinese were doing to European visitors to their court. This issue was needlessly magnified out of all proportion to its real importance by both the Burmese and the British, leading to the withdrawal of the British Resident from the Court of Ava in 1879. Behind this dispute and the general attitude of the Burmese rulers of this period is seen a basic refusal, indeed inability, to come out of the medieval milieu which surrounded the entire court and to recognise the realities of the contemporary situation. King Thibaw withdrew even further into his isolation and obscurantism, thus making impossible the fashioning of a new Burmese policy with a view to arriving at a *modus vivendi* with the neighbouring British power.

Then there was another very important factor in the form of a third power, which is sometimes the cause and sometimes the excuse for imperialist expansion. For the British in Afghanistan it was Russia, in Burma it was France. The French were expanding from the Eastern side of the peninsula and it seemed an obvious Burmese policy to play one power against the other. From 1883 onwards there was an increase of French influence at the court and a frequent exchange of envoys Though the French were constantly assuring the British that they would not go beyond a certain point in their policy towards Burma, the British could never be quite certain. British commercial interests were fearful of the competition of French rivals who were making rapid gains in Upper Burma with the support of the Burmese Government. All these factors contributed towards settling the issue of

British policy in favour of annexation. A debate had gone on for some time now in which British officers were divided into 'non-interventionists' and those of the 'forward school'. It is significant that the decision to intervene was taken by the liberal and pacific Vic roy Ripon.

The task of historical revision, aided by research into new and so far unavailable sources, has been to consider the relative importance of the factors that tipped the scales of British policy on the side of annexation. And this is Dr. Singha:'s major contribution. As set out very cogently in his chapter V (entitled Conclusion) which picks up the threads of his earlier arguments, he is of the view that the French threat has been exaggerated by British historians of Burma as a factor in moulding this phase of British policy towards Burma. He has argued quite convincingly that Britain's Burma policy "was largely the outcome of the need to protect commercial interests, which demanded complete control of the country and its resources" (p. 89), and that the annexation of Burma had been discussed as a practical proposition long before French intrigues threatened menacingly at Mandalay. This interpretation seems to fit into the general technique of the 'New Imperialism' as operating in several parts of the globe from the last quarter of the 19th Century onwards.

S. ARASARATNAM

MITCHELL, G. DUNCAN. *Sociology: the study of Social Systems.* (London, University Tutorial Press, 1959. ix, 174 p., tables, diagrs , 11 sh. 6 d.)

Mitchell's book is one of the finest introductory texts on Sociology for the student beginner or the layman. Clearly and simply written without much of the jargon that distresses the non-sociologist, it has the merit of adopting a well defined theoretical approach, influenced largely by the work of British and American functionalists.

Sociological analysis, as Mitchell sees it, is firstly directed to the study of society as a ***social system***; the various social institutions also being systems (or subsystems) within the larger system. Secondly sociological analysis is also functional analysis i. e it must show the function of any part or item in the continuity and maintenance of the total system. The units or elements of the system are not individuals but *positions* (what some sociologists call' statuses') and *roles*. Having defined his approach Mitchell goes on to analyse the major social institutions in structural (systemic) - functional terms, thus avoiding the shifting of theoretical positions characteristic of many introductory texts in Sociology.

The actual analyses are lucid and clear and very welcome for the beginner. The chapter on *Kingship and Marriage* is one of the best introductions to that complicated subject I have seen in any text book.

As far as the undergraduate program is concerned this book would not be by any means a self-sufficient text for an introductory course; but in conjunction with other prescribed readings, it should be a useful take off point for the beginner. Mitchell's book should however be unreservedly recommended for the intelligent layman, and "people concerned with practical matters, such as the administrator, the social worker and the educationist" (v)

In conclusion I would like to mention an outstanding virtue of the book: it brings together the traditional interests of the Sociologist and Social Anthropologist, within a single theoretical framework, that of functional analysis. This is a matter of consolation for many of us who believe that Sociology and Social Anthropology are closely related and not two disparate disciplines as some social scientists would make them out to be.

G. OBEYESEKERA.

Announcements

The Editors regret very much the delay in the issue of this number of the Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, owing to unavoidable difficulties of production. It is hoped to publish Vol. 3, No. 2 (July-December 1960) about September 1961.

In order to ensure continuity readers whose subscriptions have lapsed are advised to renew their subscriptions. The annual subscription is Rs Six., 12sh. 6 d. or Two dollars (post-free), and all remittances should be made payable to the Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, and addressed to the Managing Editor, The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Upper Hantane. University Park, Peradeniya. New subscribers are most welcome, as a larger subscription list would help us considerably in defraying our costs.

Subscribers are kindly requested to notify us immediately if there is a change of address, giving both old and new addresses.

The issue of Volume 1, Number 1 (January, 1958) is already exhausted, but a few copies of Volume 1, Number 2 (July 1958) at Rs. 2-50, Volume 2, Number 1 (January, 1959) and Volume 2, Number 2 (July 1959) at Rs 3-00 each are still available. Copies can be obtained post-free from the Managing Editor.

Forthcoming issues of the Journal will include:

Some financial aspects of Ceylon's Ten year Plan, by Dr. H. A. de S. Gunasekera.

The economic background to the Constitutional Reform movement in 19th century Ceylon, by Dr. I. H. Vandendriesen (to be published in 2 parts).

Some myths in the Sinhalese Chronicles : an anthropological study, by G. Obeyesekere.

The Governor-General and the two Dissolutions of Parliament, December 5th, 1959 and April 23rd, 1960, by Dr. A. J. Wilson.

A critical examination of the cycle of Paṇḍukābhaya legends, by Dr. Lakshman S. Perera.

William Hubbard, fellow-prisoner of Robert Knox in Kandy, 1660-1703, by Dr. S. Arasaratnam.

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