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CEILINGS ON BANK CREDIT: THE EXPERIENCE OF SRI LANKA (CEYLON)

S. W. R. DE A. SAMARASINGHE*

I. INTRODUCTION

A "credit ceiling" can be defined as some upper limit imposed by the monetary authority on total lending by commercial banks (or any other type of financial institution). The nature of the ceiling will be conditioned by the laws and practises governing credit control in the country concerned. Generally, central banks are not expected to discriminate between individual banks when regulating bank credit. Thus, when a credit ceiling is imposed, a formula has to be devised to specify the ceiling applicable to each bank but without favouring one or the other.

The Radcliffe Report [1959] characterises credit ceilings as "the most drastic form of control of bank advances" (para 527) suitable for an "emergency" condition of "headlong inflation". The Radcliffe Committee would have made this observation largely with the situation in the United Kingdom in mind. It is also true that in some countries, notably the US, credit ceilings have not been used much to control credit. However, monetary authorities in many countries, particularly those in developing countries have made regular use of credit ceilings in the past one and a half decades.¹ In most cases ceilings have been imposed not only with the aim of curbing inflation but also with the aim of diverting credit for "developmental" purposes. Some of the monetary implications arising from credit ceilings have been discussed in the literature in somewhat general terms. However, so far very little attempt has been made to examine these issues in an empirical context.² This paper is an attempt to

* The author wishes to acknowledge the helpful comments of Mr. Alan Roe in the preparation of the main arguments in this paper. However, the author alone is responsible for any errors that may remain.

1. Among others the Reserve Banks of Australia, India and New Zealand have imposed credit ceilings from time to time (See Crick [1965]).
2. Most recently, Modigliani [1975], in the course of a discussion on recent developments in monetary economics, has emphasised the "great need" to "further develop" the rather scanty analyses on credit rationing available at present. Some references to writings which touch upon this issue are given in the course of the present paper. Also see Chick [1973, pp. 63-67] for a formal expression of ideas on credit rationing found in the Radcliffe Report.

fill this gap in some measure by discussing credit ceilings with special reference to the experience of Sri Lanka in the 1965-70 period.³

II. CREDIT CEILINGS: ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

Often cited advantages of a credit ceiling are that "they are unequivocal, both for the banks and their customers; their coverage can be extended in equity to competing financial institutions and they work quickly".⁴ It must be noted, however, that if by "competing financial institutions" it is meant to include non-bank financial intermediaries, the ability of the monetary authority to regulate their lending will depend on whether the latter is empowered to control the former group of institutions. Contrary to the above postulated advantages, opponents of credit ceilings suggest several disadvantages. Firstly, credit ceilings check competition and innovations.⁵ On the one hand a credit ceiling could impair the ability of the financial institutions under the ceiling to compete with those not under the ceiling. On the other hand it will also freeze competition among those institutions which are subject to the ceiling. Secondly, the overall supply of credit in the economy may not be controlled because financial intermediaries not subject to the ceiling could expand their lending.⁶ This, however, depends on the ability of the financial market to supply credit to borrowers who are denied credit by their traditional sources because of the ceiling. Even in a highly developed financial system, it is most unlikely that financial intermediaries not subject to the ceiling would be able to supply, in the short-run, all the credit needs of borrowers who were not accommodated by the banks and other intermediaries subject to the ceiling.⁷ Besides, referring to the demand side, Cramp [1971] has pointed out (in reference to the situation in the UK) that "there are limitations on the ability of some borrowers to switch to borrowing through other channels". (p. 139.) Thirdly, it can be pointed out that the ceiling is arbitrary. This, in principle, is a valid argument. It should be recalled, however, that an element of arbitrariness is inherent in almost any method of control. Fourthly, in a situation where credit is rationed the

3. The reasons for selecting this period must be explained. Ceilings on lending by commercial banks were imposed in Sri Lanka for the first time in 1965. Since then up to 1970, credit ceilings were in continuous use as an instrument of credit control. After 1970, however, ceilings on bank credit although in force do not appear to be a critical factor in determining the level of credit. Besides, there is a fairly sharp break in economic policies between 1965-70 and the post 1970 period. For all these reasons it is more convenient to restrict the analysis to 1965-70.
4. See "Monetary Management in the United Kingdom," the text of a speech by the Governor of the Bank of England, published in Johnson [1972] pp. 580-581.
5. See Bain [1970] pp. 136-139. However, the Radcliffe Committee has suggested that this particular disadvantage could be somewhat lessened by fixing ceilings in terms of ratios of advances to deposits rather than in terms of absolute limits to advances as such [para 527].
6. See Johnson [1972] p. 580.
7. Radcliffe Report [1959] paras 457-9 See also Karaken [1972] p. 539.

market rate of interest may not be permitted to rise to a competitive equilibrium level. This would mean that the market rate of interest might not reflect the true opportunity cost of capital funds. Therefore, inefficiencies in the allocation of resources could occur.⁸ Fifthly, Bain [1970] has suggested that credit ceilings, by preventing bank managers from undertaking what appears to them to be sound loan business, could damage their morale.

Usually, quantitative ceilings on credit are accompanied by "qualitative guidance".⁹ This arises from the anxiety of the authorities to ensure that credit needs of some "essential" or "high priority" sector are not unduly restricted by the ceiling. The drawback in this technique is that there is no way in which the lending bank could guarantee that the credit will be used for the purpose for which it was granted. Normally, however, the authorities seem to prefer not to make these guidelines too rigid. For example, having specified the overall ceiling the authorities may wish to allow market forces to decide on the actual distribution of credit among different types of credit instead of specifying ceilings on individual types of credit. As for the banks, if the total demand for credit exceeds its supply, i.e. if the ceiling is effective, they could ration credit by either raising interest rates to a market clearing equilibrium level or by adopting some scheme of non-price rationing. In practice, they are likely to combine the two methods. However, there is no guarantee that the actual distribution of credit determined by such a process will conform to the pattern of distribution the authorities would have preferred.

III. THE MACROECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF SRI LANKA IN THE 1960'S

A brief account of the macroeconomic trends in the economy in the period under consideration (1965-70) should be useful to have a proper perspective of credit policy during the period. The annual mean real growth rate of GNP was 5.2 percent as against 3.6 percent for the first half of the decade.¹⁰ Gross domestic fixed capital formation increased by about 80 percent in real terms over the period under review. The budget deficits of the government increased sharply, rising from Rs. 566 million in the fiscal year 1965-66 to a record Rs. 897 million in the fiscal year 1969-70. On the average, about one fourth of government expenditure had to be financed with funds obtained from non-revenue sources. About 30 percent of the deficit was financed with money borrowed from the Central Bank. The money supply (defined as cash plus demand deposits

8. Blaug [1968] p. 533.

9. See, for example "The Operation of Monetary Policy Since Radcliffe: A Paper Prepared in the Bank of England in consultation with the Treasury" in Croome and Johnson [1970] p. 225.

10. All figures used in this section are, unless otherwise stated, obtained directly or computed from information and data in the various Annual Reports of the Central Bank of Ceylon.

held by the non-bank public) increased at an annual mean rate of about 3 percent. However, the growth of the money supply was uneven; 1966, 1967 and 1970 recorded increases above this average. The implicit GNP deflator (1959=100) which stood at 96.9 in 1965 moved up slightly to 100.8 in 1967. Thereafter, however, the increases were more pronounced. In 1968 it reached 111.0, in 1969 115.3 and in 1970 119.0. A major factor which helped to dampen inflationary pressure and also achieve a relatively rapid rate of economic growth was the sharp increase in imports. However, this increase was not made possible by any significant rise in export earnings but by an unprecedented inflow of foreign aid, largely by way of loans. Nevertheless, some aspects of the balance of payments policy should have contributed to inflationary pressures, namely the 20 percent devaluation of the rupee in 1967 and the further partial devaluation of the rupee in the following year when a two-tier exchange rate system was introduced. Where broad economic policy is concerned, all governments in power since independence have followed a policy of state intervention in economic activity, although the degree of intervention has varied from time to time. The policy of the government in 1965-70 was to rely on the market mechanism to a greater extent than its immediate predecessor. Besides, there was a willingness on the part of the policy makers to allow monetary policy to play a greater role than allowed hitherto. This "market" thrust of general economic policy was reflected in the statement of the Central Bank of Ceylon (CB) that "the various sectors (of the economy) would have to compete with each other to secure an increasing proportion of available resources by bidding up their prices, including the price of bank credit". [CB Annual Report (CBAR) 1967, p. 27].

IV. THE OBJECTIVES OF CREDIT POLICY

The objective of credit policy, the CB declared in 1965, was "to re-orient the pattern of credit in favour of production as against consumption" (CBAR 1965, p. 8). However, this does not reveal any fundamental change in objectives of credit policy pursued in the first half of the decade. Nevertheless, towards the latter part of the period 1965-70, the Bank came to emphasise the anti-inflationary aspect of credit policy. Imposing credit ceilings in 1968, the Bank remarked that they were necessary to "keep inflationary pressures in check" [CBAR 1968, p. 161]. The concern since 1968 about inflation was mainly due to the devaluation of the rupee by 20 percent in late 1967 and the partial devaluation of the rupee in 1968 when the two-tier exchange rate system was introduced.

The principal policy measures adopted by the CB during 1965-70 may be summarised as follows:—

1965: Commencing 15 June 1965 bank advances¹¹ to the private sector were subject to a ceiling. However, advances to State Corporations were exempt from this ceiling. Each bank was individually informed of the ceiling to which its advances were subject.¹²

The Bank Rate was raised from 4 to 5 percent.¹³

Selective credit controls on import credit were withdrawn because they were found to be "superfluous with the expansion of direct import controls" [CBAR 1965, p. 8].

1968: Credit ceilings were redefined "with reference to a more realistic base date" and the Bank Rate was raised from 5 to 5.5 percent.

1969: In June, credit ceilings were again revised upwards and bank credit to the State Corporations was also brought under a credit ceiling.

1970: In January the Bank Rate was raised from 5.5 to 6.5 percent.

V. THE 1965 CREDIT CEILING

Although an attempt is made here to evaluate the impact and success of credit ceilings, such an attempt has certain limitations which must be borne in mind. Firstly, the impact of monetary policy on bank credit cannot be completely isolated from the impact on it of other economic policies and events. Secondly, and perhaps even more important, the impact of credit ceilings on bank credit cannot be fully isolated from the impact of other instruments of monetary control which are activated concurrently.

Information is not available on the level of the ceiling imposed in 1965 on advances given by individual banks. However, it is known that at the end of June 1965 total bank credit covered by the ceiling stood at Rs. 805.0 million.¹⁴ It was revised only in August 1968, and between the end of June 1965 and August 1968 the highest amount of credit (subject to the ceiling) ever recorded was in June 1968—Rs. 1196.5 million. This is a staggering 48.6 percent higher than the approximate figure of outstanding credit on the base date of June 1965 and indicates the extremely permissive character of the ceiling. Indeed, the CB could not have expected the ceiling to have had any significant restraining effect in the reasonably short-run on the overall level of credit. Only two explanations are possible. The first is that the Bank seriously overestimated the potential demand for credit. The second is that the Bank was uncertain about the consequences of a more effective ceiling and opted for one which conferred the maximum possible flexibility on the supply of credit. However, one year

11. Advances were defined to include loans, overdrafts, import bills and local bills.

12. CBAR 1965, Appendix I [B]i.

13. *Ibid.*

14. *Ibid.*, Statistical Appendix, Table 4.

after its imposition, the Bank itself admitted that the ceiling was ineffective when it stated that there were "no indications that the volume of credit could reach the ceiling then in force" [CBAR 1966, p. 90].

VI. THE 1968 AND 1969 CREDIT CEILINGS

At face value, policy measures taken in 1968 do not appear to be mutually consistent. In principle, raising the Bank Rate is a contractionary measure whereas raising the credit ceiling is relatively expansionary. The CB, however, justified the upward revision of the ceiling on the grounds that the purpose was to "limit the expansion of commercial bank credit to the private sector for specified purposes while permitting a more liberal expansion for selected essential purposes and placing no restrictions on certain other high priority sectors". [CBAR 1969, p. 118].

The 1968 ceiling sought to limit credit (of a selected group) to the private sector (excluding State Corporations) to 8 per cent (Rs. 69 million) beyond the Rs. 868 million of credit outstanding from this sector as at the end of September 1968.¹⁵ In addition, under the concessionary ceiling, the above limit could be exceeded by a further 7 percent (Rs. 61 million) provided such credit was to finance exports. These limits were slightly raised in January 1969.¹⁶ "In special circumstances" (what the special circumstances were, the CB has not spelt out) the banks were to be permitted to lend under the general ceiling up to 15 percent above the base figure of Rs. 868 million. But such lending was subject to one penalty. The banks were to pay a penal rate of 2 percent over and above the Bank Rate on any loans obtained from the CB to finance such lending.

The ceiling in 1969 permitted, in the case of the private sector, a 7 percent increase on the level of credit on the base date, 29th April, 1969.¹⁷ This amounted to an increase of Rs. 68 million over and above the base date figure of Rs. 955 million. In addition, a further concessionary 7 percent (Rs. 68 million) was allowed provided such loans were exclusively for purposes specified by the CB. In the case of State Corporations the banks were permitted to lend Rs. 55 million over and above the figure of Rs. 217 million which was the total amount borrowed from the former and lying outstanding as at 29th April, 1969.

This policy followed by the CB raises some important issues of principle about credit ceilings. The first is the extent to which the monetary authority could allow the ceiling to actually restrict credit without feeling uneasy about the possibility that, by its action, the level of activity in some "essential" or "high priority" sector was being unduly restricted. The so-called "ceiling" imposed in 1965 was discussed earlier and one tends to suspect that the 1968

15. CBAR 1969, p. 119.

16. *Ibid.*, Appendix I [B]ii.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 120.

revision was undertaken just when that ceiling began to have an effect. This suspicion is encouraged by the fact that the CB exempted some major types of credit from the 1968 ceiling (the 1965 ceiling exempted export bills only).

If some types of credit should be exempt from the ceiling, the selection of these becomes an important issue. In a modern mixed economy, economic planning to a greater or lesser degree is normally practised. The monetary authority could be guided by these in selecting priority areas which have to be permitted a relatively liberal supply of credit. Second, even if economic plans do not exist governments tend to lay down policy guidelines from time to time indicating sectors which should be encouraged to grow. The monetary authority should be able to use such guidelines to formulate their own policies. Third, the monetary authority itself could evaluate the economic conditions and prospects and thereby evolve a suitable policy.

The problem, however, does not end once the different types of credit to be included in the ceiling are selected. If all the types of credit included in the ceiling are of equal importance from the point of view of development, no difficulty should arise since the distribution of credit within the ceiling does not make any difference. But different types of credit usually differ in their importance relative to growth and welfare. Therefore, the distribution of credit within the ceiling becomes an important issue. One possible way in which the problem could be solved is to fix ceilings on each type of credit. This, however, will require the monetary authority to have even more detailed knowledge of the conditions and prospects of the economy than what is required to determine an overall ceiling. Besides, the opportunity for market forces to operate will be further reduced. The alternative is to permit the decisions of the banks (i.e. supply factors) and the strength of demand for the respective types of credit to determine the distribution within the ceiling. This, of course, assumes that the ceiling is effective and compels the banks to ration credit by means of some price or non-price method.

To the extent that banks act to maximise profits, they would prefer to ration by charging higher loan rates. In this case, there is no guarantee of a socially desired distribution of credit taking place within the ceiling. In principle, one possible remedy is for the monetary authority to fix ceilings on loan rates charged by the banks on types of loans the former would wish to discourage. Although this policy will encourage the demand for these types of credit, the banks will be persuaded to ration their supply in order to meet the demand for types of credit on which loan rates are not subject to an upper limit. In Sri Lanka, the CB used moral suasion to encourage the banks to discriminate in favour of some types of credit falling within the ceiling.¹⁸ However,

18. CBAR 1968, Appendix I [B]ii.

the CB also adopted another method to achieve this objective. Both, in 1968 and 1969, the Bank, having imposed a general ceiling on a selected group of credits, allowed the banks to increase credit by a further specified amount over and above the general ceiling, for some purposes which the CB wanted to see encouraged.^{19 & 20} By this method, the Bank must have hoped to achieve some flexibility in the supply of credit subject to the ceiling. However, analytically speaking, it can be shown that this scheme was defective in so far as it might not have achieved its stated objective.

For the purpose of illustration assume that export credit is the type the CB wants to see encouraged.²¹ Let E^b denote the volume of export credit on the base date of the ceiling. Also let the upper limit of total credit under the ceiling be L_u , the volume of total credit on the base date be L_b and the current volume of export credit after the ceiling comes into operation be E_c . Now, two conditions can be specified:

$$(i) (L_u - L_b) > (E_c - E_b) \text{ and}$$

$$(ii) (L_u - L_b) \leq (E_c - E_b).$$

In the first situation, either export credit or any other type of credit subject to the ceiling could be expanded. In the second situation, however, among those types of credit subject to the ceiling no type other than export credit could be expanded. Obviously, as the banks expand export credit to reach the general ceiling (illustrated by situation (ii) above) their option to give other types of credit diminishes correspondingly. This could discourage the banks from granting credit for exports up to the concessionary ceiling. The actual behaviour of banks will depend on, among other things, the relative interest rates on export credit and other types of credit and the importance the banks attach to keeping the goodwill of borrowers who request these other types of loans. Besides, it can also be postulated that as the banks approached the ceiling on lending (or after they exceed the general ceiling and are able to lend only to finance exports) they will increasingly prefer to give short-term rather than medium or long-term loans to finance exports. The reason is that their ability to lend for other purposes will partly depend on the ease with which credit given for export financing could be liquidated.

Figures in Table 1 show the actual level of bank credit as ratios of the ceilings in force on dates for which information is available. Tables 2 and 3 produce figures on the movement of credit under the ceiling.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 162.

20. CBAR 1969, p. 120.

21. In actual practise, in 1968 it was export credit and in 1969 they were export credit, credit for the development of tourism, and tea production.

TABLE 1
Actual Bank Lending Relative to Ceilings

1968 Ceiling (End of)	\hat{c}_1 General Ceiling (8%)	\hat{c}_2 Revised General Ceiling — January 1969 (15%)	\hat{c}_3 Concessionary Ceiling*
October 1968	0.951	—	0.611
May 1969	0.996	0.935	0.605
1969 Ceiling	State Corporations	Private Sector	
June 1969	0.887	0.902	0.531
December 1969	0.789	0.997	0.769
December 1970	0.809	0.909	0.595

* In the 1969 ceiling it is assumed that the concession is only for the private sector. It is not clear from the available data whether credit to State Corporations could have exceeded the ceiling if such amounts were for approved purposes.

Note : Method of Computation-Notation : L_u, L_b, E_b, E_c (see text for explanations).

$$\hat{c}_1 \text{ and } \hat{c}_2 = L_b/L_u$$

$$\hat{c}_3 = \frac{E_b}{[(L_u - L_b) + E_c] + E_b} \text{ subject to the constraint } L_u - L_b \leq E_c$$

Source : Computed from data in CBAR 1969 and 1970.

TABLE 2
Bank Credit Granted Under 1968 Ceiling
(Amount Outstanding — Rs. Million)

	October 1968	May 1969	Change-Amount	Percentage
I. Advances for exports	168.1	191.8	23.7	14.1
II. Other advances	654.4	674.8	57.7	9.4
III. Import bills	634.4	43.2	-21.2	32.9
IV. Local bills	4.1	23.3	19.2	468.3
V. Total credit subject to the ceiling (I to IV)	891.0	933.1	79.4	9.3
VI. Total credit outside the ceiling	385.9	522.7	65.9	17.1
VII. Total credit to the private sector (V + VI)	1276.9	1455.8	178.9	14.0

Notes : Certain types of medium-term and long-term credit which were subject to the credit ceiling (included in item II) in October 1968 were exempt from the ceiling in May 1969. Therefore, this item was omitted when calculating the increase shown in the last two columns.

In the October 1968 total under item IV, Rs. 45.7 million in very short-term advances were included. In the May 1969 figures this item is zero. This probably distorts the comparison between the two periods. Therefore, if this item is omitted from the October 1968 figure, the rate of increase of item IV becomes 32.8 percent.

Source : CBAR 1969, p. 119.

TABLE 3
Bank Credit Granted Under the 1969 Ceiling
(Amount Outstanding — Rs. Million)

	1969		1970		Change — June 1969 to December 1969		Change — December 1969 to December 1970	
	June	December	December	December	Amount	Percentage	Amount	Percentage
I. State Corporations	241.1	214.7	220.0	220.0	-26.4	-10.9	5.3	2.5
II. Private Sector								
(a) Advances for exports, tourism and tea production	189.8	235.1	235.7	235.7	45.3	23.9	0.6	0.3
(b) Other advances	671.1	712.2	652.3	652.3	41.1	6.1	-59.9	-8.4
(c) Import bills	37.8	55.0	27.8	27.8	17.2	31.2	-27.2	-49.4
(d) Local bills	23.7	17.6	13.8	13.8	-6.1	-25.7	-3.8	-21.0
Private sector total	922.4	1019.9	929.9	929.9	97.5	9.6	-90.3	-9.9
III. Total credit outside the ceiling	297.1	315.3	568.1	568.1	18.2	6.1	252.8	80.1
Grand Total (I + II + III)	1460.6	1549.9	1717.7	1717.7	89.3	6.1	167.8	10.8

Source : June 1969 figures from CBAR 1969, p. 120.

December 1969 and December 1970 figures from CBAR 1970, p. 120.

We shall first consider the ceiling imposed on credit to the private sector. Between January 1967 and December 1970, the mean rate of quarterly increase in bank credit to the private sector was 5.3 percent. However, between July 1968 and June 1969 this rate was only 3.9 percent, which suggests that the rate of expansion was lower than in the period immediately preceding and succeeding. It should be noted that this slowdown in bank lending coincides more or less with the credit ceilings considered here. Besides, the overall rate of increase of credit in the last quarter of 1968 was only 1.7 percent and in the first quarter of 1969 1.2 percent.²² This suggests that the 1968 ceiling began to really bite when the CB decided to ease the situation by revising the ceiling upwards in January 1969. Further, the figures in Table 2 indicates that credit subject to the ceiling increased by only 9.3 percent between October 1968 and May 1969 whereas credit not subject to the ceiling increased by 17.1 percent over the same period.²³ All these considerations suggest that the credit ceilings might have had some constraining effect on the level of bank lending. However, as the value of 0.6 for λ_3 in Table 1 suggests, there was no apparent constraint on the supply of export credit.

There is even stronger evidence to suggest that the credit ceiling was quite effective in the last quarter of 1969 and the first quarter of 1970. The value of λ_1 reached 0.997 by December 1969. In 1969 the economy was very buoyant with the GNP growing by 5.7 percent in real terms.²⁴ Besides, as shown in Table 4, credit for financial purposes and consumption, both of which were subject to the ceiling, hardly increased after December 1968.

TABLE 4
Functional Distribution of Bank Credit : 1966 - 1970

End of	Financial loans		Consumption loans	
	Rs. million	Percentage of total loan portfolio	Rs. million	Percentage of total loan portfolio
1966 December	95.7	11.6	75.2	9.1
1967 June	97.9	11.1	82.0	9.3
1967 December	103.9	10.6	96.6	9.9
1968 June	138.6	12.2	85.4	7.5
1968 December	137.5	10.8	95.3	7.5
1969 March	138.0	10.2	94.6	6.9
1969 June	141.6	10.4	95.9	7.1
1969 December	138.6	9.2	98.8	6.3
1970 March	138.3	9.0	96.6	6.3
1970 June	146.4	9.4	91.9	5.9
1970 December	137.3	8.9	99.1	6.4

Note : Beginning June 1968, some hitherto unclassified loans were identified and classified under appropriate categories. Hence, the figures before and after this date are not strictly comparable with each other. However, these adjustments are quantitatively not significant.

Source : CBAR 1966 to 1970 issues.

22. Computed from figures in CBAR 1969.

23. See footnote in Table 2 which suggests that the rate of increase of credit outside the ceiling might have been even higher.

24. CBAR 1969, p. 1.

It was suggested earlier that the banks might be induced to shorten the term structure of export credit in response to the policy of the CB. Table 5 presents data on this score. It is noticeable that in this period of credit stringency, short-term export credit has risen proportionately more than medium-term and long-term export credit.

TABLE 5
Term Structure of Export Credit
(percentages)

<i>End of</i>	<i>Short-term</i>	<i>Medium-term</i>	<i>Long-term</i>
1968 June	30.0	57.1	12.9
1968 December	37.7	48.3	14.1
1969 June	34.0	53.1	12.9
1969 December	42.4	45.8	11.7
1970 March	46.9	45.1	8.0
1970 June	45.6	47.2	7.1

Note : Figures for December 1970 are omitted because of a change in the definition of "term" makes them incomparable with the previous figures.

Source : Monthly Bulletin CB, March and September Issues, 1968, 1969, 1970.

The CB appears to have been successful in some measure in controlling credit to the private sector through credit ceilings. The same, however, cannot be said of the ceiling on lending to State Corporations, although the CB has claimed that

"the increase in advances to government corporations was brought under control by the imposition of a ceiling on them from June 1969" [CBAR 1969, p. 121].

The Bank's claim of success was based on the figures published in its 1969 Annual Report (p. 120) which showed that bank credit to State Corporations increased from Rs. 241.1 million to Rs. 253.7 million, an increase of a mere 13 million rupees, between June and December 1969. However, these figures included medium-term and long-term bank credit given to Corporations and they were exempt from the ceiling since January 1969. When this item is deducted from the December figure, the amount stands at Rs. 214.7 million,²⁵ and this figure is below the ceiling of Rs. 272 million fixed by the CB. Obviously, the ceiling could not have been the factor which prevented the Corporations from borrowing more. The reason for the slow expansion of credit is to be found not in the credit ceiling but elsewhere. In 1968 most State Corporations increased substantially their imports. In this, they were helped by the government's policy of import liberalisation following the devaluation of the rupee,

25. CBAR 1970, p. 120.

introduction of the two-tier exchange rate system and the enhanced inflow of foreign aid. In 1969, however, the Corporations could not sustain the rate of increase in the value of imports achieved in the previous year. As a result demand from the Corporations for credit to finance imports more or less stagnated.²⁶

VII. NON-BANK INTERMEDIARIES AND THE CREDIT CEILINGS

A question to which frequent references are made when discussing credit ceilings is the extent to which non-bank intermediaries not covered by the ceiling could supply the credit needs of borrowers refused accommodation by the banks. In Sri Lanka non-bank intermediaries are few in number and their operations do not cover a wide range of activity. Credit institutions such as the Development Finance Corporation of Sri Lanka and the State Mortgage Bank are specialised institutions and are unlikely to act, to any significant extent, as alternative sources to bank credit. The type of institution which is most likely to fulfil this role would be the Hire Purchase Finance Companies (HPFC). Information on their operations is scanty. Table 6 presents some data available on their operations during 1969-70, a period in which the credit squeeze appears to have been quite effective. The growth of the volume of business of HPFC appears to be remarkable. However, no inference should be drawn that the credit squeeze was primarily responsible for this although it must be something more than a mere coincidence. The HPFC were very competitive in attracting deposits; paying 10 to 12 percent or more on one year fixed deposits when the banks paid only 4.5 to 4.75 percent.²⁷ However, the HPFC were also charging 12 to 20 percent "flat" rates on loans.²⁸ In contrast, the highest "effective" rate levied by the banks on their loans was only 12 percent.²⁹ But, this does not necessarily imply that the HPFC were able to charge higher loan rates because the credit squeeze drove the usual bank customers to them. The higher loan rates may be due to, among other things, the willingness of the HPFC to accept collateral unacceptable to the commercial banks and thereby bear a higher risk.

VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

When credit ceilings were introduced for the first time in 1965 the CB appears to have opted for a very generous ceiling probably because it wished to avoid any unforeseen adverse consequences of too severe a credit restraint. Therefore, the credit ceiling cannot be considered to be the critical factor which determined the level of bank credit in that period. This experience illustrates

26. For details on imports see CBAR 1968, p. 281 *et seq.* and CBAR 1969, p. 243 *et seq.*

27. CBAR 1970, p. 118.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.* p. 115.

TABLE 6
Hire-Purchase Finance Companies — Sources and Uses of Funds
(Rs. million)

End of	Sources				Uses			
	Public Amount	Deposits Percentage change	Borrowings*	Other liabilities	Hire-purchase loans	Other loans	Total Amount	Loans percentage change
September 1969	43.2		na	na	71.9	13.1	85.0	
March 1970	54.0	25.0	na	na	75.1	17.9	93.0	9.4
September 1970	74.0	37.0	27.6	49.1	106.4	19.0	125.4	34.8
March 1971	75.3	1.8	17.0	48.2	96.0	10.2	115.2	- 8.1

* Almost entirely from commercial banks.

na = not available.

Source: CBAR 1970, p. 118 and CBAR 1971, p. 112.

the point that one of the advantages claimed in favour of credit ceilings—that they work quickly—is not always valid. It depends on the willingness of the monetary authorities to impose a ceiling low enough to have an impact in the reasonably short-run.

Credit ceilings imposed in 1968 and 1969 were more effective in limiting bank credit to the private sector. Perhaps, the main reason for this was that the CB after its earlier experience felt more confident in imposing a more effective ceiling. However, effective credit ceilings have been objected to in principle as being arbitrary and inefficient. The CB tried to overcome this in two ways. Firstly, it permitted the banks to distribute credit allowed within the ceiling to different users without imposing additional regulations. Secondly, it allowed a more liberal ceiling on select types of credit deemed essential for development. However, it was shown that the method by which this was done had some serious weaknesses.

Finally, it seems that even in the case of a relatively undiversified financial system as that of Sri Lanka, non-bank intermediaries not subject to the ceiling benefit from a credit ceiling at the expense of the banks. This lends support to the view that credit ceilings could be inequitable.

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SAMUEL NEWELL, HERALD OF THE AMERICAN MISSION TO CEYLON, 1813-1814

H. A. I. GOONETILEKE

American eagle and Sinhala lion had fleetingly encountered each other in the eighteenth century long before missionaries from the New World set foot on the soil of Sri Lanka in the next. The earliest account of a visit to any port in the island by a ship flying the flag of the new Republic has been traced to 1789, thirteen years after the final break with the mother country on July 4, 1776, and six years after Britain recognised the independence of the American nation. Benjamin Williams Crowninshield (1772-1851) sailed into Colombo harbour on August 31, 1789 as master of the *Henry* at the tender age of seventeen (a Salem merchant family custom at the time) and left in the log of the ship a description of a five day visit.¹ He was later to become Secretary of the Navy under both Presidents Madison and Monroe. New England trade and mercantile capitalism no doubt followed earlier flags in Asia, and the new nation did not linger long before testing its new found ardour and pioneering spirit in the missionary field as well. American relations with Ceylon began with a determined spiritual presence in the same decade almost that the principal British missionary agencies began to set up their respective crosses in the island in a small way. Though confined almost entirely to the northern part of the country amidst a Tamil-Hindu milieu for the entirety of its 150 year history, this presence was to develop into a vigorous and durable missionary enterprise, with a decided educational core. The churches and schools dotting the Jaffna peninsula present striking testimony and remain permanent monuments of a more than superficial response from the people. The saga of the American Board is now a part of religious history, but it is well to look in Bicentennial year at a neglected, brave, and little-known pioneer who held up the torch to light the path of the first mission to Ceylon in 1816.

Samuel Newell, by his fortuitous arrival in the island in April 1813, and single-handed reconnaissance of the possibilities of planting the American version of the Protestant cross, sowed the seeds of the Ceylon Mission in 1816. Though not, as we have seen, the first traveller from the New World

1. Unpublished manuscript log book in the Peabody Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

to set foot in Ceylon, he showed himself in his ten-month stay, both in his life and his writings, an outstanding example of the trail-blazing missionary, exhibiting, in more than ordinary measure, those qualities of initiative, resource, intelligence and devotion, which later agents would strive to emulate. In his tragically brief Indian career which did not even last ten years, Newell was to symbolise that fusion of evangelical fervour and intellectual maturity which produced in the New England region the burgeoning missionary impulse in nineteenth century America. He was one of the four students of Andover Divinity College—that fertile reservoir of missionary talent—who volunteered their services as missionaries in June 1810, and thus provided the spring board for the establishment of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in Bradford, Massachusetts the same year. Newell belonged to a little-known fraternity called the “Brethren”, whose members pledged themselves to undertake foreign mission work. This society persisted at Andover until well after the middle of the nineteenth century, and furnished over 200 candidates to the American Board, though its existence remained clandestine for a long time, and was never fully revealed. The four pathbreakers appeared at a meeting of General Association on June 27, 1810 to present a petition to the assembled Congregational clergy. They stated that “their minds have long been impressed with the duty and importance of personally attempting a mission to the heathen.....and that, after examining all the information which they can obtain, they consider themselves as devoted to this work for life, whenever God, in his providence, shall open the way.”²

On February 6th, 1812 in the little seaport town of Salem, Massachusetts, five young men—Samuel Newell, Adoniram Judson, Samuel Nott (three of the four 1810 volunteers), Gordon Hall and Luther Rice—were ordained as “Missionaries to the heathen in Asia” at the Tabernacle in freezing weather under the direction of the American Board. Messrs. Judson and Newell with their newly married wives sailed from Salem, without fanfare and ceremony, in the brig *Caravan* on the 19th February, while Messrs. Hall and Rice, with Mr. & Mrs. Nott embarked on the ship *Harmony* from Philadelphia, also without fuss, on 28th February. The *Caravan* reached Calcutta on June 17th 1812 to find a state of war had been declared between the infant republic and the mother country that very month, thus spoiling the climate for missionary ambition from the start. In addition the hostility of the East India Company to missionary work and its anti-religious regulations were at their height, and

2. C. J. Phillips. *Protestant America and the pagan world: the first half century of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1810-1860*. Cambridge, Mass., East Asian Research Center, Harvard University, 1969. p. 21. For details of the vicissitudes of Newell and his compatriots I have relied on Rufus Anderson *History of the Missions of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in India*. (Boston, 1875).

the Americans were given marching orders forthwith on the *Caravan*. After strenuous intervention, and pleadings on their behalf by Christians of different denominations, the order was modified to the extent that they were allowed to remove themselves immediately to any place outside the jurisdiction of the Company. At this point of anxiety, letters from Hall, Rice and Nott on the *Harmony* at the Isle of France (Mauritius) mentioned the possibility of missionaries being kindly received there and at Madagascar. Samuel and Harriet Newell embarked for that island on August 4th in a vessel that had accommodation only for two passengers, expecting the Judsons to follow. Messrs. Hall, Rice, and the Notts arrived in Calcutta on the *Harmony* four days after the Newells left, and met with the same determined opposition. Messrs. Judson and Rice secured a passage on a vessel to the Isle of France in the latter part of November, while Hall and the Notts managed to escape in a ship to Bombay about the same time, having eluded the authorities till then.

The passage of the Newells to the Isle of France was long, perilous and distressing. Driven about the Bay of Bengal for nearly a month, the ship sprang a leak and had to seek shelter on the Coromandel coast for repairs. This helped Harriet to convalesce from a serious illness. On the 19th September they re-embarked for Mauritius from Coringa, and three weeks later Harriet gave birth prematurely to a baby girl. Exposed to stormy weather the baby soon died, and the mother became gravely ill. Soon after arriving at Port Louis, she died on 30th November, 1812. On being informed of the near approach of death she remarked "Glorious intelligence". The early missionaries of the American Board were held up as heroic models of self-sacrificial martyrdom and the Newells were perfect exemplars of the type. The missionary flame burned equally strongly in the female, and the short, tragic life of the nineteen-year old Harriet Newell set the pattern. In one of her last letters before departure she crystallised her starkly prophetic feelings: "All will be dark, everything will be dreary, and not a hope of worldly happiness will be for a moment indulged. The prime of life will be spent in an unhealthy country, a burning region, amongst people of strange language, of a returnless distance from my native land, where I shall never more behold the friends of my youth".³ Exile from her country for the cause of Christ was her greatest consolation. The Hudsons and Rice arrived at Port Louis on 17th January, 1813 having left Calcutta on 30th November—the day of Harriet's death. They were not to persevere long and, deciding that spiritual discretion was the better part of missionary valour, went over to the Baptists in Burma. Hall and the Notts, in their uncertain sanctuary in Bombay, made several attempts to leave, on one occasion setting sail secretly for what they thought was Ceylon (from where

3. *Life and writings of Mrs. Harriet Newell* (Philadelphia, 1831), p. 129.

Newell kept encouraging them) only to find themselves bound for Quilon. They landed at Cochin on 30th October 1813, and expected to join up with Newell in Ceylon, but they were returned to Bombay by order of the authorities. With the assistance of English friends and their own eloquent appeals to the Governor of the Presidency, Sir Evan Nepean, they managed to avoid deportation, and to be permitted to begin their mission, which Samuel Newell soon joined in 1814. But we must return to Samuel Newell and his sojourn on the island of Ceylon.

Newell's burning desire, now on his own, was to link up with his confreres in India, and he sailed from Port Louis on a Portuguese ship *Generozo Almeida* on February 24th, 1813 and arrived at Galle on April 8th. Racked by uncertainty as to his future plans, he decided to stop in Ceylon to better reconnoitre the situation regarding his two colleagues stranded in Bombay. He was favourably received by the small band of brother missionaries in the island and by the British authorities, and was offered a conditional asylum in Colombo by the Governor, Sir Robert Browrigg, who became most sympathetic to his cause. Nothing daunted by the anxiety over his future, Newell threw himself into the as yet tiny world of evangelism and church activity in Colombo, and spared no pains to equip himself for the eventual Indian enterprise about which he continued sanguine throughout.

Newell kept a journal from the time of his setting out for India, and in a letter written in April 1814 from Bombay to the Treasurer of the American Board he transmits a copy of his journal up to that time to Dr. Samuel Worcester, the Corresponding Secretary of the Board, who ordained him in 1812. He recommends its perusal "for a particular account of all the way, in which the Lord has led me since I came to this land".⁴ Extracts from the journal beginning with his departure from the Isle of France in February 1813 were serialised in *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* (Boston), vol. xi, 1815, and the portion relating to his ten month stay in Ceylon is given in its entirety at the end of this introduction, as throwing new light on the antecedents of the American Board activities in the island.⁵ The journal, which he maintained with an impeccable meticulousness and accountant's skill, is a fascinating record of his life in Ceylon from April 8, 1813 to January 28, 1814 when he sailed for Bombay to begin his primary labours in India. It details with unsparing purpose and a notable absence of flourish the painstaking, lonely and precarious processes of Newell's encounter with his destiny, and affords a valuable insight into the character of this indomitable man of the cloth. Newell's connection with

4. *The Panoplist and Missionary Magazine* (Boston, Samuel T. Armstrong) vol. xi, April 1815, p. 185.

5. *Ibid.* vol. xi, April 1815, pp. 185-193; May 1815, p. 234.

Ceylon has been both inadequately and sometimes inaccurately evaluated in the few writings up to now on the history of the American Mission in the island, and this contribution seeks to redress the situation by emphasising the significant and umbilical link.⁶

After almost five months residence in Colombo, since arriving in early April 1813, Newell had made common cause with his brother missionaries of other persuasions, as well as with the principal government officials, who included Sir Alexander Johnston, the Chief Justice, a particular friend and supporter of missions. The suitability of Ceylon as a fertile ground for missionary labour strongly impressed itself upon him, and he began to consider the northern part of the island as the most inviting alternative should the mission on the Indian mainland fail to strike root. In August 1813 he decided to scout the possibilities at first hand, and obtained permission from the Governor to visit the Jaffna peninsula. He embarked on August 28th on a sailing vessel bound for Madras, and after a few days exploration of Rameswaram, arrived in Jaffna on September 7th. He was received kindly by government officials to whom he had letters of introduction, and quickly discerned the favourable conditions for an evangelistic mission to the Hindus. He remained in Jaffna till the 22nd of October, and had plenty of opportunities and seized them avidly to explore the possibilities of a Protestant presence in a peninsula where the Catholics, profiting from British tolerance after Dutch persecution, practically held the monopoly, especially after the London Missionary Society had folded up its tents in 1812 after only seven years. "What a field is here for missionary exertions!", he exclaims in his journal, a prophetic utterance which was not long in taking shape. But his ever-present concern for his hard-pressed colleagues in Bombay assumed major importance again, and the congenial claims of Jaffna as a tempting province for evangelization receded as he set out for the south to meet the ship on which Hall and Nott were supposed to be arriving at Galle. He made this intrepid journey of over three hundred miles by palanquin setting out from Jaffna on October 22nd and arriving in Galle via Colombo on November 3rd. His party consisted of fourteen persons, twelve for the palanquin and two for the baggage. No details of the drama of this exciting journey are vouchsafed in the journal, though his pecuniary accounts revealed a bill of 68 dollars and 50 cts. as expenses of this remarkable expedition.

6. T. R. Ruberu. *Education in colonial Ceylon, being a research study on the history of education in Ceylon for the period 1796 to 1834* (Kandy, 1962). Mentions Newell's arrival in Ceylon "on 24th February 1813", and his subsequent work in India for the Marathi Mission based in Bombay, but states that Newell, who he believes remained in the island since his arrival, was one of the "six" members of the first mission to Ceylon established in 1816. (pp. 150-1). Also "The American Missionary Society". *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*. vol. 6, no. 1, 1963, p. 72. "Together with Newell who was already in the country the mission totalled six". Even the brief reference in Miron Winslow *A Memoir of Mrs. Harriet Wadsworth Winslow, combining a sketch of the Ceylon Mission* (New York, 1835) p. 135, would have supplied a corrective; C. N. V. Fernando. "Christian Missionary enterprise in the early British period-III: The American missionaries 1816-1826". *University of Ceylon Review*, vol. 8, no. 2, 1950. Mentions Newell as having landed in Galle in "1814", but records his leaving Ceylon the same year for India, his legitimate and original missionary port of call. (p. 110).

Disappointed at the non-arrival of the ship, and learning that his colleagues had not sailed on it, Newell dismissed his bearers and, scorning the comfort of the palanquin, set out on foot for Colombo! Again, with that characteristic absence of self-dramatization, Newell lets slip not the slightest hint of the travails of this eighty mile hike in the course of which he fell ill. The next two months in Colombo were spent in ceaseless attempts to keep in touch with his Bombay brethren, but he had the foresight to warmly recommend to the Board a mission station in the Jaffna peninsula on the strength of his particular observations, even though he was deeply depressed by the uncertain reception and continuing predicament of his colleagues in the neighbouring British territory.

On learning that the climate for settling in India had improved considerably and the hitherto illiberal and hostile attitude of the East India Company was becoming less inflexible, Newell left Colombo on January 28, 1814 on a Portuguese ship *Angelica* bound for Goa, after thanking the Governor for the great and sympathetic favours shown to him during his ten months residence in the island, which augured well for the first mission two years later. He arrived in Bombay on May 7th, and this phase of the struggle to open the door of continental India to the American Mission owed much to Newell's persistence and unremitting resource in assisting an early break-through. The first American Mission to the Mahrattas began in 1815. Nott's health broke down early and he returned home with his wife at the end of 1815. He died on July 1st, 1869 at the age of eighty-one. Hall and Newell applied themselves vigorously to the Mahratta language, and by the end of the second year were beginning to penetrate into the market places and schools. New missionaries arrived in February 1818, and Miss Philomena Thurston, affianced to Newell, arrived with them, and they were married in March. The Mahratta Mission suffered a grievous loss when Newell succumbed to cholera on 30th May 1821. James Garrett, a professional printer who had arrived in Ceylon in 1820 to superintend the mission press and had been refused permission to remain there, crossed over to Bombay in May 1821, and shortly afterwards married Newell's widow. Garrett, interestingly enough, had been refused entry on the ground that the British Government and private agencies were adequate for the evangelization of the island. The Governor, Sir Edward Barnes, much less accommodating than Brownrigg, suggested that Americans should stay in their own territory in future to care for the heathen tribes on their own doorstep. The early pioneers discouraged by the bleak prospects of entering India in 1813 had also entertained similar thoughts. Newell in a letter to Samuel Worcester, written from Colombo on 20th December 1813, wondered "whether we did right in leaving the hundred millions of pagans on the western continent and coming to this distant region".⁷ But these were only temporary misgivings in the make-up of a zealot whose missionary passion knew no bounds. Newell's fortitude and absolute dedication to his calling were to light a torch for those who followed in his adventurous and dogged footsteps.

7. Phillips, p. 58.

SAMUEL NEWELL'S JOURNAL IN CEYLON,
8TH APRIL 1813—28TH JANUARY 1814

"MR. NEWELL'S JOURNAL

The following extracts are taken from the Journal of Mr. Newell, from the time of his departure from the Isle of France, in February, 1813.

EARLY in February I learnt, that a Portuguese brig, the Generozo Almeida, then in Port Louis, would sail in a few days for Point de Galle, Goa, and Bombay. I engaged a passage on her for Point de Galle in Ceylon, having liberty to proceed thence, in the same vessel, to Goa, or Bombay, if I chose.

Port Louis, Feb. 24, 1813. After a residence of four painful months in the Isle of France, I this day took leave of my friends Judson and Rice, and embarked for Point de Galle.

About the 1st of April we made land, which proved to be the southern promontory of Ceylon; and on the 8th, I left the Almeida, and landed in a fishing boat 10 miles below the harbor of Point de Galle, the brig not being able to get into port, on account of the strong head wind and current.

I fully expected to find my friends at Point de Galle, or to hear that they had proceeded to Colombo; but on making inquiry, I could hear nothing respecting them. I was now much at a loss to conjecture, whether they had proceeded to Bombay, or had been sent to England. I sent a letter of inquiry to Mr. Chater,¹ the Baptist missionary at Colombo, and in a few days got an answer from him, stating that he had heard by way of Bengal, that my brethren had gone to Bombay.

The probability of their being able to continue there appeared to me so very small, that I determined not to proceed in the Almeida to Bombay, but to stop in Ceylon until I could write to them and get an answer. Accordingly, I took my baggage from the ship, and made arrangements to proceed to Colombo, the capital of the island and residence of the Governor.

1. Rev. James Chater, the first Baptist missionary in Ceylon. His arrival in 1812 marked the beginning of the activities in the island of the Baptist Missionary Society founded in 1792. After seventeen years of strenuous mission life, he left Ceylon in December 1828 and died at sea in February 1829.

Having visited Mr. Errhardt,² a German missionary in the employment of the London Society, at Matura, 30 miles south of Galle; and despatched a letter to Bombay; I set out on my journey to Colombo, 80 miles north of Galle. I travelled in a palanquin, the only way of journeying in India, and left my baggage to come on in an ox waggon. There is a good road all the way from Galle to Colombo. It is a perfect level, close along the sea-side, and is shaded by a continued grove of palm trees. There are resting houses every 10 or 12 miles, built by government; but you must carry your own provisions with you.

April 17th. I arrived at Colombo. I went to the house of Mr. Chater, who had been here about a year. I took lodgings with him, and continued at his house all the time I spent in Colombo.

I made it my first business to acquaint the Governor³ with my arrival and my object, in order to ascertain whether I was safe here, or was liable to be forced away from this place, as I had been from Calcutta.

By my American passport, and an official letter of recommendation from the British Consul in Boston, I introduced myself to the Rev. Mr. Bisset,⁴ one of the chaplains and the Governor's brother-in-law. Through Mr. B. I informed the Governor, that I was an American and a missionary to the heathen; that I arrived at Calcutta in June 1812, and having been ordered to return to America, I had obtained permission to go to the Isle of France; that I had been thither, and returned from thence to Ceylon to join two other missionaries, my associates, whom I expected to find in Ceylon; but that they had gone, as I supposed, to Bombay; that, if they continued there, it was my intention to join *them*, but, if they could not stay there, it was my wish to continue in Ceylon, and that they might be permitted to come and unite with *me*.

The Governor made particular inquiry respecting the reasons of my being ordered away from Calcutta; to which I replied, that no other reasons were assigned than this: "That his Lordship, the Governor General, did not deem it expedient to allow me to settle in the country;" and that all missionaries who had lately come to India, had been treated in the same manner, not excepting those who claim the privilege of British subjects.

The final answer of the Governor, which was a verbal message through Mr. Bisset, was to this effect: "That as there is war between England and

2. Rev. J. P. Ehrhardt, one of the four pioneer missionaries of the London Missionary Society (founded in 1795) who arrived in Ceylon in February 1805. The others were J. D. Palm, M. C. de Vos and W. Read. Ehrhardt was first assigned to Ambalangoda, and then appointed to the Dutch church in Matara.
3. General Sir Robert Brownrigg was Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the colony of Ceylon from March 11, 1812 to February 1, 1820. He actively aided and encouraged Christian missions, and also promoted the cause of education. He was responsible for the annexation of the Kandyan Provinces to the British Crown in 1815.
4. Rev. George Bisset arrived in Ceylon as an Assistant Chaplain in 1811, and succeeded Rev. T. J. Twisleton as the Senior Chaplain in 1818. He was a brother-in-law of the Governor Sir Robert Brownrigg.

America, the Governor could say nothing more at *that time*, than that I might be permitted to reside at Colombo for the present. If I wished to visit any other part of the island, I might have leave by applying to the Governor; but it was expected that I should not remove from Colombo without his permission”.

I now took up my residence with Mr. Chater, and considered Colombo my home for the present. The only way in which I could make myself immediately useful was by preaching in English, which I did stately, once or twice a week, while I continued there.

Though I was still ignorant of my final destination, I resolved, if possible, to set myself about studying the Sungskrit or Hindoosthanee language, both of which are of general utility, in every part of India. I found, however, that it was extremely difficult to procure books, or teachers, in these languages at Colombo.

June 4th. I received a letter from brother Nott, at Bombay, containing a detail of all the particulars of their situation with respect to the Government; and from the whole I was led to hope, that they would be permitted to remain there, and that I should soon be able to join them.

The following is an extract of brother Nott’s letter: “We are pursuing the study of the Mahratta language. At present we cannot advise you very definitely what to do; but will certainly write to you the moment we can say another word, which we hope will be soon. In the mean time, suppose you betake yourself to the Hindoosthanee, which it would be well worth while to know if you come hither; or, if you prefer it, the Sungskrit. You cannot have advantages for the Mahratta, I suppose, or we should advise you to learn that. We cannot but hope our stay here probable. We think it so probable, as to act on the supposition that we shall stay. Will not this be best for you? Hindoosthanee, then, or Sungskrit. We assure you we want to see you, and hope we shall soon say, *Come over and help us*. We earnestly wish we could say it now”.

The same day I received a letter from Mr. Loveless, the missionary at Madras, in answer to one I had written him on the subject of obtaining supplies through the medium of the London Society’s agents, at Madras. Mr. L. informed me, that he had consulted the agents, and that they had agreed to advance us our regular salaries for our bills on the London Society, provided the Rev. Mr. Thompson of Madras would endorse the bills; which Mr. T. had offered to do. This intelligence was a great relief to me and my brethren, as our funds were now almost exhausted, and we knew not when we should receive supplies from home.

Considering it now probable, that Bombay would be our station, I applied myself to study of the Sungskrit and Hindoosthanee, as well as I could with the scanty helps which I could procure in this place. I also continued to preach, once, twice, or three times a week.

June 19th I received a letter from brother Hall, which discovered an increasing probability of their being able to continue at Bombay.

July 1st. After having labored at my books alone for a month, I obtained two moonshees, or teachers; one for Hindoosthancee, and one for Sungskrit; but neither of them properly qualified for the office of teachers. They were the best, however, that Ceylon afforded; and as I had already lost a year since my arrival in India, I could not feel satisfied to delay the study of the languages any longer.

July 15th. I received a letter from brother Judson, who had just arrived at Madras from the Isle of France, and was going to sail in a few days from thence to Rangoon. He informed me, that brother Rice had gone to America to form a Baptist Missionary Society for their support, and that he would return again and join him.

After several months residence at Colombo, I had become acquainted with the principal persons there; and I found that they were friendly to the missionary object in general, and that there would be no objection to the establishment of *our* mission in Ceylon. Through the chaplains I acquainted the Governor, from time to time, with the situation of our affairs at Bombay, whenever anything new occurred; and I always represented it as our wish to settle in Ceylon, in case of a failure at Bombay.

Ceylon appeared to me to be an important missionary field. The population is very considerable; amounting to between two and three millions; and the facilities for spreading the Christian religion here are greater, perhaps, than in any other part of the east. Christianity has been the established religion in a considerable part of Ceylon, for these three hundred years past. And although the mass of the people still continue Boodhists, yet most of them seem to have no more objection to Christianity, than the irreligious part of the community in all Christian lands. Many of them profess to be both Boodhists and Christians, and would listen as patiently to a Christian teacher, as to a priest of Boodh. The long prevalence of the Christian religion on the sea-coasts of the island, has rendered the Christian name familiar to the people, weakened the prejudices which a new religion is calculated to excite, and done away much of that bigoted attachment to idolatry, which prevails in purely heathen lands: so that, although there appears to be little, if any, true religion among them, yet they are in a great degree prepared to receive that instruction, which by divine grace is able to make them Christians indeed.

It is supposed, that there are 200,000 native Christians, of the Dutch reformed church, in the island of Ceylon. But this must be understood in a very loose and general sense of the word Christian. The Hon. and Rev. Mr. Twisleton,⁵ senior chaplain at Colombo, describes them in general as "little more than Christians by baptism". They must necessarily be extremely ignorant,

5. Rev. T. J. Twisleton succeeded Rev. James Cordiner, the first Colonial Chaplain, in 1804, and was senior Chaplain and Principal of Government schools until 1818, when he was appointed the first Archdeacon of Colombo.

even of the common facts and principles of the Christian religion; for they have neither Bibles nor teachers to tell them what Christianity is; and Christian piety and Christian morality must not be expected where there is a total want of instruction.

The New Testament, and one or two books of the Old, have many years ago been translated into the Cingalese language, which is the only language spoken in Ceylon; except the Tamul, which is spoken in the Jaffna district. The old Cingalese version is said to be very bad, —almost unintelligible to a native. It was out of print until the Colombo Bible Society lately ordered a new edition to be printed at Serampore. This edition is nearly completed, and the Gospel of Matthew has been distributed. The Colombo Bible Society, formed in 1812, has undertaken to procure a new translation of the New Testament into Cingalese. The work is going on under the superintendence of William Talfrey,⁶ Esq. of the the civil service. Two of the Gospels, I believe, were finished in August, 1813. The translation is made by native Cingalese, who understand English, from the English Bible. Their work is revised and corrected by Mr. Talfrey, who is said to be well skilled in Cingalese, and to have some knowledge of Greek and Sungkrit. He makes use of Dr. Carey's Sungskrit Testament in the work of revision. Whether *another translation still* will be needed time will determine.

There are only two missionaries on the island of Ceylon; Mr. Errhardt, a German missionary from the London Society, and Mr. Chater from the Baptist Society. Messrs. Vos,⁷ and Palm,⁸ who came to Ceylon with Mr. Errhardt in 1804, have both relinquished the service. Mr. Vos has gone to the Cape of Good Hope, and Mr. Palm has been appointed by the Governor to the Dutch church in Colombo.

I visited Mr. Errhardt, at his station in Matura, on my first arrival in Ceylon. He is now considerably advanced in life; has not yet been able to master the Cingalese language, and has had no success among the natives. He lamented the want of Christian society, and attributed the ill success of the mission in Ceylon to the injudicious method adopted by the missionaries of separating from each other and living in solitude.

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6. Mr. William Tolfrey was a Civil Servant who served in Ceylon from 1806 till his death in 1817. He succeeded John D'Oyly as Chief Translator to the Government, and was a remarkable scholar for his times, being versed in Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhalese, and Tamil, besides Greek and English.
 7. Rev. M. C. de Vos arrived in February 1805 under the auspices of the short-lived London Missionary Society, and was first appointed to the Dutch church at Galle, and soon after served in Colombo, W. Read succeeding him at Galle. His stay in the island was both inglorious and brief, as, falling foul of the Governor and Council, he was sent back in 1809 to Cape Town from where he hailed.
 8. Rev. J. D. Palm arrived in Ceylon in February 1805, also under the aegis of the London Missionary Society, and served in Jaffna from 1805 to 1812. He was thereafter appointed pastor of the Dutch church in Colombo.

Mr. Chater had been four years in the Burman country before he came to Ceylon. He has been established at Colombo about a year, —has opened an English school and a place of public worship, where he preaches in English. He is also applying himself to the language of the country, and will probably soon be able to preach to the natives in their own tongue. I preached in my turn with Mr. Chater, in the *pettah*, or black town. Most of the people who attend are half-casts, and natives who have learnt English. From 30 to 50 generally attend. We preached only on Sabbath and Wednesday evenings. They do not attend in the day on the Sabbath.

There is at Colombo a congregation of native Malabar Christians, who have a preacher of their own nation.

Mr. Armour⁹, an English schoolmaster and preacher, labors stately among the nominal Cingalese Christians, whose language he speaks fluently, and also among the country Portuguese. He is paid by government.

Gen. Brownrigg, the present Governor of Ceylon, is about re-establishing the native schools throughout the island. But it is almost impossible to find natives properly qualified for school-masters, and quite as difficult to make them attend to their duty without some person constantly to overlook them.

The Hon. and Rev. Mr. Twisleton is principal of all the schools, and Mr. Armour and Mr. Errhardt are employed under him to visit and examine the schools at stated periods.

The language spoken all over Ceylon, except in Jaffna, is Cingalese. Their sacred books are written in *Pali*, a dialect of Sungskrit. This is also the sacred language of Burmah.

The religion of the Cingalese is Boodhism, the same that prevails in Burmah. Boodh is their supreme god; but I believe they also admit the gods of the Hindoos in general. In the great temple of Matura, the fountain-head of this religion, I saw an image of Boodh, 40 feet in length, in a reclining posture, asleep! The walls of the temple were covered with paintings of devils of the most frightful appearance, with horns on their heads, and flames of fire coming out of their mouths. The feeble-minded Cingalese worship these malignant demons, through dread of their power. It is common to sacrifice a cock to them to appease their anger.

In the province of Jaffna, which is in the north of the island, the Tamul language is spoken. It is the same as the Tamul of the adjacent continent, which is spoken from Madras to Cape Comorin, by eight or nine millions of people.

9. Mr. Andrew Armour, earlier a non-commissioned officer in the British army and a Methodist lay-preacher, who was appointed, in view of his intellectual application and religious character, master of the principal school in Colombo in 1801. He ministered, by licence, to the Ceylonese and Portuguese Christian congregations as well.

The inhabitants of Jaffna are Malabarians, who have emigrated from the continent. They are followers of Brahma, and have a famous Hindoo temple a few miles out of the town of Jaffna. The number of inhabitants in this district is about 120,000. The district is about 40 miles long and 10 broad. It is the most populous and fertile part of the island.

Mr. Palm, the missionary, in 1805 fixed his residence at Tilly-Pally¹⁰ in the centre of the district, had made considerable progress in the language, and had opened a school for the instruction of the native youth, when the ill health of Mrs. Palm rendered it necessary for him to remove for a season to Colombo for medical aid and a change of air. Mrs. Palm died in December 1812; and Mr. Palm, having no missionary associated to comfort and support him in his solitary situation at Tilly-Pally, accepted an invitation to become pastor of a Dutch church at Colombo. His connexion with the London Society has since been dissolved.

The central parts of the island have never been conquered by any European power. They maintain their independence under their native princes, and are very hostile to all Europeans. Foreign missionaries could not with safety venture into the territories of the king of Candy. All white men, who are found in his dominions, are seized and carried to the king, and are either put to death or made prisoners for life. But if the Christian religion be firmly established on the sea-coast, it must of course spread into the interior. Native preachers could be sent with safety to any part of the island.

Although I considered Ceylon a very eligible field for missionary exertions, and in great need for missionaries, yet as long as there remained any hope that the brethren would be able to continue in Bombay, I thought it best for me to hold myself disengaged, and ready to join them the moment their case was decided. This was also their opinion and advice. We were all agreed in the opinion that, of the two, Bombay was the more important place, and also that wherever we settled, it was both for the interest of the mission and for our own comfort and usefulness to be together. I did not therefore take up the language of Ceylon, but continued the study of those, which would fit me for Bombay.

August 18th. I received a letter from the brethren, which almost destroyed the hopes I had entertained concerning Bombay. The following is an extract from it.

“We are thrown again into great suspense after having felt almost certain of obtaining the object of our wishes. It is now nearly a month since the Governor mentioned to Dr. Taylor his fears that he should be obliged to send us to England; though he has not the least doubt of the purity of our motives, nor of the character of our Board, than whom, he says, he knows there are not better men in the world.”

10. Tellippallai, nine miles from Jaffna, one of the earliest mission stations of the American Board, inherited from the Dutch, and the London Missionary Society.

"The Governor did expect some directions concerning us from Bengal. But even should they not come, he still feared he must send us away. So we are still continued in every painful suspense. We continue the study of Mahratta, and intend to pursue it at any rate. And even should we go, we shall make provision to continue it, with the hope that God might hereafter open the way for our return. I hope you are pursuing the Hindoosthanee, which I very much wish I understood."

This was from brother Nott, dated Bombay, July 18, 1813.

From the contents of this letter, I was led to consider their continuance at Bombay very doubtful; and having ascertained that they would be received by the Ceylon Government and allowed to settle in this island, I immediately wrote to them, and invited them to come away from Bombay without loss of time, and to accept of a certainty in Ceylon, rather than, by attempting to continue any longer at Bombay, to run the risk of being sent to England. I urged my request by the consideration, that if they were sent to England, they would not, in all probability, be allowed to return from thence to India; but would be sent to America as prisoners of war, and by this means our mission might be totally defeated, as I should in that case stand alone, and on account of the heavy afflictions I had suffered, I felt unable to attempt any thing as a solitary individual.

In case we should settle in Ceylon, we were all pretty much of the opinion, that Jaffna would be the most eligible spot, on account of its vicinity to the continent, and because the Tamul, which is the language of Jaffna, is spoken by eight or nine millions on the continent. As I now considered it highly probable that the brethren would be obliged to leave Bombay, and that they would come to Ceylon, I thought it desirable to visit Jaffna, in order to ascertain the facilities which it affords for the prosecution of our work, before we absolutely fixed on that place for our station. I accordingly made my wishes known to the Governor, and obtained leave of him to proceed to Jaffna for that purpose.

August 28. I took passage in a small coasting vessel, bound to Madras by the inner passage between Ceylon and the continent.

September 1st. I landed at Killecarey, between Cape Comorin and Ramnad; and passed by land along the shore about 30 miles to Point Tonnoirey, from which I passed over the channel to the island of Ramisseram. The vessel lay several days in the channel, waiting for a favourable opportunity to pass over Adam's bridge, a chain of rocks, which can be passed only in calm weather, and when the vessel is lightened of its burden.

During this delay, I had a favourable opportunity for making observations and inquiries respecting this interesting place.

Ramisseram has from time immemorial been a celebrated seat of Hindoo superstition, and the resort of thousands of pilgrims from all parts of India.

There are three seasons in the year, I believe January, March, and July, when the pilgrims come in immense numbers from the south of India, and many even from the upper provinces. It was now September, but even at this season there were every day large companies of pilgrims coming and going. There is an idea of peculiar sanctity attached to the place, and to the famous pagoda or Hindoo temple here.

September 3rd. I went up to the pagoda in the centre of the island. The way was paved with hewn stone for many miles. There were tanks, or pools of water, for bathing, and places for the refreshment of the pilgrims every half mile. The way was thronged with people going and returning. I passed by large droves of horses and mules loaded with rice and other provisions, an offering for the use of the temple. The pagoda is an immense pile of building, standing on a square of about an eighth of a mile. There are thousands of people of both sexes, attached to the temple, and maintained by its funds, in idleness, luxury and vice. I was allowed to enter and walk around in what may be called the outer court; for there are certain limits which none but a Hindoo can pass. I asked one of the Brahmans which was greatest, the temple of Juggernaut, or this of Seeb? He replied, that the pagoda of Ramisseram was the greatest and most sacred of all the Hindoo temples. As a proof of which, he said there was no other temple, where cast could be restored when lost; but the Brahmans of Ramisseram could restore cast.

The Brahmans requested me to make an offering to the god of the temple; they said it was customary for all strangers, who came to visit the temple. I told them that their god and mine were not the same. They said there was no difference. I told them that their God was confined to the temple, and could not move out of his place; my God was in the Heavens, and could do whatever he pleased.

Ramisseram was recommended to me by Sir Alexander Johnstone¹¹ as an eligible spot for a mission, on account of the celebrity of the place and the great resort of pilgrims there. It was on this account, that I made it in my way to visit it, as I was going to Jaffna.

September 5th. I sailed from Ramisseram, and on the 7th arrived at Jaffna.

Mr. Twisleton had given me letters of introduction to the principal persons in the place, and on my arrival I was invited to the house of N. Mooyart,¹² Esq. with whom I continued during my residence in Jaffna. The day

11. Sir Alexander Johnston became Chief Justice of Ceylon in 1805, and served till 1809 when he was summoned to England. He was knighted and returned to Ceylon in 1811 as President of the Council. He served till 1819, his name being associated with judicial reforms (incorporating local usages), popular education and the propagation of Christianity.

12. Mr. T. N. Mooyart, the sub-collector of the Jaffna Province, who proved himself a friend to missions in the peninsula during this period and whose house was open to missionaries of all denominations.

after my arrival. I walked out to Tilly Pally, the late residence of Mr. Palm, the missionary; about 10 miles from Jaffna town.

The mission house was shut up, the roof had fallen in, and every thing around was going to decay. At a little distance stood the ruins of the Old Dutch church, of which nothing remains but the walls and pillars. Here the Gospel was once preached to a congregation of 2,000 natives. Now it is hardly known that Christianity was once the religion of this place.

There is but one congregation of Protestant, native Christians in the district, and that is in the town of Jaffna. Except a few thousands, who are principally Roman catholics, the present generation are all idolaters. The Roman catholic priests have taken possession of this vineyard, once cultivated by the Dutch clergy and almost all, who choose to retain the Christian name, have gone over to them; but the great body of the people are the followers of Brahma.

In the town of Jaffna, there is a congregation of Protestant, native Christians, under the care of the Rev. Christian David,¹³ a native of Tanjore, and a pupil and catechist of Mr. Swartz.¹⁴ He is a very capable man, and much engaged in plans for the instruction and improvement of the people in that part of the island. He has lately obtained permission of the Goovernor to erect a free school in Jaffna, in which a number of native youths are to be supported at the expense of Government and trained up for school masters, afterwards to be employed in the native schools, which the Governor is about to re-establish in the district of Jaffna.

There is a religious woman at Jaffna, a Mrs. Schrawder, of Dutch extraction, who is very useful to the natives and halfcasts, particularly to the rising generation, She keeps a school for children of both sexes, and on Sabbath day she keeps a meeting, which was originally intended for children and persons of her own sex, but which is now attended by great numbers of the people in Jaffna of all descriptions. In these meetings she reads the Scriptures in Dutch, and expounds in Tamul or Portuguese, which she speaks fluently, and which are generally understood here. She also leads in the devotions of the meeting, and conducts the whole with great propriety and modesty. Is this a violation of the Apostolic prohibition? *I suffer not a woman to teach.* She was first induced to engage in these exercises by the advice and persuasion of Mrs. Palm, who was a woman of uncommon piety and energy of character and did a great deal of good, during her residence in Jaffna.

13. Rev. Christian David, born in 1771, was the first ordained Tamil minister in Ceylon. He laboured, single-handed, in the peninsula from 1801, having come over from South India, where he was a protégé of the celebrated missionary C. F. Schwartz.

14. Rev. Christian Frederick Schwartz (or Swartz) the redoubtable Anglican missionary in South India in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. He earned the sobriquet "Schwartz of Tanjore".

Except this woman and Mr. David, there is no one in this part of the island to instruct these people. What a field is here for missionary exertions ! Here is a little province, which the soldiers of Jesus once won from the god of this world and added to the dominions of their Lord. The people of God possessed but a little while. The prince of darkness has regained it, and reigns again in full power over these 120 thousand souls. Here is work for 120 missionaries. And there is every facility here for spreading the Gospel among these pagans. The Bible, and many other religious books, have already been translated into Tamul, the language of these people, and a supply of Bibles and Testments has lately been provided by the Colombo Bible Society and sent to be distributed among them. But there is no one to say unto them, *HEAR the word of the Lord*. The Governor is desirous that these heathens should be instructed, and would patronize and encourage every attempt of this nature. The people, though heathens, have no peculiar objections to the Christian religion. Here missionaries may labor with perfect safety; the people will not molest them—the Government will protect them. On these accounts there is perhaps no portion of the heathen world, which possesses so many advantages for spreading the Gospel, as this. How desirable that a number of faithful and zealous missionaries should be sent, together with the Bible, to this people.

Mr. David wished me to represent to the Board of Commissioners the needy state of this part of the island, and the facilities for evangelizing the people, and to request, that when they have a missionary to spare, they would send him to Jaffna.

September 5th. Sabbath day. Today I preached in the Dutch church in the fort of Jaffna, to the soldiers, and civil and military officers. Some Dutch people, who understood English, also attended.

I continued to preach every Sabbath while I was at Jaffna. I read the church service in compliance with the wishes of the people.

As I did not entirely give up the hope that the brethren would be able to continue at Bombay, and that I might hereafter join them, I determined for the present to continue the study of the languages I had commenced, and accordingly brought my Hindoostanee moonshee with me from Colombo. I was also in hopes of finding at Ramisseram a Brahman who could teach me Mahratta, but in this I did not succeed.

September 19th. I received a letter from the brethren at Bombay confirming the intelligence contained in the last, and saying, that they were actually to be sent to England on the Caarmarthen, which was to sail early in October. They advised me to make Bombay my object, and said it was their intention to return from England to Bombay, if practicable, and as soon as possible. I wrote to them, urging them to save themselves from being sent to England by coming immediately to Ceylon.

October 20th and 21st. I received letters yesterday and today from the brethren, informing me that the Caarmarthen was to sail about the 20th of October, that she was to touch at Point de Galle, and that it was their intention to leave the ship and stop in Ceylon. I doubted whether they would be able to effect their wishes; but I thought it important to have an interview with them, even if they were sent to England, that we might perfectly understand each other respecting our future plans.

October 22nd. I set off from Jaffna to go over land, three hundred miles, to meet the brethren at Point de Galle. I was obliged to go in a palanquin, the only mode of journeying in this part of the world.

Most of the way between Jaffna and Colombo is either a barren heath or a desert, filled with wild elephants, wild hogs, bears and tigers. Travellers are obliged to carry all their provisions with them, even to the article of water. My train consisted of fourteen persons; twelve for my palanquin, and two for my baggage. I travelled in the night, as is usual, on account of the heat of the day, when you are obliged to rest. My bearers carried torches, and kept a great noise to keep off the wild beasts.

I have given a particular description of the mode, in which I travelled, without any concealment or reserve. I know it will excite surprise in America to hear of a missionary's travelling in this manner. I mentioned it on purpose that I might explain the necessity of it. There is in fact no other way of journeying. There are no stages, no private carriages, no horses to be had, to go more than a few miles. Even those who have carriages do not use them for journies on account of the badness of the roads and the weakness of the horses. Walking in this country is extremely dangerous.

October 29th. I arrived at Colombo, having been a week on my journey. I found, on my arrival, a packet of American letters which had arrived for me during my absence from Colombo. They came by the Alligator, had been sent round from Calcutta to Bombay, and from thence to Colombo. These were the first letters I had received from home since I left America. They were welcome indeed; but they made me sad as well as joyful. A large packet came for Mrs. N. from those dear, affectionate relative and friends, who are never to receive an answer from her. O may they be supported under this trial.

November 1st. I proceeded to Galle, where I expected the Caarmarthen had already arrived, as she was to sail about the time that I left Jaffna.

November 3rd. I reached Point de Galle. The Caarmarthen had not arrived.

November 8th. A cruiser arrived from Bombay, by which I learnt, that the Caarmarthen sailed on the 26th ult. direct for England, and that the missionaries, who were to have been sent on her, disappeared several days before her departure, and were not to be found. On receiving this intelligence I returned

to Colombo. Having been at great expense in coming from Jaffna, I dismissed all my bearers, except four to carry back the empty palanquin. I attempted to walk back to Colombo, 80 miles, I got a fever in the way, from which I did not recover for more than three months.

November 19th. I received a letter from the brethren dated at Cochin, in which they informed me, that when it became certain, that they were to be sent in the Caarmarthen, and having ascertained that she would *not* touch at Point de Galle but go direct to England, they came to the resolution of escaping from Bombay immediately, and coming to Ceylon. They had engaged passage in a Pattymarr, (a small coasting vessel) to *Colombo*, as they supposed; but it was not so understood by the Tindal (native captain) of the boat; who refused to proceed with them further than *Quilon*, a place on the Malabar coast, a little above Cape Comorin. They concluded therefore to land at Cochin. They had been at Cochin a week when they wrote, and were expecting in a few days to proceed to Colombo. I communicated this intelligence to the Governor, and inquired whether my brethren, coming under these circumstances, would be received and allowed to remain in Ceylon. If there was danger of their getting into difficulty with the Ceylon Government in consequence of the manner in which they had left Bombay, I thought it would be best for them to know it as soon as they arrived, that proper measures might be adopted to secure them from being after all sent to England.

The Governor replied, that he could not give any answer on the subject until he knew more respecting their situation with regard to the Bombay Government; but said "They should be treated with mildness".

Immediately on this I received a letter from a respectable military officer in Bombay, a friend to my brethren. The letter represented the conduct of my friends in a favourable light, and as I thought it was calculated to make an impression in their favour, I showed it to Mr. Bisset, Sir Alexander Johnstone, and others at Colombo; and I have reason to think it had the desired effect.

Mr. Bisset assured me he would use his influence with the Governor in favour of my friends, that no decisive measures might be taken respecting them until time should be allowed to make an application to Lord Moira, the Governor General, in their behalf. The brethren were now within three hundred miles of me, and I was hourly looking for them, when

December 1st. I received a letter from brother Hall dated at Cochin, informing me that while they were at Cochin a Cruiser arrived there from Bombay, with orders from the Governor to take them and carry them back.

All my hopes respecting my brethren were now over. I had many doubts about the course which I ought to pursue.

January 5th, 1814. While I was thus in perplexity about the course which I should pursue, another remarkable turn in our prospects occurred. I this day received a letter from the brethren, informing me that after their return to Bombay they had received letters from Bengal, containing intelligence favourable to their continuance in Bombay.

Our Committee in Calcutta, the Rev. Dr. Carey, the Hon. Mr. Udny, and the Rev. Mr. Thomason, had applied to Lord Moira in their behalf, and his Lordship had said that there could be no objection to their remaining, as no public evil could possibly result from their continuance, and added, that in a few days the application of the Committee would come before the Council, and would receive a *public answer*.

This communication was not official, but contained in a private letter from Mr. Thomason to the brethren; they hoped, however, that, in case the official communication should not come in season, this letter of Mr. T.'s would save them from being sent to England by the ships then ready to sail.

January 7th. I received another letter from the brethren, informing me that they were again disappointed in their hopes of staying, and were under orders to embark for England on the ship Charles Mills, which was to sail in a few days, and would touch at Point de Galle to join the fleet. No official communication having arrived from Bengal, they had sent Mr. Thomason's letter to the Governor, who said "he did not doubt that Lord Moira had said what Mr. T. had written, but that his orders were unrevoked, and therefore must be executed". They saw no way to escape a voyage to England.

As the ship was to touch at Point de Galle, I thought it might be possible to save them by an application to Governor Brownrigg, who had already manifested a disposition to shew them every favour, which it was proper for him to do. Accordingly, I addressed the Governor through Mr. Bisset, stating all the circumstances of the case, and requesting permission for my friends to land and wait in Ceylon until the pleasure of the Governor General respecting them should be *officially* made known.

The Governor and Mr. Bisset were both going to Galle to be present at the sailing of the fleet. My ill health did not allow of my going so long a journey to see my friends, but Mr. B engaged to do every thing in his power to assist them in leaving the ship.

January 19th. I received a letter from Mr. Bisset at Galle, enclosing one from brother Nott.

Mr. B. Writes as follows.

"I shewed your letter to the Governor, and his answer was every thing that could be reasonably expected. He said that if the Governor of Bombay had absolutely sent your brethren as prisoners, he could not think himself justifiable in detaining them; but if they were at liberty to quit the ship *on his*

permission, to land here, as you requested, he was ready to give it. The Bombay ships arrived last night, and this morning the Admiral sent his boat ashore with letters from them. When the enclosed came for you, I was much at a loss how to act; and the time pressed, for the Convoy having sailed yesterday, the Admiral was watering the Bombay ships from his own to prevent delay. I saw the only thing was, if they had your friends on board, to go off in a boat and endeavor to bring them on shore; but I was not certain that they were on board. I was therefore induced to open your letter. The first paragraph satisfied me at once. I opened it in the Governor's presence, and closed it again as soon as I saw your friends were still at Bombay. I beg to congratulate you on the favourable change that appears to have taken place".

The enclosed letter from brother Nott informed me, that they were released from going to England, and were still at Bombay. They had made all their arrangements for the voyage, and were just sending their baggage on board, when the Governor sent them a message by the chief magistrate of Police, saying, that they might remain until further orders from Calcutta. It now appeared almost certain, that our mission would be established at Bombay, under the sanction of the Supreme Government of India. The brethren were allowed by the Governor of Bombay to wait there for the official answer of Lord Moira; and as his sentiments had already been fully expressed in private, there seemed to be no room left for a doubt respecting the result. I thought this, therefore, the most favourable moment for me to join the mission, and accordingly made arrangements to proceed, by the first opportunity, to Bombay.

January 20th. I engaged passage on a Portuguese ship bound to Goa, as there was no opportunity of going direct to Bombay. Before my departure, I addressed the following letter to the Governor.

**"To His Excellency General Brownrigg, Governor and Commander
in Chief in the island of Ceylon.**

"Sir,

"Having resided nearly a year under Your Excellency's jurisdiction, and experienced during that time every indulgence from Government which I could wish, I beg leave to express the deep sense I have of Your Excellency's kindness to me, and to ask permission to depart on the Angelica, Portuguese ship, bound to Goa, in pursuance of my original intention of joining the mission in Bombay. I should esteem it an additional favour, if Your Excellency would be pleased to give me a testimonial, that would satisfy the Governor of Bombay that I leave Ceylon with Your Excellency's consent and approbation. I have the honour to remain, & C.

S. NEWELL"

“Colombo, January 24th, 1814

I felt obligated to notify the Governor of my departure, as he had intimated on my first arrival at Colombo, that I was not to remove without giving him previous notice, and I felt a real pleasure in expressing my gratitude for his kindness both to me and my brethren.

The Governor informed me through Lord Molesworth, that he consented to my departure and would write by mail to the Governor of Bombay in my favour.

January 28th. I embarked on the Angelica, and sailed from Colombo after a residence of ten months on the island of Ceylon.

January 31st. We had now passed Cape Comorin, and were sailing with a gentle breeze along the Malabar coast. We were so near the land as to see the houses distinctly, and were delighted with the view of the “snow-white churches” of the Syrian Christians, of which Dr. Buchanan speaks.

Friday, 4th of February. This afternoon the Angelica came to anchor in the roads of Cochin, and stops here until Monday. This affords me an opportunity, which I have long wished for, but never expected to be favoured with; that of seeing the Cochin Jews and the Syrian Christians. I went on shore this evening and called on Capt. Inverarity, to whom I had a letter from Colombo.”

ANCIENT STŪPA ARCHITECTURE; THE SIGNIFICANCE OF CARDINAL POINTS AND THE CĀTUMMAHĀPATHA CONCEPT*

R. A. GUNATILAKA

The stūpa is regarded as the most remarkable and conspicuous of all Buddhist monuments¹; its study is equally given prominence by all professional archaeologists, and their devoted following of amateur scholars, trained in the field of Buddhist art and architecture. The distinction of this monument lies not only in its long history coming down from pre-Buddhistic origins, through subsequent developments, but also in the earliest records found in the Vinaya and the Sutta piṭakas of the Pāli Canon² as well as in the Nigaliva (Nigali Sagar) pillar inscription of Asoka³ which establishes its antiquity, the underlying intention and the incentives which promoted its construction.

The well-trained historian of art, the archaeologist, and the art critic, tracing the origin and development of the stūpa, have never failed in their attempts to formulate and express views, interesting and exemplifying, with regard to its symbolism. But almost all of them have, it would appear, failed to explain clearly the basis and significance of a very important feature associated with the plan and the construction of the stūpa, viz., the demarcation of the

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1. H. Zimmer, *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization*, New York, 1953, p. 199; *The Art of Indian Asia*, Vol. I, New York, 1955, pp. 5f., 233; *Philosophies of India*, New York, 1957, p. 131 f.n. 46.
2. *Vinaya Pitaka*, ed. H. Oldenberg, Pāli Text Society, London, (PTS), 1964, referred to hereinafter as *Vin.*, Vol. IV, p. 308; *Dīghanikāya*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids and J. E. Carpenter, PTS., 1890-1911, referred to hereinafter as *D.*, Vol. II, pp. 142f., 161, 164ff. see also: W. W. Rockhill, *The Life of Buddha*, London, 1884, pp. 137, 146f.; W. Pachow, *Comparative Studies in the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta and its Chinese Versions*, Santiniketan, 1946, pp. 56f., 74ff., 83ff.
3. R. Basak, *Asokan Inscriptions*, Calcutta, 1959, p. 152f.

cardinal points.⁴ The present article attempts to scrutinise this feature and advance a simple solution of the problem of the basic incitation which urged the stūpa-architects to give it prominence.

The demarcation of the cardinal points plays a very important part in the stūpa-architecture; the stūpa-architects and builders, for the most part, customarily, have striven to give an ostentatious and a prominent expression to this by constructing entrances or openings,⁵ gateways,⁶ pillars,⁷ flights of steps,⁸

4. A. Cunningham, *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, London, 1879, p. 66; A. Rea, *South Indian Buddhist Antiquities*, Madras, 1894, p. 3; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, referred to hereinafter as *ASIAR*, 1908-09, p. 46; J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, Vol. I, London, 1910, p. 82; E. B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, London, 1915, p. 29; *A Handbook of Indian Art*, London, 1920, pp. 17, 28; *Indian Historical Quarterly*, referred to hereinafter as *IHQ.*, Vol. IV, p. 727; L. Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, Vol. I, Paris, 1929, p. 20; *Ephigraphia Indica*, referred to hereinafter as *EI.*, Vol. XX, p. 3; *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXI, (1930-31), p. 112; *Indian Antiquary*, referred to hereinafter as *IA.*, 1932, p. 188; Anagarika B. Govinda, *Some Aspects of Stūpa Symbolism*, (The International Buddhist University Association, Bulletin No. 2 — 1935), p. 4; A. H. Longhurst, *The Story of the Stūpa*, Colombo, 1936, pp. 13, 17; *The Buddhist Antiquities of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa, Madras Presidency*, (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, referred to hereinafter as *MASI.*, No. 54), Delhi, 1938, p. 12f; *Indian Arts and Letters*, referred to hereinafter as *IAL.*, Vol. XVIII (1944), p. 78; S. Paranavitana, *The Stūpa in Ceylon*, (*Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, referred to hereinafter as *MASC*, Vol. V), Colombo, 1946, pp. 13, 59; T. Bhattacharyya, *A Study on Vastuvidyā*, Patna, 1948, p. 27; René Grousset, *L'Inde*, Paris, 1949, p. 42; T. N. Ramachandran, *Nāgārjunakōṇḍa — 1938 (MASI. No. 71)*, Delhi, 1953, p. 6; *History of the Deccan*, Vol. I, Pt. VIII: *Fine Arts*, London, 1953, p. 10f; *Indo Asian Culture*, referred to hereinafter as *IAC*, Vol III (1954-55), p. 258; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, Paris, 1956, p. 17; P. R. Ramachandra Rao, *The Art of Nāgārjunakōṇḍa*, Madras, 1956, pp. 19f; 21 f.n. 12; B. Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India*, (The Pelican History of Art Series), Middlesex, 1956, p. 46; *Encyclopedia of World Art*, Vol. VII, p. 951f; D. Seckel, *The Art of Buddhism*, (Art of the World Series), London, 1964, p. 105; Havell, *The Art Heritage of India*, Bombay, 1964, p. 131; V. A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 3rd edition, Bombay, p. 23.
5. A. Cunningham, *Bhilsa Topes*, London, 1854, pp. 188f., 276; *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, loc. cit.; A. Rea, loc. cit.; *ASIAR*, 1913-14, p. 2; A. Foucher, *The Beginnings of Buddhist Art*, Paris, 1917, p. 65; Sir John Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, Calcutta, 1918, p. 31; *EI.* op. cit., p. 2; *IA.* op. cit., p. 190; B. Majumdar, *A Guide to Sarnath*, Delhi, 1947, p. 28; *IAC*, Vol. IV (1955-56), p. 91; P. Brown, *Indian Architecture (Buddhist and Hindu Periods)* Bombay, 1956, p. 17; Louis Frédéric, *The Art of India*, New York, 1959, p. 48. See also: *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Reports*, referred to hereinafter as *ASCAR.*, 1903, p. 21; 1904, p. 2; 1907, p. 32; 1951, pp. 28, 29.
6. *Bhilsa Topes*, p. 189; J. Burgess, *Buddhist Art in India*, London, 1901, p. 25; *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, referred to hereinafter as *JRAS.*, 1902, p. 30f.; 1908, p. 1114; *ASIAR*, 1913-14, pp. 2, 9; *Journal of the Punjab Historical Society*, referred to hereinafter as *JPHS.*, Vol. III (1914-15), p. 3; A. Foucher, op. cit., p. 33f; Sir John Marshall, op. cit., pp. 31, 37; L. Bachhofer, op. cit., p. 32; Anagarika B. Govinda, loc. cit.; *MASI.* No. 54, pp. 13, 16; S. C. Kala, *Bharhut Bedika*, Allahabad, 1951, p. 4; *MASI.* No. 71, p. 7; D. Barrett, *Sculptures from Amaravati in the British Museum*, London, 1954, p. 29; B. Rowland, op. cit., p. 56; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. II, p. 697a.
7. T. Bhattacharyya, loc. cit. See also: F. C. Maisey, *Sanchi and its Remains*, London, 1892, Plate I.
8. *ASIAR*, 1872-73, p. 76; 1875-76/1877-78, p. 72; 1912-13, p. 10; 1914-15, p. 4; 1915-16, p. 59; *JPHS.* Loc. cit.; B. Majumdar, loc. cit.; Sir John Marshall, *Taxila*, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1951, p. 236; H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, Delhi, 1966, p. 64. See also: *ASCAR*, 1894, p. 1; 1903, loc. cit.; 1904, pp. 1, 5.

projections and frontispieces,⁹ entrance porches,¹⁰ or by installing Buddha images¹¹ at the cardinal points of the stūpa. Many scholars have offered suggestions in attempting to trace the significance of this polymorphic architectural feature;¹² but why the cardinal points have attracted the attention of the stūpa-architects and why they have displayed them so prominently remains unsolved. One scholar has gone as far as suggesting that the gateways at the four cardinal points of a stūpa do not form an essential part of the structure¹³.

The stūpa, as a Buddhist monument, was originally intended, according to the Pāli Canonical sources, to be a memorial erected for four specific classes of individuals, viz. Tathāgata, Pacceka-Buddha, Tathāgata-sāvaka, and Cakkavatti king.¹⁴ The Buddha, who belonged to the first category of Tathāgata, has stated that these individuals are worthy of such commemoration, and has explicitly mentioned the purpose the stūpas should serve.¹⁵ The same source,¹⁶ as well as other literary sources¹⁷ and those pertaining to archaeology¹⁸ reveal that the stūpas have been erected mainly as repositories for the corporeal remains of these distinguished personalities.

9. *ASIAC*. 1880-81, p. 62; 1908-09, p. 46; 1915-16, loc. cit.; A. Rea, op. cit., pp. 3, 32; J. Fergusson, loc. cit.; *JRAS*. 1912, p. 114f.; A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, (Dover Edition), New York, 1965, p. 161; *IA*. op. cit., p. 188; *MASI*. No. 54, pp. 12f., 16; No. 71, pp. 6, 9; *MASC*. op. cit. pp. 47, 58; *History of the Deccan*, op. cit., p. 11; D. Barrett, op. cit., p. 34; P. Brown, op. cit., p. 46; B. Rowland, op. cit., p. 116; *Ancient India*, (*Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India*, referred to hereinafter as *BASI*., No. 16), New Delhi, 1962, p. 78; H. Sarkar, op. cit., pp. 76, 84; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. I. P. 411b. See also: *ASCAR*. 1886, p. 2, (the frontispiece has been identified as "a chapel or external shrine"); 1910-11, pp. 10, 28; *MASC*. 1924, p. 12; *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (January-June 1966), p. 67.
10. *ASCAR*. 1894, p. 1.
11. Sir John Marshall, op. cit., p. 77f.; Sir John Marshall and A. Foucher, *The Monuments of Sāncī*, Vol. I, Calcutta, 1940, pp. 38f., 250f., 390. See also: *ASCAR*. 1896, p. 7; 1907, p. 32.
12. *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, p. 6; F. C. Maisey, op. cit., p. 13f.; A. Rea, op. cit., p. 3; *ASIAC*. 1908-09, p. 22; J. Fergusson, op. cit., p. 82; E. B. Havell, *The Ancient and Medieval Architecture of India*, pp. 29, 48; *A Handbook of Indian Art*, loc. cit.; A. Anesaki, *Buddhist Art*, Boston, 1923, p. 10; *IA*. op. cit., pp. 188, 190; Anagarika B. Govinda, op. cit., p. 4; *MASI*. No. 54, p. 12f.; No. 71, p. 6; *Marg*, Vol. IV. 1, p. 12; *History of the Deccan*, loc. cit.; *IAC*. Vol. III, loc. cit.; S. Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India*, London, 1962, p. 128; *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar, Bombay, 1960, p. 493.
13. *IAL*. loc. cit.
14. *D*. Vol. II, p. 142; *Aṅguttaranikāya*, ed. R. Morris, E. Hardy, C. A. F. Rhys Davids, *PFS*., 1335-1910, referred to hereinafter as *A*., Vol. II, p. 245.
15. *D*. op. cit., p. 142f.
16. op. cit., p. 164ff.
17. See for inst.: *Saddharmapundarikā-sūtram*, ed. U. Wogihara and C. Tsuchida, Tokyo, 1958, pp. 12f. (vv. 43-47), 136, 137 (v. 26), 207ff.; *Mahāvastu*, ed. E. Senart, Paris, 1882-97, Vol. II, p. 362; *Avādāna-śataka*, ed. J. S. Speyer, (Indo Iranian Reprints Series), The Hague, 1958, Vol. I, P. 119; *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, tr. S. Beal, London, 1884, Vol. I, pp. 60f., 66, 67, 95, 96, 99f., 126f., 148f., 158, 173, 175, 180, 186, 187, 197, 200, 221, 223, 224, 225, 230, 231, 236, 237, 239, 240; Vol. II, pp. 13, 18, 19, 26f., 28, 61, 65, 67, 73, 74, 77, 80, 88, 89, 133, 160, 173, 177, 255, 281, 308, 317f.; *The Travels of Fa Hsien*, tr. H. A. Giles, London, 1959, pp. 17, 22, 36, 38f., 41, 49, 73.
18. See for inst.: *JRAS*. 1898, pp. 573-588; 1901, pp. 397-401; *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Vol. II, pt. I, pp. 23, 28f., 48f., 49, 50, 52, 70, 77, 87, 137, 149f., 153, 155, 158, 170; K. R. Subramanian, *Buddhist Remains in Āndhra and the History of Āndhra between 225 and 610 A.D.*, Madras, 1932, p. 22.

The reference made by the Buddha to the erection of stūpas is very significant for it clearly points out the precise spot at which the stūpa for a Tathāgata should be constructed or sited. The Buddha states: "the stūpa to a Tathāgata should be erected at (the crossing of) four great roads".¹⁹ It is interesting to note that the Buddha had referred to an earlier tradition according to which the *cātummahāpatha* has to be the specific place at which the stūpa of a Cakkavatti king should be sited,²⁰ and the Buddha has requested, or rather enjoined, that the disposition of the corporeal remains of the Tathāgata should be effected in the manner exactly identical with the disposition of the corporeal remains of a Cakkavatti king.²¹

The phrase *cātummahāpathe tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo* has been briefly noticed by some scholars in their discussions pertaining to the subject of stupas, but they have not given it much thought.²² The phrase has also been observed, and left unelaborated, by Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy.²³

At this point it seems worthwhile attempting to find out solutions to two subsidiary problems: (a) what is a *cātummahāpatha* and, (b) why did the Buddha enjoin it to be the place where the stūpa to a Tathāgata should be erected?

The Pāli literary sources apply the term *bhāgasoma* to describe the manner in which a traditional city or a dwelling place is planned. It denotes that the plan is even and harmoniously proportioned, i.e. laid out in quarters; the scheme of arrangement being exclusively rectangular or square.²⁴ Such a city usually

19. "*cātummahāpathe tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo.*" *D. op. cit.*, p. 142. See also : *op. cit.*, p. 161.
20. *ibid.*
21. "... *cātummahāpathe rañño cakkavattissa thūpam karonti. Evaṃ kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti, Yathā kho Ānanda rañño cakkavattissa sarīre paṭipajjanti evaṃ Tathāgatassa sarīre paṭipajjitabbaṃ. Cātummahāpathe Tathāgatassa thūpo kātabbo . . .*" *ibid.*
22. See: *ASIAR*. 1880-81, p. 17; *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, Varanasi, 1962; p. iiiif.; H. Sarkar, *op. cit.*, p. 3f.
23. *La Sculpture de Bharhut*, p. 17.
24. *Eastern Art*, Vol. II, p. 213, R. C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 484. See also: *Majjhimanikāya*, ed. V. Trenckner, R. Chalmers, Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.*, 1888-1925, referred to hereinafter as *M.*, Vol. III, pp. 167, 183; *A.* Vol. I, p. 141; *Petavatthu*, ed. E. Hardy, *PTS.*, 1894, referred to hereinafter as *Pvu.*, p. 9; *Mahāniddeśa*, ed. L. de la Vallée Poussin and E. J. Thomas, *PTS.*, 1916-17, referred to hereinafter as *Nd.I*, p. 404f.; *Cullaniḍḍesa*, ed. W. Stede, *PTS.*, 1918, referred to hereinafter as *Nd.II*, p. 170; *Milindapāñha*, ed. V. Trenckner, *PTS.*, 1962, referred to hereinafter as *Miln.* p. 330; *Kathāvatthu*, ed. A. C. Taylor, *PTS.*, 1894-95, referred to hereinafter as *Kvu.*, p. 598; *Suttanipāta Aṭṭhākātha*, (*Paramatthajotikā*, Vol. II), ed. H. Smith, *PTS.*, 1916-18, referred to hereinafter as *SNA.*, Vol. II, p. 32; *Jatakā* (with commentary), ed. V. Fausböll, *PTS.*, 1962, referred to hereinafter as *J.*, Vol. IV, p. 424; Vol. V. p. 266; Vol. VI, p. 330. It is interesting to note that according to the *Architecture of Mānasāra* (tr. P. K. Acharya, Allahabad, 1933), an exclusively square plan is prescribed and recommended for villages and cities. See: *op. cit.*, pp. 68 (95, 96), 69 (127-128), 71 (164-165), 80 (317-318, 327), 85 (416), 87 (454), 89 (475) 98 (110-114). For plans see: P. K. Acharya, *Architecture of Mānasāra, Illustrations of Architectural and Sculptural Objects*, Allahabad, sheets no. XV-XX, XXII, XXIII.

had four great straight roads leading from the gates of the city wall facing the cardinal directions to the centre of the city at which point they crossed each other at right angles. The consequent feature displayed at this intersection (fig. A) was called *cātummahāpatha*, or "the crossing of the four highways".²⁶ S. K. Saraswati, presenting a preliminary report with regard to the plan of the ancient city of Ahichchhātra, states: ".....Four main streets from the four gateways led to the centre of the city, which is laid out in quarters (*bhūgasomītam*). Ahichchhātra, the capital of the Pañchāla country, as now excavated, appears to have been a city of this type. Its walls, built of burnt brick, still rise to a height of 40 to 50 ft. Details of the planning of the city are not yet clear, but in the centre stood a large temple to which the main thoroughfares of the city converged".²⁶

The integral location of the *cātummahāpatha* is also pre-eminent since it possesses the centrality of commanding or surveying the four directions (*cātuddisa* or *catuddisā*); a person who resides in a dwelling at (or near) the *cātummahāpatha* could easily see people coming and going in the four directions.²⁷

25. *Eastern Art*, op. cit., pp. 211, 213; R. C. Majumdar, loc. cit. The Pāli literary sources record that cities usually had four gates (apparently at the sides facing the cardinal directions). See: *J.* Vol. I, p. 262; Vol. II, p. 194; Vol. III, p. 129; Vol. IV, p. 83; Vol. VI, p. 347. The legendary *Mahāniraya*, the plan of which is probably based on that of a traditional city, is recorded as having four gates too. See: *M.* loc. cit., and p. 184f.; *A.* loc. cit.; *Pvu.* loc. cit.; *Nd. I.* loc. cit.; *Nd. II.* loc. cit.; *Kvu.* loc. cit. *Cātummahāpatha* should not be confused with *catuppatha* (Sk. *catuspatha*), or an ordinary cross-road, which is considered as a holy spot in some measure, but popularly reputed to be an inauspicious place haunted by evil spirits, ghosts etc., and where people make offerings or perform sacrifices and undertake austerities. In the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, referred to hereinafter as *ERE.*, Vol. IV, pp. 330b-336b there is a lengthy discussion on "Cross-roads." See also: *Āśvalāyana-grhyasūtra*, ed. J. V. Bhattacharya, Calcutta, 1863, p. 188; *Grhyasūtra of Hiranyakesin*, ed. J. Kirste, Vienna, 1889, p. 34; *The Kauśika-sūtra of Atharvaveda*, ed. M. Bloomfield, New Haven, 1890, pp. 73f., 75f., 84, 148; *Mṛcchakaṭikā of Sūdraka*, ed. K. P. Parāb, Bombay, 1926, p. 13; *Bṛhat Saṃhitā*, tr. V. Subrahmanya Sastri and M. Ramakrishna Bhat, Bangalore, City, 1947, pp. 407, 448; *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. II, pp. 223, 286; Vol. VII, p. 200; Vol. XII, p. 408 f.n. 1, p. 439, loc. cit., f.n. 1; Vol. XIV, pp. 117f., 330; Vol. XIX, p. 247; Vol. XXIII, p. 182; Vol. XXV, pp. 135, 150; Vol. XXIX, pp. 361, 366, 431; Vol. XXX, pp. 49, 119f., 124, 127, 180f., 262; Vol. XXXI, p. 290f., Vol. XXXIII, pp. 104, 158; Vol. XLII, p. 292f., 473, 519, 542; J. Al Mac Culloch, *The Religion of the Ancient Celts*, Edinburgh, 1911, p. 173f; A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Veda and Upanishads*, (Harvard Oriental Series, Vols. 31 and 32), London, 1925, pp. 145, 239, 322, 414, 426; *The Mythology of All Races*, ed. L. H. Gray, New York, 1964, Vol. II, pp. 213, 214; Vol. III, p. 12; Vol. IV, p. 249; *JRAS*, 1960, p. 17f.; *Cariyā piṭaka*, ed. B. C. Law, PTS, Lahore, 1924, p. 91; *J.* Vol. IV, p. 460.
26. R. C. Majumdar, loc. cit.
27. *Eastern Art*, op. cit., p. 211. See also: *D.* Vol. I, pp. 101f., 102, 103, 194, 243. The *cātummahāpatha* may always be considered a *siṅghātaka*, "a cross-way" (*siṅghātako nāma caccaram vuccati*: "*Siṅghātaka* means a cross-way." *Vin.* Vol. IV, p. 271), but *siṅghātaka* is not always a *cātummahāpatha*. A city evidently has many *siṅghātaka*s (See: *Vin.* Vol. I, pp. 237, 344, 345), but that which is situated at the centre of the city is exceptional, and is of great significance; a *nagaraguttika* ("superintendent of the city police") staying there could easily see a person coming either from east, south, west, or north of the city (. . . *nagaraguttiko majjhe nagare siṅghātake nisinnō passeyya puratthimadisato purisaṃ āgacchantāṃ, passeyya dakkhiṇā-disato purisaṃ āgacchantāṃ, passeyya pacchimidisato purisaṃ āgacchantāṃ, passeyya uttara-disato purisaṃ āgacchantāṃ*: *Miln.* p. 62). It seems that the term *majjhe nagare siṅghātake* is synonymous with '*cātummahāpathe*.' Pāli canonical sources have recorded that a building, with four entrances facing the cardinal directions, could be constructed at a *cātummahāpatha* (*D.* loc. cit. See also: *J.* Vol. I, p. 200). Buddhaghosa, commenting on *majjhe siṅghātake pāsādo* (*D.* op. cit. p. 83), states *tattha nagara-majjhe siṅghātakamhi pāsādo* (*Dighanikāya Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. T. W. Rhys Davids, J. E. Carpenter, W. Stede, PTS., 1886-1932, referred to hereinafter as *DA.*, Vol. I, p. 224.

In Buddhist literature the terms *cātuddisa* and *catuddisū* are applied to mean "the whole world"; a person who commands an incomparable supremacy in surveying and governing the entire world symbolically occupies a unique place or a position centrally situated and more or less essentially equidistant from "the four directions". The only secular person according to the Buddhist conception, who occupies this position is the Cakkavatti king; the epithet *cāturanta* or "ruler over the four quarters" characteristically attributed to the Cakkavatti king establishes this fact.²⁸ The tradition quoted and established by the Buddha that the *cātummahāpatha* is the spot at which the stūpa to commemorate the Cakkavatti king should be erected symbolises, represents, and amplifies this unique secular supremacy of the latter spanning the length and breadth of the entire world.²⁹

Hsüan-tsang has recorded that, about 200 li to the north-west of Vaiśāli, he had seen the stūpa erected in honour of the Cakkavatti king "Mahādeva".³⁰ Sir Alexander Cunningham has identified the site and the stūpa which "stands at the point of crossing of the two great thoroughfares of the district, namely, that from Patna northward to Bettiah, and that from Chapra across the Gandak to Nepal".³¹ He further states: "It is a curious illustration of this fact that Buddha himself informed Ananda, that 'for a *Chakravartti Raja* they build the *thupo* at a spot where four principal roads meet'".³²

The Buddhist tradition also records that a *mahāpurisa* ("great being"), if he leads the life of a layman, would become, a Cakkavatti king, or would become a Buddha if he elects to lead the way of a recluse.³³ The birth of a *mahāpurisa* is reported as a unique event in the history of mankind, and no other *mahāpurisas* are born into the world during the lifetime of one *mahāpurisa*; comparatively the attainment of Buddhahood and leading the life of a Buddha are considered very much superior to the attainment of the Cakkavatti kingship

28. *D.* Vol. I, p. 88; Vol. II, pp. 16, 19, 146, 169f, 198; Vol. III, pp. 59, 75, 142; *A.* Vol. IV, p. 89; *Itivuttaka*, ed. E. Windisch, *PTS.*, 1889, p. 15; *Suttanipāta*, ed. D. Andersen, H. Smith, *PTS.*, 1963, referred to hereinafter as *Sn.*, p. 108, See also: *J.* Vol. II, p. 343; Vol. IV, p. 309. Buddhaghosa comments: *cāturanto ti puratthima samuddāḍḍinaṃ catunnaṃ samuddāḍḍinaṃ vasena cāturantāya paṭhavyā issaro DA.* Vol II, p. 443).

29. *ibid.* It is also noteworthy that according to *Mānasāra* "when a site is selected for purposes of constructing a village, town, or house, the ground is divided into squares of various numbers . . . The lord of the central square is always Brahmā" (P. K. Acharya, *A Summary of the Mānasāra*, Leiden, 1918, p. 6). See also: *Architecture of Mānasāra*, *op. cit.*, pp. 36 and f.n. 2, 38 f.n. 1, 41, 44-47.

30. *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, Vol. II, p. 74. The name "Mahādeva" stands for "Mākhādeva." See: *loc. cit.*, f.n. 93; T. Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, New Delhi, 1961, Vol. II, p. 72.

31. A. Cunningham, *The Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, Vol. I, p. 446. See also: *ASIAR.* 1880-81, p. 16f.

32. *ibid.*

and leading the life of a Cakkavatti king.³⁴ Whatever differences there may be in the powers and qualitative attributions of a Cakkavatti king and a Buddha, the two remain one and the same person prior to the attainment of either of the two positions. After the life of this *mahāpurisa* is extinguished the corporeal remains have to be disposed of in the way traditionally regarded as noble and distinguished; the manner in which the corporeal remains of a Cakkavatti king should be honoured has been meticulously narrated by the Buddha in the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*, and the same source enjoins that the corporeal remains of the Buddha, who belongs to the category of "Tathāgata", should also be honoured in the very same way.³⁵ Hence the reason why the Buddha prescribed, with authority, that the stūpa of the Tathāgata or of a Cakkavatti king should be erected at the *cātummahāpatha* is abundantly clear. It is interesting to note that no such location is specified and predetermined by the Buddha for stūpas of Pacceka-Buddhas and Tathāgata-sāvakas.

Since the *cātummahāpatha* is situated at the centre of the traditional city which is protected by a wall with four gateways facing the cardinal directions, its closeness and proximity to the royal residence, which is also situated inside the city, could easily be conjectured.³⁶ Siting of tombs of the rulers near the royal residence, and not in secluded spots, appears to be the distinct tradition of the Emperors of Achaemenian Persia.³⁷

From among the Achaemenian Emperors the dates of Cyrus (558-530 B.C.), Cambyses (529-522 B.C.), and Darius (522-486 B.C.) are contemporaneous with that of the Buddha (circa 567-487 B.C.). Xenophon, in his *Cyropaedia* (I.1.4),³⁸ mentions that Cyrus "established his rule over the Bactrians, Indians, and Cilicians.....", but the accounts of Nearchus, the admiral of Alexander the Great, and Megasthenes, the Greek ambassador to the court of Candra-

33. *D.* Vol. I, p. 88f.; Vol. II, pp. 16f., 19; Vol. III, p. 142ff.

34. The manner in which the Cakkavatti king becomes a paramount ruler is described in the *Mahāsudassana-sutta* (*D.* Vol. II, pp. 172-174. See also: *D.* Vol. III, pp. 62-63). The *cakka* ("wheel"), the first of the seven treasures of the Cakkavatti king, rolls (*pavattati*) to the east and the king, with his army, follows it. The hostile kings in that direction yield to his power when he approaches that region; and similarly as the *cakka* rolls in the south, west and north respectively the hostile kings in those directions to accept his leadership and sovereignty. The term *cakkavatti* denotes "one who sets the wheel (of sovereignty) rolling." On the other hand the Buddha is also considered a king, "a matchless king in the dhamma" who turns the wheel of the dhamma which cannot be turned back (*Sn.* p. 108f. See also: *Vin.* Vol. I, pp. 8, 11f.; *M.* Vol. I, p. 171; *Samyuttanikāya*, ed. L. Féer and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *PTS.*, 1884-1904, Vol. I, p. 191; Vol. III, p. 86; *A.* Vol. III, p. 148f.).

35. See supra: f.n. 21.

36. See for instance: *Architecture of Mānasāra, Illustrations of Architectural and Sculptural Objects*, Sheet no. XXIII.

37. S. Moscati, *The Face of the Ancient Orient*, London, 1960, p. 289.

38. *The Education of Cyrus*, tr. H. G. Dakyns, (Everyman's Library Edition), London, p. 5.

gupta, Maurya, as preserved by Arrian and Strabo, have categorically denied that Indian regions were invaded by Cyrus.³⁹ But Cyrus' approach to Indian regions is an accepted fact.⁴⁰

When Cyrus was ruling over the Achaemenian Persia, Pukkusāti ruled over Gandhāra.⁴¹ Pāli literary sources record that Bimbisāra, the king of Magadha, a contemporary and a devoted follower of the Buddha, maintained a friendly alliance with Pukkusāti, the king of Takkasilā which was the capital city of Gandhāra.⁴² The alliance was established between them "through the medium of merchants who travelled between the two countries for purposes of trade". Information regarding the Buddha was conveyed to Pukkusāti through the same channel;⁴³ Khemā, the daughter of the king of Madda in Punjab⁴⁴ had come to the court of king Bimbisāra and had been one of his chief consorts.⁴⁵ It is also recorded in the Pāli literary sources that Takkasilā was a seat of erudition and scholarship and a centre of culture and trade.⁴⁶

The references cited in the above paragraph prove beyond doubt that Gandhāra, which occupied the Indo-Iranian borderlands and which was approached by Cyrus,⁴⁷ was very actively in contact with the kingdom and the court of Magadha. Xenophon (*Cyropaedia*, VI.2.1.-11)⁴⁸ has recorded that an Indian king had sent an embassy to Cyrus "with gifts of courtesy and a message" wishing to establish an alliance of friendship with the latter. The nature of the embassy is such that no submission to Cyrus is reflected, either in the message or in the manner in which the ambassadors were treated.⁴⁹ It is highly probable

39. *IHQ*. Vol. XXV, p. 154; *The Cambridge History of India*, ed. E. J. Rapson, Vol. I, Delhi, 1955, p. 296f.; R. A. Jairazbhoy, *Foreign Influence in Ancient India*, Bombay, 1963, pp. 38-41; B. Prakash, *Political and Social Movements in Ancient Punjab*, Varanasi, 1964, p. 142f.; K. C. Ojha, *The History of Foreign Rule in Ancient India*, Allahabad, 1968, pp. 10-12.
40. *ibid.* See also: *The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 39f.; E. Lamotte, *Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Louvain, 1958, p. 111f.
41. *IHQ*. loc. cit.
42. *Majjhimanikāya Aṭṭhakatha (Papañcasūdanī)*, ed. J. H. Woods, D. Kosambi, I. B. Horner, *PTS.*, 1922-38, referred to hereinafter as *MA.*, Vol. V. p. 33ff. See also G. P. Malalasekara, *Dictionary of Pāli Proper Names*, London, 1960, referred to hereinafter as *DPPN.*, Vol. I, p. 748f.; Vol. II, pp. 215, 288; B. C. Law, *Geography of Early Buddhism*, London, 1932, p. 50.
43. *MA.* op. cit., p. 36ff.; *DPPN.* Vol. II, p. 215.
44. B. C. Law, *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*, Calcutta, 1941, p. 88f. See also: B. Prakash, op. cit., pp. 111-114.
45. *DPPN.* Vol. I, p. 727; Vol. II, pp. 432f., 1089f.; *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, Vol. III, p. 117a.
46. *Vin.* Vol. I, p. 269f.; *Nd. I.*, p. 154; *J.* Vol. I, pp. 259, 273, 285, 317, 356, 406, 447, 505; Vol. II, pp. 47f., 52f., 277f.; Vol. III, pp. 228f., 248f., 363-369, 415; Vol. IV, pp. 200, 298, 456f.; Vol. V, pp. 127f., 457f.; *Dhammapada Aṭṭhakathā*, ed. H. Smith, H. C. Norman, L. S. Tailang, *PTS.*, 1906-15, Vol. I, pp. 123, 250, 326ff., 338; Vol. III, pp. 334, 445ff.; Vol. IV, pp. 66, 88. See also: B. C. Law, *Historical Gleanings*, Calcutta, 1922, pp. 1-8; *Buddhist Studies*, ed. B. C. Law, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 236ff; *IHQ*. op. cit., pp. 184-187.
47. See supra: f.n. 40.
48. *The Education of Cyrus*, p. 198ff.
49. See: B. Prakash, op. cit., p. 145.

that the Indian king mentioned by Xenophon is none other than Pukkusāti, who, having established friendly contacts with young Bimbisāra wished to open up similar relationships with Cyrus as well. Darius, however, conquered Gandhāra and annexed the regions to the west of the Indus to his vast empire; inscriptions of Darius mention *Gadūra* (Gandhāra) and *Hidūs* ("India") among the countries which were subject to his rule.⁵⁰ S. Chattopadhyaya has referred to a passage occurring in the Apocryphal, the Greek version of the Book of Ezra, where it is reported that Darius entertained an "Indian embassy from the Magadhan king".⁵¹

The account of the exploration of Scylax commenced on the orders of Darius, the invasion of Alexander the Great and the journey of Megasthenes along the "Royal Road" from *Peukelaotis* (Puṣkalāvati in Gandhara) to *Palibotra* (Pāṭaliputra) may be also cited to establish that there had been a vigorous movement of traffic between India and the countries beyond her western frontiers.⁵²

Such activity does inevitably lead to the acquaintance and association of peoples belonging to different cultural heritages and adhering to different cultural traditions. The consequent cultural diffusion provokes the distinguished and powerful traditions of some to overrun those that are weak, or to improve and influence the traditions that are institutionally established among and accepted by the others. It is possible, that India, during the days of the Buddha, experienced such trends; the traditions that were considered noble and august followed by far famed Emperors such as Darius may have taken root in the minds of the Indian nobility. The Buddha, very likely, may have followed the tradition of the Achaemenian Emperors when he said that the stūpa (tomb) of a Cakkavatti king is erected at the *c. tummahāpatha*.⁵³ It should be mentioned that at Persepolis and at Naqush-i-Rustam the later Achaemenids "excavated tombs in the rock, which present a cruciform shape to the outside".⁵⁴ This cruciform feature, very impressively carved in to the rock with the opening to the tomb in its centre, seems to be a symbolic reminiscence of the concept

50. R. G. Kent, *Old Persian*, (*American Oriental Series*, Vol. 33), New Haven, 1953, pp. 117 (DB I, 16), 136 (DPE 17-18), 137 (DNa 24-25), 141 (DSe 24), 145 (DSm 9-10). *Herodotus*, ed. A. J. Grant, London, 1897, Vol. I, pp. 296, 297 record that "Gandarians" and "Indians" paid tribute to Darius; op. cit., p. 353 states: "Darius conquered the Indians." See also: E. Lamotte, op. cit., pp. 111-113; B. Prakash, op. cit., pp. 142-151; K. C. Ojha, op. cit., pp. 10-20.

51. *IHQ*, op. cit., p. 195.

52. H. G. Rawlinson, *Intercourse between India and the Western World*, Cambridge, 1916, pp. 16-20, 33-44. See also: *IHQ*, Vol. XXVI, p. 113.

53. The prevailing mobility between the two classes *ayya* and *dāsa*, into which the society was divided in Yona and Kāmboja was also heard by the Buddha as well as by Ascalāyana. See: *M*, Vol. II, p. 149.

54. S. Mōscati, loc. cit.; C. Ghirshman, *Persia*, London, 1964, p. 230. See also: H. Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient*, (The Pelican History of Art Series), Middlesex, 1954, plate no. 187; R. Ghirshman, op. cit., p. 225f. plate no. 275, p. 231, plate no. 279; A. Goddard, *The Art of Iran*, London, 1965, plate no. 57.

which underlies the titles "the king of the four quarters of the world", "king of this great earth far and wide", "king in all the earth" etc., bestowed upon themselves by Cyrus, Darius, and other Achaemenian Emperors.⁵⁵ The epithet *cāturanta* attributive of the Cakkavatti kings of the Buddhist tradition⁵⁶ recalls a conceptual influence of Achaemenian royalty on the highest form of royalty described in the Pāli Buddhist literature.⁵⁷

It should also be mentioned that Buddhist cosmography represents Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Virūḍha, Virūpakṣa, and Vaiśravaṇa (Kuvera) as the guardian deities of the eastern, southern, western, and northern quarters of the universe respectively.⁵⁸ This has evidently been followed by the architects of the Bhārhut stūpa. At Bhārhut, the pillars at the entrances to the compound of the stūpa are adorned with life-size figures of yakaṣas and yakṣiṇis sculptured in bold relief. One of the figures carved on the corner pillar of the northern entrance is inscribed *kupiro yakho* (Kuvera yakṣa), and a pillar of the southern entrance has a similar figure inscribed *virudako yakho* (Virūḍhaka yakṣa).⁵⁹ Whatever differences there may be in the ornamentation depicting the cardinal points in the plans of the stūpas, the above reference would also prove that it was the concept of the four quarters that the stūpa-architects wished to elaborate by prominently featuring the sides, facing the points of the compass, of their buildings.

Although the Buddha has stated that the stūpa to a Cakkavatti king is erected at a *cātummahāpatha* and that the same tradition should be followed when erecting a stūpa to a Tathāgata, we find that in actual practice no stūpas have been erected at *cātummahāpathas* to commemorate the Tathāgata; whether the parties who received the relics of the Tathāgata have built stūpas in such places has not been traced historically. It appears that the stūpa-architects, through aesthetic motivations, have scrupulously blended the *cāturanta* concept and the concept that the stūpa to a Cakkavatti king or to a Tathāgata should be sited at the *cātummahāpatha*, and displayed a composite symbolism by giving prominence to the cardinal points of their structures. (Figures A, B, and C, respectively, represent the gradual development of the *cātummahāpatha* and the *cāturanta* idiom in stūpa architecture; D and E represent developments in featuring the cardinal points in the plans of the stūpas).

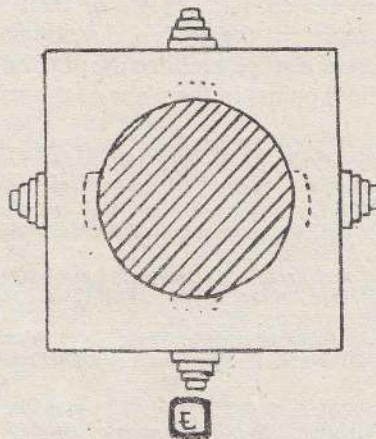
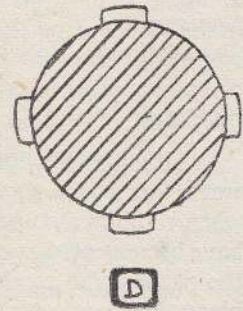
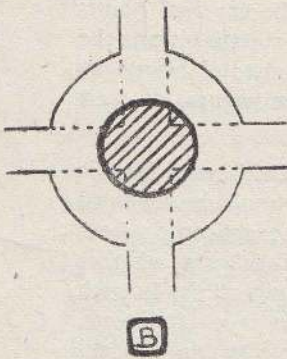
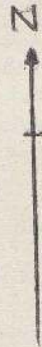
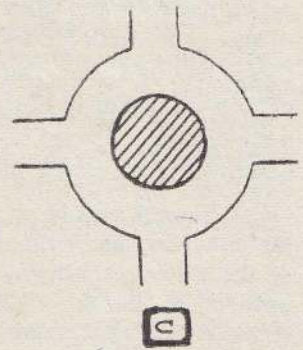
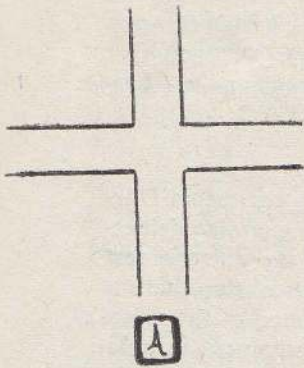
55. See: R. G. Kent, op. cit., p. 137 (DNa 11-12), 141 (DSe 10-11), 147 (DZc 5-6, DE 16-19); J. Campbell, *The Masks of God: Occidental Mythology*, London, 1965, p. 217.

56. See supra: f.n. 28.

57. The title "King of the four quarters of the world" was at first adopted by Naramsin of Accad. See: R. A. Jairazbhoy, op. cit., p. 42, f.n. 26. See also: M. Jastrow, *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York, 1911, pp. 30, 43, 124; *The Cambridge Ancient History*, Vol. I, ed. J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, F. E. Adcock, Cambridge, 1924, pp. 413f., 417, 418, 440, 456, 459, 470, 563; S. M. Sanford, *The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times*, New York, 1938, p. 24; H. Frankfort, op. cit., p. 42; L. A. Waddell, *The Makers of Civilization in Race and History*, New Delhi, 1968, p. 438.

58. D. Vol. II, pp. 207f., 220f., 257, 258; Vol. III, pp. 197ff.; *Mahāvastu*, Vol. III, pp. 306ff. See also: J. N. Banerjea, *The Development of Hindu Iconography* Calcutta, 1956, pp. 85, 521f.

59. *The Stūpa of Bharhut*, pp. 19-22.



Line 3 in para. 1 should read "On the other hand", instead of "On the one hand".

KANDYANS AND NATIONALISM IN SRI LANKA: SOME REFLECTIONS

L. A. WICKREMERATNE

In studies of nationalism in South Asia, the British *Raj* has often been taken to task for having encouraged minorities with a view to thwarting the onward march of seemingly united national movements. On the one hand—a theme that has become significantly popular in post independence history—British rule has at the same time been blamed for assuming too readily the existence of nationalism and of ignoring minorities in its anxiety to come to terms with the leadership of nationalist movements and the classes that the movements represented.

The Kandyans in Sri Lanka—a conspicuously neglected sector in the historiography of nationalism in South Asia—reflected both facets of British rule.

By the 1920's when major constitutional reform seemed to be in the offing two views had clearly emerged concerning the political position of the Kandyans. Many low country Sinhalese contended that the Kandyans—alleged by religion, language and race, to the Low Country Sinhalese—were the less articulate component of Sinhalese nationalism. If some Kandyan leaders were urging the British to look upon the Kandyans as a minority with a distinct identity they were no more than a small group of Kandyan aristocrats who were determined to defend their vested interests. Historiography—in so far as it was involved with the subject at all—has in turn echoed this interpretation thereby virtually conniving at the neglect of the study of Kandyan Nationalism.

For their part those who were regarded as the leaders of the Kandyans challenged the claims of the Low Country Sinhalese to speak for the entire Sinhalese community. They contended that tragically the Kandyan case had never been regarded on its own merits. More positively in sharp contrast to the constitutional and political schemes of the Ceylon National Congress—which according to the Kandyans was merely a reflex of Low Country Sinhalese political and economic power—the Kandyans not only put forward their own proposals of constitutional reform but also spelled out their concept of nationalism.

In other words one may see the phenomenon—possibly unique in Asian experience—of a sizeable group who in spite of obvious affinities refused to identify themselves with the numerically preponderant majority.

And yet the Kandyan played a comparatively small role in the political and constitutional history of Sri Lanka in spite of their numerical strength.

II

Both view points appealed to history.

During the nineteenth century British attitudes towards Kandy had been marked by elements of duality. There were—the more prominent strand—the assimilating tendencies of British rule. In urging the merging of the Kandyan provinces into the administration system which prevailed in the maritime provinces, Colebrooke had made the significant observation that the separate government of the Kandyan provinces had inhibited “... that assimilation which it is on every account desirable to preserve between the various classes of whom the population is composed”.¹ The principle had been in one sense the keystone of British policies throughout the century.

The Kandyan Marriage Ordinance of 1859, the Service Tenures Ordinance of 1870, and the attempts made to reform Buddhist temporalities in the Kandyan provinces were significant milestones in the process of assimilation. Although the controversies surrounding each measure, the curious vicissitudes in official policies, and a strong tradition of resistance to change and innovation, showed how much the path of assimilation was fraught with difficulties.²

The counter assimilation tendency though less pronounced was significant. Its protagonists were the provincial agents of government who served in the Kandyan provinces. A great many government agents expressed concern that Kandyan society—barely fifty years after it had ceased to exist in its pristine form—was being exposed too precipitately to extraneous influences, especially to the process of economic assimilation.

The opening of lands first for coffee and later for tea cultivation, the advent of European and Low Country Sinhalese capitalists, the visible examples of triumphant entrepreneurship, the increasing use of money, a new economic outlook characterised by an awareness of the market and the profit ethic, were no doubt momentous changes if one had a clear grasp of the type of society in which they took place.

1. Mendis, G. C. (ed.) *The Colebrooke Cameron Papers*. (Oxford, 1956) Vol. I, p. 52.
2. Wickremeratne, L. A. *Policies of the Government of Ceylon Concerning Education and Religion, 1865-1885*. (Oxford, D.Phil. 1966), Unpublished thesis. See Chapters 7 and 8.

Roberts, Michael. *Facts of Modern Ceylon History through the letters of Jeronis Petris*. (Colombo, 1975) p. 28ff.

It is of course possible—to an extent that cannot be determined with reasonable exactness—that the elitist elements in Kandyan society as well as the fabled Kandyan peasant responded positively to the new economic stimuli. From the beginnings of the 1840's for example, some Kandyans began to purchase blocks of Crown land for coffee cultivation. References have also been made in contemporary documents to peasants producing large quantities of “native” coffee. Later when the cultivation of tea became the paramount concern, many peasants in the Kandyan provinces and elsewhere too took to its cultivation to produce green leaf which was sold to neighbouring European owned tea factories. Some peasants also worked on tea estates as labourers.³

Such examples of participation and responsiveness were no doubt impressive. But how genuinely pervasive was the change? It is possible that contemporary observers were inspired to see—precisely because Kandy was conventionally regarded as the epitome of unresponsiveness and tradition—a whole summer in terms of a few swallows. Indeed an equally impressive *corpus* of evidence supports the view that the response of the Kandyan society to the processes of economic change was of a more negative and defensive character.

The result was the gradual emergence, in the minds of the provincial agents, of a patriarchally protective attitude towards the Kandyans, a conspicuous feature of which was a widespread antagonism to the Low Country Sinhalese in the Kandyan provinces. Rather exaggeratedly the Low Country Sinhalese—whether he was a trader, a labourer, an arrack renter, or proprietary planter—epitomized all that was repugnant in the process of economic assimilation. For example it was not on the evidence of statistics or careful study but rather on a purely impressionistic basis that some provincial agents had convinced themselves that there was a correlation between crime and the influx of Low Country Sinhalese to the Kandyan provinces. They drew a clearly exaggerated picture of the Kandyan peasant who was living almost in a condition of primitive innocence becoming corrupt on account of contact with the Sinhalese from the maritime provinces. In the administration report for the Badulla district in 1867 it was said that crime in the Haldumulla area was entirely due to the influx of large numbers of Low Country Sinhala settlers. The report added that the Kandyan headmen were “utterly unable to cope such bold and lawless fellows”.⁴ The Assistant Government Agent in the Nuwara Eliya District alleged in 1882 the Low Country Sinhalese “who infest

3. Roberts, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Wickremeratne, L. A. “The Establishment of the Tea Industry in Ceylon: The First Phase. C. 1870 to C. 1900”.

The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, Vol. II (New Series) No. 2. 1972.

4. *Report on the Badulla District. Administration Reports. 1867.* p. 33ff.

the villages in Walapene" were "leading" the people into crime.⁵ Moreover it was said in 1870 with regard to the prevalence of coffee stealing, and with particular reference to the Nuwara Eliya district, that "Kandyan Sinhalese were less frequently engaged in these nefarious practices. "The Assistant Government Agent who made the observation also added" ... I do not remember a single instance in which a Kandyan was caught stealing other than under the wing of a Lowcountryman..."⁶ As typically, Aelian King, who was the Government Agent in the North Western Province, theorised that as a rule the Kandyan was "an easy prey to the influence of adventurers from the Low Country" because the Kandyan was endowed with "a simple and confiding character..." and was further handicapped by the total lack of "moral teaching".⁷

In education too some provincial agents clearly felt that the presence of the Low Country Sinhalese schoolteacher was a hindrance rather than a positive good. Reporting on the Central Province in 1868, P. W. Braybrooke complained that the teachers left much to be desired. They were not properly trained, received too small salaries and were Low Country Sinhalese "who have ordinarily little sympathy with the Kandyans and can exercise little influence over them".⁸ In 1886 it was said that the poor progress in education in Uva was due to the fact that the schools were in the hands of Low Country Sinhalese "of very inferior social standing", who, the report added, were "..... apt to give themselves airs and cause irritation among those without whose influence schools can never succeed".⁹

Above all land was a sensitive issue. In the second half of the nineteenth century many provincial agents expressed concern because Kandyan peasants were unwisely selling portions of their land to Europeans as well as to the Low Country Sinhalese. They felt that the government should introduce legislation to discourage the peasants from doing so. It was said that Low Country Sinhalese in the role of middlemen took undue advantage of the desire on the one hand of the Kandyan peasant—who as a rule yielded to the "temptation of a little money"—to sell land, and the European planter who in turn showed "too great readiness to pick up land cheap". Doubtful land transactions were constantly taking place and speculation in land was rife. The villain of the piece was the Low Country Sinhalese.¹⁰

5. *Report on the Nuwara Eliya District, A. R. 1882, p. 72 a.*

6. *Report on the Nuwara Eliya District, A. R. 1870, p. 71.*

7. *Report on the North Western Province, A. R. 1897, p. G. 6.*

8. *Report on Uva, A. R. 1886, p. 105 a.*

9. *Report on the Central Province, A. R. 1868, p. 37.*

10. Wickremeratne, "The Establishment of the Tea Industry *op. cit.*"

Report on the Sabaragamuwa Province, A. R. 1897, p.J. 4.

Report on the Kegalle District, A. R. 1892. p.J. 6.

Few if any of the provincial agents were willing to concede that the Low Country Sinhalese influx would achieve some good in an economic sense at any rate. In reporting on the Sabaragamuwa district in 1885, Herbert Wace remarked on "the spirit of enterprise so marked in the character of the Low Country Sinhalese villager so painfully conspicuous by its absence in the Kandyans". Wace hoped that the combination of European Capital and Low Country Sinhalese entrepreneurship would bring about a "marked improvement of all classes" in Sabaragamuwa.¹¹ Indeed as late as in 1896 a provincial agent could make similar observations with regard to the North Central Province. Evan Byrde remarked that what was chiefly wanting was a sense of enterprise." " ... and though some of my predecessors" he added "objected to the Low Country Sinhalese coming amongst the Kandyan villagers, there can be no doubt that there is more go in the Low Countryman, and that his enterprise stirs up his more apathetic Kandyan brother, and that he really does good".¹²

The more general attitudes of the provincial agents however in a sense legitimised the failure or unwillingness—the terms in this context are interchangeable—of the traditional elite in Kandyan society to positively come to terms with the new economic changes. They did not make the crucial leap forward as other elite elements—faced with broadly similar changes—had done elsewhere. Significantly in their own interpretation of nineteenth century history, Kandyan leaders echoed the provincial agents.

Moreover the attitudes of the provincial agents gave further colour to the impression that Kandyans after all differed from the Low Country Sinhalese. Who were the Kandyans in relation to the Low Country Sinhalese and *vice versa* ? From the beginnings of the nineteenth century when writers like Percival, Cordiner and, later Sirr, expressed one view or another on the subject and even in 1907, when Ponnambalam Arunachalam wrote a scholarly piece of the islands' population, the issue had remained unresolved.¹³

By the end of the nineteenth century it was evident that assimilation—using the term in its widest sense as Colebrooke intended it to be used—had not been a thoroughgoing process. The question was whether assimilation could be taken a stage further by the intrusion of a more effective catalyst—politics.

11. *Report on the Sabaragamuwa District, A. R. 1885*, p. 141 a.

12. *Report on the North Central Province, A. R. 1896*, p. H. 5.

13. Percival, R. *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*. (London, 1803), p. 186 ff. Also p. 232 ff. Cordiner, J. *A Description of Ceylon containing an account of the country, inhabitants and natural productions* (London, 1807), Vol. I. p. 90 ff.

Sirr, H. C. *Ceylon and the Cingalese*. (London, 1850), Vol. I, p. 277 ff.

The subject has been touched on by a number of other writers too like Bertolacci, Bennett, Pridham etc.

See also Wright, A. (ed.) *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* (London, 1907), p. 334 ff.

III

By 1920 politics in Sri Lanka had entered a clearly decisive phase. The predominant feature was the increasing inability of the Ceylon National Congress to preserve the appearance of a genuinely nationalist movement. The defection of the Tamils and the rapid emergence of a Tamil political organisation had clearly rent the fabric of unity in spite of Congress claims that it represented the mass of the Tamils.¹⁴ The activities of the Kandyans was in turn no small embarrassment and gave plausibility to the reproach articulated by Tamils as well as by Europeans that in truth the Ceylon National Congress merely represented a Low Country Sinhalese oligarchy.¹⁵

The estrangement of the Kandyans from the Congress in particular could no longer be regarded as a development of little significance. Since the establishment of the Legislative Council in 1833, a Sinhalese who was nominated by the Governor as an unofficial member had represented both the Low Country Sinhalese as well as the Kandyans. In 1889 when the Legislative Council was moderately enlarged, for the first time, provision was made for the separate nomination of a Kandyan. In 1920 when there was considerable agitation for a substantial increase in the number of unofficial members on the basis of territorial election—as opposed to the officially more favoured principle of communal representation—influential Kandyans prompted by the then Governor Sir William Manning successfully wrested from the Colonial Office the concession that the Kandyans should be allowed to elect their representatives through communal electorates.

In the reforms of 1923 however the provision of the special representation of Kandyans was done away with, and the Kandyans were included in the general territorial electorates. Kandyan leaders themselves had not opposed the change. They thought that there could be at the same time a demarcation of the electoral areas in the Kandyan provinces “in such a way as to ensure the election of Kandyans to Kandyan provinces”, and that there could be a general lowering of the existing property qualifications thereby enabling the enfranchisement of a larger number of Kandyans. Above all the Kandyans leaders were assured by the Congress that Kandyan electorates would be not contested by Low Country Sinhalese nominees of the Congress.¹⁶

In the event however in the 1924 elections only three Kandyans were elected to the Legislative Council although in several of the provincial electorates the Kandyans—going by the indications of the general population census—

14. De Silva, K. M. (ed.) *The University History of Ceylon*. Vol. 3, p. 393 ff.

15. *Papers relating to the Constitutional History of Ceylon, 1908-1924* (Colombo, 1927), p. 105 ff. and p. 157 ff. for memorials of the Tamil Mahajana Sabhai and the Ceylon Tamil Mahajana Sabhai.

Also p. 125 ff. for Memorandum of the European Association of Ceylon.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 191 for an explanation of the Kandyan position by T. B. Panabokke. Also De Silva, *op. cit.*, p. 397 ff. and p. 402ff.

were presumed to have been numerically preponderant. The sequel was the resignation from the Congress of a number of prominent Kandyans, the formation of the Kandyan National Assembly, and the expression more than ever of the view that the Kandyans must no longer hitch their waggon to the political star of the Low Country Sinhalese.¹⁷

A period of uneasy calm followed. But with the announcement of the Donoughmore Commission in 1927 there was every likelihood of a recrudescence of clamant minority demands. To the Congress it seemed more important than ever to maintain its image of a national party. As far as the Tamils were concerned the predictable Congress strategy was to insist on unity and general Tamil support—notwithstanding increasing evidence to the contrary—as well as to convince by protestations of good faith and by appeal to a record of past association in politics that Tamil fears of Sinhalese domination were unfounded. The general image was one of Sinhala reasonableness.

Congress strategy towards the Kandyans assumed a twofold form. When first confronted with evidence of Kandyan insistence on "separateness", the Low Country Sinhala reaction was one of outraged indignation. In an undisguised reference to Manning, D. B. Jayatilaka, a leading Congress personality, had accused the Kandyans of having made themselves a guillible tool in the hands of the British. Subsequently with less passion but armed with a well argued brief, a Congress deputation—of which Jayatilaka too was a member—told the Donoughmore Commission that it was unnecessary to labour the point that the Kandyans and the Low Country Sinhalese were one people. It was for example pointed out that the so-called "Kandyan laws and customs" were in reality the Sinhalese laws which had existed in the maritime districts prior to advent of the Portuguese and the Dutch. Politically too traditional concepts of Sinhalese suzerainty had not recognised a distinction between the Kandyan and maritime districts. Kandyan kings had themselves laid claim to the maritime districts. The British too after an unsuccessful attempt to treat the Kandyan districts as a separate entity had in 1833 put an end to "separateness". Indeed the deputation argued that there could be no question of "a separate Kandyan Kingdom" if only for the reason that the decision of 1833 was historically irreversible. The Congress deputation in short declared that the case for Kandyan separateness—devoid of a rational basis in history—was merely the clamour of a minority of privileged Kandyans who wished to perpetuate their hold over the mass of the under-privileged Kandyans.

In the rather more positive sense the Congress also began to be politically active in the Kandyan provinces. It was determined to show that the interests of the Kandyan National Assembly and the Kandyan leaders were clearly at variance with those of the mass of the Kandyans who according to the Congress were supporters of the Congress rather than of the Kandyan National Assembly.

17. *Ibid.*

The result was the creation of organisations known as *Maha Jana Sabas*. The numerous *Sabas* which sprang up shared certain common features. They were as a rule set up around 1926-1927 and many certainly after the appointment of the Donoughmore Commission. Moreover the *Sabas* were really multi communal organisations with a strong sprinkling of Low Country Sinhalese elements. In this sense they were not genuinely Kandyan or indigenous organisations. The *Sabas* emphasised that membership was open to all and sundry without reference to "caste, race or creed". The *Kandy Maha Jana Saba* for example was founded by George E. de Silva who was a leading Congress figure in the Central Province.¹⁸ S. W. Fernando, a Low Country proprietary planter, explained to the Donoughmore Commission that the *Suwajathiya Abhiwardana Saba* of which he was the principal spokesman had over three hundred members.¹⁹ Other examples of this type of *Sabas* were the *Maha Jana Sabas* of Pātha and Uda Dumbara, Pātha Hewaheta, Tumpane and Kaikawale. As a rule the *Maha Jana Sabas*, were affiliated to the Congress and never lost an opportunity to denounce the Kandyan National Assembly.²⁰

Certain other organisations—called *Sangamayas*—were however in many ways more noteworthy. The *Sangamayas* were numerically stronger than the *Maha Jana Sabas* whose membership had invariably been confined to the men of a given locality. The *Sangamayas* were also more genuinely Kandyan in composition. Their membership was made up of the so-called "depressed classes" among the Kandyans who, as a rule were bitterly opposed to the privileges enjoyed by Kandyans of good birth. A particularly notable example was the *Sri Lanka Sinhala Jatika Sangamaya* which counted over two thousand registered members and claimed to represent "Kandyans who have been looked down upon for the last hundred years and not given room to rise".²¹ There was also the *Udarata Jatika Sangamaya* which had a number of branches and represented the *Bathgama Duraya* community.²² Possibly the most formidable of the *Sangamayas* was the *Madhyama Lanka Majana Sangamaya* which boasted a registered membership of over 6,400 and claimed to represent "about 850,000 of a total Kandyan population of 1,190,000".²³ Indeed the *Madhyama Lanka Mahajana Sangamaya* claimed that together with the *Sri Lanka Sinhala Jatika Sangamaya*—it represented over seventy five per cent of the Kandyan community.

18. Special Commission on The Constitution of Ceylon, 1927, Record of oral evidence, Vol. 4, p. 60 ff.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 40 ff.

For this article extensive use has been made of the supporting documents connected with the Donoughmore Commission. The oral evidence recorded in public sittings are in four volumes. The written representations consist of seven volumes arranged alphabetically. The latter I was able to consult in the Library of the Commonwealth Relations Office in London where the originals may be found.

20. *Ibid.*, Vol. 4, p. 43 ff., p. 47 ff. and p. 58 ff.

21. *Ibid.*, p. 50 ff.

22. *Ibid.*, p. 53 ff.

23. Special Commission on the Constitution of Ceylon, 1927, Written Representations, Vol. V, p. 149 ff.

The *Sangamayas* were united by a common outlook. Economic and social grievances were clearly the dominant strands. The *Sangamayas* claimed that privileged Kandyan elements—particularly the *Ratemahatmayas* and headmen—rather than the British had stood in the way of the mobility of the mass of the Kandyans. Indeed the comparative ignorance of British officials in the provinces, their well known *penchant* for relying heavily on the headmen classes and possibly an attitude of complacency too had made the headmen the real rulers in the Kandyan provinces. Specifically the headmen had resorted to the requisitioning of forced services and were also guilty of harrassment and discrimination in administration. The Donoughmore Commission was assured that there was plenty of evidence in both points. Moreover in matters of employment, the depressed classes had not been permitted to become even minor functionaries in rural administration—in spite of qualifications—because it was the policy of the Kandyan headmen to exclude non-*goyigama* elements.²⁴

More repugnant was social discrimination which evidently took a very ostensible form. N. H. Keerthiratne who played a prominent part in the affairs of the *Udarata Jatika Sangamaya* and the *Sathkorale Maha Jana Saba* complained that as a rule when a man belonging to a depressed Kandyan community went to a Registrar's Office to be married, the Registrar would insist that the bridegroom the bride and their respective attendants should divest themselves of their "fine clothes" although on the road or elsewhere they might go as well dressed as they pleased. Or should a depressed caste man go to a Registrar to have a birth registered, " ... he puts a mat on the ground or a small stool for him to sit on ... If a good name is given to be registered you are told 'you shall not have the name. It is too good for you' ".²⁵

In this connection the *Sangamayas* made much of an incident that had occurred in 1927 when the Governor of Ceylon had visited Kandy. Among those who were present at the official reception was D. W. S. Waidyasekera a well known ayurvedic physician who also held the titular rank of *Veda Arachchi*. Waidyasekera was also at the time the President of the influential *Madhyama Lanka Maha Jana Sangamaya*. His presence albeit might have passed unnoticed but for the fact that Waidyasekera was attired in the dress traditionally worn by Kandyan chieftains. Prompted by the outraged Kandyans rank, W. L. Kindersley, who was the Government Agent in the Central Province, officially called upon Waidyasekera to explain why he had done so.

For his part Waidyasekere pointed out that it had not been his intention to arrogate to himself the functions of a Kandyan chief. However he strictly maintained that as he was a Kandyan by birth he could if he wished wear the dress of a Kandyan chief. He also explained that in any event it had been the express wish of the *Sangamaya* that he should be so attired. Kindersley

24. Special Commission . . . *op. cit.*, Record of oral evidence, Vol. 4, p. 53 ff.

25. *Ibid.*

however reiterated that Waidyasekera had had no right to assume "... a dress distinctive of chiefs ..." and that in doing so Waidyasekera had shown disrespect both to the Governor as well as to the Kandyan chiefs. Kindersley decided that Waidyasekera was "... unfit to hold the titular rank of a Veda Arachchi ..." and called upon him to surrender the act of appointment.²⁶

Predictably in terms of political affiliations the *Madhyama Lanka Maha Jana Sangamaya* as well as the other *Sangamayas* supported the Congress. The *Sangamayas* did not favour the idea of the Kandyan being isolated from the broadstream of political developments in Sri Lanka. For this reason the *Sangamayas* declared that they were opposed to communal representation. However because the Kandyan provinces were admittedly in a backward condition the *Sangamayas* felt that under a scheme of territorial representation a very large number of electoral constituencies should be created in the Kandyan provinces to enable as many Kandyans as possible to be elected to the legislature.²⁷

The Kandyan National Assembly saw in the mushroom-like creation of *Sabas* and *Mandalayas* the desire of the Congress to fish in troubled waters. Not to be outdone the Kandyan National Assembly tried to enlist broad rural support for its cause by setting up organisations known as *Mandalas*. The Kandyan National Assembly told the Donoughmore Commission that there were 110 affiliated *Mandalas* with a membership of "tens of thousands". It evidently hoped to have a *Mandala* in each village. The *Mandalas*—the Kandyan National Assembly took pains to emphasize the point—gave the widest publicity to their activities and were open to all irrespective of caste or creed.²⁸

And yet the *Mandalas* were remarkably ineffectual. Not one *Mandala* appeared before the Donoughmore Commission if only as a counter weight to the very large number of *Maha Jana Sabas* and *Sangamayas* that did so. Moreover the Kandyan National Assembly—in tacit acknowledgement as it were of its elitist character—had relied on the *Ratemahatmayas* and headmen to establish the *Mandala* network. The strategy was defended on the ground that the Kandyan National Assembly was compelled to set up *Mandalas* in great haste and that "... in the absence of a perfect system of organisation ..." the Kandyan National Assembly had to rely on "... existing institutions such as they are ...". It was clear however that the Kandyan National Assembly had failed to take into reckoning the fairly widespread antagonism towards the headmen which existed in the rural areas.²⁹

To some extent the Kandyan National Assembly had also pinned its hopes on the creation of some sort of alliance with the *Madhyama Lanka Maha Jana Sangamaya*. The idea was that there should be a common Kandyan

26. Special Commission on the constitution, *op. cit.*, Written representations, Vol. V., p. 149 ff.

27. *Ibid.*

28. Special Commission, *op. cit.*, Record of oral evidence, Vol. 4, p. 1 ff.

29. *Ibid.*

platform against the Low Country Sinhalese dominated Congress. A series of informal talks took place between A. Ratnayake, a youthful and able member of the Kandyan National Assembly, and A. P. Premaratne, who was the Secretary of the *Sangamaya*. Although—especially when the talks began—there evidently was some degree of sympathy for the idea, the vast majority of the members of the *Madhyama Lanka Maha Jana Sangamaya* and, its leadership set their face against it. Indeed at a decisive public meeting jointly convened by the *Madhyama Lanka Maha Jana Sangamaya* and the *Sri Lanka Sinhala Jatika Sangamaya* not only was the idea of an alliance with the Kandyan National Association rejected but a statement was issued positively committing the *Sangamayas* to support the constitutional reform proposals put forward by the Congress.³⁰

IV

In a sense the Kandyan National Assembly was not unduly perturbed by these setbacks. Kandyan leaders believed that the Kandyan point of view was self evident and would be accepted by the British if it were only properly articulated—a task which the Kandyan National Assembly was confident that it alone could efficiently perform.

Much of the Kandyan case was based on an interesting interpretation of the Kandyan Convention of 1815. The Kandyan claimed that the Convention was an agreement between “two sovereign and equal nations”. The Kandyan Kingdom had not in fact been defeated in 1815 but had been “handed over” to the British because they had agreed to perform the functional role of a traditional Kandyan king. A Kandyan memorandum of the period maintained that over and above the customs and usages which the British had undertaken to protect, they had as solemnly agreed “to maintain the integrity of the Kandyan Kingdom, to devote Kandyan revenues to the improvement and administration of the Kandyan-Kingdom and to uphold the dignity of the Kandyans as a nation”.³¹

Moreover Kandyan leaders did not accept—the logical extension of the argument—the more orthodox view that the Proclamation of 1818, which followed the Rebellion, had made the Convention of 1815 invalid. J. A. Halangoda—who like many of his *confreres* in the Kandyan National Assembly was a professional lawyer—argued that since the Convention was an agreement between sovereign nations it was by definition “an international agreement” which could of course not be unilaterally abrogated. Certainly the Kandyans since 1815 had never been a party to its abrogation.³²

30. Special Commission *op. cit.*, Written representations. Vol. V, p. 149 ff.

31. Special Commission *op. cit.*, Record of oral evidence, Vol. 4, p. 1 ff.

Among those who represented the Kandyan National Assembly where it gave evidence before the Donoughmore Commission were the following:

J. H. Meedeniya Adigar, P. B. Nugawela Dissawe, J. C. Ratwatte Dissawe, T. B. Panabokke, J. A. Halangoda, U. B. Dolapihille, P. B. Dolapihille, A. W. Mediwake, Dr. T. B. Kobbekaduwa, W. Thalgodapitya and W. Gopallawa.

32. *Ibid.*

According to the Kandyan National Assembly the darkest hour in the history of Kandy was not 1815 but had occurred in 1833 when the Kandyan provinces were—withstanding the previous pledges—merged into the maritime provinces. The backwardness with which the Kandyans were reproached—so patronisingly by the Low Country Sinhalese—could be said to have begun in 1833. The formidable alliance of British capital, Low Country Sinhalese entrepreneurship and the willing connivance of the British government had led to the expropriation of vast tracts of land which was “the natural property of the Kandyan people”. Particular mention was made of the Crown Lands Encroachment Ordinance of 1840 and the Waste Lands Ordinance of 1897 whereby “a million acres of land” had gone out of Kandyan hands “for a mere pittance”.³³

Moreover certain laws which had been enacted and the administration of justice had damaged Kandyan society in two broad respects. There were a number of ordinances which impinged on traditional facets in Kandyan society. The Temple Lands Registration Ordinance of 1856, the Service Tenures Ordinance and the Temporalities Ordinance of 1889 were particularly emphasised. The Service Tenures Ordinance had done great harm. “What Bolshevism is to Capital”, a Kandyan memorandum complained, referring to the ordinance “the present law has been to our system of land tenures”. Above all the ordinances had all been fruitful sources of litigation. A striking consequence had been “the ever increasing number of lawyers who come to our Province empty handed and within a few years become landed proprietors”.

The Kandyans also contended that the ordinances as well as laws concerning Kandyan marriages—where custom and tradition were important considerations—were being interpreted in courts by non Kandyan judges who were not only ignorant but were also unsympathetic. Often both the spirit as well as the letter of the law had been violated. The Kandyans declared that if appointments to the judiciary were made from the Bar rather than from the Civil Service Kandyan interests would be better secured.³⁴

Closely allied to this question was the paucity of Kandyans in the administration. The Kandyan National Assembly both in its written and oral submissions to the Donoughmore Commission pointed out that there was not a single Kandyan in the Civil Service, that ninety per cent of the government servants in *kachcheris* in the Kandyan provinces were non-Kandyans and that the number of Kandyans employed in the Agriculture Department was negligible. “... when the whole governing body consists of such a class how hard it must be the fate of those who have the misfortune to come under their yoke ?”³⁵

33. *Ibid.*, Also p. 89 ff.

34. *Ibid.*, Also Written representations, Vol. II, p. 61 ff. and Vol. IV, p. 107 ff.

35. *Ibid.*

The Kandyan leaders claimed that the backwardness of the Kandyan districts was an inevitable consequence of the neglect of education. Since education was "a government duty ... too important and vast ... to be left to individual effort and fancies". ... the blame for its neglect could fairly be laid at the door of the British who had after all pledged themselves at the time of the cession of the Kandyan provinces to take a special interest in its development. Moreover before 1815 there had been—as averred by certain contemporary British observers—a developed and fairly diffused system of education in the Kandyan provinces. By contrast it was clear that in the establishment of schools since 1833 the maritime districts had been favoured. The number of schools in the Kandyan provinces—of all categories—were too few and likely to perpetuate the condition of backwardness.³⁶

Above all it was contended that grievances so diverse and tied to the welfare of the Kandyans could not be put right under the existing constitutional dispensation. Kandyan leaders complained with great bitterness that since the forced amalgamation with the maritime provinces—stigmatised as "an error unworthy of statesmanship"—Kandyans to all intents and purposes had been unrepresented in the Legislative Council. The changes of 1920 had admittedly gone a long way to remedy the defect. But after 1923 when the Kandyan electorates were changed into territorial seats, the Kandyans were even less represented. It had made possible the election of non Kandyans to Kandyan electorates. Moreover, although theoretically Kandyans might be elected to territorial seats—as indeed some of them were—they could not represent the general interests of the constituency and at the same time try to represent the sectarian interests of the Kandyans. It was explained to the Donoughmore Commission that in such a situation the Kandyan representation would be silenced "through a sense of fairness". It followed therefore that a further measure of self government—which was presumably in the offing—within the framework of the existing Legislative Council, would merely perpetuate the condition of the Kandyan under-representation.³⁷

What then was the Kandyan constitutional specific? In a significant memorandum submitted to the Donoughmore Commission called *The detailed proposals for the reform of the Constitution*, the Kandyan National Assembly proposed the division of Sri Lanka into three parts or "national units": the maritime provinces in which the Low Country Sinhalese dominated, the Tamil provinces, and the Kandyan provinces—as they had existed in 1815—forming the third unit of a federal state. Each of the federating units would have its own Legislative and Executive Councils. In addition there would be a Central Legislative Council which would consist of representatives from federating states. The Central Executive Council on the other hand would consist of the nominees of the Governor. In the division of subjects between the Central

36. *Ibid.*

37. *Ibid.*

Government and the federal units, the Kandyans significantly emphasised that the subjects of land, education and district judicial administration, should be in the hands of the latter authority.³⁸

Moreover the Kandyan National Assembly declared that if the Low Country Sinhalese and the Tamils refused to join in the federal scheme, the Kandyans should notwithstanding be given local self government with autonomy of the sort they would have had under a federal scheme. The Kandyans made it known that in such an eventuality they would also like to be represented in the central legislature on the same principles that would govern the representation of the other communities. Kandyan leaders however added that they did not think the Low Country Sinhalese would object to the federal scheme because some prominent countrymen—S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike for one—in their public pronouncements had themselves favoured the idea of a federal form of government for Sri Lanka.³⁹

V

The official response—on which the Kandyans had pinned so much hope, was broadly concerned with two areas. The begin with scepticism was expressed with regard to the constitutional proposals. It was clear that the division of subjects between the central and the federating units had not been carefully considered in the Kandyan plan. The control of finance was vested in the central government although the Kandyans had been loud in their laments that under the existing system of government funds especially for public works had not been disbursed equitably. The Kandyan provinces had benefited much less than the maritime districts. When it was pointed out that in the Kandyan scheme there could very well be an alliance of the Low Country Sinhalese and the Tamils specifically in the matter of allocating public funds, or that these groups, because they were admittedly more powerful could get the lion share, the Kandyan spokesman made the damaging admission that if past experiences were any indication, such situations were not likely to materialize. "The tendency so far ... has been to open more roads and more public works in the Kandyan provinces. We do not think that there would be a reversal of that policy". In any event reliance could be placed on "the integrity of fair minded men".

Moreover the Donoughmore Commissioners expressed concern about how the Kandyans would regard minorities under their scheme. In the Legislative Council which the Kandyans proposed there were 25 members, all elected on the basis of communal representation. 15 Kandyan members were to be elected by the Kandyans. The minorities elected their representatives: Muslims 1, Low Country Sinhalese 2, Burghers 1, and Tamils 1. When pressed to define the safeguards—if any—the minorities would have, the Kandyan leaders

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ibid.*

frankly admitted that although the minorities would be allowed to have their say they certainly would not be permitted to dominate what must be an essentially Kandyan legislature.

Clearly the Kandyans were determined—logically if one took into consideration their basic premises—to be masters in their own house. They did not take too kindly to a proposal made by Sir Mathew Nathan that for Sri Lanka as a whole and for the Kandyan provinces in particular, a scheme of local self government with provincial councils enjoying considerable autonomy would be better than federation. The Kandyans feared that under such a scheme “outsiders” rather than the Kandyans would have a dominant voice. Nathan however pointed out that since there were over one million Kandyans, they would be able easily to dominate the provincial councils. Kandyan leaders in turn declared that numerically there were more Indian estate workers than Kandyans. Neither were the Kandyans agreeable to the idea that the Indians might be excluded altogether from the electoral lists and instead be accommodated in the provincial councils by a system of communal representation.

More revealingly Kandyan leaders in emphasising that a federal scheme was always to be preferred to a scheme of communal representation, however carefully considered and just declared that there never could be a merging of what were considered to be Kandyan provinces “in the general nationality of the island”, against the will of the Kandyans.

Nathan:—It is not your aim always to remain separate ?

Answer:—No.

Nathan:—Indeed you must consider it a misfortune if you were all the time cut off from the larger interests of the Island ... I am not trying to trap you into saying anything.

Answer:—Not if we remain as Kandyans. But if we cease to remain as Kandyans we would feel the loss.

The litany of sociological grievances impressed the Donoughmore Commission even less. Indeed it was suggested that the Kandyan elitist elements, who might have articulated social grievances as other groups in Sri Lanka had done at various times, or who might have stirred themselves to alleviate social problems following the example of some Low Country Sinhalese philanthropist, were as much to blame as anybody else for the backwardness of the Kandyans.⁴⁰

In this context Lord Donoughmore and his colleagues were greatly impressed by the views of A. F. Molamure who exemplified a modern outlook which the Commissioners hoped other Kandyans might adopt. Molamure had at first been closely identified with Kandyans of the elitist and politically

40. *Ibid.*

traditional *genre*. He had been a member of a three man deputation to the Colonial Office in 1920 to plead the cause of the sectarian political interests of the Kandyan. By 1927 however Molamure had veered clearly to a pro Congress position. He disagreed with the political aims of the Kandyan National Assembly and had little sympathy for the narrowly retrospective view of Kandyan grievances. To the elitist Kandyans Molamure was a traitorous Judas. On social grounds too Molamure was denounced as a man of obscure origin. But his formidable critics were to some extent silenced by the reflection that Molamure was the son-in-law of Meedeniya Adigar—a Kandyan of impeccable social *bona fides*. Molamure in addition was an advocate, a member of the Legislative Council had served in official committees.⁴¹

Molamure attacked the Kandyan grievance concerning the Judiciary and the administration of law. He pointed out that there was special legislation in the statute book which took cognisance of Kandyan customs and usage and that far from being in correct interpreters of Kandyan law, non Kandyan judges—with very few exceptions—had proved adept in what was no doubt a rather specialised area of the law. The authorities on Kandyan law—Sawers, Armour, Hayley, and more recently, Modder—had all been non Kandyans.⁴²

There was moreover little justification in complaining about education. If there were only a handful of professional men among the Kandyans—according to Molamure, 5 advocates, 20 proctors and 5 doctors—and a paucity of Kandyans in the administration, the Kandyans with their well known predilection for headmanships and *Ratemahatyaships* were only themselves to blame. “The time was when we Kandyans” he explained “wanted nothing else but headmanships. And our fathers who were headmen sent us off to school and when we passed the sixth standard, our fathers were prevailed on either by their declining years or by the officers of that particular province to put the sons into their jobs . . .”⁴³

In a word, concluded Molamure, the Kandyans were living in the past. They had almost been lulled into a sense of complacency and possibly even pampered by an administration that had been at any rate clearly sympathetic to the social position of the elitist elements in Kandyan society.

Other facets in the Kandyan case reflected the ingrained conservatism of its authors. It was evident to the Donoughmore Commissioners, as it was to Lord Soulbury a decade later, that at bottom the misgivings of the Kandyan leaders were inspired by a kind of xenophobia. In Kandyan documents constant

41. Special Commission . . . *op. cit.*, Record of oral evidence, Vol. 4, p. 23 ff. Also Written representations, Vol. V, p. 149 ff.

42. *Ibid.* For a considerable period the *Digest of the Kandyan Law* which S. Sawers wrote (1860) and J. Armour's *Grammar of the Kandyan Law* (1861) were the standard authorities. In 1914 F. Modder wrote *The Principles of Kandyan Law*. Possibly the best known has been F. A. Hayley's *A Treatise on the Laws and Customs of the Sinhalese* which was published in 1923.

43. Special Commission *op. cit.*, Written representations, Vol. V, p. 149 ff.

reference was made to "outsiders". The non-Kandyan elements living in the Kandyan provinces were the Indian Tamils in the plantation districts, the Low Country Sinhalese, the Ceylon Tamils, and the Muslims.

In reality however—the material is explicit on the point—by "outsiders" were meant largely the Low Country Sinhalese. The Low Country Sinhalese were identified with the hateful developments euphemistically described as "the opening of the Kandyan lands". The Low Country Sinhalese had exploited the Kandyans taking advantage of the latter's backwardness and comparative helplessness. Above all, the Low Country Sinhalese had battered on the land. A contemporary Kandyan memorandum referred to "the ever increasing number of lawyers who came to our province empty handed and within a few years become landed proprietors".⁴⁴

Kandyan leaders were not willing to admit that the inroads of British capital in numerous ways created the need for a subordinate entrepreneurship. The need was so compelling economically that if the Low Country Sinhalese did not match the necessity some other group—possibly the Muslims—would have done so. Indeed in spite of the obsession with "outsiders", Muslims who had acquired considerable land and wealth in the Kandyan districts were ignored in contemporary Kandyan declamations. Instead Kandyan leaders declared—albeit without supporting evidence—that by 1833 the Kandyans had been willing and able to grasp the opportunities which British capital had thrown in their way. Unfortunately the influx of Low Countrymen had deprived them of the chance.

Although the anti Low Country sentiment runs like a scarlet streak in Kandyan documents, not all Kandyans were willing to make it an issue. P. B. Dolaphilla who was clearly the leader of what may be functionally described as the extremist group among the Kandyans declared that even in terms of race the Low Country Sinhalese and the Kandyans were of distinct origin. Historically too there had always been a tradition of antagonism. It was said that towards the end of the eighteenth century Kandyan kings had appealed to the British in India, not so much against Dutch rule, as against the "Low Country Sinhalese invaders". The kingdom of Kotte had been hostile to the Kandyan Kingdom—the antagonism had not died out in spite of the Portuguese and Dutch occupation of the maritime districts. On the other hand more moderate Kandyans, like Albert Godamunne, thought that the Kandyans and the Low Country Sinhalese were essentially one people. The Indian estate workers who out numbered both the Kandyans and the Low Country Sinhalese were the real threat to the Kandyans.⁴⁵

44. *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 61ff. Also Vol. IV, p. 107 ff.

45. *Ibid.*

Also Special Commission . . . *op. cit.*, Record of oral evidence. Vol. 4, p. 1ff. In his anxiety to assure the Donoughmore Commission that many Kandyans like himself were not anti Low Country Sinhalese, Albert Godamunne said that he had married a Low Country Sinhalese. He made the interesting observation that according to Kandyan Custom his wife could be regarded as a Kandyan.

The official view was no doubt that of the Kandyan National Assembly which declared that federalism would help to contain the Low Country Sinhalese threat. Kandyans would be the masters of their own house. The Kandyan economy could be made so strong that the "influx of others especially the Low Country Sinhalese" would automatically stop. Moreover under the federal dispensation, legislation might be enforced to do away with "the easy way for outsiders to buy land", thereby undermining one of the principal inducements for the influx of "outsiders" into Kandyan areas.

Kandyan views on education were no less significant. In spite of the modern overtones of a well argued critique of British educational policies since 1833, Kandyan leaders like Meedeniya Adigar favoured an education system which did not interfere with the existing social fabric. The ideal was the *pansala* tradition of education which whilst inculcating conservative values gave the broad mass of rural children a functional knowledge of reading, writing and the religion of their forebears. The principal virtue of the *pansala* system was that the school hours were so arranged that children could help their fathers in traditional occupations like agriculture and handicrafts. In this way the sons used to follow the footsteps of their fathers and thereby preserve the integrity of the Kandyan social order. Neither did elitist Kandyan opinion favour English education for the Kandyan masses although mobility was presumed to depend very much on its acquisition.⁴⁶

Kandyan leaders also showed that they had no real sympathy for the socially underprivileged Kandyans who were casually dismissed as a misled group who had thrown in their lot with the Congress. The claims of the underprivileged which others might describe as "aspirations" were no more than absurd pretensions. P. B. Dissanayake, a member of the Kandyan National Assembly, and the editor of a contemporary Sinhala newspaper, remarked in a memorandum submitted to the Donoughmore Commissioners that there were no depressed classes in the Kandyan provinces but only various castes—"some considered to be superior and some inferior according to caste". This was unalterable.⁴⁷

VI

The Donoughmore Commission, although not unsympathetic to the Kandyans, rejected the Kandyan scheme of reforms. It was best for Kandyans that they should not be isolated but should continue to remain an integral part of the larger Ceylonese community. Many of the more specific problems of which the Kandyans complained could well be met with greater provincial autonomy.⁴⁸

46. Special Commission *op. cit.*, Written representations. Vol. V, Memorandum of Adigar Meedeniya.

47. *Ibid.*, P. B. Dissanayake of Handessa was the editor of the Kandyan Sinhalese newspaper '*Rajadhaniya*'.

48. *Report of the Special Commission on the Ceylon Constitution (Donoughmore Report)* p. 103 ff.

The Soulbury Commission pressed by the exigencies of war, and the urgent need to resolve the constitutional crisis between the Sinhalese and Tamils, echoed the sentiments which Lord Donoughmore had expressed when in turn it was confronted with "the Kandyan claim". By 1944 the Kandyans were less clamant. There was still the ritual references to "the conditional validity of the Treaty of 1815" and the loss of land for which "the British government was responsible". It was clear however that the old themes were being played but minus the old *panache*.⁴⁹

There was however an interesting variation. When the Soulbury proposals were being considered in London the President of the Kandyan National Assembly despatched a cable to the Colonial Office. It declared that although the Kandyan point of view had been rejected, the British government should have it on its conscience to compensate the Kandyans for the losses—especially in land—which the Kandyans had suffered. "If the desire to redress our grievances is at all real we request that H. M. G. should make an allocation of £ 50,000,000 as a tentative measure in instalments over a period of ten years to be spent on the rehabilitation of the Kandyans. . .".⁵⁰

The cause of assimilation had weathered two periods of crisis. In a broader sense however the Kandyan issue in the period 1920-1944 reflected a struggle between two elitist groups—the Low Country Sinhalese and the Kandyans. In the struggle the Kandyans had been worsted. And yet one may wonder how the issue would have been resolved had there not been an immense cleavage between the traditional elite and the mass of underprivileged Kandyans in Kandyan society.

49. *Ceylon Report of the Commission on Constitutional Reform* (Soulbury Report) p. 50 ff. Also C.O.54/986/8. M. B. Panabokke to the Colonial Office, n. d. Circa, October, 1945.

50. *Ibid.*

INTRODUCTION

The idea of translating and editing this *tombo* was first conceived in 1966 when my wife chanced upon the manuscript as we were looking through the uncatalogued volumes of the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon. Due to the generosity of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation and the courtesy of the Director of the archive I was able to obtain a microfilm of the document before I left Lisbon.

However, due to other preoccupations I could not get down to the task till about 1969, when partly aided by a research grant of the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, I travelled extensively in south-west Ceylon trying to identify place names mentioned in the revenue register. Some tentative conclusions reached from an examination of the register were published in mimeographed form as *Ceylon Studies Seminar 1969-70 Series*, Paper No. 10 entitled "Some Comments on the political and economic conditions in the Kingdom of Kotte in the early sixteenth century". The translation and editing work was finalized during my visit to Lisbon in 1970-71.

One word in respect of identification of place names appears necessary. Very often place names in the *tombo* suggest Sinhalese village names. However, I have not ventured to hazard guesses. Modern place names have been given (within square brackets in the text) only when they have been identified with a fair degree of certainty.

I must record my gratitude to Dr. Maria do Rosario de Sampaio Temudo Barta of the University of Lisbon for her ungrudging help in translating some of the more obscure passages. Mr. B. S. S. A. Jayawardena of the Department of History, University of Ceylon, Colombo was also of assistance in helping to identify place names in the Siyane, Hewagam and Alutkuru *korales*. A grant from the Cultural Department of the Government of Ceylon facilitated the publication of this work.

INTRODUCTION

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the subject. It begins with a brief account of the early attempts to explain the phenomena of life, and then proceeds to a more detailed consideration of the various theories which have been advanced from time to time. The author's object is to show that the true explanation of life is to be found in the laws of physics and chemistry, and that the phenomena of life are in no way exceptional or mysterious.

In the second part of the book the author discusses the various forms of life, and shows how they are all governed by the same laws. He begins with the simplest forms of life, such as the bacteria and the protozoa, and then proceeds to the more complex forms, such as the plants and the animals. He shows that the same principles of physics and chemistry apply to all of them, and that the differences between them are only in degree, not in kind. This part of the book is intended to show that the laws of physics and chemistry are not only applicable to the inorganic world, but also to the organic world.

The third part of the book is devoted to a consideration of the evolution of life. The author shows that the evolution of life is a natural consequence of the laws of physics and chemistry, and that it is not a mysterious or supernatural process. He discusses the various theories of evolution, and shows that the true theory is the one which is based on the laws of physics and chemistry. This part of the book is intended to show that the evolution of life is a natural and necessary process, and that it is not a result of chance or accident.

The fourth part of the book is devoted to a consideration of the future of life. The author shows that the future of life is a subject which is still open to speculation, but that it is not a subject which is entirely beyond our power to understand. He discusses the various theories of the future of life, and shows that the true theory is the one which is based on the laws of physics and chemistry. This part of the book is intended to show that the future of life is a subject which is worth our attention, and that it is not a subject which is entirely beyond our power to understand.

THE FIRST PORTUGUESE REVENUE REGISTER OF THE KINGDOM OF KOTTE—1599

C. R. DE SILVA

Background

The arrival of the Portuguese in Ceylon in the early years of the sixteenth century¹ ushered in a period of direct contact between the peoples of the island and the Portuguese *estado da India*, which lasted for about one and a half centuries. Unfortunately, relations between the two sides were characterised more by war and hostility than by creative fusion.² The Portuguese themselves recognised this and one of them remarked, (though with some exaggeration) 'The island of Ceylon was always to the *estado da India* another Carthage to Rome, for little by little in expenses, men and artillery, so much was consumed that by itself it cost in its wars, more than all the other conquests in the East'³ The Sinhalese writers were no less picturesque in their descriptions of the devastation caused by these conflicts⁴ which, though largely caused by political and economic factors, were sharpened by the religious element introduced by the zealous and relatively intolerant Catholic priests and frairs.⁵

- (1) Most Ceylonese historians assume that the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon in 1505. They probably did not do so till, 1506. See D. Ferguson — *The discovery of Ceylon by the Portuguese in 1506 in Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. XIX 1906-1907, pp. 284-385. *Documentos sobre os Portugueses em Mocambique e na Africa Central 1497-1840*, Vol III (1511-1514) Lisbon, 1964, pps 588-620. The latter contains a document written in Salamanca, Spain and dated Sept. 1512, which definitely states that de Almeida arrived in Ceylon after 8th August 1506. Those who hold that the date of arrival was 1505 depend primarily on Portuguese chroniclers who wrote during or after the mid-sixteenth century.
- (2) See P. E. Pieris — *Ceylon, the Portuguese era, being a history of the island for the period 1505-1658*. Vols. I & II, Colombo, 1913-1914; S. G. Perera, *A history of Ceylon — I: The Portuguese and Dutch periods 1505-1796*, revised by Fr. V. Perniola, 6th ed. Colombo, 1955.
- (3) Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid, *codice 3105* page 118 published in *Documenta Ultramarina Portuguesa*, Vol. II. Lisbon, 1962.
- (4) For instance consider stanzas 24-26 of *Rajasiha Hatana*, Kandy 1966 on the Portuguese — 24. Having put to flames and destroyed many temple of Ganesha, residences of monks, palaces and the treasured Temple of the Tooth; 25. displaying their prowess throughout the land by swiftly cutting down all mango, banana, jak, arecanut, na and coconut trees; 26. having killed and devoured cows, cattle and buffaloes and devastating the land as if devils had been there. — See also *Parangi Hatana* in Joao Ribeiro, *History of Ceilao with a summary of de Barros, de Couto, Antonio Bocarro, etc.* trans. by P. E. Pieris, 2nd edition, Colombo, 1909.
- (5) For instance, on the conversion of King Dharmapala of Kotte in 1557, 400 images were destroyed (*Documentacao para a Historia das missoes do Padroado portugues no Oriente*, ed. A. da Silva Rego., Vol. V. Lisbon, 1959, page 415).

One result of this period of turmoil was the almost complete destruction of the court archives of the four major indigenous kingdoms—Kotte, Sitawaka, Kandy and Jaffna. Hardly any Tamil document⁶ of historical value dates from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and the surviving Sinhalese writings, though of some value for political and religious history, are of extremely limited use for information on economic aspects. The sixteenth century thus provides a period of transition during which for the first time in the history of Ceylon, foreign records gradually become more important as sources of history than those of the inhabitants of the island.

Of the Portuguese records of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the land and revenue registers (*tombos e forais*)⁷ are of unparalleled value to the historian interested in economic conditions. The other sources—biographies, diaries, descriptive accounts, chronicles and letters of all types—are no doubt of greater value for political and religious history, for writers of this time often revelled in tales of heroic deeds done and of souls saved—and damned.⁸ They also do provide some information on the products of the island and their prices but this is generally proportionate to the novelty and/or revenue capacity of the product. Thus while these documents contain much on cinnamon, pearls, gems, elephants and the like, they pay little heed to a product like rice, the staple food of the people and the principal agricultural product of the island. In this respect the land and revenue registers that survive give a more detailed and better balanced picture of the socio-economic conditions of Ceylon and certainly a more accurate idea of the revenues and resources of the government.

These registers are a valuable source of information in other respects too. They form the richest contemporary source of information on the administrative organization of the areas they deal with. They could be utilized to assess the approximate wealth of the Buddhist and Hindu shrines before Portuguese conquest and the resources available to Catholic missionaries after. They also provide considerable supplementary evidence on political and military history.⁹

- (6) Tamil was the language used in the northern kingdom of Jaffna while Sinhalese was used in the other major kingdoms.
- (7) *tombo*—register of lands; *foral*—register of royal revenues. However, de Almeida used the term *tombo* to describe his revenue register.
- (8) It might however be noted that Portuguese records are of little use for information on non-Catholic faiths, beliefs and practices, for the missionaries came to preach, not to learn.
- (9) Apart from the register translated here, the Portuguese land and revenue records of Ceylon include the four-volume *tombo* of Kotte made by Antão Vaz Freire in 1614, (only two volumes of this *tombo* survive) the *foral* of Kotte 1614, also by Vaz Freire and the *tombo* of the Two Korales by Miguel Pinheiro Ravasco in 1622. This last was published in English translation under the title of the *Tombo of The Two Korales* by Fr. S. G. Perera (Colombo, 1938) and a summarised version of the third volume of Vaz Freire's *tombo* was published in English by P. E. Pieris under the somewhat misleading title of *The Ceylon Littoral*—1593 (Colombo, 1949). The supplementary *tombo* of Kotte and the *foral* of the *pagoda* lands known to have been compiled by Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara have not yet been found. Nor has any trace been found of the *tombo* of Jaffna (1623-1625) made by the same official or of the more comprehensive six-volume *tombo* of Jaffna (1635-1637) or of the supplementary *tombo* of Kotte made in the 1630's; the last two being the work of Amaro Roiz. However, a *foral* of Jaffna compiled in 1645 has been translated into English in summary form by P. E. Pieris as *The Kingdom of Jaffnapatam*, 1645, (Colombo, 1920).

The Register of 1599

The first Portuguese revenue register was made in the closing years of the sixteenth century. In 1580, after having been confined to the fort of Colombo for a decade and a half by the victorious forces of Sitawaka, Dom João Dharmapala, the last king of Kotte, named the king of Portugal as his heir. Fifteen years later, after a dramatic change in fortunes, Dharmapala and his Portuguese heirs and allies were in control of most of the south-western plains and the power of Sitawaka fallen. It was at this stage that Mathias de Albuquerque, the Portuguese viceroy at Goa sent an official named Jorge Froilim de Almeida to Ceylon to make 'a Register of lands, villages, properties and quit rents which pertain to His Majesty in that Island and the kingdoms.' It may have been as Dr. Tikri Abeyasinghe remarks that 'the impatient heir was busy trying to size up the legacy before the ailing old man was decently out of the way'¹⁰; but it was also a step that Dharmapala himself had requested. The ageing king having been powerless for so long wished to share in the fruits of his newly regained kingdom and on 10th December 1594 addressed a letter to the Portuguese viceroy requesting among other things that a revenue register of the villages of his kingdom be made, perhaps hoping by this means to ensure the flow of Crown revenue to his own hands.¹¹ Dharmapala's hopes, however, were not destined to be realised and when he died on 27th May 1597 work on the register was probably not even started.¹²

De Almeida eventually completed the register on 29th November 1599, two and a half years after Dharmapala's demise. From this time there is a curious absence of information on both the register and the compiler. The register certainly did not reach Lisbon before early 1608, for the letters of the king of Portugal of 1602 and 1604 requesting a survey of lands in Ceylon make no mention of it and the detailed instructions given to Antão Vaz Freire on 27th February 1608 regarding the making of a land and revenue register in Ceylon do not refer to any earlier attempt.¹³ Nor is it likely that it was deposited in the archives at Goa, which had by then been put in some order by Diogo do Couto, for if it had, Vaz Freire who spent most of 1609 in Goa on his way to Ceylon would certainly have heard of it.¹⁴ Vaz Freire did not see de Almeida's register and he in his turn was forced to seek anew for Sinhalese

(10) T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon-1594—1612*, Colombo, 1966. p. 128.

(11) *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Manuseritos da Livraria*, 1109 ff. 47-48. Other requests included an exchange of envoys with the king of Portugal; the definition of the jurisdiction of the captain of Colombo; the control over revenue and expenses of the island; the position as sole contractor of cinnamon and power for his judicial officials to punish wrongdoers, both Sinhalese and Portuguese. Franciscan inspiration and encouragement is indicated by the signature of Frey Manoel dos Santos, guardian of the Franciscans in Colombo, alongside with that of the king and by a clause in the letter which states that the Franciscans are the best missionaries for Ceylon.

(12) The register lists a number of Portuguese forts built after the death of Dharmapala, namely Menikkadawara, Alawwa, Pentenigoda and Etgaletota. See T. Abeyasinghe *op. cit.*, p. 28.

(13) T. Abeyasinghe *op. cit.*, p. 129.

(14) *Ibid.* pp. 130, 131.

palm leaf records. In fact, the total absence of references to de Almeida's register in subsequent records suggests that it did not reach any official of standing at the time and was not put to any practical use. The original register, however, eventually found its way to Lisbon where it now forms a part of a collection known as the *manuscritos do convento da Graça* of the *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*.¹⁵ The translation published here was made from this manuscript which was discovered by Mrs. D. de Silva in 1966.

The register, in its final form could be conveniently divided into two parts. The first, which de Almeida himself called *Roteiro dos Custumes* or Descriptive guide of the Customs, consists of an explanation of local measures and currency and a descriptive enumeration of some of the more important sources of revenue spiced with comments on the existing methods of collection and suggestions for reform. The second, the list of ports and lands with their revenues, forms the bulk of the register. Here, de Almeida names the sea ports and tries to give some idea of the location of each, the products that passed through it and the customs dues charged. Wherever possible he also indicates what revenue it had yielded to the crown in the past, who collected the revenue at the time the register was made and the approximate revenue collected at that time.

In dealing with the inland areas, de Almeida followed the Sinhalese administrative unit of the *korale* or district. In each *korak* the royal villages or *gabadagam* were listed separately with their respective revenues in cash and kind. The income due to the crown from all the other villages as well as from fines and death duty (*marala*) was assessed together as the revenue of the *korale* as distinct from the revenue of royal villages.¹⁷

Like the later Portuguese *tombo* compilers, de Almeida did not personally visit many of the areas whose details and revenues he recorded. He is known to have travelled southwards from Colombo to Kalutara and Galle.¹⁸ But it is doubtful whether he ever went beyond Galle or to areas north of Colombo as his description

- (15) *Tomo 6d* pp 325-411. The 87 paged document is written in clear hand but is unsigned. A strong indication that the *Torre do Tombo* manuscript is the original is provided by the fact that news of the king's order regarding the temple lands which was proclaimed on 10th November 1599 and which made many of the de Almeida's comments on the subject superfluous, is crowded into the right hand margin of the page. A copyist would have made better allowance.
- (16) D. de Silva, *A bibliography of manuscripts relating to Ceylon in the archives and libraries of Portugal*, *Boletim Internacional de bibliografia Luso-Brazileira* vol. 8 & 9. 1966-1967.
- (17) The Sinhalese land tenure system was a complex one. Apart from royal villages, there were villages held by chiefs and officials in lieu of payment (*comedias* as the Portuguese called them) and villages held by religious institutions (*viharagama* and *devalagam* — termed *pagoda* lands by the Portuguese) All inhabitants of these villages also paid dues or offered gifts annually to the king as tokens of their loyalty. For further information see T. Abeyasinghe, 100-102; C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon, 1617-1638*. Colombo, 1972. pp 215-216 H. W. Codrington, *Ancient land tenure and revenue in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1938. On *marala* see below p. 38.
- (18) See below pp. 50-51, 55.

of the ports of these areas seem to lack the touch of personal knowledge that may be glimpsed in his accounts of the coastal ports between Colombo and Galle. The register also suggests that de Almeida hardly ventured inland and this raises the question as to how he obtained the information he recorded.

There were two sources of Sinhalese land and revenue records that de Almeida might have had access to. In the first place, there were the remnants of the court records of the Sinhalese kings of Kotte which apparently fell into the hands of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, the Portuguese captain-general of Ceylon (1594-1612), after the death of the king Dharmapala.¹⁹

However, it seems unlikely that de Almeida obtained access to them. The revenue register indicates that he was no great friend of de Azevedo and that the captain-general and those who had obtained land grants from him were by no means disposed to co-operate with the new superintendant of revenue. Furthermore, when de Azevedo later explained what had happened to the records he had obtained, he asserted that some might have been destroyed by rebellions and wars and the rest were given to Antão Vaz Freire, the second superintendant of revenue, but not that he had handed over any to Jorge Frolim de Almeida.²⁰

The other sources from which de Almeida could have obtained Sinhalese palm leaf records would undoubtedly have been the Sinhalese officials themselves—especially those who were in charge of recording and collecting royal dues. The revenue register itself provides ample evidence that de Almeida made good use of this source. It may be recalled at this stage that de Almeida's register lists three main types of revenue—the revenue of the port areas (including both customs receipts and the land revenue of the villages annexed to the port), the revenue of royal villages and the revenue of the *korales*.

In the case of this first category de Almeida specifically mentions the use of Sinhalese palm leaf records in calculating the revenues of Beruwala, Kalutara and Maggona, Panadura and Colombo. In the case of the other sea-ports he does not specify as to whether his information was obtained from palm leaf records or not. Evidence of the use of Sinhalese revenue records is stronger in the case of the royal villages. In this respect, de Almeida does specifically state that both old records and the evidence of the elders were used. That such records did play a vital role is clear, for when eight villages of the Beligal *Korale* were left unrecorded, the reason given was that the palm leaf records had been lost. The same reason may well account for the lack of estimates for the villages so near the Portuguese dominated

(19) T. Abeyasinghe, *op. cit.* p. 132. It is however extremely unlikely that these records contained the 'register of dues and services not only of each kingdom and province but also a detailed statement of payments due from each village and household' as Ribeiro claims they did. (João Ribeiro *History of Ceilão* pp. 93) If such a register had existed in the royal archives, king Dharmapala would hardly have requested a new revenue register to be made in 1594.

(20) T. Abeyasinghe, *op. cit.* p. 132.

sea-coast as Seeduwa, Welisara and Dunagaha — all in the Akuturu korale. In the case of Korale revenues however, it is unlikely that de Almeida's estimates were anything but approximate. All of them are given to the nearest thousand *fanams* and de Almeida often uses the phrase, 'it is said to have paid.'²¹ In this case he probably only recorded verbal evidence given by the Sinhalese *mohottiyars* or revenue officials.

The palm leaf documents used by de Almeida do not appear to have survived for long. Some of these were perhaps destroyed during the disturbances of the turbulent half century that followed. Others succumbed to natural decay while still others must have been destroyed by Sinhalese officials who realized that handing over such records to the Portuguese would only make it more difficult to continue diverting royal revenue to their own hands. This was probably why Antão Vaz Friere, seeking old records of the coastal areas only fourteen years after de Almeida completed his register, could locate them only in respect of two areas — Munneswaram and Alutgama.²²

Despite their loss however, one significant factor regarding the Sinhalese records used by de Almeida emerges from his revenue register. Many of the land rolls (or *lekam miti* as they were termed in the local tongue) he used probably dated from the mid-sixteenth century. De Almeida did not set out to make a register of revenues due to the Portuguese regime in the year 1599. He realized that this would be difficult due to the military situation at the time and even more important, it would be misleading, for land revenue in particular depended greatly on the extent of land cultivated in each village and many villages had been depopulated by 1599. He therefore, decided to find out what the revenue had been when the land was at peace — in other words to make a register of what had been collected in the past and thus obtain a guide to the revenues that could be collected in the future when the conquest was completed and peace restored. In recording this information, de Almeida often gives two estimates — revenue in the time of *Raju* or Rajasinha of Sitawaka and revenue in the time of the kings of *Cota* (Kotte). Rajasinha, of course, became king only in 1581 on the death of his father Mayadunne and reigned till 1593. Nevertheless it is likely that the phrase 'em tempo do Raju' refers to a longer period of time. Rajasinha was the virtual ruler of Sitawaka from at least 1565 and Portuguese records from that time onwards generally refer to struggles against *Raju*, leaving his reigning father forgotten. Moreover, Rajasinha's forces held almost all of Kotte between 1565 and 1593 and thus these years could perhaps be taken as the approximate limits of 'the times of Raju.' The term 'in the time of the kings of Cota' consequently must refer to the period before 1565 — when the kings of Kotte held sway over a substantial portion of the south-western plains of Ceylon. The occasional references

(21) 'Diz que rendia . . .'

(22) T. Abeyasinghe, *op. cit.* p. 133.

to the old king Bonegabahu (Bhuvanakabahu VII 1521-1551) in the register re-inforces the suggestion that at least some of the Sinhalese records consulted dated from earlier times.

Perhaps one way of checking the accuracy of de Almeida's register would be to compare it with the later and more detailed work of Antão Vaz Freire (1614). However, several difficulties emerge in this respect. In the first place, Vaz Freire unlike de Almeida was trying to record the actual revenue that was due to the state at the time his register was being compiled and thus the difference in time between the two registers is far more than the fifteen years suggested by the dates on them. Secondly, two of the four volumes of Vaz Freire's work are lost and therefore comparisons can be made only for certain areas which might or might not be representative. Finally there is no means of checking the accuracy of Vaz Freire's register itself and this is significant because he himself did not visit most of the *korales* he included in the register and relied greatly on the verbal evidence given by the indigenous officials.

Nevertheless a comparison of the two registers could in many ways be a profitable exercise. For example de Almeida's register provides us with the approximate²³ number of villages in each *korale* and if these are summed up, the forty *korales* of Kotte (excluding Bulatgama and the coastal areas) are said to have contained 1582 villages.²⁴ Vaz Freire wrote to the king of Portugal in 1615 that his *tombo* covered thirty-five *korales* containing 4640 villages and eleven ports.²⁵ When it is considered that Vaz Freire's work did not include the lands east of the Walawe ganga and most of the former Five Korales, and that by his time most of the Mangul *Korale* had turned into jungle, he appears to have listed more villages than de Almeida in the areas he covered. In some areas the figures in the two registers are comparable. For instance Vaz Freire lists forty villages for the Atulugam *Korale* in comparison to de Almeida's estimate of thirty two, one hundred and thirteen for Kinigoda *Korale* for de Almeida's one hundred and twenty and seventy eight for Handapandunu *Korale* for de Almeida's sixty.²⁶ On the other hand there are large discrepancies. Udapola *Korale* is listed as having one hundred and twenty five villages by Vaz Freire in contrast to de Almeida's figure of eighty; Kurunegal *korale* as having two hundred and seven, not one hundred as de Almeida would have it and Dewameddi *Korale*, two hundred and eighty three not one hundred and eighty five.²⁷

(23) De Almeida often gives the number of villages per *korale* in round figures.

(24) See Table I.

(25) C. R. de Silva, *op. cit.* p. 172.

(26) *Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, codice* 484 ff. 217-295.

(27) *AHU Codice*, 484 ff. 88-215.

TABLE I — DISTRIBUTION OF VILLAGES AND SETTLEMENTS
(based on revenue register of 1599. It excludes the coast and Bulatama)

<i>Koralé</i>	<i>No. of villages</i>	<i>Korale</i>	<i>No. of villages</i>
Alutkuru	100	Salpiti	86
Atakalan	120	Siyane	300
Atulugam	32	Udapola	80
Beligal	300	Walallawiti	60
Dehigampola	60	Four Korales	
Dolosdas (including Walawe, Yala and Panama)	500	Galboda	130
Gal	360	Kinigoda	120
Handapandunu	60	Mayadunu	30
Hapitigam	60	Paranakuru	50
Hewagam	100	Five Korales	
Katugampola	360	Denawaka	42
Kukulu	45	Etarawa	45
Kuruwiti	74	Kolonna	45
Mangul	360	Metarawa	54
Morawak	120	Uggalkaltota	32
Nawadun	200	Seven Korales	
Panaval	42	Asgiriya	30
Pasdun	300	Dewamedi	185
Pitigal	60	Hiriyal	100
Rayigam	300	Kurunegal	100
		Madure	90
		Udugoda	40
		Willi	110

Vaz Friere's estimates are probably more reliable, for he unlike his predecessor named all the villages in the areas he recorded. On the other hand the differences in the figures do not necessarily discredit de Almeida's estimates. Apart from other factors already noted, the discrepancies may well be the result of different ways of recording the Sinhalese concept of *gama* or village. The Sinhalese *gama* was not necessarily a single territorial unit though it often was one. It could have lands belonging to it separated by stretches of jungle. Many separate settlements could still be considered one *gama* especially if these settlements had spread from an original nucleus. A good example of this was Madampe which, although it had twenty two settlements attached to it scattered over sixty square miles was still regarded as a single *gabadagama*. De Almeida usually counted such an entity as one while Vaz Freire generally regarded the annexed settlements as separate units. In any case the figures in both registers seem to indicate that there were between 5000 and 6000 villages and settlements in the whole of the old kingdom of Kotte in the sixteenth century.

Another possible line of inquiry is the comparison of the list of royal villages given in both registers. The local officials on whom both Vaz Freire and de Almeida relied so greatly had been for some time the persons best placed to divert royal revenues to their own hands. It is therefore reasonable to conjecture that some of the officials would have tried to conceal information on royal villages which they had seized. The presence of two independent registers within two decades of each other enables some check to be made on this. The turnover of Sinhalese officials was

high and they would not have had the same things to conceal at two different points of time. This theory is borne out by the fact that many villages listed as *gabagam* in de Almeida's register are not described as such in Vaz Friere's and vice versa.²⁸ For instance Vaz Friere lists over a dozen *gabada* villages in Atulugam *Korale*, de Almeida only one. On the other hand Vaz Friere could locate only seven royal villages in the Udupola *Korale* and three in the Pasdun; de Almeida named twenty and seventeen respectively.²⁹ All in all de Almeida seems to have succeeded somewhat better in the task of locating royal villages — or perhaps it was that the Sinhalese grew more adept at concealment with time.³⁰ In any case the comparison of the two registers makes it clear that any attempt to calculate the incomes of the kings of Kotte on the basis of the register of 1599 alone would lead to an under estimation.

The Evidence of the Register of 1599.

Having drawn attention to some of the factors that should be borne in mind when using de Almeida's register, it is perhaps time to discuss the information one could extract from it. In the first place, the register provides fresh information on the political frontiers of Kotte in the sixteenth century. Of course, frontiers in sixteenth century Ceylon were as changeable as anywhere else and it might be argued that the register provides evidence of the situation at one particular point of time alone — but this would be to forget de Almeida's purpose. He was not recording the frontiers of the time but the 'traditional frontiers' of the kingdom of Kotte. It would also be to forget the historical background in which de Almeida made his register.

Kotte had been the dominant kingdom of Ceylon in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Indeed this dominance was so marked that several historians have termed this era as the Kotte period of Ceylon History.³¹ For a short while Parakramabahu VI (1411-1466)³² the greatest monarch of Kotte had even succeeded in uniting the whole island under his rule, but this unification was merely on the political plane. The northern Tamil speaking region of Jaffna and the central highlands were ruled — albeit by the king's nominees — as separate entities. In the years following

- (28) Both compilers were careful to distinguish between traditional *gabada* land even if it had passed into private hands and the non-*gabada* lands whose income might have accrued to the state from time to time.
- (29) AHU 484 ff 167-176; 217-225; 352-387.
- (30) For instance de Almeida's informants admitted the existence of ten *gabada* villages in the Kuruwiti *korale* but stated that in the cases of Ellawala, Kiriella and Kuruwita, the *ola* records have been lost. Vaz Freire in registering the lands of the same *korale* records only Ellawala, Kuruwita and Kiriella as royal villages. There is not even a hint that there were any other royal villages at all.
- (31) For a recent example, see A. K. Jayawardane and N. A. Perera, *Kotte Yugaya*, Wellampitiya, 1968. For some comments on the periodization of Ceylon history for these years, see K. W. Goonewardane, 'Ceylon' in *Historiography of the British Empire Commonwealth* ed. by Robin W. Winks Durham, North Carolina, 1966.
- (32) G. P. V. Somaratne, *A Political history of the kingdom of Kotte circa 1410-1521* (Ph. D. Thesis, Univ. of London, 1969). S. Paranavithana ed. *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I Part I, Colombo 1960, p. 847 suggests the dates 1412-1467 and Mendis Rohanadheera, *Asgiripya Talpattin Aluthiyana Lanka Itihasaaya*, Nugegoda, 1970 p. 70 suggests 1415-1467.

the death of Parakramabahu VI, the northern region seized its independence³³ and the central highlands acquired a great deal of autonomy while a number of petty principalities arose in the north-central and eastern regions,³⁴ thus confining Kotte to the western and south-western coastlands.

These contracted frontiers of Kotte and its successor state of Sitawaka, despite temporary changes, remained relatively stable for about a century until Rajasingha of Sitawaka, *de facto* ruler of Kotte, conquered the central highlands in 1582 and they formed what are termed the 'traditional frontiers' of the kingdom of the south-west lowlands.

The hitherto generally accepted description of these frontiers was that provided by Fr. S. G. Perera who held that Kotte extended 'from Kala Oya to Walawe Ganga'³⁵ and from the mountains to the sea. The evidence of the register, when co-related with other sources corrects and clarifies the above description.

As far as the northern frontier of Kotte goes the register indicates that Kotte in the early sixteenth century extended beyond the Kala Oya up to about the Malwatu Oya or the limits of the region of Mantota.³⁶ This seems confirmed by the work of Fr. Fernão de Queyroz, the seventeenth century Portuguese historian, according to which the northern kingdom of Jaffna was confined to the Jaffna peninsula itself and coastal strip on the west up to Mannar.³⁷

Similarly, the register indicates that the south-eastern boundary of Kotte extended well beyond the Walawe Ganga. It specifically lists several territories east of the river — notably Walawe, Lewawa, Yala and Panama as parts of Kotte.³⁸ Of course, Fr. Perera did have some basis for claiming that the Walawe Ganga formed the limit of Kotte. Fr. de Queyroz stated that the *disava* of Matara in Portuguese times extended from Colombo to the Walawe and so did Antonio Bocarro in his

(33) In the 1480's under a prince named Pararajasekeran (*History of Ceylon*, Vol. I Part II pp. 682, 701).

(34) The most important of these were Wellassa, Palugama, Samanturai, Batticaloa (Madakalapuwa) Trincomalee and Kottiyar. Yala and Panama on the south-east coast joined their ranks by the mid-sixteenth century but some of the other principalities like Palugama, Sammanturai and Kottiyar were absorbed by their neighbours in the course of the century. Most of them were small, poor and thinly populated — Kottiyar had nineteen villages and Panama eighteen.

(35) Fr. S. G. Perera, *A history of Ceylon* I. p. 1.

(36) See below pp. 69-70

(37) Fr. Fernão de Queyroz — *The temporal and spiritual conquest of Ceylon* (translated by Fr. S. G. Perera) Colombo, 1930 p. 51. The areas which Queyroz describes as being ruled by chieftains tributary to Jaffna (*Vanniyars*) namely Muliavali, Karunaval Pattu and Panamkamam are well to the north of Mantota. Mantota itself might have been an area which was held by Kotte in the fifteenth century and lost by the early sixteenth. A king of Kandy claimed Mantota in the early sixteenth century (Sómaratne, *op. cit.*, p. 375, Mendis Rohanadheera, *op. cit.*, p. 50) but it had definitely passed into the power of the king of Jaffna by the 1540's. P. E. Pieris and M. A. Hedwig Fitzler (editors). *Ceylon and Portugal, Part I. Kings and Christians 1539-1552*. Leipzig, 1927, p. 119.

(38) See below p. 57.

account of the Portuguese *estado* in 1635.³⁹ The third volume of the Portuguese land register of 1615 stops short at Walawe too.⁴⁰ It was natural to assume that the Walawe Ganga had formed the limits of both Portuguese territory in the seventeenth century and of the kingdom of Kotte in the sixteenth.

Nevertheless the evidence in de Almeida's register has stronger backing. Fr. de Queyroz himself provides evidence of Portuguese rule in areas east of the Walawe in other parts of his own *Conquista*. For instance he asserted that the salterns of the Walawe were in Portuguese territory and proposed a new principality of Walawe from the nearest *korale* up to lesser *Panawa* (Panama)⁴¹. A Franciscan writer of the seventeenth century, Fr. Paulo de Trindade, also agrees that the salterns were really in Portuguese hands.⁴² Another Franciscan, Fr. Manoel de Assumpção writing in 1630 declared that the *disava* of Matara extended almost up to Batticaloa.⁴³ Sixteenth century evidence indicates that the territories of Sitawaka extended up to Yala in the 1540's.⁴⁴ Fr. S. G. Perera himself seems to admit that evidence in contemporary documents indicates that Kotte spread beyond the Walawe but he made no changes in his *History of Ceylon*.⁴⁵

The 'traditional frontiers' of sixteenth century Kotte can thus be drawn with much greater accuracy than before. They extended inland from about the Malwatu Oya up to east of Anuradhapura⁴⁶ and then turned southwards following the boundary of the present central province except in that Udugoda *Korale* and Asgiri *Pattuwa* were considered parts of Kotte. After the Adam's Peak area the frontier followed a generally easterly course north of the village of Kalupahana and running through Idalagashinna and then south of Wellawaya fell to the sea near Kirindi Oya. The areas to the east of the Kirindi Oya — Yala and Panama — were parts of Kotte in the early sixteenth century but developed into autonomous principalities by the mid-century.⁴⁷ These frontiers were somewhat modified in the early seventeenth century

(39) Fernão de Queyroz p. 47; *Arquivo Portugues Oriental* (nova edição) Tomo IV, Parte I. p. 372.

(40) P. E. Pieris, *The Ceylon Littoral*, 1593 — but nowhere in the register is it asserted that Walawe formed a frontier.

(41) Fernão de Queyroz pp. 1149, 1154.

(42) Paulo de Trindade — *Conquista espiritual do Oriente* (ed by Fr. Felix Lopez) Vol. III Lisbon, 1969, p. 11. An English translation of the relevant section appears in *Ceylon Literary Register*, Third series, Vol. IV pg. 479, and in *Chapters on the introduction of Christianity to Ceylon* (translated by Bishop Edmund Peiris and Fr. Achilles Meersman) Colombo (?), 1972, p. 24.

(43) '... o de Mature e de sete corales senhoream as prayas do mar, este ate quasi Manar e aquelle quasi ate Batecalou ... (ANTT *Manuscritos da Livraria*, 1699. f 263).

(44) Pieris and Fitzler pp. 134, 146, 186.

(45) See Perera's summary of documents found in G. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch — *Ceylon zur zeit des konigs Bhuvanakabahu und Franz Xaviers 1539-1552*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1928 in *Ceylon Literary Register*, 3rd series, vol. IV p. 379.

(46) *Arquivo Portugues Oriental*, Tomo IV, Part II p. 374.

(47) Pieris and Fitzler, p. 186-7

by the expansion of the Kandyan authority over the east coast, Nuwarakalawiya, Panama and Wellawaya. Kandy also obtained the Uduḡoda *Korale* and the Asgiri *Pattuwa* by the treaty of 1617.⁴⁸

The partition of Kotte in 1521 is another subject on which de Almeida's revenue register does throw some light. The partition itself was a result of a political upheaval occasioned by the efforts of Vijayabahu VI of Kotte to place an adopted (?) son on the throne to the exclusion of his three elder sons.⁴⁹ The three princes threatened with disinheritance left the capital, raised forces and returned in triumph. In the ensuing confusion Vijayabahu was assassinated and the three princes — Bhuvenekabahu, Rayigam Bandara and Mayadunne divided the kingdom amongst themselves, the other two recognising Bhuvenekabahu, the eldest, as their overlord, the king of Kotte and emperor of Ceylon.⁵⁰

The evidence available before the discovery of de Almeida's register was sufficient to obtain some idea of the distribution of territory at the partition.⁵¹ Rayigam Bandara (1521-1538) was allocated the Rayigam, Pasdun and Walallawiti *Korales* while Mayadunne (1521-1581) ruled over the Four *Korales*, Denawaka, Bulatgama, half of Hewāgam *Korale* and six other *korales* — namely Kuruwiti, Atulugam, Panawal, Handapandunu, Beligal and Dehigampola.⁵² The rest of Kotte was placed in the hands of Bhuvenekabahu VII (1521-1551).

(48) The frontiers of Kotte as settled by the treaty of 1617 and 1634 were as follows —

- limit of Panama — Galhia Balavai.
- limit of Wellawaya — Andaolutota
- limit of Kosgama — Verahunahela
- limit of Uva — Idalgashina (Idalgashinna)
- limit of Bulatgama — Bocurabevila
- limit of Udapalatha — Ambulvava
- limit of Uduḡuwara — Canugahahinna
- limit of Yatinuwara — Balane (Balana)
- limits of Tumpane — Muangamma and Galbava
- limit of Harasiyapattuwa — Bocavala (Bokkawala)
- limit of Asgiri Pattuwa — Dehigashinna
- limit of Uduḡoda — Millavaera (Millawana) Vannedda
- limit of Nuwarakalawiya — Silmey Caddhiana

(Sources — *Diario do 3º conde de Linhares* — vicerei da India, Lisbon 1937, Vol. I p. 69; *Ceylon Literary Register*, 3rd series Vol. III pp. 164, 295; *Assentos do conselho da India* (ed. Panduronga S. S. Pissurlencar) Goa, 1952, Vol. I, p. 575; J. F. Judice Biker — *Colleccao de tratados e concertos de pazes que o estado da India Portugues fez com os reis. . . da Asia e Africa Oriental*, Lisbon, 1889, Vol. II. p. 42; *Biblioteca da Evora* LVI/2-2 f. 252).

- (49) The three princes were born while Vijayabahu and his brother Rajasingha had a common queen at Menikkadawara (*Rajavaliya* ed. by B. Goonesekera, Colombo, 1928, p. 52).
- (50) For further information see, *Rajavaliya*, pp. 52-54 & P. E. Pieris, Ceylon: *The Portuguese era I*, pp. 61-63.
- (51) Though only H. W. Codrington — *A short history of Ceylon*, London, 1947. p. 93 seems to have worked it out accurately.
- (52) Fernão de Queyroz p. 204; *Orientalist III*, p. 194-195.

What de Almeida's register provides is evidence that the partition of Kotte left Bhuvanakabahu enough material resources to maintain his position as the foremost monarch of the island. The areas left to him were sufficient to make him the richest and potentially the most powerful king in Ceylon. His lands probably had well over twice as many inhabitants and yielded about thrice as much revenue as those of his other two brothers combined.⁵³ He retained control over the cinnamon peelers and the areas of the elephant hunt and his possession of all the sea ports enabled him to control the trade of the kingdoms of his two brothers. He lost little in prestige, for the practice of dividing the kingdom among the brothers was by no means an innovation. Thus the events of 1521 did not necessarily predict a continuing decline in the power of Kotte. It was the events after 1521 that really mattered. Bhuvanakabahu was weak and vacillating. He managed to alienate both his brothers at the same time. He leaned on the Portuguese for advice and assistance and unfortunately for him the Portuguese did not always prove to be good allies. His rivals seized the chance to expand their authority. In the end the personality of the Kotte ruler proved to be as important as the resources of his kingdom.⁵⁴

The register of 1599 can also be utilized to form an approximate estimate of the population of Kotte in the sixteenth century. In most parts of the world population figures for this period are difficult to come by. Where figures exist in agrarian societies of the pre-industrial era they are usually enumerations of families. For Kotte we do not have even a list of families.⁵⁵ It is necessary therefore to work from a list of villages and settlements.

The register records the existence of 5182 villages and settlements excluding Bulatgama and the coastal area.⁵⁶ With them there were perhaps 5500 villages. As could be anticipated the size of a village varied greatly. Bocalagama in the Hapitigam *Korale* had 300 houses, Mahapitigam and Doranegoda on the *Siyane Korale* sixty each and Nugama, also in the *Siyane Korale* only fifteen.⁵⁷ There were even smaller settlements. Pitawala, Kalupedilla and Waharakgoda in the Five *Korales* could hardly support five families each.⁵⁸ The problem is further complicated by the fact that there was a movement of people from Kotte to the Udarata from the mid-

(53) The lands of Raiyagam Bandara contained only 660 villages; those of Mayadunne 1070 + Bulatgama. Bhuvanakabahu ruled over 2897 villages and all the ports of Kotte. The relative income of the three rulers may be roughly assessed from Tables II and III.

(54) For earlier examples of the partition of Kotte among brothers see, G. P. V. Somaratne, p. 313-318 and *Rajavaliya* p. 49-50. For instances of Portuguese duplicity in relation to Bhuvanakabahu see Pieris and Fitzler, pp. 1-35.

(55) Even Vaz Freire's land register (1615) mentions only individuals who pay dues often specifies only the extent of *otu* lands without giving the number of men who worked on them (for instance see AHU 484, f 512 — land records of Mahapalagama in the Galu *korale*).

(56) For a idea of the coastal villages see P. E. Pieris — *The Ceylon Littoral 1593. passim*.

(57) See below pp. 57-60, 65-66.

(58) S. G. Perera — *The tombo of the Two korales*, pp. 6, 16, 30.

sixteenth to the mid-seventeenth century⁵⁹ Therefore population records of the seventeenth century are of dubious value in estimating the number of people who lived in Kotte in the sixteenth century. However, other measures could be used to obtain an approximate estimate. The paddy revenues of the *gabadagim* could be taken as indications of their size. The sowing extent of each village would also give some idea of its population⁶⁰ Another possibility is to work back from estimates of the Catholic population of Ceylon at the time of the Dutch conquest of the western and northern lowlands. These estimates range from 175,000 to 250,000.⁶¹ Leaving aside about 75,000 for Jaffna, this would involve 100,000 to 175,000 for Kotte. If the impression given by Portuguese records that about half the people in Kotte were Catholic by the end of Portuguese rule is correct, this would give us an estimate of 200,000 to 350,000 as the population of Kotte in Portuguese times. When one takes into account the evidence of de-population in the early seventeenth century⁶² it becomes obvious that the population of mid sixteenth century Kotte was much higher — perhaps 400,000 to 450,000 and this figure seems to fit in with other evidence. In comparison the population of Jaffna was probably around 100,000⁶³ and that of Kandy perhaps a little more.⁶⁴ Kotte was undoubtedly the most populous as well as the largest and richest kingdom in Ceylon.

The disparity in manpower and resources between Kotte and the other kingdoms gives a pointer to Kotte's relations with them. Unlike in the fourteenth century there was no question of the very existence of Kotte being threatened from the north. The Jaffna king's income was perhaps thirty to thirty five thousand *xerafims* a year⁶⁵ — about one-seventh that of the kings of Kotte. His preoccupation was to maintain

- (59) T. Abeyasinghe, *Prutugreesin saha Lankawa*, Colombo, 1969 pp. 99-101; S. Arasaratnam, *Dutch power in Ceylon 1658-1687*, Amsterdam 1958 p. 3.
- (60) The maximum extent of paddy land that a family of five (using buffaloes) could cultivate may be estimated at about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *amunas* (*amuna* = unit of capacity of about 6 bushels or the area on which this amount of paddy can be sown — approx. $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres) but the average could be one *amuna*. The minimum necessary for the sustenance of such a family would be approximately $\frac{1}{2}$ an *amuna* (or 2 *pelas* of high yielding, say 1: 10) land as a service tenure holding.
- (61) S. Arasaratnam, p. 217; T. Abeyasinghe, *Prutugreeseen saha Lankawa*, p. 102.
- (62) *The toambo of the Two Korales* records that in 1622 of 2742 *amunas* of paddy land only 925 were cultivated. Comparable depopulation occurred in the Seven Korales in the first two decades of the seventeenth century but not in most other areas.
- (63) This figure appears most likely on working back from the number of converts in Portuguese times. The estimate of the population of Jaffna in the mid-sixteenth century range from 30,000 to 200,000 (Pieris and Fitzler, pp. 97, 102, 107, 126.)
- (64) The region from Matale south eastwards to Bintenna was forested and inhabited mainly by Veddah hunters (*Matale Maha Disava Kodaim Pota* ed. by Dom Luis Wiyajamantri Goonastilleke. Moratuwa, 1931 *passim*) Much of the rugged highland in the south west of the kingdom was also uninhabited.
- (65) An early seventeenth century Portuguese document listed the following as the income of the Tamil kings of Jaffna. 11,800 *patacas* of five *larins* each *pataca* in cash, 851 $\frac{1}{2}$ *candils* of grain and legumes of which 178 $\frac{1}{2}$ *candils* were paddy, gifts of bananas from all twice a year, all the oil, betel, butter and milk required for the palace and the revenue of all elephants caught for the king. (*AHU India caixa 2. doc. 246*).

the independence so recently won from Kotte and this might have proved difficult if Kotte had not been rent by internal strife. In any case Jaffna was forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the south Indian empire of Vijayanagara early in the sixteenth century and for sometime afterwards remained more or less a part of the south Indian political framework. This was perhaps why the Portuguese used the term *Ceilão* to denote that part of the island south of *Jaffnapatam* and Mannar.⁶⁶

This is however, not to deny the continued and perhaps even increased cultural intermingling between the Tamils of Jaffna and the people of south India on the one hand and the Sinhalese of Kotte on the other. Migratory movements from south India to Kotte continued well into the seventeenth century as evidenced by the *Irugalbandaravaliya*.⁶⁷ The migrants were often skilled men who were welcomed as settlers by the rulers of Kotte, themselves partially descended from such newcomers. They are known to have gained positions of great prominence—a good example being that of Arittakivendu Perumal who rose to be a powerful official in Sitawaka.⁶⁸ In 1615 Vaz Freire recorded that the *olas* relating to the port of Alutgama were written in the Malavar language.⁶⁹ The Tamilicised place names found in de Almeida's register gives further credence to this impression of their penetration into official positions.⁷⁰ On the other hand, this development does not seem to have inhibited the efflorescence of Sinhalese literature which marked the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The lack of even approximate revenue⁷¹ and population figures relating to Kandy makes it difficult to assess the Kotte-Kandyan relations in terms of the economic strength of the two powers involved but it is clear from all the evidence available that *Kande Uda Rata* as Kandy was called, was by far the weaker of the two and generally on the defensive. If the conflict between the south western plains and the central highland's did form a continuous theme in the history of this period, the issue

(66) Paulo de Trindade III, p. 60; D. de Silva, *passim*.

(67) A Sinhalese book of events or *Vittipotha* describing the arrival and settlement of a group of migrants. (University of Ceylon Library, Peradeniya Sinhalese manuscript 3.7.420).

(68) T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 14.

(69) P. E. Pieris, *The Ceylon Littoral*, 1593 p. 47.

(70) See below pp. 50-52, 66-7, 69.

(71) Fernão de Queyroz's (p. 69) estimate that the annual revenue of the highland kingdom exceeded 200,000 *xerafims* is so exaggerated that it is of no real value. The best contemporary description of Kandy is that given by Andre de Souza in a letter to King João III of Portugal dated 20th December 1545 . . . *The kingdom of Kandy lies in the middle of the island of Ceilão and is thirty leagues in length on all its boundaries. It is fifteen leagues from the nearest point of the kingdom to the sea and thirty to the lugares. The country is fertile, which much food of all kinds; there is a lack of fish and salt when there is a war; they have everything else in abundance. The commercial products of the kingdom consisted of elephants, wax, araca and precious stones. It also produces much cinnamon. It has sufficient money because it spends little; It has precious stones in abundance and they are priced very low; for in his kingdom he has twelve gem fields from which they get gems which are sapphires, emeralds, cats eyes and rubies, small and good. The kingdom is to a great extent inhabited and the population is large. Of fighting men they have 20,000 and all use bows. They have no other arms . . .* Pieris and Fitzler, p. 117.

was merely the existence of the highlands as a separate political entity. This was threatened each time the lowlands were united under a single strong ruler.

Evidence from de Almeida's register appears equally valuable when we turn to a study of the administrative structure of Kotte under the Sinhalese monarchs. The register makes it clear that Kotte was divided up into a number of port authorities, forty *korales* and a few special areas. Some of these were administered by *disavas* — officials appointed by the king at pleasure — but *disavaships* did not cover the whole kingdom as they later did under the Portuguese. Only two regions are known to have had *disavas* in Sinhalese Kotte; the Five Korales which was governed by the *disava* of Denawaka and Dolosdas Korale ruled by the *disava* of Matara and Weligama.⁷² The *disavas* evidently had wide powers. De Almeida records that due to the unruly nature of the Five Korales its *disava* was always chosen from the royal house. The *disava* probably led the soldiers of his province in war, appointed subordinate officers within his area and allocated land (if and when available) to the king's subjects. He also had judicial powers⁷³ and in the time of the kings of Kotte was also perhaps responsible for the collection of revenue. Within each *korale* under the *disava* there was a *korale vidane* who was responsible for the administrative, judicial and revenue matters while a *mudaliyar* was in charge of military affairs. The *mudaliyars* were helped by company commanders (*aratchis*) while the *korale vidane* had the assistance of *atukorales*, *mohottalas*, *kanakapulles*, *liyannas*, *maninnas*⁷⁴ and various types of headmen.

Other areas were ruled by hereditary chieftains who had few obligations to their sovereign save the delivery of annual tribute and assistance in time of war. These chiefs, generally termed *Rajas* or kings were consulted by their overlord, the king of Kotte, in times of crisis and were allowed to live in their own provincial palaces with their retinue.⁷⁵ They thus possessed a considerable degree of autonomy⁷⁶ which generally varied depending on the power of the king of Kotte and the location of the principality. A good example of this type of domain was the Seven Korales which was ruled by a branch of the Kotte royal family. In the first half of the sixteenth century the Seven Korales were independent in all but name.⁷⁷ The increasing weakness

(72) Both mentioned by de Almeida. (See below p.) See also *Orientalist* Vol III, p. 194; *Ceylon Literary Register*, 3rd series, Vol. IV p. 426. It is possible that the *adikari* of Nuwarakalawiya (Mangul *korale*) was a official of similar standing.

(73) T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* pp. 70-74.

(74) The functions of the *atukorales* are not clear. The *mohottalas* and *kanakapulles* aided the *korale vidane* in maintaining land and revenue records. *Liyannas* were clerks and *manninnas*, measurers. Most Portuguese officials, including de Almeida, never really understood the intricacies of the Sinhalese system of administration and considered the proliferation of officials wasteful. See below p. 38.

(75) G. P. V. Somaratne, p. 115; *History of Ceylon*, Vol. I, Part II, p. 681.

(76) G. P. V. Somaratne, p. 321 argues that these *rajas* had very limited powers, but his position based on a rather literal interpretation of the *Rajavaliya* (pp. 50-61) is difficult to sustain.

(77) D. Teixeira writing to the Portuguese governor of India on 5th October 1545 says of the Seven Korales 'these *corlas* are districts which are not obedient to the king of Ceilam, nor to his brother but only to the one who gives them *fanams* . . .' (Pieris and Fitzler, p. 66).

of the kings of Kotte in this period was highlighted and in a sense fostered by the continual transformation of directly ruled areas into hereditary principalities. Another example of this development is seen in the case of Madampe which was successfully turned from a royal *gabadagama* into a virtually autonomous territory by prince Taniyavallabahu.⁷⁸ The use of royal princes as provincial rulers gave added impetus to this development. In the fifteenth century the Four Korales were usually ruled by the heir to the throne. In the reign of King Dharmaparakramabahu IX of Kotte at least four of his brothers and step-brothers ruled various parts of the kingdom.⁷⁹ The only saving grace was that when the *rajas* died without heirs or themselves became kings of Kotte these principalities reverted to be directly ruled areas.

De Almeida's register seems to indicate that there were some *korales* in Sinhalese Kotte which were not ruled either by *disavas* or by *rajas*. It may be presumed that in these areas the *korale vidane* was directly responsible to the royal court and treasury while the leader of the militia was under the orders of the king's commanders. Similar arrangements appear to have existed for two of the special areas — Bulatgama and Mahabadda. However, these entities appear to have been administered more as departments of state than as territorial units.⁸⁰

The machinery for the administration of the sea ports and the coastal areas cannot be set out clearly due to the lack of evidence. It is known that special officials were placed in charge of the sea coast as early as the thirteenth century. These must have been the *shahbandars* whose office is mentioned in the register of 1599. These officials apparently collected both the customs dues of the ports and the land revenues of the areas attached to them, and handed the proceeds to the treasury. They seem to have been paid by perquisites, possibly augmented by land grants.⁸¹

Seventeen different port areas are distinguished in the register of 1599 — namely Colombo (with Mutwal and Nagulugam ferry), Panadura, Kalutara (with Maggona), Beruwala, Alutgama, Induruwa, Galle (including Gintota), Weligama, Matara, Devundara, Walawe, Tangalla, Lewaya, Panama, Negombo, Kammala and Chilaw. The Sinhalese kings of Kotte possessed at least one more port, Puttalam.

De Almeida's informants apparently told him that in the time of the Sinhalese kings of Kotte, ten of these ports — those from Colombo to Devundara — were

(78) C. R. de Silva — Lancarote de Seixas and Madampe; A Portuguese casado in a Sinhalese village, *Modern Ceylon Studies* Vol. 2, No. 1' 1971, p. 28.

(79) G. P. V. Somaratne, pp. 313-315; *Rajavaliya* pp. 49-50. Taniyavallabahu at Madampe, Sakalalakalavallaba at Udugampola, Rajasinha at Menikkadawara, Vijayabahu at Rayigama and later at Menikkadawara.

(80) Unfortunately de Almeida does not record any information on the departmental structure (the *baddas*) of the Sinhalese administration except of course in the case of the *mahabaddas*. For background on *baddas* see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* pp. 72-73.

(81) However, these officials might have exercised functions only in the more important ports like Galle and Colombo for de Almeida's register also mentions that the revenues of Panadura were collected by a *vidane*.

placed under a special official called *disava panikkirala* and that this official had all the powers of the king to mete out justice save the power of death. However, it is not certain to what extent this information was based on a desire to justify and strengthen the position of *mudaliyar* Dom Fernando Samarakoon who had leased the whole area from Panadura to Devundara from the last king of Kotte and Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, captain general of Ceylon.⁸²

On the other hand the register of 1599 provides useful data on the development of two of the best known territorial units of Kotte the Seven Korales and the Four Korales. According to the register, the unit called the Seven Korales was in the sixteenth century really made up of seven *korales*—namely Hiriyala, Willi, Kurunegal, Dewamedi, Madure, Udugoda, and Asgiri. With the coming of Portuguese rule, the name Seven Korales was retained while other *korales* were added to it for reasons of administrative convenience. Thus the Alutkuru, Pitigal, Katugampola, Udapola and Mangul *korales* were all made parts of the *disava* of Seven Korales. In 1617 with the treaty of peace between the Portuguese and the Dutch, the Asgiriya and Udugoda *korales* were ceded to the highland kingdom. This is how the Seven Korales in Portuguese times came to contain ten *korales*.

The story of the Four Korales is similar. It originally consisted of the Kinigoda, Galboda, Paranakura and Mayadunu *korales*. In Portuguese times the Siyane, Hapitigam, Beligal and Handapanunu *korales* were merged with it while the Mayadunu *korale* apparently disappeared as a unit. However, not all administrative units survived the upheavals of the turn of the sixteenth century. The five Korales for instance and some of its constituent *korales* disintegrated in the warfare of the period and were replaced by new *korale* organizations.

(82) Dom Fernando Samarakoon was an extremely powerful Sinhalese noble whose eventual reward for his loyalty to the Portuguese was exile in India. For details see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* pp. 80-81. The information in de Almeida's register however, might well be correct. It is perhaps significant that the *Irugalbandarawaliya* reports that when Irugalbandara and his companions landed in Kotte in the reign of King Bhuvanekabahu they were accosted by a *panikki* veddah. (See University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, Sinhalese manuscripts 3.7.420). For reference to *dicava Vanicqarala* see p. 44.

TABLE II—ROYAL REVENUE FROM INLAND AREAS

Area	Revenue in early/mid sixteenth century in <i>fanams</i> excluding <i>gabadam</i>	Revenue in late sixteenth century in <i>fanams</i> excluding <i>gabadam</i>	Revenue of the <i>gabadam</i>
Alutkuru <i>korale</i>	20,000	20,000	128,876
Atakalan <i>korale</i>	15,000	18,000	39,156 (a)
Alutgam <i>korale</i>	10,000	12,000	3,540
Beligal <i>korale</i>	15,000	16,000	209,412
Bulatgama	—	—	40,000 (b)
Dehigampola <i>korale</i>	20,000	23,000	15,476
Dolosdas (including Walawe, Panama etc.)	180,000 (c)	270,000 (d)	226,782
Five <i>korales</i>	183,000	188,000	59,619
Four <i>korales</i>	45,000 (e)	50,000	287,740
Galu <i>korale</i>	25,000	30,000	276,709
Handapandunu <i>korale</i>	2,500	2,500 (e)	29,280
Hapitigam <i>korale</i>	8,000	10,000	50,105
Hewagam <i>korale</i>	6,000	7,500	68,100
Katugampola <i>korale</i>	20,000	25,000	334,080
Kukulu <i>korale</i>	6,000	8,000	49,836
Kuruwiti <i>korale</i>	15,000	18,000	16,224
Mangul <i>korale</i>	184,000 (c)	276,000 (d)	300,200 (f)
Morawak <i>korale</i>	10,000	13,000	75,520
Nawadun <i>korale</i>	12,000	15,000	13,680
Panaval <i>korale</i>	12,000	15,000	43,244
Pasdun <i>korale</i>	15,000	18,000 (e)	41,700 (g)
Pitigal <i>korale</i>	12,000	15,000	89,640
Rayigam <i>korale</i>	20,000	25,000	89,539
Salpiti <i>korale</i>	6,000	7,000	43,183
Seven <i>korales</i>	70,000	75,000 (e)	311,590
Siyane <i>korale</i>	25,000	25,000	168,258
Udapola <i>korale</i>	3,000	3,000 (e)	46,150
Walallawiti <i>korale</i>	15,000	18,000	41,700
	<u>954,500</u>	<u>1,203,000</u>	<u>3,105,594+</u>

- (a) In addition there were 1000 measures of butter/ghee annually.
 (b) In addition there were 400,000 betal leaves monthly and also some arecanut.
 (c) Includes the sale price of twenty elephants received annually.
 (d) Includes the sale price of thirty elephants received annually.
 (e) My estimate—figures not given in the register of 1599.
 (f) In addition there were 60 elephant tusks, 200 pots of honey and 2900 pots of butter/ghee annually.
 (g) Other evidence in the register suggests that the total annual royal revenue of Pasdun *korale* was over 90,000 *fanams*.

(N.B. The following equivalents were used in converting revenue in kind to cash estimates:—1 elephant = 500 *xerafims*; 1 *yala* of paddy = 20 *xerafims*; 1 *amuna* of arecanut = 4 *xerafims*; 1 measure of pepper = 1 *fanam*; 15 coconuts = 1 *fanam*; 1 *xerafim/pardão* = 3 *larins*; 1 *larin* = 6 *fanams*).

TABLE III—ROYAL REVENUE FROM SEA PORTS AND COASTAL AREAS

Port/Area	Port revenue in fanams	Land revenue in fanams	Total revenue in fanams
Chilaw	?	?	45,000
Kammala	25,000	7,200	32,000
Negombo	?	?	60,000
Colombo	?	?	40,000
Panadura	?	?	20,000
The two coconut plantations			
Maggonna with Kalutara	?	?	25,000
Beruwala			
Alutgama	?	?	30,000
Induruwa			
Welitara and the mahabadda	?	?	40,000
Gintota	?	1,500	1,500
Galle	15,000	25,000	40,000
Weligama	30,000	20,000	50,000
Devundara	?	60,000	60,000 +
Walawe with Lewaya and Panama	?	?	15,000
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	?	?	458,500 +

TABLE IV — BREAKDOWN OF REVENUE RECEIVED FROM ROYAL VILLAGES INTO CASH / KIND

Area	Cash revenue in fanams	Paddy in yalas	Arecanut in amunu	Pepper in measures	Other
Alutkuru korale(a)	28,900	200	38	150	400,000 coconuts, 32 pingos of fish, 18 pingos of oil
Atakalan korale	6,900	88	93	—	160 axes etc. 210 mam-moties, 5740 ingots of iron, 1000 measures ghee, jaggery
Alutkuru korale	300	8	5	—	—
Beligal korale(b)	9,900	521	166	—	—
Bulatgama	40,000	—	375(c)	—	4,800,000 betel leaves
Dehigampola korale	23,000	32	23	—	—
Dolosdas korale(d)	35,000	272	81	—	—
Five Korales	19,300	102	49	—	1000 coconuts and 30 elephants
Four Korales	24,050	595	670	1,300	60 red mats
Galu korale	170,000	766	152	105	—
Handapandunu korale	2,800	71	25	120	—
Hapitigam korale	8,300	109	48	—	1,550 ingots of iron
Hewagam korale	7,700	139	5	30	150,000 coconuts
Katugampola korale	63,000	753	—	—	—
Kukulu korale	2,100	49	18	—	—
Kuruwiti korale(e)	4,200	32	7	—	—
Mangul korale	23,000	770	—	—	60 elephant tusks 200 pots of honey of 6/7 measures & 2900 measures of butter/ghee
Morawak korale	10,600	147	—	—	—
Nawadun korale	1,900	38	—	—	—
Panaval korale	5,300	88	72	—	500 balls of jaggery & 60-70 xerafims worth coconuts
Pasdun korale	5,700	240	180	300	—
Pitigal korale	45,500	124	—	—	2000 ingots of iron, 3 amunas of mung, 38 amunas of nacheni.
Rayigam korale	28,400	156	65	299	—
Salpiti korale	5,650	100	19	165	30,000 coconuts 19 mats
Seven Korales	18,700	812	—	—	—
Siyane korale	31,300	243	124	—	63,000 coconuts
Udapola korale	3,650	118	—	—	—
Walallawiti korale	20,800	72	17	—	—

- (a) Revenue of twenty of the forty two *gabadagam* in this *korale* were not taken into account due to lack of data.
- (b) Revenue of eight villages excluded for lack of data.
- (c) T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 154.
- (d) Revenue of lands annexed to Dolosdas *korale* amounted to a further 100,000 fanams.
- (e) Only three of the ten *gabadagam* of Kuruwiti *korale* are taken into account here. No details are known of the rest.

Perhaps the most valuable contribution of the register of 1599 is the light it throws on the economic conditions of the south west lowlands of Ceylon in the sixteenth century. It is apparent that the vast majority of people in Kotte were engaged in farming. This was not only because the *goyigama* or cultivator caste formed a majority of the population. Even those of other castes such as washermen (*rajakayo*) tom-tom beaters (*berawayo*), potters (*badahalayo*) cinnamon peelers (*kurunuwali*) and smiths (*navandanna*) often cultivated extents of paddy land for subsistence purposes.⁸³ This was probably because the small size of villages in sixteenth century Kotte prevented those of non-farming castes from making a living from their traditional occupations alone.

The main crop cultivated was rice, the staple food of the people. Problems relating to rice cultivation varied from area to area. In the region between Galle and Negombo, the rainfall was generally adequate and indeed in some areas even excessive for rice cultivation, but both to the north and the south of this region, lower rainfall made necessary the storing of water for use in irrigation. A number of major tanks and irrigation works supplied this need in the south while the Portuguese sources indicate that some of the great reservoirs built by the Sinhalese in the north central regions of Ceylon were still in use in the sixteenth century.⁸⁴

In most parts of Kotte apparently only one crop of rice was grown annually, for villages where two crops were grown are specifically mentioned in de Almeida's register.⁸⁵ The use of cattle and/or buffaloes in agriculture is attested to by Portuguese records but yields were generally low ranging from about five-fold in the hilly areas to eleven-fold or more in the richer lowlands.⁸⁶

The income of the cultivator therefore varied according to the number of crops cultivated, the extent of land sown and the yield. It also depended on the type of tenure under which the land was held.⁸⁷ As far as the cultivator's income was concerned there were three chief types of tenure— service tenure, *otu* and *ande*. Service tenure land was land held in return for service currently rendered. The holder of such land was therefore entitled to its total produce but obliged to render specific services to the king or the village-holder for as long as he held the land. The other two types of tenure were less advantageous to the cultivator. They were really forms of lease hold. *Otu* land in sixteenth century Kotte involved the obligation to give to the village holder either the grain equivalent of the sowing capacity of the field or double this

(83) For instance see Vaz Freire's registers (*AHU codice* 280, 484) and *Modern Ceylon Studies*, Vol. 2 No. 1 1971 pp. 26-27. For background information on caste in Ceylon see Bryce Ryan, *Caste in modern Ceylon*, New Jersey, 1953.

(84) Paulo da Trindade III p. 11; *History of Ceylon, Vol. I part II*, pp. 718-720.

(85) For example Weragoda, Wenawattha and Dedigamuwa in the Hewagam' *korale*.

(86) *AHU codice* 484 ff. 7v, 11v-12, 512v-513 give the following information— Ambepussa —10 fold, Dorawaka 12 fold, Miniduma 5 fold.

(87) For information on land tenure in Ceylon see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, Chapter V, and H. W. Codrington, *Ancient land tenure and revenue in Ceylon*.

amount⁸⁸. *Ande* was even more disadvantageous to the cultivator. When the produce of the *ande* field was harvested a small portion near the watch hut (*peldora*) was left uncut to compensate the farmer for the arduous task of guarding the ripening crop. From the rest, a quantity was set aside for seed paddy (*aswadduma*). The rest was divided equally between the cultivator and the village holder.⁸⁹

With the depopulation of the lowlands in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries *ande* tenure became relatively rare but obviously it would have covered a considerably larger extent of land in the mid-sixteenth century. Unfortunately de Almeida's register does not provide us with any new information in this respect. Nor indeed does it provide data on trade in rice but other contemporary sources seem to suggest that despite the large extent of land set aside for rice cultivation, the countryside did not produce a surplus sufficient to feed the capital and coastal settlements.⁹⁰ Imports however, probably formed a fraction of the local production.

Rice was supplemented by dry grains such as green peas (*mung*), gingelly (*tala*), *amu*, *meneri* and *kurakkan*. These were grown mostly in jungle clearings (or *chenas*) on the northern and southern regions of Kotte, but were also regularly cultivated in fields in some areas. De Almeida's register records that, of the sixteen villages held by the king in Pitigal *korale*, three had fields of dry grains amounting to a total of 43 *amunas*. The *Gira Sandesaya*, a contemporary Sinhalese poem, refers to the cultivation of *undu*, *mung* and *tala*.⁹⁰ The people of Kotte also supplemented their diet with the produce of the many luxuriant trees that grew in the area. Of these, two, *jak* and *kitul*, played an important part in the lives of the people. The former provided cheap and plentiful food for the needy villager and this perhaps accounts for the opposition the Portuguese faced in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in their

(88) *AHU codice* 280 and 484 *passim*.

(89) Fernão de Queyroz p. 1017.

(90) T. Abeyasinghe, *Prtugreeseen Saha Lankawa*, p. 100 argues that since no source mentions the import of rice into lowland Ceylon at the beginning of the sixteenth century, it may be assumed that this region was self sufficient in rice at the arrival of the Portuguese. He has however overlooked travellers accounts. Although these are not always reliable they are surprisingly unanimous on this point. Duarte Barbosa (*The book of Duarte Barbosa* trans. & ed. by M. L. Dames. London, 1921 p. 167) says, '... rice is brought from the Coromandel ...'; Ludovicio de Varthelma (*The travels of Ludovico de Varthelma in Egypt, Syria, Arabia deserta, Arabia felix, in Persia, India and Ethiopia AD1503-1508* trans. by J. W. Jones and ed. by G. P. Badger. London, 1863. p. 192) states that '... Rice comes (to Ceylon) from the mainland ...'; Magini (quoted in the *Ceylon Literary Register 3rd series*, Vol. IV p. 51) maintains '... there is not much rice but it is bought from the country of the Coromandel ...'. Pyrard (*The voyage of Francis Pyrard of Laval to the East Indies, Maldives and Brazil*, trans. by Albert Grey. London, 1888 p. 142) asserts that rice was imported from Bengal. In addition Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo writing to the king of Portugal on 8th November 1579 reported that all rice and food stuffs came to Kotte by sea (*As Gavetas do Torre de Tombo*, Vol. V. Lisbon, 1964 p. 142). The evidence for a net rice-importing economy is not conclusive for the rice trade in the Indian ocean was sophisticated enough for some varieties to be imported while others were shipped abroad. However there is no evidence of rice exports from Kotte.

(91) *Gira Sandesaya* ed. M. Kumaranatunga, Colombo, 1963 stanza 86. *Tala* is also referred to in the *Hamsa Sandesaya*, ed. K. G. B. Wickremasinghe. Colombo, 1952 stanza 156 and *Paravi Sandesaya*, ed. A. Sabihela. Colombo, 1967, stanza 106.

attempts to cut down these trees to use their timber for shipbuilding and furniture.⁹² The *kitul* palm, apart from being a source of intoxicating liquor was also valued as a source of jaggery.⁹³ In some areas jaggery was produced on an extensive scale. The *gabada* village of Deraniyagala in the Panawal *korale* was obliged to deliver five hundred balls of jaggery to the treasury each year. The talipot palm, a tree akin to *kitul* and coconut, which played such a vital part in the economy of Jaffna was little known in most of Kotte, though it appears to have thrived around Mantotā.

Kotte also produced a variety of fruits and vegetables. The Portuguese historian Castenheda was particularly struck by the sweetness of Ceylon oranges.⁹⁴ Among other fruits favourably remarked upon by writers were mangoes, limes and pineapples.⁹⁵ Pyrard writing on Ceylon commented '... as to the fruits they have a taste and flavour such that none so excellent are to be found on all the Indies...' ⁹⁶ Fruits and vegetables formed part of the income enjoyed by village holders in Kotte. The holder of Dewatampitiya in the Beligal *korale* was entitled to two *amunas* of vegetables worth four *larins*. The holder of Arandora in the same *korale* obtained a like amount.⁹⁷

Milk and dairy products are also recorded among items of food in sixteenth century Kotte. The Sinhalese sources generally distinguish between the cattle used chiefly for draught purposes and milk production from bullocks used chiefly in agriculture.⁹⁸ The Portuguese sources, including the register of 1599 unfortunately fail to make this distinction. However, the evidence in the register makes it clear that there was a distinct group of herdsmen (*gopallo*) whose task it was to manage large herds of cattle.⁹⁹ These herdsmen lived in lands allotted to them and in exchange supplied animals to the state for the transport of food or for agricultural purposes as was required. For example de Almeida found that the herdsmen of Mandalagama in the Kinigoda *korale* were obliged to supply four hundred bulls in the king's service. Those of another village in the same *korale* had to supply a further one hundred. Some herdsmen were required to spend some part of their time serving with the pack-bulls belonging to the king.¹⁰⁰ Others worked in the king's *kiri patti* or dairies. The rulers of Kotte are known to have possessed six *patti* in the Atakalan *korale* yielding about seven hundred and fifty measures of ghee¹⁰¹ annually.

(92) Pieris and Fitzler, doc. I; *Biblioteca da Evora CXVII/2-3; CV/2-7* ff. 58. 61v; Fernão de Queyroz p. 77.

(93) jaggery — a form of sugar obtained from the secretions of the *kitul* or coconut palm. Sugar cane also grew in Ceylon though it was also imported from Bengal. (Barbosa p. 167, Jayawardane and Perera p. 140).

(94) Fernão Lopes de Castanheda, *Historia do descobrimentos e conquistada Índia pelos Portugueses*. Coimbra, 1921 Vol. II p. 259.

(95) Pyrard p. 142; Barbosa p. 167; *Gira Sandesaya*, stanza 76.

(96) Pyrard p. 141.

(97) *AHU* 484 ff. 43, 53.

(98) *Hamsa Sandesaya*, stanzas 73, 122, 150, 151.

(99) It is not known to what extent individual farmers owned oxen but the average cost of a ox (being four *larins*) was not beyond the reach of an average farmer. (*AHU codice* 484 f. 53).

(100) *AHU codice* 484 f. 53.

(101) De Almeida's register uses the word *manteiga* = butter, but it is likely that the product was ghee.

The balance of evidence seems to be in favour of the view that the consumption of meat — especially beef — was at a very low level in Kotte, possibly due to religious susceptibilities.¹⁰² Even the number of fishermen in Kotte seems small in comparison with the total population, though the indications are that there was a wide-spread consumption of salted fish.¹⁰³ Ma Huan writing in the fifteenth century gives a picture of a well-fed people '... they take no meals without butter and milk ; if they have none and wish to eat they do so unobserved and in private ...'¹⁰⁴ Two centuries of war and devastation made the picture less rosy. By the early seventeenth century the common food of the people was boiled rice with a piece of salted fish.¹⁰⁵

Dr. T. Abeyasinghe referring to early seventeenth century Ceylon states that '... the coconut palm had already become an important crop, second only to paddy in the coastal belt from Madampe to Weligama ...'¹⁰⁶ In the sixteenth century coconut cultivation was probably less extensive but the available evidence suggests that the same observation could be made even for the early sixteenth century. The kings of Kotte owned extensive coconut plantations. Rajasinha of Sitawaka is known to have possessed at least three—one in Panawal *korale* and two along the coast south of Panadura. In addition the state obtained coconuts as dues from private sources. This impost called *pol aya* was by no means uniform throughout Kotte.¹⁰⁷ Generally every ten coconut palms paid an annual tax of one fanam. However there were exceptions. When the king granted land with coconut trees standing, the *pol aya* was doubled.¹⁰⁸ If Vaz Friere is to be believed the dues in Madampe in the days of the kings of Kotte amounted to one third of the produce of the trees apart from an additional duty of one nut per tree to provide coconut oil for the village holder.¹⁰⁹ It was only after the Portuguese occupation of Kotte that the tax was made a uniform one.

The Portuguese registers suggest that most farmers, once they paid the *pol aya* had little more than what was necessary for subsistence.¹¹⁰ Coconut therefore did not rival arecanut as a medium of barter or as a source of cash income for the villager. On the other hand, the products of the tree were of great utility to the peasant. It provided him with building materials, food and drink. Rope made from coconut

(102) See discussion in A. K. Jayawardane and A. A. Perera, pp. 138-140. See also footnote lxii p. 73 below.

(103) P. E. Pieris, *The Ceylon littoral*, *passim*.

(104) *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* Vol. XXIV, p. 86.

(105) Fernão de Queyroz p. 86.

(106) T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* p. 174.

(107) As Abeyasinghe claims it was. (T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 174).

(108) '... E coando el Rey dava algua te Ra q tinha ja palmras pagava de foro dobrado q era cada dez palmras dous fanoes ...'

(109) P. E. Pieris, *The Ceylon littoral*, 1593, p. 10.

(110) What surplus he had was reduced by *pingo* dues. Many villages had to pay *pingo* load (usually of coconuts and rice) to the *vidane* and the village holder. For an explanation of *pingo* dues see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, pp. 175-177. Others had to pay dues in coconut oil. For example de Almeida recalled that the people of the Alutkuru *korale* had to pay eighteen *pingos* of coconut oil to the king.

fibre was used to make fishing nets and there is little doubt that along the coast rope making became a profitable secondary occupation although some rope might also perhaps have been imported from the Maldivian islands. For the rulers and even many village holders however, coconut was an important source of revenue. A substantial amount of coconut was exported,¹¹¹ the export duty being fixed at one nut in ten.¹¹²

While coconut cultivation was largely concentrated on the coastal belt, that of arecanut extended much further inland. Also at this time, partly due to the proportionately lower consumption among villagers and partly due to the absence of a tax on it, arecanut became an extremely valuable source of revenue to the farmer. The farmers often exchanged arecanuts for cloth, salt¹¹³ and saltfish brought by itinerant traders to the villages. These trades in turn conveyed the arecanut to the sea ports where they sold it to others who handled the export of the product. The fact of export of arecanut is well attested. Pyrard remarked that arecanut '... grows in such abundance that all India is furnished thence and a great traffic is carried on to all parts, for whole ships are laden with it for conveyance elsewhere . . .'¹¹⁴ Complete figures of export are not available. De Almeida's register records that the 1600 amunas of arecanut were exported from Galle and 1500 amunas from Weligama. These figures however might well have included Kandyan arecanut, for products of Kandy often found their way to the south-western ports.

The state gained revenue from arecanut in two ways. In the first place there were imposts on the export of arecanut. Traders bringing arecanut into a seaport area had to pay a tenth share to the king. Exporters had to pay an additional levy of four *larins* per *amuna*.¹¹⁵ Secondly there was the *kotikkabadda* on arecanut collected from the royal villages. By the time of Portuguese rule this had dwindled into insignificance¹¹⁶ but as Dr. Abeyasinghe correctly surmised it was much more important earlier. Even as late as 1599 de Almeida could trace that at least 2234 *amunas* of arecanut were due to the state from royal villages and he firmly believed that the amount had been far greater in the time of the Sinhalese kings of old.¹¹⁷

(111) Gaspar Correa states that when Dom Lourenço de Almeida arrived in Ceylon he found traders loading coconuts. (*Ceylon Literary Register 3rd series* Vol. IV 1935 p. 146). Barros says of Ceylon '... it has many large palm groves which is the best inheritance of those parts; because, besides its fruit being the common fruit called the coco, there is here great loading for many parts.' (JCBRAS XX p. 35).

(112) P. E. Pieris, *The Ceylon Littoral*, 1593, p. 50.

(113) The salt necessary for Kotte was produced in the Lewaya region — east of the Walawe ganga.

(114) Pyrard, p. 141.

(115) Calculated at the rate of seven *fanams* = one *larin*.

(116) C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon*, p. 207; T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 154.

(117) '... A avqª tambem foy trato do Rey, ja teRas q dao muita cantidade de q thegora os grandes se lograram sera bom aRende dela q coRende por hua mão sempre importara cada ano mil xes de Rendimto e dizem q mto mais ...'

The product for which Ceylon was widely known at this time however was not coconut or arecanut but cinnamon. In the early sixteenth century the production and trade in cinnamon was apparently controlled by the king of Kotte.¹¹⁸ Gaspar Correa, a sixteenth century Portuguese writer described how the cinnamon collection was organised, in the following words.

*... The people who cut and gather it are a kind of labourers who give the landlord a certain number of bundles and the landlord causes it to be delivered to the king's collectors who with their clerks demand from each landlord the number of bundles which he is obliged to give, which is done in perfect order and if the king wishes for more cinnamon than they are obliged to give, the king pays them a certain sum for every hundred bundles, though it is but little. These bundles vary from eighteen to twenty to a quintal. And this delivered at the port of Colombo where the king has a large house in which it is put and thence sold by the king's factors . . .*¹¹⁹ While Correa's account shows that the king was involved in the cinnamon trade the work of Duarte Barbosa provides more specific evidence on his control of it.

*... the king of the country orders it to be out in small sticks and has the bark stripped off in certain months of the year and sells it himself to the merchants who go there to buy it because no one can gather it except the king. . . .*¹²⁰

Fr. Fernão de Queyroz writing in the second half of the seventeenth century claimed that *... cinnamon had always been a Royalty in Ceylon . . .*¹²¹ This seems to be supported to by contemporary evidence. On 19th February 1612, the king of Portugal in a letter to the viceroy noted that he had been informed that dealing in cinnamon had been forbidden to the people by royal order and ancient custom.¹²² Castenheda's remark that the people of the lowlands collect cinnamon and sell it at a low price might be construed as evidence against the royal monopoly, but Castenheda himself reports that in 1568 Nuno Vaz Pereira was unable to purchase cinnamon as the king of Kotte was against it, thus implying some degree of control over the trade by the king.¹²³ Furthermore it is known that on 15th October 1533 Bhuvanakabahu VII, king of Kotte, signed a contract with the Portuguese in which he promised to deliver to them the total amount of cinnamon produced in his kingdom at a fixed price.¹²⁴

(118) This concept was challenged by me in a seminar paper entitled *'Some comments on the political and economic conditions in the kingdom of Kotte in the early sixteenth century'* (Ceylon Studies Seminar 69/70 series No. 10) I have revised my opinion after finding new data on the subject during my visit to Portuguese archives in 1971.

(119) *Ceylon Literary Register 3rd series* Vol. IV, p. 152.

(120) Barbosa p. 167.

(121) I have quoted Dr. Abeyasinghe's translation of the words. (T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* p. 143) *... como a canela em Ceilão foi sempre Regalia . . .* [Fernão de Queyroz — *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceilão*. Colombo, 1916 p. 728].

(122) *... que esta droga foi sempre n'ella defesa ao poro por regimento e antigo costume . . .* (*Documentos Remmittidos da India ou Livros das Moncoes* Vol. II Lisbon, 1886, p. 151).

(123) Castenheda, Vol. II pp. 259, 419.

(124) *ANTT Corpo Chronologico Part I Maco*, 51 Doc. 96.

He could hardly have done this without control over the total production. Finally Rajasinha of Sitawaka is said to have burnt some of the cinnamon so that the rest would fetch a better price—clearly the action of a monopolist.¹²⁵

On the other hand there is some evidence that does not fit into this theory of royal control of cinnamon production. Portuguese documents indicate that even after the reconquest of Kotte, King Dharmapala's only connection with cinnamon production was that one hundred *bahars* were delivered to him free of charge.¹²⁶ It is significant that when this monarch requested the Portuguese authorities permission to export a quantity of cinnamon he did not refer to any monopolistic rights on cinnamon pertaining to the king of Kotte.¹²⁷ Perhaps only the discovery of further evidence would settle this question for us.

To the cinnamon peelers the spice trade certainly brought some benefits. They were obliged to supply a stipulated quantity of cinnamon free to the king in lieu of the land they held. For amounts of cinnamon collected over and above this quantity they were paid a gratuity. Gaspar Correa reported that five *bahars* of four *quintals* each, could be purchased for one gold *Portuguez* in 1507, though a few pages earlier in his book he does mention a much higher price—one *cruzado* per *bahar*.¹²⁸ In 1533 Bhuvnekabahu promised to sell good cinnamon at five *bahars* per *Portuguez* and the coarser variety at eight *bahars* for a *Portuguez*.¹²⁹ In view of the high price of cinnamon in Europe and the excessive profits of the merchants this seems little indeed. The price paid to the producer however improved with time and by 1593 he was obtaining about two *xerafims* per *bahar*.¹³⁰

De Almeida's register gives a glimpse of the growth of the cinnamon peeling community. Apparently in the early sixteenth century cinnamon peeling was confined to the *salagama* people of the *mahabadda*—this was described by de Almeida as '... *das partes de Caleture, Belitota e gale* . . .' The register makes it clear that the desire of the Portuguese under de Azevedo to increase cinnamon production made them order the wood cutters and the *pannayas* to join in the peeling of cinnamon.

(125) Duarte Gomes Solis — *Discursos sobre los comercios de las dos Indias donde se tratem materias importantes de Estado e guerra* (1622) ed. Moses B. Amzalak, Lisbon, 1942 p. 178.

(126) *AHU Caixa 6 10.11.1618 A bahar* in Ceylon = 3 *quintals* and was somewhat under 400 lbs, but there were variations. See for example pp. 51-52 below.

(127) *ANTT Manuscritos da Livraria* 1109 p. 48; *AHU Codice* 281 f. 302; *Documentacao para a historia das missoes pardoado Portugues do Oriente — Insulindia*, Vol. I (1580-1585) ed. Arthur Basilio de Sa, Lisbon, 1958. p. 38.

(128) *Ceylon Literary Register*, 3rd series, Vol. IV pp. 152, 156.

(129) *ANTT Corpo Chronologico Part I. Maco* 51 Doc. 96.

(130) D. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, Chicago, 1965 Vol. I p. 110 says that cinnamon bought for $3\frac{1}{2}$ *ducats* a hundred weight in 1505 in India was sold at Lisbon for 25 *ducats* a hundred weight. Girolamo Sernigi mentions that the price of cinnamon at Cochin was double that in Ceylon. (*Girolamo Sernigi's first letter to a gentleman at Florence*, 1499 in *JCBRAS* p. 322; *Documentos Remittidos da India* Vol. IV. p. 241).

This process was continued by the Portuguese authorities during the first half of the seventeenth century.¹³¹

De Almeida's register unfortunately does not give us information on some significant economic activities in Kotte. One such example is shipbuilding and the production of naval stores. This activity had gone on for a long time before the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon and probably owed much to the need to refit Arab and Indian ships which called at the ports of Kotte. Gaspar Correa reports that when Lourenco de Almeida arrived at Colombo in the early sixteenth century, he found ships loading masts, yards and planks for Ormuz.¹³² Soon after, when a storm broke the main yard of Nuno Vaz Pereira's ship which was sailing to India he returned to Colombo for repairs.¹³³ In 1510 Diogo Lopez de Sequira is reported to have come to Colombo careened his ship and repaired it before returning to Portugal.¹³⁴

However, there is little doubt that shipbuilding activities increased with the advent of the Portuguese. Many Portuguese intent on making money by piracy or trade made arrangements to construct sailing vessels in Ceylon. This led to some friction with the local people for the best source of timber available in south-west Ceylon—the jak tree—was also prized by the Sinhalese as a source of food. The Sinhalese are said to have refused to let these trees be felled¹³⁵ and the problem reached such proportions that king Bhuvencabahu of Kotte complained to the king of Portugal in 1541 regarding the unauthorized felling of trees.¹³⁶ This had little effect and a half century later his grandson was requesting a complete ban on shipbuilding.¹³⁷

It appears that while only smaller coasting vessels had been constructed in the fifteenth century, the Portuguese began making ships of larger dimensions. Vidiye Bandara after his break with the Portuguese in the 1550's is said to have burnt '... a fine ship that was already finished on the stocks...' ¹³⁸ The Portuguese were quite satisfied with the shipbuilding facilities in Ceylon. Dom Antonio de Noronha wrote to the king of Portugal on 16th January 1551 as follows—

'... it (Ceylon) contains an abundance of timber of every kind for building naos and large navios and plenty of masta and yards for all the galleys one wants, iron as

(131) On the organization of cinnamon peeling and the cinnamon peelers see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, pp. 136-140.

(132) *Ceylon Literary Register*, 3rd series Vol. IV p. 146.

(133) JCBRAS XX p. 25.

(134) *Ceylon Literary Register* 3rd series Vol. IV p. 158.

(135) Fernão de Queyroz pp. 1025, 1029.

(136) Schurhammer and Voretzch, Vol. I p. 103.

(137) ANTT *Manuscritos de Livraria* 1109 p. 48 also Fernão de Queyroz p. 77. '... the Portuguese used to make many pinnaces in Ceylon because, as there are so many rivers that flow into the sea, it is very easy to bring down timber ...'

(138) JCBRAS, XX p. 161.

*much as you wish, an abundance of resin and coir, apart from the fact that it is close to the Islands of Maldiva from where it comes in large quantities . . .*¹³⁹

Rajasinha of Sitawaka was the only contemporary Sinhalese monarch who attempted to turn these resources to his advantages by building a fleet of ships.¹⁴⁰ When Kotte fell into Portuguese hands at the end of the sixteenth century, ship-building continued apace despite Sinhalese protests.¹⁴¹

As de Noronha mentioned, iron was plentiful in Kotte. De Almeida's register records that the crown obtained iron and iron implements from the Pitigal and Atakalan *korales*. Iron mining was by no means confined to these areas. A seventeenth century document indicates that iron producing villages included Indigala and Akaragama in the Seven Korales and Opanayake, Kosgoda, Nugadanda and Atulugama in Sabaragamuwa as well as other villages two of which were located in the Pasdun and Djosdas *korales* respectively.¹⁴² Another document of the seventeenth century suggests that the iron producing areas had been organized as a separate department (*badda*) directly responsible to the king's treasury in the days of the Sinhalese kings.¹⁴³ This situation seem to have changed by the seventeenth century for Vaz Freire's register indicates that smiths were subjected to the authority of the territorial administration. It should perhaps be noted that besides those of the iron producing villages, each sizeable village had a blacksmith who produced implements to meet the needs of the villages.

A comparison of the obligations of the foundry workers as recorded in the register of 1599 with those in later Portuguese records, gives a clue as to the effects of the impact of the Portuguese on the iron industry. Soon after the arrival of the Westerners the local craftsmen learnt new skills. Though muskets were probably known in Ceylon before the sixteenth century there is no mention of their manufacture in the island before the arrival of the Portuguese. By the 1530's the forces of Sitawaka were using both muskets and smallfield artillery.¹⁴⁴ The Sinhalese had swiftly become adept at their manufacture.¹⁴⁵ Couto later remarked of Ceylon that '*. . . it has many makers of arms, chiefly firelocks which are made the best in the whole of*

(139) Pieris and Fitzler, p. 240.

(140) *JCBRAS*, XX pp. 275, 297-298, 324-326, 330-331, 344.

(141) *Biblioteca da Evora*, CV/2-7 ff. 58-60; Queyroz, 1027, 1038, 1041; *Documentes Remstidos* Vol. III. p. 61; *ANTT Livros das Moncoes* 45 ff. 71-71v.

(142) *ANTT Livros das Moncoes* 45 f. 354.

(143) *ANTT Livros das Moncoes* 45 ff. 71-71v.

(144) Pieris and Fitzler, pp. 40, 77.

(145) It is possible that some of the know-how came from the Muslims and the forces of the Samudri of Calicut but the passage in Couto's work suggests that the Portuguese were chiefly responsible. '*. . . at that time there was not a single fire lock in the whole island and after we entered it with the continual use of war that we made on them, they became so dextrous as they are today and came to cast the best and the handsomest artillery in the world and to make the finest fire locks and better than ours . . .*' (*JCBRAS*, XX p. 72).

India . . .¹⁴⁶ Pyrard concurred ' . . . they make all sorts of arms such as arquebuses, swords, pikes and bucklers which are the best and the most valued in the Indies . . .'¹⁴⁷ Connected with this development was the shift in emphasis from the production of agricultural implements to those of war.¹⁴⁸ The effects were detrimental to agriculture and by the seventeenth century, the shortage of blacksmiths as well as their preoccupation with the manufacture of arms eventually forced the Portuguese to import agricultural implements.

Two well known exports of Kotte were elephants and precious stones. Elephants could be caught and tamed only on the king's account and only the king could possess them in Kotte.¹⁴⁹ However, merchants could purchase them for export. Barros is lavish in his praise of the Ceylon elephant ' . . . its elephants of which a good number are bred are those with the best instinct in the whole of India and because they are notably the most tameable and the handsomest they are worth much . . .'¹⁵⁰ Other Portuguese writers echo these praises.¹⁵¹ Elephants caught in the hunt were tamed¹⁵² and then sold for export to Cambaya, Bijapur, the Malabar coast, the Vijayanagara and Bengal.¹⁵³ Especially on the east coast of India the Ceylon elephant had to compete with those of Pegu and Arakkan. There are some indications that elephants exported to areas around the Bay of Bengal were taken overland to Jaffna and sold there.

The register of 1599 reveals that the areas where elephants were hunted lay chiefly in the northern and southern extremities of the kingdom of Kotte—the Mangul korale and Dolosdas korale¹⁵⁴ It also indicates that the sovereign of Kotte was entitled to fifty elephants and sixty elephant tusks annually from the areas covered by Kotte proper. The Ceylon elephants are said to have fetched prices ranging from six hundred and fifty to a thousand five hundred *xerafims* each in the early sixteenth century¹⁵⁵ but the prolonged conflict between the Portuguese and Sitawaka seem to have disrupted the export trade for most of the sixteenth century.

(146) *JCBRAS* XX p. 117.

(147) Pyrard, p. 142.

(148) See for example *AHU codice* 222 f. 168; *Documentos Remettidos* Vol. III, p. 54; *ANTT Livros das Moncoes* 45 ff. 354-357v; 40f. 288.

(149) In Jaffna this was not so. Trade was free and an export duty was levied on elephants.

(150) *JCBRAS* XX p. 35.

(151) For instances see Paulo da Trindade, Vol. III p. 174; *Documenta Ultramarina Portuguesa* Vol. I. Lisbon, 1960 pp. 296-297.

(152) For the organization of the elephant hunt see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* pp. 160-161; Castanheda Vol. II. p. 259 and Paulo de Trindade, Vol. II, pp. 18-19.

(153) *JCBRAS* XX pp. 22-23; Barbosa, pp. 167-168; Castanheda Vol. II. p. 259; Paulo da Trindade Vol. III. pp. 6, 19; *Ceylon Literary Register*, 3rd series Vol. IV. p. 146.

(154) De Almeida's register does not mention the Four Korales as a source of elephants but elephants were hunted there in later times. See T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* p. 160.

(155) Barbosa, p. 168; Castanheda (Vol. II. p. 259) gives a much higher estimate when he says elephants were sold by *covados* or cubits and the best were valued at 500 to 1000 *pardãos* of gold per cubit. This is in line with estimates found in Ribeiro (p. 149) and de Queyroz (73) but is much higher than the estimates generally accepted. See T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon* p. 163; C. R. de Silva, *The Portuguese in Ceylon* pp. 205-206.

Jorge Froilim de Almeida when making the register of 1599 suggested that land grants should exclude those containing gems and iron. Gems were mined in the Kuruwiti and Nawadun *korales*, as well as in the Five Korales. Mining was done by inhabitants of villages specially designated for the task. Within the village there were some specialization. The task of some was solely prospecting or 'divining' where stones were most likely to be. Others were entrusted with the digging and still others with separating the gems from the rubble. There was also apparently a separate group who valued the stones.¹⁵⁶ All stones above a certain weight had to be handed over to the king.¹⁵⁷ There is no information as to how much the king gained from the gem mines but there is no doubt that precious stones were among the factors that attracted Westerners to the island.¹⁵⁸

Pearls were another export for which Ceylon was well known. The pearl banks were to be found on both the Indian and the Ceylonese coasts off the gulf of Mannar. Concentrations of pearl oysters sufficient to make a large scale fishery profitable could be found in certain years and when such concentrations were discovered a fishery was usually held in the months of February, March and April. When there was no fishery the divers were kept occupied by fishing for chanks.¹⁵⁹

The early sixteenth century saw an attempt by the Muslims of Kayalapatnam to monopolise the pearl fishery. In the first decade of this century king Udaya Martanda Varman of Chera had extended his kingdom up to the Tambapanni river and had leased Kayalapatnam to the Muslims. These Muslims in turn tried to establish their control over the whole pearl fishery by excluding the fishers of Tuticorin who were tributaries of Pandya and those of Kilakkarai, probably vassals of the king of Jaffna. Their attempts did not meet with much success. Kilakkarai remained a powerful rival and when Kadi Rayana, chief of the Muslims of Kayalpatnam attempted to fish off Chilaw he was defeated and killed by the forces of king of Kotte.¹⁶⁰ Some-time later the new chief of Kayalpatnam recognising the difficulty of the task requested the Portuguese assistance¹⁶¹ and with the arrival of a Portuguese fleet in

(156) Paulo da Trindade, Vol. II, pp. 17-18.

(157) Castanheda, Vol. II, p. 259.

(158) '... nasce tambem nesta ilha muyta padraria assi como rubis, muyto finos, vermelhos e brancos, balais, jacinto, cafiras, topazios, jagonias, amatistas crisolitas, olhos de gato que os Indios estimão muyto ...' Castanheda, Vol. II p. 259.

(159) Chanks were large shells used for making ornaments and drinking vessels.

(160) *Rajavaliya* pp. 71-72; Georg Schurhammer, 'Conversion of the paravas' in *Orientalia* (Biblioteca Instituti Historici S.J., Vol XXI, 1963, Lisbon/Rome) pp. 243-244.

(161) On 8th November 1519 the Portuguese captain in Ceylon, Antonio de Miranda de Azevedo wrote to his king '... the island has pearl banks. Your Highness could reap great profits from them if it were to forbid fishing on them without your authorization. The rulers of these kingdoms are fighting fiercely about them so that there has been no fishing for a long time. As I came from Cochin the chief of Caylle let me know that if I come to his rescue with two ships he would pay a certain amount to your Highness. I could only answer that I would ask at the headquarters. He confided to me that this was big business, on some days they would fish pearls to the value of 2-3000 pardãos and the fishing season lasted three months every year...' (English translation by G. Schurhammer, *ibid* p. 244. Portuguese original published in *As Gavetas do Torre de Tombo* Vol. V. Lisbon, p. 142.

1522 began a period of Portuguese dominance of the pearl fishery, although this dominance was challenged from time to time by Muslim attacks. De Almeida's register, however, seems to show that the kings of Kotte and Sitawaka maintained some authority over the fisheries of Chilaw until the end of the sixteenth century.¹⁶²

De Almeida's register also gives some useful indications on the growth of the port of Colombo. The register makes it clear that in the early sixteenth century despite its proximity to Kotte, Colombo was merely one of the chief ports of the kingdom. At least four other ports—Chilaw, Negombo, Galle and Weligama—were comparable in trading activity and revenue. In fact, in the heyday of Rajasinha of Sitawaka these four ports or at least Chilaw and Negombo would have surpassed Colombo in trade in volume. By the end of the sixteenth century however, Colombo swiftly regained its position and soon after, became the chief port of Ceylon—a position it has held ever since. The reasons for this recovery are not difficult to isolate. Colombo, as the site of the main fortress of the conquerors remained the centre of their economic activity despite the shift of the captain-general's residence to Malwana. It was in Colombo that the collector of revenue resided and it was to that port that Portuguese ships arrived most often from India. In 1597 it was decreed that cinnamon could be exported only from Colombo.¹⁶³ De Almeida himself introduced a measure designed to divert trade to Colombo. Finding that arecanut cost much more in the neighbourhood of Colombo than in the environs of Galle, he raised the export duty on arecanut at Galle to ten *larins per amuna* while lowering it to one *larin per amuna* in Colombo.¹⁶⁴ If continued for any length of time this measure would certainly have diverted much of the arecanut trade in Galle to Colombo.¹⁶⁵ But it was soon rendered inoperative when the captain-general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo instituted the compulsory purchase of arecanut by the state.

There is no doubt that economic incentives played a large part in the growth of trade in Colombo and in this respect a key role was played by the grant of a privilege by Dom João Dharmapala, the last king of Kotte, to the Portuguese *casados* or married settlers of Colombo. This grant entitled them and their heirs to exemption from customs dues at the port of Colombo and as de Almeida remarked, so much trade was carried on under cover of this donation that the customs revenue of Colombo dwindled to almost nothing. On the other hand the volume of trade grew and Colombo was on its way to being the chief port of the island.

The value of de Almeida's register as a source of information on economic conditions becomes apparent when one considers the overall picture provided by it. In a work that remained a standard school text for over three decades Fr. S. G. Perera wrote of sixteenth century Ceylon "... there does not appear to have been any cultiva-

(162) See also Schruhammer and Voretzch, Vol. I. p. 103.

(163) T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 144.

(164) See below p. 43. Of course this was not the first attempt to concentrate trade at Colombo at the expense of the other ports. Bhuvencabahu VII tried to achieve this. See Pieris and Fitzler, p. 169.

(165) And perhaps to Weligama where the duty was two *larins an amuna*.

tion for purposes of trade. Trade was a royal monopoly. The people bartered the produce of their gardens for the necessary wants such as salt, fish, cloth and the like. Anything beyond this was of no use to anybody for no man could better his occupation or dwelling or raiment . . .¹⁶⁶ These views have been challenged directly and indirectly by the writings and teachings of several historians.¹⁶⁷ The evidence from the de Almeida's register leads us to an almost complete rejection of Fr. Perera's picture. There was cultivation for purposes of trade. Trade was not a royal monopoly. True, in the case of some products there was an element of royal control. The hunting of elephants and the mining of gems depended on royal instructions and the balance of evidence points to a royal control of cinnamon production. Nevertheless, even in these few cases the export trade was open to all. It is conceded that barter was the principal mode of exchange. Yet the annual payment of over 600,000 *fanams* in cash to the king from the *gabadagam* alone indicates a substantial circulation of money in the country.¹⁶⁸ Serious doubt is thrown on the picture of a static social structure. On the other hand the register makes it clear that the concept that cinnamon (or even the spice trade as a whole) was the chief source of income of the rulers of Kotte, is equally erroneous. The income of the king of Kotte depended on the amount of royal villages he had granted at pleasure to his immediate kinsmen but it could rise up to four and half million *fanams*. The income from cinnamon was at best less than one percent of this amount. The main-stay of royal income was land revenue, not trade. The annual income from *gabadagam* alone exceeded three million *fanams*; that from customs duties hardly a tenth of this. The king of Kotte, like his people, depended primarily on the land for his income.

Finally de Almeida's register provided us with some indication that if Portuguese rule over the lowlands of south-west Ceylon was short, its impact was little short of revolutionary. An examination of the sources of revenue of Portuguese Kotte in the early seventeenth century and a comparison of this with de Almeida's register shows the extent of some of these changes. Of the total potential revenue of about 74,000 *xerafims* of Portuguese Kotte about one fourth was estimated as dues from quit rent from land. The bulk of the state revenue — almost fifty thousand *xerafims* was to be derived from the sale of three items — cinnamon, arecanut and elephants¹⁶⁹. A government depending on the sale of commercial products for most of its revenue had emerged for the first time in Ceylon. For this reason as well as others, the sixteenth century could well be described as a turning point in Ceylon's history. At the beginning of the era agrarian Ceylon was ruled by local kings. Indigenous religions stood almost unchallenged. By the end of the century Westerners had obtained control over much of the lowlands, commercial products had gained precedence over food crops and Christianity was making considerable inroads into Hindu and Buddhist communities.

[166] Fr. S. G. Perera, *History of Ceylon* p. 5.

[167] P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon, the Portuguese era*, 2 vols. Colombo, 1912-1913 contains some material contrary to S. G. Perera's assertions. Professor K. W. Goonewardane challenged some of these ideas in his lectures on Ceylon history delivered at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya from 1954 to 1969.

[169] T. Abeyesinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, pp. 181-182.

TEXT I

325 Register of the revenues of the lands of this Island of Ceilão [Ceylon] with its seaports in the time of kings of Cota [Kötte] when it was prosperous and fully cultivated; that is, of what we have conquered and made obedient so farⁱⁱ and of which what we could find out up to the present. Here is [entered] what is known of the revenues it had and not what it yields now for the collector of revenueⁱⁱⁱ cannot know with certainty what the cultivated areas actually yield now, for those which have people are cultivated and have a fixed revenue and those which do not have, yield little; so that all which are inhabited yield little or much and here in this register are given the lands which belong to the kingdom of Cota which was of Dom João, iv king of Ceilão and those which belonged to the kingdom of Ceitavaqā [Sitawaka] which was of Madune [Mayadunne] father of Raju [Rajasinha] and all belonged to the said Dom João who was the true heir and Emperor of all the island and Jaffnapatão [Jaffna] up to the shallows.

This tomo [made] in order that Your Majesty might know the revenues that could be collected in the island of Ceilão which are recorded in it, was made by the collector of revenue Jorge Froilim de Almeida who was sent to Ceylon on the orders of Mathias de Albuquerque, viceroy who was in India; today twenty ninth of November 1599.

Table of the ports and rivers which yield revenue in the *Corlas* [Korales], and these which are of the kingdom of Cota and of the kingdom Ceitāq

The port of Columbo [Colombo] where is our fort of Ceilão	..	f6
The port and river of Paneture [Panadura]	..	f6
The port and river of Caleture [Kalutara] where is our fort	..	f7
The port and river of Macune [Maggonā] whose revenue is united with [that of] Caleture	..	f7
The port of Berberim [Beruwala]	..	f8
The port and river of alicão [Alutgama]	..	f8
The port and river of bilitota [Welitara] source of good cinnamon	..	f8
The port and river of Gimdore [Gintota]	..	f9
The port of Gale [Galle] where we have a fort and a customs post	..	f9
326 The port and river of biligās [Weligama] where resides Dom Fernando Modeliar	..	f9
The port and river of Mature [Matara]	..	f10
The pagode of tanavare [Devinuwara] of the garrison of Dom Fernando	..	f10
The port and bay of Palave []	..	f10
The river of Valave [Walawe]	..	f11
The river and pass of Matual [Mutwal]	..	f11
The river and pass of betal [Wattala]	..	f11
The river and pass of naculugão []	..	f11
The port of negumbo [Negombo]	..	f11
The river of Caimel [Kammala]	..	f12
The port and river of Chilão [Chilaw]	..	f12

The end of the ports and the beginning of the lands.

- (i) *ANTT Manuscritos do convento da Graça, tomo 6D.*
- (ii) Contrary to what is stated above, the register seeks to record the revenues of the whole of Kotte and not merely what had been conquered by 1599. It also makes it clear that by the end of 1599 the Portuguese still had no authority over the Seven, Four and Five Korales, Mangul korale and the inland areas east of Matara. For an idea of the politico-military situation of the time see T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, pp. 19-22.
- (iii) *vedor da fazenda.*
- (iv) Dharmapala, king of Kötte 1551-1597.

An account of the revenue of the *corlas* their *gabadas*^v and the lands which was of the kingdom of Cota [Kotte] and those of the kingdom of Ceitavaqa^a [Sitawaka]

The <i>Corla</i> Salpity [Salpiti] and its <i>gabadas</i> where Columbo stands	..	f13
The <i>Corla</i> Reigão [Rayigam] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f14
The <i>Corla</i> Pasadum [Pasdum] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f15
The <i>Corla</i> Valavety [Walallawiti] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f16
The <i>Corla</i> Cuculu [Kukulu] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f17
The <i>Corla</i> Morava [Morawak] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f17
The <i>Corla</i> Gale [Galú] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f18
The <i>Corla</i> Dolosdas [Dolosdas] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f20
The <i>Corla</i> Ina [Siyane] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f22
The <i>Corla</i> Evigão [Hewagam] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f24
The <i>Corla</i> Alicur [Alutkuru] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f25
The <i>Corla</i> Petigal [Pitigal] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f28
The <i>Corla</i> Apetigão [Hapitigam] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f29
The <i>Corla</i> Catacanbala [Katugampola] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f30
The <i>Corla</i> Mangul [Mangul] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f32
The <i>Sete Corlas</i> [Seven Korales] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f33
The <i>Corla</i> Urapala [Udapola] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f35
The <i>Coatro Corlas</i> [Four Korales] and its <i>gabadas</i> which are of the kingdom of Ceitavaqa ^a	..	f36
The <i>Corla</i> Amdapandur [Handapandunu] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f39
The <i>Corla</i> Veligal [Beligal] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f39
327 The <i>Corla</i> Deiganbola [Dehigampola] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f40
The <i>Corla</i> Panavala [Panawal] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f41
The <i>Corla</i> Atalugão [Atulugam] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f41
The <i>Corla</i> Corvite [Kuruwiti] and its <i>gabadas</i>	..	f41
The <i>Cimqo Corlas</i> [Five Korales] of the <i>diçava</i> of <i>dinavaqa</i> ^a [<i>Disava</i> of <i>Denawaka</i>] which are not obedient	..	f42
The <i>Corla</i> Atacalão [Atakalan] and its <i>gabadas</i> which are not obedient	..	f43
The <i>Corla</i> Navadam [Navadun]	..	f44

End of the table.

A guide to the customs of the people of Ceilão and the way in which the offices and lands will be distributed^{vi}.

- 328 A descriptive guide of customs which was made for the second time and that of the lands which will be made.

How the lands will be leased.

After the lands are conquered, when they are leased it should be according to the regulations at *baçaim* (Bassein) and *damão* (Dãmão) where the *comedias* are given for the services of noblemen, squires and foot soldiers and with the same conditions that each one of them lives in the sea ports and forts and have their lands instead of salary and pension, that the lands which have crystals and precious stones and iron should not be included and that pepper should be sold to the king at a fixed price and with the obligation to cultivate the land and that soldiers with pay who defend the land be excluded for the people of this land have always to see an army of soldiers to stop them from rebelling against us and with the declaration that six years from now there will be another leasing because then the lands will be in such a state so that there would be no deception in the leasing.

(v) *Gabada* in this context means *gabdagam* or royal villages. The word *gabada* has also been used to indicate the treasury. See below p. 56. It is written as *gabara* in de Almeida's text but in the Portuguese transliteration of Sinhalese terms the 'd' and the 'r' were often interchangeable.

(vi) De Almeida left the rest of this page blank.

How the revenues will be collected.

The captains of the forts and the seaports will serve also as the collectors of those *corlas*, ports and villages which are annexed to the fort — each *Corla* is about six leagues (in extent) — and with the proviso that their collectors will entrust and give account of what they receive to the factor of Ceylon without going to the *contos*^{vii} as is done in the factories of baçaim and damao which have at the centre a record of the amount that will be collected in each quarter by each collector and *tanador* and because of this reason is able to dispense with a factor of the conquest.

The revenue of all the customs houses.

The revenue of this custom house of Columbo which I recorded and the revenue of the customs house of Negumbo and the customs house of the port and fort of Gale is best taken together and rented by one person for three years for they are all in one island which it is not possible to make sure of a good revenue for one, as the vessels are able to go to whichever of the ports (they wish) and the goods which are in the lands can also be sent out from where they wish and this is the best way to prevent the hiding of so much dues as is hidden under the cloak of a donation that the king of Ceilão made in this 329 custom house to the *cazados* / who served in war at that time and which the count viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, seeing that the revenue was small and the *casados* poor, ordered to be guarded provided that the king of Ceilão, Dom João who died in May 1597, confirms it and does not revoke it and as the *casados* who were there at the time of the donation were not many and it was known that this donation applied to the *casados* and their sons, (also) *casados* who will serve in war, they were given exemption from your royal duties and the king who did this having died with the leasing of the villages there was some opportunity for others to enlarge the exemption from these dues which they believed they were able to do as they were people who served well in the wars though the customs rightly belong to the crown, which is the reason for the loss of many dues in the name of this exemption.

The value of a *Jala* of paddy

I declare that one *Jala* of paddy which this *tombo* speaks of in the collection of revenue from the *gabadas* in the time of Cota has twenty *amunas*^{viii} and is made up of rice. It is equal to over four *candils*^{ix} of rice and each *candil* is sold at five *xerafims* each now and although elders said that there was much rice here and at the price and value of bengala [Bengal] it was [recently] bought at twenty *xerafims* a *Jala* and this is the price should be taken into account when lands which pay *Jalas* of paddy as revenue to the king are requested for.

The sowing extent of one *amuna* of paddy

The lands of which we speak here are calculated in so many *amunas* of paddy. The estimate of each *amuna* is said to be variable and there are lands which are larger and others much smaller, and when half [the produce] is given to the cultivator, there remains five for the lord and these five *amunas* according to the calculation of *jalas* above is one *candil* of rice which is worth five *xerafims* and this is the way account should be taken of those who ask for lands in *amunas* of sowing.

330 How much is paid as rent of coconut gardens^x to the king

By custom of the kings those who ask for barren lands and cultivate coconut pay the king one *fanam* for every ten coconut trees.

And when the king has given some land where there are coconut trees they pay double the rent which is two *fanams* per ten coconut trees. This is the amount that those who wish their lands given to them as their *comedias* should pay and the kings used to give these lands for which this rent is paid to men of merit for the rent was small and the coconut palm yielded much revenue.

(vii) The accounting department at Goa. In this paragraph and later *recegador* (= receiver) has been translated as collector [of revenue]. *Tanador* is an Indian term signifying practically the same office.

(viii) See next section and footnote 60.

(ix) *candil* = 14 bushels or 500 lbs.

(x) *palmar* = coconut garden. *palmeira* has been taken to mean coconut trees in translating this register.

The *Corlas* and *gabadas* and lands which are of the kingdom of Cota and the kingdom of Ceitavaqa^a are to be seen in this folio

The *Corlas* as in Goa and in some of our villages in Salsete (Salsette) and *bardes* [Bardes] yield the revenue of the smaller lands together, in which amount are also included the fines of the evil doers and the *maralas* and up to now it was usual and convenient to collect them so. *Marala* means that when a person who has a wife and a male child dies one third of his goods are given to the king and if he has only daughters all goes to the king and nothing to his wife. This is included in the revenue of the *corlas* as is given in the folios below which are on the kingdom of Cota and the kingdom of Ceitavaqa^a. Apart from this revenue of the *corlas* there is the revenue which is paid to the king from each *gabada* village which can be seen from the folios which follow — which one (revenue) and the other is collected by the *vidanes* who are like our collectors of the villages of Salsete and *bardes*; however the system of India should be worked here and not (collection) by the hands of so many officials that in the middle of one village there are those called *vidana*, *gamea*, *medidor*, *canacapole*, *atecorlea*,^{xi} and others, all of whom have small parcels of land in these villages, on which they live in the best parts of the land and (of them) some may be dispensed with and at present they wish to call themselves lords and cultivators of the land and will pay only that tribute or rent that they 331 paid / to their king and as when there are fewer officers there is more revenue it is better to collect it (thus) and to lease all the *gabada* lands which was the opposite of the opinion (I had) when I arrived here because I now see that the affairs of your Majesty due to the absence of a royal collector of Revenue are in a state like that of a thing without a master and even worse in the hands of the Revenue collectors of your Majesty.

The revenue of the ports

The revenue of the sea ports, their location according to *corlas*, and their garrisons and forts are in the folios which follow and the present revenue rests as it did in the past on the extent of cultivation.

Pepper

The pepper of this island is very good and was always reserved for the king^{xii} who paid one *larin* of silver for eight large measures of it and each one of these measures is equal to four of ours which is close upon one *arroba* and at this price one *quintal* is worth four *larins*.

The documents of leasing should declare that the pepper cultivated on the land should be sold at this price to the king — or for a little more — in discount of the rent which they have to pay your Majesty, for this land yields much pepper and of good quality in comparison to that of Malavar [Malabar].

Arecanut

The arecanut was also handled by the king. There are lands which yield a large quantity which up to now have been enjoyed by the nobles. They yield a good revenue which when collected always amounts to ten thousand *xerafims* a year and is said to be much more.

(xi) *gamea* = headman. On Sinhalese headmen in the seventeenth century see, T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 71; *medidor* = measurer (of grain); *canacapole* = *kanakapulle* — an official concerned with keeping records; *atecorlea* = *atukorale* — an official who worked under the *korale vidane*.

(xii) This indication that pepper was a royal monopoly is contradicted by evidence from Fr. Fernão de Queyroz, p. 1017 '... The kings took no pepper whatever from their vassals ...' See also de Queyroz, pp. 1013, 1018, although Bhuvanekabahu's offer of 10,000 *cruzados* worth of pepper in 1549 indicates that the kings of Kotte did receive large supplies. (*JCBRAS*, XX, p. 132) The king of Portugal had declared a royal monopoly of the pepper trade in his domains circa 1504 [D. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, I. p. 109].

Elephants

There are also places with many elephants which yield an amount by their sale and as they have not been caught [for long] there are places where we are unable to travel for we would come to harm for there are many of them now.

332 *Pagodas* and Friars

Due to an order which your Majesty sent to the count viceroy, Dom Francisco da Gama, written on the twenty first of November of 598, that the friars should not have the revenues of the *pagodas* and of the lands which they hold the captain-general, Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo ordered that the factor of the king and of the conquest collect the revenues of the lands which these fathers had, and that [instead] their maintainence be paid to them. This declaration was made today, the tenth of November 599 on the orders of the viceroy given on the sixth of October 599. The friars have twelve churches now and they were given one thousand and sixty *xerafims* for all of them.^{xiii}

The alms and revenues of the lands of the *pagodas* belong to the king and the kings collect them for their *gabadas* which are store houses^{xiv}, whenever they were wish to do so

The Franciscan friars of this land claim all the lands and revenues which are in all this island by a donation which the king of Ceilão, Dom João made to them and some which they have, they do not wish to let out of their hands even though they do not belong to the *pagodas* and despite the many reasons that are shown to them and as soon as I order that a land be taken from them by my decree they come to me with books and bulls and excommunications saying that only the pope could be their judge. It is necessary to verify the donation that they have, whether it is just or whether they should be paid whatever alms required monthly or annually instead and stopped from going to the lands like bailiffs and having people under their rule and I ask of them if it was not forbidden by the blessed S. Francisco to possess lands and rents which I believe and am unable to check both here and with the custodian in Goa for as soon as the commissioners and guardians come here they become the lords of their lands in the same way as laymen obtain governmental responsibilities and now a request has been sent to the count viceroy to send them a collector with his writer to deal with the revenues of the lands given to them and if necessary more (officials) from the king's factory so that no one would wish to take away the lands with which God is helping the work of the friars.

The fishery of Chilão (Chilaw)

In the sea at Chilão and in other parts of this island there is said to be as good a pearl fishery as is found in the coast of Mannar and we should have a fishery here in which we ought to obtain the assistance of the people of the other coasts through the Jesuits of whom this land is in great need of, for many Saint's days and Sundays pass without there being friars to preach the gospel.

333 Cinnamon

The forests of this island of Ceilão in most places yield cinnamon from where it was possible to collect two thousand *bahars* annually. The *chaleas* bound to do this work and occupation, have lands of the king on which they live and each one also pays a fixed tribute as quit rent to the king of their persons and lands which are called *mabada* (*mahabadda*) and the cinnamon tribute (given) as dues is little and amounts to four hundred *bahars* collected by the *chaleas* of the parts of Caleture [Kalutara] Bilitote [Welisara] and Gale [Galle] and this amount as given each year to the captains who collect it as the contractor of the king, our Lord^{xv}. Similarly in the parts of Negumbo [Negombo] also there is much cinnamon and there are many bondsmen^{xvi} who give green leaves for the elephants of the king for which also they had lands in which they lived, whom the general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo obliged to collect cinnamon for there are no elephants for the obligation of green leaves and also the wood cutters of the forests

(xiii) This paragraph was a later addition on the margin.

(xiv) See footnote v̄ page 36 above.

(xv) In the 1580's the captain of Colombo was given the sole right of exporting cinnamon on condition that one third the cinnamon exported was handed over to the crown at cost to help pay for the expenses of the fort of Colombo. (C. R. de Silva, p. 194). (*ANTT Corpo Chronologico* part 1, Maco 112, Doc. 51).

(xvi) *Servidores*.

and plains who have lands in which they live and as there is not at present so great a necessity for them it is heard that they too are occupied in making cinnamon for the king because of the necessity of so great an amount every year for the kingdom and for Ormuz on His Majesty's account and for this amount the Collector of Revenue collects the four hundred *bahars* tribute every year and it is heard that the captains of the fort, and the captain-general and some other people take without permission the rest the forests yield in which way it is possible to make a great amount as had been made. Raju and the kings of the past gave each *lascarin* one *amuna* sowing extent of paddy and when he was in the field, a *larin* each month or every two months as *moxara*^{xvii} and to others more was given according to their quality and merits. Made by the Collector of Revenue, Jorge Frolim de Almeida in Columbo. Today XX of November 599.

- 334 I suggest that the island of Ceilão does not need more than one captain like the city of baçaim and of damão, and in other forts and sea ports *tanadares* and collectors who give accounts of their lands and ports of their districts every three years in the way that is said to be done in the North.

And Columbo [Colombo] does not have need of a captain besides the factor and *alcaide mor* who also served as *ouvidor* for there is little to do here still, and serving in all capacities together it will be possible to give him two hundred *mil-reis* as salary for as *ouvidor* he does not have to work to collect the tribute.

And in the fort of Gale [Galle] too it is possible to do without a captain. An *alcaide mor* factor and *ouvidor* — all in one — with two hundred *milreís* is sufficient.

And the fort of Caliture [Kalutara] does not need a captain besides the *Tanadar* and collector with sixty *milreís* which the port of Negumbo [Negombo] has and the *alcaide mor* and factor of Gale should have jurisdiction up to the port of alicão [Alut-gama] and from the port of alicão up to Mature [Matara].

- 335 The Revenues of the sea ports

First our fort and port of Ceilao in the city of Columbo [Colombo] stands within the limits of the Salpity *Corla*,

The kings of the past had always had a customs house here for the payment of dues for all goods and provisions up to betel leaves and the *olas* [Palm leaf documents] of the time of the kings of Cota say that this port with the quit rent of some coconut gardens could yield up to a thousand *xerafims* a year. The king of Ceilão, Dom João who is now dead, collected the revenues of the customs houses of Columbo during his life time because in the time of his ancestor it was done so here, in later times it yielded about two hundred *xerafims* all of which was thrown away by the king for all defrauded him due to a donation to the *casados* of this land freeing them from the payment of duties. It yielded little when he died. The collector of revenue, Jorge Frolim de Almeida collected revenue from this customs house as in other customs houses in India when the viceroy Count Admiral, Dom Francisco da Gama ordered that the privileges of the said *casados* be respected as long as no order to the contrary was made and today it pays here six and a half percent for the pay of the officials^{xviii} besides the one percent for the fortification and this is the same in the port of Negumbo and in the port of Gale. Up to now the collection for the fortification have not been made the *casados* are protesting like those of Chaul [Chaul] and today the revenue of this customs house is small which is up to one thousand five hundred *pardãos* a year. 1500pdos.

- It is said that this port of Columbo yielded in the past in the time of the past kings about twenty one thousand *fanams* and with the port of Matual [Mutwal] forty thousand *fanams* in which was included the revenues of the pass of Naculugão [Nakulugama] and of the river which flows out at Matual. And now Matual and Naculugão / yield nothing to your Majesty as they are both like a thing without a master. 40,000fs.

Further in this port and factory of Columbo are collected four hundred *bahars* of cinnamon as tribute every year, which the *chaleas* are obliged to give; three hundred tribute of ancient times which was agreed to in the time of kings of Portugal of gloricus,

(xvii) Maintainance grant.

(xviii) *Seis por cento e mº mais pera as lagimas dos officials*. *Lagima* was a small duty collected in customs houses in India to pay the officials or for documents of despatch.

memory which had been forgotten for many years and not collected in our time, which the said collector of revenue collected in the year 597 and from thence, together with one hundred *bahars* which the said *chaleas* gave to the king Dom João Percapandar in the past and which the said king was able to send annually to Ormuz which was said to be four *quintals* a *bahar*; thus making up the said four hundred *bahars* which are now entrusted to the factory without any expense to your Majesty save the cost of bundling them with mats and cord, the *chaleas* have the obligation of collecting all the cinnamon they are ordered to do without any payment in return for the lands they hold and enjoy and it is said that the forests give them two thousand *bahars* of cinnamon and this is now granted to captain Dom Pedro Manoel by the count viceroy from the year 599 onwards, which he obtained in place of Thome de Souza da Ronches who was given it to by your Majesty.

Paneture [Panadura]

The port and river of Paneture which is in the Reigão *Corla* had vessels coming there and paying duties as in other customs houses but they do not come now and this river is closed for a part of the year and it has its lands and coconut palms. The *olas* say that in the time of the kings of Cota and of Raju about twenty thousand *fanams* were collected from it annually inclusive of fines and *maralas* of the king and it was collected by a *vidane* who is like our collectors. 20,000 f^s

337 The lease given to Dom F^{do} Modeliar

[The area] from this port up to Tanavare has been rented for sixteen thousand *pardãos* a year by Dom Fernando Modeliar by a document signed by general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo and by the king of Ceilão which I sent to the count viceroy and it is like a thing without a master, the lease commenced on the second of October 598.

The small coconut garden

In this place between Paneture and Caleture is a coconut garden which is called the small one rented to Pascoal Fernandez^{xix} for seventy *xerafims* a year which is recorded in the receipts of the factors of the conquest Pedro Toscano and Gaspar Ferreira ^{xx}

The large coconut garden

And there is another coconut garden which is called the large one of which also Raju collected a tenth, which was rented for one hundred and fifty *xerafims* a year.

The *olas* declare that in the times of the kings of Cota, a silver *larin* was worth six, six and a half or seven *fanams* and now a silver *larin* is worth twenty *fanams* of the same silver and in *bazaroços* too also there are twenty *fanams* to a *larin* and each *fanam* is six *bazaroços* of *calaim* made by the king of Ceilão, three of which equals two of Goa. Caliture [Kalutara] and Macune [Maggon] — the port and river of Caliture where we have a fort.

The port and river of Macune are in the *Corla* Pasadam. These two ports yielded about twenty five thousand *fanams* a year in the times of the kings of Cota and the same in the time of Raju with fines and *maralas*. 25,000 f^s

338 All the lands and coconut trees and taxes, Caliture and Macune and the rent of the fisheries of Caleture and those of Macune are generally enjoyed by Pedro Nogeira, the chief of the *Ribeira*.^{xxi} There are coconut lands and gardens and fields / about a league in length well-cultivated with many inhabitants and the *olas* declare that the fishermen of Macune pay over a thousand *fanams* and that the river of Caleture is large and has much wood and has many iron-smiths and carpenters and is a good place to make vessels for it has a river bank and the river is large enough for it and we have a fort in Caleture and a captain in charge and the first captain was Rodrigo Alvares de Figueira,^{xxii} half-brother of captain Thome de Souza da Ronches and now there is Manoel de Azevedo with one hundred *mil reis* as salary per year (appointed) by Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.

(xix) Pascoal frz.

(xx) P^o toscanu e Gpar feRas.

(xxi) '... come plo geral po nogro, patrão da Rebra ...' Ribeira = bank or shore, ship-building yard.

(xxii)^o Roalvurz de figra.

The Collector of Revenue found out that in the pass of Caleture there were a dozen boats of fishermen — six on the bank of the fort and six on the other bank. The six on the bank of the fort paid ten *larins* each to the *gabada* and those of the other bank paid six *larins* per year and this is besides the fish which they give to the captain for his food when they fish or the two *larins* a year which the twelve boats pay when they do not give fish to the captain. Up to now, this revenue has gone to the hands of the captains, and in the *juncão da pasagem* there^{xxiii} is a customs house which is not effective.

Manoel Vaz who is the master of all

And one Manoel Vaz, a man of the land, married here, whom Dom Jeronimo made *vidane* collects this revenue of the fishermen and the rent of the *badda* of the *chalevs* and the quit rents of individuals which he keeps without entrusting it to the factor of the king for which the collector of revenue inquired the reason and was not given a good one. It should go to the *contos* for he is *vidana* and official collector of rents for the king and this also applies to the captains who are here and this Pedro Nogueira who collects all without any justification.

339 Berberim [Beruwala] — given to Dyogo de Mello by the king

The port of berberim is in *Corla* Pasadam. There is a bay where vessels come and pay duties and it has lands and coconut palms and the rent of fishers possessed by Diogo de Mello da Cunha for he was leased it by the king of Ceilão and up to now has paid nothing to your Majesty. He possessed it for four years — and on his death Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo gave it to Gaspar Dias, *casado* of the kingdom. It is said that it yields one hundred *pardãos* besides the profits of the arecanut which yield over two hundred *pardãos* which with the one hundred are three hundred. There was brought from Goa a confirmation of the count viceroy for possessing it until the leasing for three lives was done.

And the *olas* declare that in the time of Cota it yielded six thousand *fanams* as revenue of the port for the *gabada* besides the profits of the land. 6000f*

And the fishermen paid one thousand two hundred *fanams* to the *gabada* and Gaspar Dias should account for all this in his time for nothing has been paid so far by him and also not by Diogo de Mello.

Alicão

The port and river of Alicão (Alutgama) where we have a fort of wood and a *vidana* and a captain Alvaro de Barros named by count viceroy Dom Francisco da Gama. It is in *Corla* Valalavey. There is a deep river where throughout the year sailing vessels enter and pay duties and customs and it has lands and many palm trees and the rent of fishermen. In this port as in Caleture, captain Thome de Souza da Ronches was engaged in trade in arecanut being nominated for this by Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo by virtue of an order of viceroy Mathias d'Albuquerque. Now the revenues of the customs house are under the factor of the factory of Gale.

And in the time Cota it paid seven thousand *fanams* from vessels and palms only.

340 Today there is here as captain / and *vidana* one Alvaro de Barros by order of the count viceroy and he has not had a salary so far.

And the revenue of the fishermen was eight hundred *fanams* 800f^s
and this alicão and Veruvalem [Beruwala] and Imduruve [Induruwa] yielded in all thirty thousand *fanams* and all this [was] in the time of Cota — 30,000f^s
And the village of Alicão within its limits yielded six thousand *fanams* and at present is said to yield four thousand.

The land of Pedro Jorge Franqueiro.^{xxiv}

In this *Corla* Valalavey this is a land about one league in extent called Imduruve which is all [covered with] palm trees and having arecanut. Dom Jeronimo and the king of Ceilão gave it to a *casado* called Pedro Jorge Franqueiro who has possessed it

(xxiii) *Juncão* (pl. juncoes) = inland customs duty or place where such duty was charged. The term is also used in this register to mean customs house. For further information see. T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, pp. 168-169.

(xxiv) p^o Jorge Franqo.

up to now with thirty *xerafims* as quit rent to the king of Ceilão which was not paid up to the present nor even mentioned in respect of this land to the collector of Revenue. He has a patent of Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo and has paid the quit rent which was agreed upon.

bilitote [Welisara]

The port and river of bilitote and *Mahabata* [*Mahabadda*] that has a customs revenue is in the jurisdiction of the *Corla* Gale. It is a small river and vessels enter unloaded with the water and pay duties on what they bring as in other parts. It also has many palm trees and revenue of fishermen and on all this coast from Alicão up to gimdore there are many palm trees and many fishermen who all pay tribute to the king and there also live within its limits, the *chaleas* who are obliged to collect cinnamon tribute of the king without payment in lieu of the lands which they have and on which they live and do what they are ordered to by the king and besides this pay their quit rents, dues of so much money per head and others large and small which are royal dues. In the time of Cota it paid with *Mahabata* forty thousand *fanams* and thus are also other *chaleas* who live in the island who are also bondsmen^{xxv} as those above and though they live
400,000^s
341 apart in other places and in Negumbo, they also collect cinnamon tribute like the others and pay tribute of quit rents and money for the lands which are all lost as *vidana* Manoel Vaz, native of the land was entrusted with their collection by order of the general Dom Jeronimo from the year 597 onwards. He should give account for these rents which he collected, quit rents of the *chaleas* and the revenues of the vllages which he enjoyed for which the Collector of Revenue asked for a reason and was not given.

Manuel
Vaz Col-
lectorto
give
account

Gimdore

The port and river of Gimdore [Gintota] which is in the *Corla* of Gale has a poor bay which is surprisingly visited by vessels, which go to the fort of Gale to pay dues on goods for it is hardly a league from it. It does not have lands nor coconut trees within its jurisdiction and when some vessel arrives it is sent to the fort of Gale to pay the dues as was done in the times of the kings of this island and today it is done in the same way. It is said to have yielded one thousand five hundred *fanams* in the time of Cota, in the revenue of fish and of arecanut and of fines and other [revenues] within its limits. 1500^s

Gale

The port of Gale [Galle] has its own bay. There is a fort being constructed there^{xxvi} It is said that in the time of Cota when vessels came it yielded forty thousand *fanams* in customs together with the revenue of the *shahbandar* — 40,000^s

Apart from arecanut which is brought to the port to sell to the boatmen and which amounted to about one thousand six hundred *amunas* and which paid ten per cent at
342 the *Juncão* and [a further] four *fanams* per *amuna* for that which was bought for export, this revenue is almost all from coconut palms and the rent of the houses of the inhabitants and of fishermen and when vessels do not come in the time of the kings of Cota it yielded in all with the *shahbandar* approximately twenty five thousand *fanams*.

Here is our fort which will be of good size when it is finished and it has a captain in charge and also a factor and writer who collect the customs duties and make the payment of *vidanaship* and it has a settlement for there is much arecanut in this district, a greater amount than what is exported at present for it pays ten *larins* for each *amuna* as duty by order of the Collector of Revenue, collected by the factor of your Majesty although in the customs house at Columbo only one *larin* is paid per *amuna* because in the district of Gale arecanut cost four *larins* an *amuna* and in Columbo it cost up to 10 *larins* for each *amuna*. The other goods pay the same as in Columbo and the customs house yields up to two thousand *xerafims* and the captain of it now is Dom Francisco da Gama given it by count viceroy from the year 598 onwards.

(xxv) '... q tanbẽ são obrigatorios ...'

(xxvi) This seems to suggest that the viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque was in error when he reported that the Fort of Galle was already complete in 1597. (T. Abeyasinghe, *Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, p. 28).

Biligão [Weligama]

The port and river of biligão which is held by Dom Fernando *Modeliar*. It has a river and a large bay where vessels arrive. A large quantity of goods are assessed here and they pay duties as in the customs house of Gale and the factor there is obliged to collect it. It has many fields which yield rice and other legumes and many coconut gardens which yield revenue and there is also the revenue of the fishermen in its jurisdiction. It is said that in the time of the kings of Cota it yielded fifty thousand *fanams* besides the *juncoes* of arecanut of the natives which paid ten percent of what they had collected and that which was taken outside paid four *fanams* at seven for a *larin* and when vessels did not come it yielded twenty thousand *fanams*. At this port was collected nearly one thousand five hundred *amunas* of arecanut which paid about a hundred and fifty *amunas* to the king of Cota according to the ten percent. Now the arecanut pays only two *larins* per *amuna* which the factor of Gale collects. The rest [of the revenue] is collected and enjoyed by Dom Fernando *Modeliar* who brings troops to the field. 50,000^s

Mature [Matara] held by Dom Fernando *Modeliar*; where he is with his troops. The port and river of Mature held by Dom Fernando *Modeliar* is in *Corla dolosdas*. Here we have a stockade of wood with a garrison of Portuguese and many fighting men of the land for this place is the capital of the *diçava* of Mature which is a place of danger in time of war. It has many lands and coconut trees and the revenue of the fishermen and other tribute as in other ports. There is the place where Dom Fernando *Modeliar* is fortified with his troops for it is a place of enemies and not obedient.

It is said to have yielded within its limits, in the time of Cota, — 8000^s eight thousand *fanams* in *juncoes* of arecanut which came from inland by river to the port and in other tribute of rents and villages of lands, collected [now] by Dom Fernando *Modeliar* save the duties on arecanut which the factor of Gale collects and Dom Fernando now has all that was earlier [paid] and pays nothing to the king.

The *pagoda*^{xxvii} of Tanavare [Devinuwara]

The *pagoda* of Tanavare which is also held by the said Dom Fernando, has a bay at the fort of it to which vessels come sometimes and pay duties and which in ancient times and up to now was collected for the *pagoda* with other rents and lands of which the *pagoda* has many and thus was paid the costs and expenses of the men who served it; the number of those who sustained is said to be over six hundred, and what was left was collected by the kings when they so wished and all that came to the *pagoda* as well as the treasury is held by Dom Fernando *Modeliar* and it is said that he was asked to collect all by Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.

These are the rents of the *pagodas* that the friars of St. Francis wish to collect according to the donation that the king of Ceilão, Dom João, who is now dead, made, (as well as) all the rents and lands which are of the *pagodas*. They are royal revenues which the kings have in deposit to collect for their treasury whenever they wish.

All that was listed from the beginning up to here we have now mastered save for a few places which are in ruins. It is said that in the time of Cota, the kings of the past gave this jurisdiction to a captain called *bidiçava vanicqa Rala* who had all the powers of the king to mete out justice, save that of death. This *diçava* collected the revenue of these lands which amounted to sixty thousand *fanams* and twenty elephants. — 60,000^s
— 20 elephants

Mature and this are held by Dom Fernando.

And the two lands, Uragabar(d)a [Udagabada] and Pala gabar(d)a [Palle gabada]^{xxviii} which yield twenty thousand measures of rice in two sowings a year and had their revenues entered in the jurisdiction of the *diçava* of Mature and its revenues of sixty thousand *fanams*, though this excluded the port of biligão.

(xxvii) *pagoda* = temple [Buddhist or Hindu].

(xxviii) In the manuscript the (d) is written above the 'r' to show that the letters are interchangeable.

Palave

The port and bay of palave and Putalão [] are the places where Dom Fernando lives. It is like the bay of Columbo and the river of Matual. They both have revenues of which they pay ten per cent. They are now enjoyed by persons to whom Dom Fernando gave the lands of these places and they collect the revenue of these ports as they wish and at present they yield little because of the conquest.

345 Valave [Walawe]

The river of Valave is one of the places where Dom Fernando resides. In the time of Cota it yielded fifteen thousand *fanams* in juncoes and other revenues and tributes. Attached to this river are two others called tangal [Tangalla] and levava — 15,000fs

[Lewawa] and this Penava [sic] has another name in the Malavar [language] Upalão [] which means the river of salt because of the many barges that come there to transport the salt. These two rivers are included in the revenue of fifteen thousand *fanams* of Valave for they are in its jurisdiction.

Now I come to the north.

Matual [Mutwal]

The river and pass of Matual which is now filled up and where vessels do not come now though they came before.

In ancient times it was a port which was entered by many vessels with goods which paid duties as in the customs house and passes of the *Tanadavia* of Goa. It was a river from which [people] embarked for the other coast and through here passed many people who came from and went to Columbo for it was a roadway to enter the island and to come to Columbo and to all the lands of this coast for it is less than half a league from this city, and all of it is possessed by Antonio Machado, native of the land matual of Ceilão, as the king Dom João Pereapandar granted a patent which he says he inherited and holds. These are the kings taxes which this man possesses and it has so far been neglected, and what is collected now amount to twenty or thirty *xerafims*. It yielded in the times of Cota forty thousand *fanams*; which were included in the revenues of Columbo from the vessels that came and paid in the customs house / for ships of Meqa [Mecca] and of achem [Achin] came [then] and from other sources within its jurisdiction and fishermen and arecanut and today none arrive as the river is blocked and there only passes through it what is carried across the land and small vessels which bring what could not be carried and the Portuguese pay nothing neither do the people of the land who served in the conquest, and this is like a thing without a master, for it is a pass of bulls and there is necessity for a *tanadavia* for there is a *juncão* of duties there, and when the war is over will be like benetary [] of Goa [Goa] which is the principal pass of Goa.

Betal [Wattala]

The river and pass of betal yields 30 *xerafims* in the way given below. Naculugao [Nakulugama]

The river and pass of naculugão had a *juncão* where there was a customs house. It is a river port through which all things of this island pass from this coast of Columbo. It has a *juncão* like other *tanadavias* and is possessed by a man of the land who collects the revenue as he wishes and it is said to yield thirty *xerafims* of which the *tanadar* should have a tenth and it is said that the revenue of this naculugão is included in the accounts of the revenue of Columbo and Matual.

Negumbo [Negombo]

The port of Negumbo in which we have a strong hold with the title of captain is in the *corla* alicur [Alutkuru *korale*].

There is a customs house where duties are paid as in Columbo and there come many vessels with cloth and opium and this customs house yielded up to three or four thousand *pardãos* and arecanut is taken away (from here) paying one and a half *larin* as duty for each *amuna*. Lourenço Teixeira de Macedo who serves as *vidana* here / by an order of viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque, with a salary of two hundred *xerafims* and to whom the captain general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo gave the name of captain and collector, collects the revenues of caimel [Kammala] and chilão [Chilaw] and has a book of receipts

and expenses and a writer to go and give accounts to the *contos*, and with this revenue he helps the captain general of which the collector of Revenue is unable to know the amount with certainty for after the death of Raju for he is under obligation to Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo who made him collector of revenues and expenses and there also served before one Gaspar de Azevedo and there is [already] made a fort with ten soldiers as garrison and it is said that in the times of Raju it was this port that yielded most revenue and yielded three times more than now. Now it is estimated in the way given above.

It is said to have yielded sixty thousand *fanams* at seven *fanams* to a *larin* in the time of Cota from arecanut which came by river from inland and from coconut trees and *chaleas* and all the fines and rents and it does not have rice. This collection is in the hands of a *vidana* according to the patent of Lourenço Teixeira who was given it by viceroy Mathias de Albuquerque.

Caimel [Kammala]

The river of caimel which is in the *corla* petigal has a *juncão* which is a customs house. Here are also paid royal dues as in other *tanadavias* which are ordered to be collected by the collector and *tanadar* of Negumbo named above.

This port was given by Dom Jeronimo to one Simão da Azevedo, resident in S. Thome, a nobleman who has not yet taken possession nor has [the grant] been confirmed. In the time of Cota it paid twenty five thousand *fanams* in *champanas*^{xxix} and arecanut dues and fines besides twenty *jalas* of paddy which were paid in paddy or in rice or in *fanams*.

— 25,000f^a
— 20 *jalas* of paddy

Chilão [Chilaw]

The port of river of Chilão has a *juncão* which is a customs house. It also has its *juncão* at which the collector of Negumbo is obliged to collect revenue in the manner given above and below. This port was given by Dom Jeronimo to Salvador Pereira da Silva,^{xxx} captain major of the field who enjoys it with his lands.

In the time of Cota it paid forty five thousand *fanams* in *juncões* of arecanut which came by river from the interior and of every thousand *amunas* which was brought one hundred *amunas* were paid and the boatmen who bought it paid for each *amuna* four *fanams* at seven per *larin*. Nor what it yields is consumed by the person who holds it as in all (others) granted by Dom Jeronimo.

— 45,000f^s

The revenue of the ports which are nineteen end (here).

349 Description of the *corlas* and *gabadas*

The revenues of the *corlas* in the times of the kings of Cota, of the villages and small lands with their fines and *maralas*, excluding some which are enjoyed by persons of merit and which pay nothing, are a goodly sum, and this revenue is besides that of the larger villages and lands which are called *gabadas* which are given below each one at the foot of each *corla* with its revenue collection as far as can be known from the *olas* and the elders and now because of the war some yield much for they have people and others little for they do not have (people) for they are away serving in the field and the true revenue when it is fully cultivated is approximately given in this register below. What is today rented and collected by order of the general Dom Jeronimo is not given here for the collector has not the power to know with certainty and these lands which have people have the revenues which are given here but whether it is more or less than this will be known when the lands are given and leased out.

Beginning southwards from our fort and city of Columbo up to the lands of Mature where Dom Fernando *Modeliar* is, which we have conquered and turning towards the north, beginning at the fort of Malwana, near Columbo and three leagues from it to the Four and Seven *corlas* which we have conquered.

(xxix) *champana* = small vessel of up to forty tons burthen (Pieris & Fitzler p. 359) It is known that such vessels brought cloth, salt and rice to Negumbo (P. E. Pieris), *The Ceylon Littoral*, 1593, p. 23) the reference is therefore probably to import duties of goods brought in by the *champanas*.

(xxx) Salvador p^{ra} da Silva.

The fort of Ceilão is here

The *corla* Salpity where is our fort and city of Columbo. In this *corla* was also the
350 city and kingdom of Cota which was five leagues in circuit. It is said that in the time / of
Cota it yielded six thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju seven thousand including
fines and *maralas*, in the revenues of the small villages and lands alone. There are eighty
five small villages and lands in which are included six or seven *gabadas* whose revenue
as far as can be known is as follows. The *gabadas* that it has

Tumbavala [Tumbowila]

Twenty two to twenty five *jalas* of paddy and two thousand five hundred *fanams*
in money at the value of six / seven to a *larin* were collected each year for the *gabada* of
the king in the time of Cota and it further yielded five *amunas* of arecanut and fifty
measures of pepper.

aravala [Erewwela]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand five hundred *fanams* and forty measures
of pepper and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected in the time of Cota.

Atary [Attidiya]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and three *amunas*
of arecanut and thirty measures of pepper were collected in the time of Cota. It was the
paravenia [hereditary land-holding] of the old king. It has seven or eight houses for it
has turned to jungle.

balagatara [Bellantara]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut and twenty
five measures of pepper were collected from it.

Catulavala [Katuwawala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* and one *amuna* of arecanut
and twenty measures of pepper was collected from it.

BaRalas negumbo crymigamaa [Boralasgamuwa]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy were collected from it. It has one thousand five hundred
351 coconut trees and / yields four *amunas* of arecanut. It was the *paravenia* of the old king
and is now forested [having] five or six houses.

davndmula []

Four *jalas* of paddy were collected from it and it has five hundred or six hundred
coconut trees. This land with the one above was a *paravenia* of the king Dom João bone-
gabahu^{xxi} and today has seven or eight houses for it has turned to jungle.

tumbabola []

The *corla* Reigao [Rayigam *Korale*] in the time of Cota yielded twenty thousand
fanams and in the time of Raju twenty five thousand inclusive of fines and *maralas*.
It is said to have three hundred and sixty villages and land with fifteen *gabadas* whose
revenue is as follows

The *gabadas* that it has

Maduravala [Madurawala]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand five hundred *fanams* and fifteen
amunas of arecanut and thirty measures of pepper were collected from it in the time of
Cota.

Petigamua [Patigamuwa]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and seven *amunas* of arecanut and
forty measures of pepper were collected from it.

352 Uruvara [Uduwara]

Twenty three *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and twelve *amunas* of arecanut
and fifty measures of pepper were collected from it.

[xxxi] This is probably a reference to Bhuvencabahu VII (1521-1551), who is named
'Dom João' by Almeida by mistake. The reference to 'the old king' in the records
of Attidiya and Boralasgamuwa must also refer to Bhuvencabahu.

Remune [Remuna]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut and twenty measures of pepper were collected from it.

Milylava [Millewa]

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures of pepper were collected from it.

Munagama [Munagama]

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures of pepper were collected from it.

Diyagama [Diyagama]

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut and twenty nine measures of pepper was collected from it.

Coclycola [Kekuladola]

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut and twenty measures of pepper were collected from it.

Gugamua [Gungomuwa]

Vagareta [Wagawatta]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures of pepper were collected from these two lands.

Penigalella [Penigala Ella]

Naaragala Ela [Naragala Ella]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred and fifty *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut and twenty measures of pepper were collected from these two lands in the time of Cota.

Beanpetia [Bellapitiya]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures of pepper were collected from it in the time of Cota.

353 Uruvaqa Matugama []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and one *amuna* of arecanut and ten measures of pepper were collected from it in the time of Cota. Besides these *gabagam* there is in *corla* Reigão this great land^{xxxii} which is not *gabada* but the king retained for himself.

Uruvarebade [Uduwarabadda]

Fifteen thousand *fanams* were collected from it in the time of Cota. (In margin) The fort of Caleture [Kalutara] kingdom of Cota.

The *corla* pasadum [Pasdun *korale*] where stands our fort of Caleture yielded in the time of Cota fifteen thousand *fanams* inclusive of fines and *maralas*. It is said to have three hundred villages with the *gabadas* which are about ten besides the lands which are given to the *pagodas*. This *korale* has much *areca de renda*^{xxxiii} and pepper and two hundred and fifty *jalas* of paddy which is collected here.

The revenue of each *gabada*

Madapato [Meda Pattu]

Else []

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it in the time of Cota. Arecanut and pepper of these *gabadas* are said to be included in the revenue of this *corla*.

Quitulgora [Kitulgoda]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

(xxxii) *esta teRa grande.*

(xxxiii) *areca da renda* — arecanut due to the state.

354 belina [Bellana]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
Dahapitygoda [Dapiigoda]

In the time of Cota four *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Uralygama []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Peloda [Pelenda]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Yatagaopety [Yatagampitiya]

Five / six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Migahatena [Migahatenna]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Yagodapatto [Iddagodapattu]

Hagaragama []

Heravala []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and two thousand *fanams* were collected from these two lands in the time of Cota.

Turucola []

Tebuvana [Tebuwana]

Six *jalas* of paddy with three hundred *fanams* were collected from these two lands in the time of Cota.

Yataōvita []

Baobevala [Bombuwala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from these two lands in the time of Cota.

Gambadapattu [Gangabodapattu]

Varaqagoda [Warakagoda]

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

355 Tambarapagama []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Maravita [Nalawila]

Pulavita []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from these two lands. The whole *corla* Pasadam together with the *gabadas* besides the lands of the *pagodas* give one hundred and eighty *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred measures of pepper and eight thousand *fanams* and two hundred and forty *jalas* of paddy.

[in margin] the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Valavety (Walallawiti *korale*) in the time of Cota yielded fifteen thousand *fanams*.

Now in the time of Raju eighteen thousand inclusive of fines and *maralas*.

It has sixty villages with ten *gabadas* and five of *pagodas*. Recorded in the fort of Caleture.

The revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows

Amugodanaramovita [Amugoda — Naranovita]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and seven or eight *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it in the time of Cota.

Valalvita [Walallawita]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it in the time of Cota.

Hataq^amatq^a [Hataka-Mattaka]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and one *amuna* of arecanut were collected from it.

356 Mataxcheriala []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it. [It] does not have arecanut.

tumdavadora []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

earapagalagamana []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

E cagaha matugama []

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Vamvila Levuamdara []

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Magurumaxivila macala []

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Halvalaparegama []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Besides the *gabadas*, in this *corla* there is this great land which is not *gabada* but which also the king collects for himself.

bemtota [Bentota] a great land which is not *gabada* which was held by some *chamgatares*^{xxxiv} and was never of the *pagodas*. It is close to *alicão* [Alutgama] has some lands annexed to it and yielded eighteen to twenty thousand *fanams*.

357 [In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla cuculu* (Kukulu *korale*) yielded in the time of Cota six thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju eight thousand inclusive of fines and *maralas*.

It has forty five villages with nine *gabadas* and three or four of *pagodas*. Here there is robbery and at times it is disobedient. Recorded in the fort of Caleture and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Cucule [Kukulegama]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Vevadelgor(d)a [Wewa-Delgoda]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Niryheryalai [Niriella]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

(xxxiv) '... foy de hūs chamagatares e não foy numq^a dos pagodes ...' *chamgatares* = Buddhist monks.

Valcandoral [Wewelkandura]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Ydlagor (d)ja []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and one *amuna* of arecanut were collected from it.

Timaovita [Tiniovita]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Mianovai [Miyawita]

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Caravita [Karawita]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Abugor(d)a [Aruggoda]

Varagalai [Weddagala?]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from these two lands.

358 [In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Morava (Morawak *korale*) yielded in the time of Cota ten thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju thirteen thousand with fines and *maralas*. It has one hundred and twenty villages and lands, in which are included fourteen *gabadas*. Recorded in the fort of Caleture and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Moravaca [Morawaka]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it in the time of Cota. There is no pepper. There is arecanut but this goes in the *corla* [accounts].

Simgulama duze depamgu []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Opqnatallagalai []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and seven hundred *fanams* were collected from it. This land pays more *fanams* as it has more people.

Potemualay []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

tavalamai []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Cottapala [Kotapola]

Nine or ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Pottana (Poddana)

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Cattuvana []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Ur(d)uboqa (Urubokka)

Eight *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

tabangamua []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

359 Xelubalago(d)ra []

Ten or twelve *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Calumbotiyena []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Himipala []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Bexalapanattota [Beralapanatara]

Fifty *jalas* of paddy or the value of the paddy in *fanams* and six thousand *fanams* were collected from it and its environs. It has eighteen lands annexed.

[In margin] In the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Gale [Galu *korale*] and the coast yielded twenty five thousand *fanams* in the time of Cota and in the time of Raju, thirty thousand inclusive of fines and *maralas*.

It has three hundred and sixty villages and lands with forty three *gabadas* which are not included in the revenue of twenty five thousand *fanams*^{xxxv} and ten or twelve of the pagodas. Here is a fort of ours. The revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows. The *gabadas* that it has

Aqumievana [Akmeemana]

Nine *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and seven *amunas* of arecanut and ten measures of pepper were collected from it.

360 Naravala [Naravala]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

This land with the one above are said to yield five thousand *fanams* now.

Dor(d)anpe [Dodampe]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred and fifty *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures were collected from it.

Salpe []

Nine *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut and twenty measures of pepper were collected from it.

Mirympie [Miripenne]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Cattoqurumdo [Katukurunde]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and seven hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Ahamgama [Ahangama]

It is certain that eight thousand *fanams* were collected from it and its environs.

Midigama [Midigama]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

(xxxv) The text has '... *vinte e sincoenta fanoes*...' probably in error for '... *vinte e sinco mil fanoes*...' See a few lines above.

Lanumundora [Lanumodera]

Four thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

terenaogama []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Calahe [Kalahe]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures of pepper were collected from it.

Pana a gamua [Panangamuwa]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Comgala [Kombala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and thirty *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

361 Pana a gor(d)a [Pannanagoda]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut.

Algama []

Yielded six thousand *fanams*. It has cultivable land arecanut, and it is said to yield three thousand *fanams* now.

Atanamua []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Lelabuve [Lenaduwa]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Maboelava []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Talpe [Talpe]

Yielded two thousand *fanams*.

Quyhimbia [Keembiya]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut and fifteen measures of pepper were collected from it.

Calas []

Three thousand five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Unavatuna [Unavatuna]

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Qubalaela [Kumbalwella]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Quitalaopétia [Kitulampitiya]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Hatilyagor(d)a [Ettiligoda]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Yicar(d)ua [Hikkaduwa]

In the time of Cota twenty thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

362 Mapalagama [Mapalagama]

Thirty *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* and ten *amunas* of arecanut and twenty measures of pepper were collected from it. In it are hidden twelve lands which are said to yield six thousand *fanams* now.

Naigor(d)a []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Comvalvala [Kommawella?]

Two thousand five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Ur(d)gamua []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It now yields five thousand *fanams*.

Panagala [Panangala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Pilane [Pilane]

Four thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Hinidua [Hiniduma]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut and ten measures of pepper were collected from it. It is said to yield three thousand *fanams* now.

Ganegama [Ganegama]

Three thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Hahumpe [Howpe?]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Gonapinivaya [Gonapinuwela]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Ganigor(d)a Malvata [Ganegoda—]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and seven hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Magedora Malimdua (Magedora — Maliduwa)

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut and ten measures of pepper were collected from it.

363 Veragor(d)a [Weragoda]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Hirypure [Hirimbure]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

batawala []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Obar(d)a [Opata]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. There are two lands hidden in it.

Atanygita catalua [Atanikita-Kathaluwa]

Fifteen thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Besides these gabadas this *corla* has further, three great lands which are not *gabada* but also the king collects for himself.

The land Madampe [Madampe]

The land Coharia []

the land Coligor(d)a [Kuligoda]

In the time of Cota twelve thousand *fanams* were collected from them.

The land tottagama [Totagamuwa]

In the times of Cota twenty thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

The land Saparadua [Habaraduwa]

In the time of Cota twenty thousand *fanams* were collected from it and its environs with that and what comes below the king of Ceilão paid his debts.

The land Ragama [Ratgama]

Gimtotta [Gintota]

Daxala [Dadalla]

In the time of Cota fifteen thousand *fanams* were collected from them.

- 364 The king of Ceilão, Dom João paid [with] this land with the other above Saprada by name, eight thousand *pardões* which was owed to the heirs of Migel Fernandez^{xxxvi} resident who was in Ceilão and obtained a receipt of payment. It is not enjoyed by Manoel do Couto, heir of the adjoining (villages) and Saprada is enjoyed by force by Antonio da Costa Monterro by order of general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo as given by the king for the money he owed.

The land called Cataloa [Kathaluwa]

In the time of Cota twenty thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

[In margin]. In the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* dolosdas [Dolosdas *korale*] in the *diçava* of Mature and biligão [Disava of Matara and Weligama] where resides Dom Fernando *Modeliar* with his men. There is one company of Portuguese.

In the time of Cota twenty elephants were collected in this *corla*; in the time of Raju, thirty. What was paid in money is unknown. It has five hundred villages and lands with eighteen or twenty *gabadas*. Annexed to these *gabadas* are three hundred and thirteen lands and it is the same with *pagodas*. Recorded in the fort of Gale and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows

The *gabadas* which the dolosdas *corla*, Matara and biligão have are of great revenue.

Quixiva []

has sixty four lands annexed, of which some are large and (some) small and from all were collected one hundred *jalas* of paddy and two thousand five hundred *fanams* — a little more or less — in the time of Cota. There is no arecanut and no pepper.

365 Ova []

has annexed to it one hundred and twenty lands. All together yield one hundred and twenty *jalas* of paddy and in the jurisdiction of Ova are also some large and small [lands] and all yield what was declared above and five thousand *fanams* more.

(xxxvi) Miguel frz.

radavela [Radawala]

palavela [Pallewala]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from them in the time of Cota.

Daluvagor(d)a []

Five *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Varagor(d)a []

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and six thousand *fanams* were collected from it. It has six lands hidden in it and gives eleven *amunas* of arecanut.

Gor(d)apetia [Godapitiya]

Five *jalas* of paddy and six thousand *fanams* were collected from it. It has five lands hidden in it and gave four *amunas* of arecanut which is entered in the six thousand *fanams*.

Malymar(d)a [Malimmada]

With the lands which are annexed to it which are twelve [in number].

Forty or fifty *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* and ten *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

hilabar(d)a egor(d)a []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. Five lands were hidden in it.

gelamane []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. Five lands were hidden in it.

366 Ouytygamava [Owitigamuwa]

Twenty five or thirty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

tebelia pala []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

palatara []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Car(d)ar(d)ia []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

titarovita []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It has two lands hidden in it.

Canangão [Kananki]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and six thousand *fanams* were collected from it. It has twelve lands hidden in it and eight *amunas* of arecanut.

Coda a gor(d)a [Kodagoda]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand five hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut. Eight lands were hidden in it and these annexures are together with the [village] proper.

Ur(d)ugama []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. Three lands are hidden in it.

Besides the *gabadas* above there is in the *corla* three great lands below which are not *gabadas* but which also the king collects for himself.

The land Novoruna []
 babarando [Bambarenda]
 Purava []

In the time of Cota thirty thousand *fanams* were collected from them.

367 The land Valave [Walawe]

tamgala [Tangalle]
 Levava (Lewawa)

These are lands of the washermen. In the time of Cota forty thousand *fanams* were collected from them.

The land Runa [Ruhuna]
 Mahamgama [Mahagama]

In the time of Cota thirty thousand *fanams* were collected from them.

Here end the lands of the south shore.

Now to return the area of the north beginning at the fort of Malwana, three leagues from Colombo up to the Four and Seven *corlas* and where stays Salvador p^{ra} da Silva as captain major of the field.

[In margin] The kingdom of Cota

The Ina *corla* (Siyane *korale*) there is the great stockade and also our fort of Malwana where the captain general stays and this *corla* is nine leagues in circuit.

[In margin] Here is Malwana

It is said that it yielded in time of the kings of Cota inclusive of fines and *maralas* twenty five thousand *fanams* annually, and in time of Raju little more or less than that revenue. There are besides that of the *gabada* lands and it is said that there are nearly three hundred villages and lands in which are entered twenty *gabadas* and ten or twelve *pagodas* and this [*corla*] gave also five hundred measures of pepper and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

368 The *gabadas* that it has

Vique [Weke]

Forty *jalas* of paddy a little more or less and one thousand *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. Five or six lands are annexed to it. Another *mutia*^{xxxviii} said that now ninety six *amunas* of paddy seedling are taken [for sowing] and [there is] one arecanut garden, of one *amuna* of arecanut and fifty coconut trees.

Ur(d)ugão Ela []

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Atanagale [Attanagalla]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and ten *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it and it has twenty small lands — a few more or less annexed to it.

Vaduruva [Wadurawa]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy — a little more or less and eight hundred *fanams* and five or six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It is enjoyed by the constable major. The *mutia* of Malvana said that now fifty five *amunas* of seedling are sown and another village neighbouring it Mutuna [Mottuna] by name sows twelve *amunas* of seedling.

Motabua []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

(xxxvii) *mohottiyar*.

Viraymbula []

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Redavana [Radawana]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. Another *mutiar* said that now sixteen *amunas* are sown and it has one hundred coconut trees.

Mapetigama [Mapitigama]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* and two or three *amunas* of arecanut — little more or less — were collected from it. The *mutia* of Malwana said as follows. Mapitigama had sixty houses. Now it has thirty. It sows sixty *amunas* of paddy. Many of its lands are lost. It has two hundred coconut palms and some arecanut gardens (yielding) two *amunas* of arecanut. It was a *gabada* in the past. Now Raju has given it to the *pagoda* of Ceitavaqa.

369 Biagama [Biyagama]

Fifteen thousand *fanams* were collected by an agreement when it was prosperous. Now it is ruined. The *mutia* of Malvana says that earlier it has twenty houses. Now five or six and earlier it sowed sixty *amunas* of paddy, now twenty. It has two thousand coconut trees.

Canapela [Kananpella]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* and ten *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Gelyabalabora []

Ten or twelve *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and an *amuna* of arecanut or two were collected from it.

Talgasmota [Talgasmote]

Eight or nine *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It is the *paravenia* of Dom Antão.

Doreagor(d)a []

Ten or twelve *jalas* of paddy — a little more or less — and four hundred *fanams* and two or three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. The *mutia* of Malvana said that this land was in Alicur *corla* and said that in the past it had sixty houses and it sows fifty five *amunas* of paddy and has five hundred coconut trees. It is enjoyed by Groo da Costa, Portuguese *casado* of Columbo.

The five lands of Gampa [Gampaha] which are in the same Ina *corla* are as given below. Their revenues are with Alicur *corla*. They are called the five villages of the *gameas*

Vigamua []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and one *amuna* of arecanut — little more or less — which is not entered in the list of *fanams* are collected from it. It has some coconut trees whose revenues are entered in this four hundred *fanams* above.

370 Heneratgor(d)a [Heneratgoda]

Six *jalas* of paddy and four hundred and fifty *fanams* — a little more or less — and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Var(d)ugor(d)a []

Seven or eight *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

hambagama [Hambagama]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Acaravita [Akaravita]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and one thousand five hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It has seven hundred or eight hundred coconut palms which are entered in the statement above.

batavala []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Elavapetia []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and seven *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Huturypita [Tuttiripitiya]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it and [there are] some coconut palms which are entered in the statement of *fanams*.

Radavar(d)una [Radawadunna]

Sixteen *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it and [it has] some coconut palms.

Qubalulua [Kumbaloluwa]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Ve . . . eripetia []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Mivilygedebacore []

In the time of Cota . . .

The motiar of Malvana says now it sows eighty *amunas* of paddy.

371 Giraimbule [Giraimbula]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It had one thousand coconut palms.

Velivery [Welliveriya]

Has twenty five houses, sows forty five *amunas* of paddy, has one hundred coconut palms and five *amunas* of arecanut. It is enjoyed by Dom Jorge of Jafanapatão (Jaffna).

Nugama []

has fifteen houses, sows twenty five *amunas* of paddy, has one hundred coconut palms. It was not of the *gabada* first, later it was of Raigão pandar,^{xxxviii} Raju of Ceitavaq^a.

Besides these *gabadas* there are three great lands which are not *gabadas* but also the king collects for himself.

Yagor(d)a cosina [Yagoda-Kosinna]

has annexed to it thirty five small lands. Twenty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and seven *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It has coconut palms and the revenue of these are included in the one thousand two hundred *fanams*. It is enjoyed by *Ouvidor*^(xxxix) Joao Homem da Costa. It is of the *pagoda* of Calane [Kelaniya].

Alugama [Dalugama]

Forty *jalas* of paddy — a little more or less — one thousand and five hundred *fanams* and two or three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. It has many jak trees which are entered in the *fanams* and it further has two thousand coconut palms in which are

(xxxviii) Rayigam Bandara see above p 12.

(xxxix) Judge.

included those of the *pagodas* and other coconut palms which are of the *Senhorio*^{xl} which pay a revenue in *fanams* all of which is entered in the list above. It is called *mottettu*^{xli} and is one league of land — a little more or less.

- 372 In the past it was owned by *biqanacinga*^{xlii} who is now dead who inherited it from the *pagoda* of calane. It is enjoyed by João Homē da Costa.

The *mutia* of Malvana says that in the time of Raju three hundred *amunas* of paddy were sown. Today it has few people and some one hundred *amunas* are sown. It has seven or eight villages hidden in it and is forested and has coconut palms and arecanut palms and some pepper. It was the property of the *pagoda* of calane. The *ouvidor* João Homē da Costa enjoys it by (grant of) general Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo. It has two crops.

[In margin] The kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Xeivagao (Hewagam *korale*) yielded in the time of Cota six thousand *fanams* and in time of Raju seven thousand five hundred. It is six leagues in circuit. Here is the garrison of Gurubabil^{xliii}. This *corla* has one hundred villages and small lands with eight *gabadas* and six or seven of *pagodas*. This revenue is apart from that of the *gabadas* the revenue of which is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Veragor(da) [Weragoda]

Land of vast extent of cultivated flat land in which thirty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* — a little more or less — were collected from it each year in the time of Cota. It has two crops.

Polonava [Kolonnawa]

Vast land of the queen. Ten of twelve *jalas* of paddy and six hundred or seven hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Venavata [Wenawatta]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
It has two crops.

- 373 Talagama [Talangama]

It is forested. Four *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it. This land had many coconut palms and jak trees which are now all destroyed by elephants.

Malaba [Malabe]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It is forested. It has two crops.

bamiria [Bomiria]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and fifty thousand coconuts and one thousand five hundred *fanams* were collected from it. Today many of the coconut palms have been destroyed by elephants. It has seventy houses.

Cosvata []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and some three thousand five hundred coconuts and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Cosgama [Kosgama]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Caluagala [Kaluaggala]

Six *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

[xl] Lord or village holder.

[xli] *mottettu* = the lord's *dcmesne*.

[xlii] Wickramasingha — well known general of Sitawaka in the late sixteenth century. In the seventeenth century the commander of the Sinhalese militia who fought for the Portuguese was given the title Wickramasingha.

[xliii] See below p 61.

Dedigamua [Dedigamuwa]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy in two crops and five or six *amunas* of arecanut and thirty measures of pepper and three or four thousand coconuts and six or seven hundred *fanams* in taxes were collected from it in the time of Cota and in the time of Cota it was not of the *gabada*. Raju later made it his *gabada* and it was never a *paravenia* of any person.

Besides the *gabadas* above, below are three vast lands which are not *gabada*.

374 Galagederapaduca [Galegedera —]

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it in the time of Cota. This land is not of the *gabada*. It is enjoyed by the queen of Columbo.

Gurubebile [Vanaguru godalla]^{xliv}

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It is not of the *gabada*. It is said to be enjoyed by the captains of the fort there. One palm garden which has over two palm trees which brought to the *gabada* seventy or eighty thousand coconuts and every thousand [coconuts], six/seven *larins*. Manoel Francisco, *casado* of Columbo enjoys it by a despatch of the viceroy is valued at two hundred *pardāas* and it is declared that there were one thousand three hundred [coconut] palms.

[In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* alicur (Alutkuru *korale*) which is on the other bank of the *Rio de betal* [River of Wattala]^{xlv} and is nine leagues in circuit and its extreme border runs with the river of Caimel. Here is the garrison and customs post of Negumbo.

It is said that in the time of the kings of Cota it yielded twenty thousand *fanams*. The *corla* has two hundred villages and lands in which are entered thirty four *gabadas* and ten or twelve of the *pagodes* and the revenue of the *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas*, is said to be as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Galalua [Galoluwa]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* a little more or less and one *amuna* of areca were collected from it.

375 Urugampala [Udugampola]

Twelve or fifteen *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* and three or four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Mabadela [Mabodela]

has ten or twelve lands annexed to it. Ten *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* and five thousand coconuts besides that in the list of *fanams* and sixty measures of pepper and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it. Now eighty *amunas* of paddy are sown.

Querlella []

Thirty five *jalas* of paddy — a little more or less and four *amunas* of arecanut and one thousand five hundred *fanams* and seventy or eighty measures of pepper and seven thousand coconuts besides those of the *mottetu* which are entered in the one thousand five hundred *fanams*.

Veligāopety [Weligampitiya]

relavla [Rilaula]

These two lands have eight or ten lands annexed to them. They are enjoyed by the queen. Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and six thousand coconuts which were not entered in the *fanams* were collected from it.

The *motia* of Malvana said that four villages in them that they have thirty houses and sow fifteen *amunas* of paddy and have many coconut palm trees which do not belong to the *senhorio* and that the natives pay little as they are theirs and that it has a fish tax of one or two *larins* a day and at times there is a fishery.

[xlv] S. G. Perera in *Life of the Venerable Father Joseph Vaz — Apostle of Ceylon*, Galle, 1953, p. 105 identifies Gurubebile with Hanwella.

[xlv] Kelani river which flows past Wattala.

Paliyatiyana [Paliyatiyana]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three thousand coconuts and twenty measures of pepper and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

tamita [Tammita]

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It is the *paravenia* 376 of Dom Antão / The *motia* of Malvana said that now it sows twelve *amunas* of paddy.

Oberia []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and one *jala* of *nacheny*^{xlvi} and one thousand two hundred *fanams* inclusive of taxes were collected from it. There is a *muttettu* of coconut palms there is no arecanut. It is enjoyed by the queen of Columbo.

Tampu []

Ten or twelve *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* as taxes and *muttettu* of coconut palms were collected from it every year by agreement.

Sadela []

was the land of Samarakoon *modeliar*^{xlvi} [given] by bonegahu,^{xlviii} the old king. After the death of this *modeliar* it became forested. In the time of Cota it sowed some amount and it had four or five thousand coconut palms. Today it is all destroyed by elephants and seven or eight *jalas* of paddy and fifty or sixty thousand coconuts were collected from it. It does not have areca and had twenty or thirty houses.

Maguevila []

Eight or ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* from coconuts and taxes were collected from it and the *mutia* said that it is enjoyed by Manoel Dias da Lomba as *paravenia* for his kinsmen Sapuarache [Hapuaratchchi] was *vidana* there. It was not given by the king as such.

Bolate [Bollate]

Seven or eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* of coconut and taxes and *muttettu* [consisting] of one garden were collected from it. It does not have arecanut.

telamborea []

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Maguabale []

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

277 battuvita []

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Veliveria [Weliweriya]

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Mahara [Mahara]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It has no pepper nor arecanut.

Alutapala [Alutepola]

Six *jalas* of paddy and ten *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It is enjoyed by Miguel Correa da Costa.

[xvi] *nacheny* = a fine grain like kurakkan says Sophia Pieters in a footnote on page 3 of her translation of *Instructions from the governor general and the council of India to the governor of Ceylon, 1656-1665*, Colombo, 1908.

[xlvii] Samaracô *Modeliar* — in text.

[xlviii] Bhuvencabahu VII of Kotte (1521-1551).

Acaragama [Akaragama]

Six *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

p̄m̄denigor[d]a tamita []

Six *jalas* of paddy and four *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Var[d]ucalana^{xlix} []

Five *jalas* of paddy and five *amunas* of arecanut and five hundred *fanams* more or less were collected from it. Land of the potters. Curuna had one hundred and ten houses and sows forty or fifty *amunas* of paddy. It has five hundred [coconut] palm trees of the *senhorio* and besides the revenue, which is much, there is the tax of fishes and of oil—thirty two *pingos*ⁱ of fish and twelve of oil which was given every month to Raju. It is of the *gabada* and this village yields besides the *pingos* of fish and of oil, five thousand *fanams*. There are cultivated plainsⁱⁱ or rice and *nacheny* and coconut palms and other things. There is no arecanut nor pepper. It yields one *larin* [worth] or two or three of fish daily and it is further said that the coconut palm besides those of the *senhorio* are fifteen or twenty thousand. This land is enjoyed by a *casado* of Columbo, Fernão Soares by name, by a patent of the king of Ceilão. It is only curuna that Fernão Soares, *casado* of Ceilão has, for which he gives the king two *xerafims* as quit rent each year for the cultivated areas were separated and sold by the king. In payment of a debt that was owed to João Teles, *casado* of Ceilão was given a land called Radaly [] which now sows nine *amunas* and also twelve *amunas* of paddy and another cultivated area of Madure [] with another similar amount.

This was not done beforeⁱⁱⁱ.

CanuVana [Kanuvana]

has twelve houses and sows twelve *amunas* of paddy. It has revenue of coconut palms which the inhabitants customarily pay to the *senhorio*. It is enjoyed by the queen.

Tulata []

has twelve to thirteen houses, does not have cultivated land, has some coconut palms of the *gabada*. It is enjoyed by the fishermen who payed tax in fish to Raju as they now do to Dom Jeronimo every eight days on Fridays or Saturdaysⁱⁱⁱ.

dandugão [Dandugama]

Odamita [Udamitta]

Muculugao [Mukalangama]

They have thirty houses and sowed forty *amunas* of paddy, had many coconut palms for which the natives paid the *senhorio*, the tax on them and of the crop also they do not pay the *senhorio* more than *otu* which is one in ten — some little more or less according to the crop. It is enjoyed by Diogo da Silva, the crooked, a Portuguese *casado* of Columbo.

bonbety []

has twelve houses, sows seven or eight *amunas* of paddy, has some coconut trees. It belongs to the *gabada* under the queen. It is enjoyed by the milkman. Those who enjoy it give milk and ghee to the queen.

379 Masure []

had earlier fifty or sixty houses. Now there are [thirty?]^{iv} or forty and it sowed sixty *amunas* of paddy now sows, thirty or forty. It had over one thousand five hundred coconut palms. Now it has four hundred, a few more or less. It is enjoyed by the queen.

[xlix] Var(d)uculuna — text is not clear.

[i] See above footnote 110 on page 25.

[ii] *varagaes* = low, flat land near a stream. Could mean the Sinhalese *oviti* or low marshy land.

[iii] This indicates that Dharmapala in his last years had become so poor that he had to sell some of the royal villages to the Portuguese to pay his debts. This was a break from the tradition that *gabdagam* could not be permanently alienated.

[iiii] '... de oito em oito dias pera sexta e sabdo ...'

[iv] Text is not clear.

doronagor(d)a [Doranagoda]

has sixty houses, sows fifty five *amunas* and has five hundred coconut trees. It is of the *gabada*.

Mueulagamūa [Madelgomuwa]

has fifteen houses, sows twelve *amunas* of paddy and has two hundred coconut palms. It is enjoyed by the queen.

Gonavalana [

has eighty houses and sows one hundred and eight *amunas* of paddy and has five hundred coconut palms. It is enjoyed by Dom Antão by [grant of] king Dom João.

Dunaga [Dunagaha]

Nilpanagor(d)ey [Nilpanagoda]

Medamula [Medamulla]

Polvata [Polwatta]

Caluagorey [

Ganapalatota [

Matumagala [Mattumagala]

380 Valihara [Welisara]

ridua [Seeduwa]

[In margin] of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* petigal [Pitigal *korale*] is said to have yielded twelve thousand *fanams* in the time of the kings of Cota, and in the time of Raju, fifteen thousand — a little more or less — inclusive of fines and *maralas*.

This *corla* has one hundred and sixty villages and lands in which are included twenty *gabadas* and three of *pagodes*. It includes the *Ryo de Caimel*^{iv}. The limit of the *corla* is in Madambe [Madampe]. It is four leagues in circuit and the revenue of the *gabadas* that are known is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Melava [Mellawa]

Eight or nine *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Meticotua [Metikotuwa]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and thirty *amunas* of *macheny* and four thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Xendiagala [Hendiyagala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two thousand pieces of iron and three thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

radalena [Raddalana]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Manigala [Maningala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

381 Pannara [Pannare]

Five or six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Mocadura [Makandura]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

[iv] River (and port) of Kammala.

Co o gor(d)a [Kongoda]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Paluagala [Paluwelgala]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of *nacheny* and two *amunas* of *mungo* were collected from it.

Medogor(d)a [Medagoda]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Saddaduvana [Sewendana]

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Valpala [Welpalla]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Gonula [Gonulla]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Yagiyana [Yogiyana]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and five *amunas* of *nacheny* and one *amuna* of *mungo* and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

[In margin] What it yielded is known. It is not *gabada*.

Querimetiya [Kirimetiya]

Enjoyed by a Portuguese *casado* of Columbo — Manoel Gomes Raposo.

Besides these *gabadas* there are also these vast lands which are not *gabada* but which also the king collects for himself.

The land Carapety Madamba [Kadupiti Madampe]

382 has hidden in it twelve or fifteen villages. It was the right or heritage of this king of Ceilão who died — Dom João, for before he became king, it belonged to his father and mother, who was not king,^[vi] and this is separated from the petigal *corla* and in the time of the king of Ceilão thirty five thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

In the year (1)598 when Pero Toscano was factor of the conquest, Simão Corea obtained this land from the general at a rent of five hundred *xerafims* a year. The queen says that it yields much more and the count viceroy gave this land by despatch only to Dom Pedro, a native and it was held by him from the first of June of 599. So far it is not declared what is paid as quit rent.

[In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Apetigão (Hapitigam korale) Eight thousand *fanams* were collected in the time of the kings of Cota and in the time of Raju, ten thousand. This *corla* has sixty villages and lands in which are included ten *gabadas*.

[In margin] The fortification of batalqr.

Here is the fort of botale [Botale]^[vii] which is eight leagues from Columbo. This *corla* is eight leagues in circuit, the revenue of the *gabadas* — those which are known are as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Calelia [Kaleliya]

Thirty five *jalas* of paddy and two thousand *fanams* and twelve *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

[vi] ' . . . por ficar de seu pay e may, q nao foy Rey . . . ' The reference is of course to Vidiya Bandara who married Samudra Devi, daughter of Bhuvencabahu of Kotte

[vii] The fort is not mentioned in other Portuguese sources. See T. Abeyesinghe—*Portuguese rule in Ceylon*, pp. 27-31

bocalagama [Bocalagama]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred pieces of iron and three thousand *fanams* and some eight *amunas* of arecanut, a little more or less were collected from it. It had three hundred houses in the past. It is enjoyed by captain Thome de Souza d'a Ronches.

383 Talangama tenagama [Talangama-Tennagama]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Botale [Botale]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and five *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Mardabar(d)avita [Madabawita?]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Quirilbada [Kitulwala]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and two hundred pieces of iron and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Limdora [Lindara]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and three *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Ambana [Ambana]

Five *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* and fifty pieces of iron and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Ponnurua [Pohonnaruwa]

Five *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

[In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* catacambala (Katugampola *korale*) paid in the times of Cota to the kings of Cota twenty thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju twenty five thousand inclusive fines and *maralas*. This *corla* has three hundred and sixty villages and lands in which are included one hundred and fourteen *gabadas* besides the ones of the *pagodes*. It is divided by the *Ryo do Caimel* which (arises) in the interior and is nine leagues in circuit. In this *corla* are two forts — that of pimdenigor(d)e [Pentenigoda] and that of Alavoia [Alawwa] and from one to the other is three leagues and from Columbo six leagues and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

384 The *gabadas* that it has

Naguamatia []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Umduruboapalay []

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Quragcanhenegedera [Kurakkanhenegedara]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Medagama [Medagama]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Hiarabalaø Coturay []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

- Memduruvahugaopalay []
Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Mutugalay [Mutugala]
Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Metigano [Metiyangane?]
Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- havludolosbeheranemety doloay []
This *gabada* has twelve lands annexed to it and eighty *jalas* of paddy and ten thousand *fanams* are collected from it.
- Amuiray []
Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Paluvelgalay []
Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Amnavalai []
Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.
- 325 Nicahatiyegamai []
Twelve *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Pilavaturay []
Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Columbava []
Thirty five *jalas* of paddy a little more or less and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Capagamua canampalava [Kappangomuwa —]
has annexed to it twelve small lands. Thirty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.
- Amduruemdiagalai []
Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Co ogor(d)a [Kongoda]
Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Hunuvalai [Hunuwila]
Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- Qubalolva [Kumbalporuwa]
Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
- bimgor(d)a []
Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.
- Elubetia [Elibichehiya]
Varagor(d)a [] Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.
Eight *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* were collected from it.
- Vevalpala [Weivalawala]
Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

386 Aalavale [Alawala]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Varuanugamua []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

calipalagedera []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

henduvava [Henduwawa]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Alamua [Alaluwa]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

dar(d)gamua [Dandagamua]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

hapugahagedera [Hapugahagedera]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Nugavala [Nugawela]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Calalpetia []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Leudevia [Leudeniya]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

hemudava [Hemudava]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

quravatura []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Olumbua []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

387 hambagahagedera [Ambagahagedera]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

fimpiria []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Vegamua []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

ahalape []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

tamborala []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

bovala [Bowala]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Metiagane [Metiyangane]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Sitcapalay []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

primdenigór(d)a [Pentenigoda]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

veavagama visihatagaiy []

Sixty *jalas* of paddy and eight thousand *fanams* were collected from it. It has twenty seven lands annexed to it.

ramutagalai gur(d)ituciay gonbael debagaiy [Ranmutugala —]

Forty *jalas* of paddy and six thousand *fanams* were collected from it. It had three hundred houses. It is said that there are twenty nine lands and twenty nine villages hidden in it.

Vieynarayay batgao [Wisinawe —]

One hundred and twenty *jalas* of paddy and twenty thousand *fanams* were collected from it. It has nine lands annexed to it.

- 388 This *corla* catacambala (Katugampola *korale*) has one hundred and fourteen *gabada* which are entered in these forty nine above.

[In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota.

The *corla* magul (Mangul *korale*). In times of the kings of Cota it yielded four thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju six thousand. It also gave the king of Cota eighteen or twenty elephants and to Raju, thirty. There are three hundred and sixty villages and lands in this *corla* — all are of the *gabada* of the king and the inhabitants paid the their dues to the *vidana* or to the collector and once a year two persons [sic]^[viii] with *pingos* arrive for it is very far and the three *pingos* per year are brought at one time. This *corla* Māgul is divided into three *patos* [pattus].

The first is called pamdiatevanapato [] with one hundred and twenty lands in its jurisdiction.

The second is called nar(d)upato [] this also has one hundred and twenty lands.

The third is called Ur(d)uvaripato []. This also has one hundred and twenty lands in its jurisdiction and the revenue of this *corla* which wholly is of *gabada* is as follows.

The *corla* magul is wholly of the *gabada*.

This *corla* has three hundred and sixty lands and all are *gabadas* the revenues of which the king collects for himself and the inhabitants paid the revenue of this *corla* to the king or to the collector or the *vidana* of the *corla*. Every year over two thousand persons came with *pingos* once a year for it is far and bring together the three *pingos* for the year on one occasion. This *corla* is divided in three *patos* which here in Ceilão does not include either the revenues or the officials and people of Manar.

- 389 Pamdiatevana pato []

has one hundred and twenty lands in its limits and two hundred and forty *jalas* of paddy and ten thousand *fanams* and a thousand measures of ghee and one hundred pots of honey of six or seven measures of honey per pot were collected from it. — junior *durava*, *vitarana*, the negotiator, measurer, chief headman^[lix] — and gave also twenty five tusked elephants.

Mar(d)upatto []

has one hundred and twenty lands. Two hundred and twenty *jalas* of paddy, one thousand *fanams*, seven hundred measures of ghee and eighty pots of honey and fifteen tusked elephants were collected from it.

[viii] See next paragraph.

[lix] *doria menor* = junior headman; *vitarana* = ? ; *o negoecedor* — ? ; *manan(n)a* is the Sinhalese word and *medidor* the Portuguese for measurer. There is no explanation given for this interposition of a list of officials in the middle of the list of revenues.

Ur(d)uverypatto []

has one hundred and twenty lands. Three hundred *jalas* of paddy and twelve thousand *fanams* and one thousand two hundred measures of ghee and one hundred and twenty pots of honey and twenty tusked elephants — a little more or less — were collected from it.

[In margin] They are not obedient. They are of the kingdom of Cota.

The *Sete corlas* [Seven Korales] which are also of the kingdom of Cota has a person of the royal house to govern, although they do not wish to obey and none are subjected.

These people do not obey the king for their love of the Kandy which they obey more. This *sete corlas*; in the time of the kings of Cota the small lands and villages besides the *gabadas* paid annually seventy thousand *fanams*. The rest of the revenue is declared below.

- 390 1st — The first is called Curunagal (Kurunegal *korale*) which is the following. This *corla* corunagala has one hundred lands — a little more less — inclusive of twenty four *gabadas* and two or three *pagodes*. These *gabadas* are divided into two portions — one called *batgão doluay* [Batgam dolaha] and the other called *tiragão doloay* [dolaha] and all the *gabadas* gave one hundred and five *jalas* of paddy one fifty and the other fifty-five *jalas* of paddy — and four thousand *fanams* and thirty five mats of two per *larin* and they have no arecanut nor pepper.

2nd — Ones of the second *corla* which is called *devimety* (*Devamedia korale*).

The *corla* *deimety* which is divided in three parts which the natives call *pattos*. The first *patto* called Ur(d)uga [] has sixty lands in its jurisdiction in which are entered ten *gabadas* and two of *pagodes* of which ten *gabadas* were collected a sum of sixty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and fifteen mats of two to a *larin*.

The second called *medapatto* [] has sixty five villages in its jurisdiction in which are entered ten *gabadas* and three of *pagodes* and the ten *gabadas* give in two crops per year sixty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand five hundred *fanams*. There are no mats, nor pepper nor arecanut.

The third called *yaticahapatto* [] has sixty lands in which are entered ten *gabadas*. There are no lands of the *pagodes* and of which ten *gabadas* were collected sixty *jalas* of paddy and two thousand five hundred *fanams* and twenty mats. There is no arecanut, nor pepper.

- 391 3rd One of the third *corla* which is called *Iriyala* (*Hiriyala*)

Iriyala corla is also divided with its *gabadas* into three *pattos* the first of which is called Ur(d)ugahapato [] has thirty lands in its jurisdiction in which are entered four *gabadas* and three of *pagodes* and of which four *gabadas* were collected thirty five *jalas* of paddy and nine hundred *fanams* and ten mats. The second is called *Medapatto* []. This *patto* has forty lands in which are entered four *gabadas* and four of the *pagodes* and from the *gabadas* were collected thirty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* and twenty mats. The third was called *yaticahapatto* []. There is in its jurisdiction thirty lands in which are entered two vast *gabadas* and three of the *pagodes* and of the two *gabadas* were collected fifty *jalas* of paddy — one gave thirty *jalas* and the other twenty *jalas* — and one thousand *fanams* and ten mats.

4th Ones of the fourth *corla* which is called *Madure* [Madure] which with its *gabadas* is divided in three *pattos*.

The *corla* *Madure* is divided in three *pattos*, the first called *Urugahapatto* [] has twenty five lands in its jurisdiction in which is entered three *gabadas* and two of the *pagodes* and from the three *gabadas* were collected thirty two *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and eight mats.

(ix) Text has ' . . . *vite e sincoenta* . . . ' which should read *cento e sincoenta* (one hundred and fifty or *vite e sinco* (twenty five). In comparison with the number of villages of other *pattos* in the *Madure corla* the latter appeared more likely.

392 The second called Medapatto [] has in its jurisdiction twenty lands in which are entered three *gabadas* and it does not have lands of the *pagodes* and of the three *gabadas* were collected fifty *jalas* of paddy — one fifteen *jalas* and another fifteen and the other twenty *jalas* of paddy — and nine hundred and fifty *fanams* and fifteen mats.

The third called yaticahapatto [] has also twenty lands in its jurisdiction in which are entered two *gabadas* and two of *pagodes* and of the two *gabadas* were collected forty *jalas* of paddy and six hundred and fifty *fanams* and twelve mats.

5th The *gabadas* of the fifth *corla* which is called Ur(d)ugor(d)a [Udugoda] The *corla* Ur(d)ugor(d)a was also divided into three *pattos* — the first was called Ur(d)ugaha patto [] has fifteen lands in its jurisdiction in which are entered two *gabadas*. There are no lands of the *pagodaes*. From the two *gabadas* were collected thirty five *jalas* of paddy in two crops a year and seven hundred *fanams* and there are no mats.

The second called Medapatto [] has thirteen villages in its jurisdiction in which is entered one *gabada* and from this one *gabada* were collected thirty five *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams*.

The third called yaticahapatto [] had twelve villages in its jurisdiction in which was entered one *gabada* and from this *gabada* was collected twenty *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams*. This *corla* does not have mats.

393 6th Ones of the sixth *corla* which is called quexia [Asgiriya]

The quexia has thirty [?] lands in which are entered five *gabadas* from which are collected sixty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* and twenty mats.

7th — Ones of the seventh *corla* which is called Vely [Willi]

The *corla* Vely has one hundred and ten lands in which are entered ten *gabadas* and from the ten *gabadas* are collected one hundred and twenty *jalas* of paddy and 1300 *fanams* and twenty five mats.

Here ends the *sete corlas*.

[In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Ur(d)apala [Udapola Korale] which is between the seven and the four *korales*. It is said that in the times of Cota it paid the king three thousand *fanams* besides the revenue of paddy.

It has eighty villages and lands in which are entered twenty *gabadas* — a few more or less — and four of the *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

[In margin] It is obedient only because we have a fortification here.

Galababagama [Galbodagama]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Goruggama [Morugama]

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Velava [Wellewa]

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and twenty *fanams* were collected from it.

Madalagama [Madalagama]

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

394 Vadava [Bandawa]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

denegamua [Denegamuwa]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

gorigamua [Godigamuwa]

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

[lxi] 'tem trima teRas

Ar(d)amgor(d)a [Aragoda]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Minoxua []

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred twenty *fanams* were collected from it.

Valaharagamua [Barahelagamuwa]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

devalepalo [Devalepola]

Five *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and thirty *fanams* were collected from it.

Abagubura [Ambakumbura]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Comoraperia [Kumarapediya]

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Caluemdiagala [Kaluhendiyagala]

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

tebilitegor[d]a []

Six *jalas* of paddy and one hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

tutuxypitia [Tuttiripitiya?]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Lavanegedera []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Madatiavala []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

395 galbar(d)adivale []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

telampety []

The *coatro corlas* [Four Korales] which are of the kingdom of Ceitavaqa [Sitawaka] of Madune [Mayadunne] has persons of the royal house by whom it is governed. It is not obedient now. It is at times obedient and at times not for the love of Candia which it obeys more.

[In margin] It is not obedient

Of the kingdom of Ceitavaqa

These *coatro corlas* paid to Madune fifty thousand *fanams* of land and small villages besides the *gabadas* the revenues of which are below as declared earlier.

Ones of the first *corla* which is called quy'dibar(d)a [Kinigoda]

[In margin] Here we have the fort agaltota [Etgaleto] which was recently made on the Frontier of Candia.

The *corla* quimdibar(d)a [] has one hundred and twenty lands in which are entered ten *gabadas* and four of *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas* of the *corla* above is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Xeramdivala [Randiwala]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and nine hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Qur(d)agama [Kudagama]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy in two crops a year and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

396 Madatiawala [Madawala]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

diagama [Diyagama]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams*—it is said three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

detavala [Detawala]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Valagama vitarama [Walagama-Wattarama]

Thirty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Uruladeniya [Uruladeniya]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Madalagama [Mangalagama]

Six *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It has four hundred bulls obliged to serve in transport.

Pynavala [Pinnawala]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Cav(d)vaVala []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it. Besides the *gabadas* above there is this vast land which is not *gabada* which also the king collects for himself.

Pemdenigor(d)a []

has one hundred bulls obliged to serve and three thousand *fanams* as dues of the lands or cattle which are eaten ^{lxii} awere collected from it.

397 Ones of the second *corla* which is called galabara [Galboda]

Vamgoda []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Macar(d)avar(d)a [Makadawara]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Ur[d]uvevela [Uduwewela]

Thirty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

divelim [Diwala]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* — it is said eight hundred — were collected from it.

Ulapitia []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Galatara [Galatara]

Thirty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Atampitia [Attapitiya]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

[lxii] ' . . . tres mil fanoes d Remda das teRas ou vacys q comião . . . ' At first glance this seems to indicate beef-eating among the Sinhalese — but it is difficult to believe this of a village held by Rajasinha who was converted to Hinduism in later life. It could mean a Portuguese innovation following the conquest of the Four Korales in 1593-4.

Galabar(d)agama [Galbodagama]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and three hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it.

Madugor(d)a []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

398 helimvar[d]a []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it. This *corla* with the *gabadas* besides the lands of the *pagodes* gives three hundred *amunas* of arecanut, a little more or less and seven hundred *measures* of pepper and sixty red mats. This *corla* also has bulls obliged to serve the king in carrying arecanut, pepper, rice and paddy and salt and other things.

Ones of the third *corla* which is called panacurva [Paranakuru]

The *corla* panacurva has fifty lands in which are entered nine *gabadas* and three of *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

paranaeurva []

Twenty *jalas* of paddy — a little more or less and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

debatgama [Debatgama]

Thirty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Aranage [Aranayake]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and seven hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

duladenia [Duladeniya]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy in two crops a year and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Petigamana [Petigamma]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

genigaspetia [Ginigahapitiya]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

talaga agor(d)a []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

399 demalaguiria [Demalahiria]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Mana gamana []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it. This *corla* with the *gabadas* and without the land of the *pagodes* gave two hundred and fifty *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *measures* of pepper.

Ones of the fourth *corla* which is called Mayaduna [Mayadunu]

The *corla* Mayaduna has thirty lands in which are entered seven *gabadas*. There are no lands of the *pagodes* and the revenues of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has.

Colabalamula []

One hundred *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* are collected from it. It has thirteen lands annexed to it and has two hundred bulls obliged to serve in transport.

paranagamua []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and five hundred and fifty *fanams* were collected from it and it has three hundred bulls of service. Two lands are annexed to it.

Veur(d)a [Weuda]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It has two lands annexed to it and has twenty bulls of service.

dematavala []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

400 Valaborem Navagamua []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it. It has three lands annexed to it and in proximity to it.

This *corla* with the *gabadas* and without the lands of the *pagodes* gave one hundred and twenty *amunas* of arecanut and two hundred measures of pepper.

Here ends the *quatro corlas*.

401 [In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* amdapandur [Handapandunu *korale*] paid two thousand five hundred *fanams* in the time of the kings of Cota. It has sixty villages and lands in which are entered eight *gabadas* and three of the *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Aquiriagala []

Seven *jalas* of paddy in two crops a year and two hundred *fanams* was collected from it.

Magura []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Aluvatura []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Quiningama []

Six *jalas* of paddy and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Amdapandum [Handapandunugama]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

diaunata []

Ten *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

cosgamana []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Narambada []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three thousand *fanams* were collected from it. This *corla* with the *gabadas* gave one hundred and twenty measures of pepper and twenty five *amunas* of arecanut.

402 [In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Veligal [Beligal *Korale*] in the time of the kings of Cota paid fifteen thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju sixteen thousand. It is said that it has nearly three hundred villages and lands inclusive of twenty eight *gabadas*.

Here is the garrison and fort of Maniqavare [Menikkadawara] fully enclosed, three leagues from the frontier of candea and seventeen leagues from Columbo. It has six bulwarks and this *corla* is nine leagues in circuit and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

debaragala nimitigala []

Three hundred *jalas* of paddy in two crops a year — a little more or less — and fifteen *amunas* of arecanut and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from this land.

Algama madurepetia [Algama-Madurupitiya]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

dorovaqa Valapaana [Dorawaka-Bollapana?]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and six *amunas* of arecanut and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

rditiagama Manicar(d)avara [— Menikkadawara]

Twenty *jalas* of paddy and ten *amunas* of arecanuts and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

levagama car[d]igamua [Lewangama-Kadigomuwa]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

quirivala diqpitia []

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and fifteen *amunas* of arecanut and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

matumagor(d)a abe []

Forty *jalas* of paddy and fifteen *amunas* of arecanut and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

harambala holambua [Alawala? — Holambuwa]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and six *amunas* of arecanut and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

403 Atalearagala [Atale-Weragala]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and twenty five *amunas* of arecanut and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Cottanave []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and six *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

tambadiva Ella [Tambadava]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and fifteen *amunas* of arecanut and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Ubatgama Matiagane []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

rytigahapuna Ela []

Eight *jalas* of paddy and six *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

tubaliadola [Tumbaliyadda]

Six *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

dematqpitia [Dematampitiya]

Six *jalas* of paddy and three *amunas* of arecanut and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

curunagor(d)a [Kurunegoda]

Six *jalas* of paddy and two *amunas* of arecanut and one hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Avamdora [Arandara]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Ambipusa [Ambepussa]

Six *jalas* of paddy and four *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Matumagora [Mattumagoda]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

doronagor(d)a batavala []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and seven hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

These *olas* are lost.

404 These are the lands

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[In margin] The kingdom of Cota

The *corla* deigambala (Dehigampal *korale*) in the time of Cota paid the kings twenty thousand *fanams* and to Raju twenty three thousand. It has sixty villages and lands in which are included four *gabadas*. Now the lands of betel which are separate are not in this *corla*. It is near bolategão [Bulatgama] there are many villages and it has much arecanut. It has a common border with candia [Kandy] and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Nimuhela [Nivunhella]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* and six *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Moravata [Morawatta]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* and four *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Moralyma petigama [Moraliya-Mapitigama]

Six *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and one thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

Galatare []

Six *jalas* of paddy and five *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

405 The *corla* panavala (Panawala *korale*). Here is the fort of Ruanela (Ruanwella) and is on the other side of the river from deigambala *corla*. In the time of Cota it paid twelve thousand *fanams* and in the time of Raju fifteen thousand *fanams*. It has forty two villages and lands with eight *gabadas*. It extends eastwards from the fortress of Ceitavaça [Sita waka] and it runs along with panavala *corla* and with corvite *corla* and Atalugão *corla* and with Xeivagão *corla* in the way in which it borders these *coatro corlas* of which I said. The revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Ur(d)ugmattaca damagamua [Udumatta-Kendangamuwa]

Thirty *jalas* of paddy in two crops and fifteen *amunas* of arecanut and one thousand three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Maniagama [Mannangama]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Canalgama [Panawalgama]

Six or seven *jalas* of paddy were collected from it.

Veneripitia [Meneripitiya]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and ten *amunas* of arecanut and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Patberia [Patberiya]

Seven *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and five hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Elavala [Ellawala]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and ten *amunas* of arecanut and eight hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Panavala [Panawala]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and thirteen *amunas* of arecanut and seven hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Garaniagala [Deraniyagala]

Five *jalas* of paddy and eight *amunas* of arecanut and three hundred *fanams* and five hundred pieces of jaggery were collected from it.

- 406 The king of Ceilão gave the palm garden which belonged to Raju and which yielded sixty or seventy *xerafims* annually in the past to Francisco da Silva, *fidalgo*^(ixiii) at thirty *xerafims* a year as quit rent. He died and Dom Jeronimo obtained a revenue of one hundred and eighty four *xerafims* a year [from it].

[In margin] The kingdom of Cota

The *corla* Atalugão (Atulugam *korale*) in the times of the kings of Cota paid ten thousand *fanams* and of Raju twelve thousand. It has thirty two lands which include one *gabada* whose revenue is as follows.

The one *gabada* that it has

Atalugama [Atulugama]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* and five *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

[In margin] The kingdom of Cota

The *corla* corvite (Kuruwiti *korale*) in time of Cota paid to the kings fifteen thousand *fanams* and in time of Raju eighteen thousand. Here are two forts — that of corvite [Kuruwita] and that of batugedra [Batugedera] and it is ten leagues from Columbo. Besides the lands of betel there are sixty four lands in which are entered ten *gabadas* whose revenue is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

quruwita [Kuruwita]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and four thousand *fanams* were collected from it.

quiririla [Kiriella]

Two *jalas* of paddy and if also there is sowing in forest land two other *jalas* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

- 407 Ilanela []

Three *jalas* of paddy and five *amunas* of arecanut and two hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

The *mutia* declared that the *ola* of the other *gabadas* of this *corla* was lost. Neighbouring this *corla* corvite are these lands which are of betel which are the lands of bole-tegão [Bulatgama] which are of betel.

(ixiii) *fidalgo* = (Portuguese) nobleman.

Gilmale [Gilimale]
 babaravata [Bambarabotuwa]
 daypahavala [Dehipahala]

The lands above paid in time of cota forty thousand *fanams* and gave every month four hundred thousand leaves of betel and give much arecanut. There are many villages bordering candia. It is next to the *corla* deigambala.

[In margin] They are not obedient.

The Cimq^a *corlas* (Five Korales) of the *dicava* of dinavaq^a [*disava* of Denawaka].

Here there was always a person of the royal house who was like a governor.

[In margin] Of the kingdom of Cota

All these *sinq^o corla* paid in times of the Cota fifty five thousand *fanams* from villages and small lands besides the *gabadas* whose revenue is given below and [what was] declared before [was] of the *corla* itself and in the time of Raju sixty thousand *fanams* They also gave the king of Cota over thirty elephants including *alias*^{lxiv} as well as the young and the females. Besides *gabadas* and lands of the *pagodes* there are other *comedias*.^{lxv} There are precious stones and crystals.

[In margin] Precious stones and crystals.

408 [Those of] the first *corla* which is called dinavaq^a [Denawaka]

The *corla* denavaq^a has forty two lands. Does not have *gabadas*.

[Those of] the second *corla* called Etravava [Etrawawa]

The *corla* Etravava has forty five lands with two *gabadas* and five of *pagodes* and the revenue of the two *gabadas* is as follows.

The *gabadas* that it has

Varaqavela [Warakawela]

Fifteen *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and twelve *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

cosgama [Cosgama]

Twenty five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand two hundred *fanams* and ten *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Besides these *gabadas* there is this great land which is not *gabada* but which also the king collects for himself.

The land Aluturiora [Alutnuwara]

In the time of Cota paid fifteen thousand *fanams* and to Raju seventeen thousand.

[Those of] the third *corla* which is called Metiavava [Meterawawa]

The *corla* Metiavava has fifty four villages and land with one *gabada* and four of *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabada* is as follows.

The *gabada* is

Andaquiria [Handagiriya]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut

409 [Those of] the fourth *corla* which is called Ugacalutotta [Uggalkaltota]

The *corla* Ugacalutotta has thirty two villages and lands in which are entered two *gabadas* whose revenue is as follows.

The *gabadas* are

Valagor(d)a [Walaboda]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and two *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

[lxiv] *aliās* = tuskless elephants.

[lxv] *comedias* = maintainance lands or lands granted to subjects as opposed to royal and temple villages.

Opanaqa [Opanayake]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and five hundred *fanams* and twelve *amunas* of arecanut and one thousand coconuts from two gardens that the king had in this land were collected from it.

[Those of] the fifth *corla* which is called Polona [Kolonna]

The *corla* Polona has forty five villages and lands in which is one *gabada* and five of *pagodes* and the revenue of the one *gabada* is as follows.

The *gabada* is

Valalgor(d)a [Walalgoda]

Thirty *jalas* of paddy and eight hundred *fanams* and fifteen *amunas* of arecanut were collected from it.

Here ends the *cimq^o* *corlas*.

The *corla* Atacalão (Atakalan *korale*) in time of the kings of Cota paid fifteen thousand *fanams* and in time of Raju eighteen thousand. It has one hundred and twenty villages and lands in which are included eight *gabadas* and ten of *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas* is as follows.

410 The *gabadas* are

Galapaya [Galpaya]

Thirty *jalas* of paddy and one thousand five hundred *fanams* — a little more or less — were collected from it.

Tumbala []

Atacalapanne [Atakalanpanne]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and three thousand pieces of iron were collected from these two lands. Tumbahala gave by itself five hundred *fanams* and eight *amunas* of arecanut — a little more or less — and atacalapanne gave eight hundred *fanams* and did not have arecanut.

hirymedagama [Hiramadagama]

Twelve *jalas* of paddy were collected from it and [it] gave besides one hundred and twenty mammoties and three hundred pieces of iron and four hundred *fanams*.

Madampe [Madampe]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and thirty *amunas* of arecanut and one hundred pieces of iron and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it. The thirty *amunas* of arecanut is in the list of two hundred *amunas* of arecanut of the *corla*.

Rydivita [Ridiwita]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and one thousand *fanams* as tax on the palm trees and jaggery and iron were collected from it.

Ma a Imbura [Masimbula]

Six *jalas* of paddy and fifty *amunas* of arecanut and thirty mammoties and forty pieces of iron and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it and the fifty *amunas* of arecanut [were] included in the list of two hundred *amunas* of the *corla*.

Yahalevala [Yahalewela]

Five *jalas* of paddy and one thousand pieces of iron and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Opanaqa Malmigoda []

Seven *jalas* of paddy and three hundred pieces of iron and five *amunas* of arecanut and four hundred *fanams*. The arecanut is in the list of the *corla*.

411 Unuvalapane []

Sixty great mammoties *de puxaras*,^{lxvi} stones for the fishery^{lxvii} from the mines were collected from it and it gave besides one hundred and sixty pieces — sickles, axes, mammoties and one thousand pieces of iron and four hundred *fanams*. It has not paddy nor arecanut.

This *corla* has eight *patis*.^{lxix} The king has four and the queen has two and the *vidana* of the *corla* has two which were later taken by the king from him and these eight *patis* or houses of milkmen gave every year one thousand measures of ghee for the *gabada* of the king.

The *corla* navadam (Nawadun *korale*) in times of Cota paid twelve thousand *fanams* and in time of Raju fifteen thousand. It has two hundred villages and lands in which are entered four *gabadas* and twenty of the *pagodes* and the revenue of the *gabadas* is the following.

The *gabadas* are

Vatugedera [Batugedera]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and four hundred *fanams* were collected from it. The arecanut is in the *account* of the *corla*.

Ganegama [Ganegama]

Eight *jalas* of paddy and three hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Vttapetia []

Twelve *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

Panaveana [Pannawenna]

Ten *jalas* of paddy and six hundred *fanams* were collected from it.

412 Copy of the order that the count viceroy sent regarding the lands of the *pagodes* which are held by the friars of St. Francis.

Dom Francisco da Gama, conde de Vidigueira, Admiral and viceroy of India etc., . . . [I] make it known to Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo, captain general of the conquest of the island of Ceilão that in an instruction that the king my lord sent to me this present year written on the twenty first of November [fifteen] 98 is section 26 which stated the following — [I] have seen what you wrote to me about the said Dom Jeronimo having given the rents of the *pagodes* to the said frairs. [I] do not approve of what was done nor of any other thing which in effect gives rents [to them] for this is a thing against their vows but they ought to have the ordinary grants which it was customary to give and which they ought to have ; in case they are in possession of the said villages they ought to give them up and [I] do not consent that they should have any rents and they should agree wholly with this resolution as it suits their profession — by this I order in the name of the said lord that as soon as you receive this order that the friars of the order of St. Francis be dispossessed of all the revenues of the *pagoda* lands of the said island that had been given to them and that these be entrusted to the factor of His Majesty and that the said factor enter the receipts of these revenues as they are and collect them in the same way as is done to others that belong to the said lord ; and this [order] be copied in the Book of revenues and expenses of the said factor in order that it is known as to how my orders were executed and in the Book of Letters what had been taken from the said friars in the revenue of the *pagodes* which they ought not to have had but had had for themselves against the statute of the frairs of St. Francis about which His Majesty sent orders by this section and the very documents of recovery should be obtained and sent by return [post]. This should be done as soon as possible and it will not be passed by the Chancellory as it is in the service of His Majesty. Written by Gomes Roiz de Santa Cruz — [signed] The count viceroy. Registered by Luis da Gama in the 2nd Book of laws, folio 29 without any payment by Gomes Roiz de Santa Cruz.

This order was carried out without any hesitation in Colombo On 9 of November

99. Dom Jeronimo de Azevedo.

[lxvi] We do not know what this meant.

[lxvii] Divers' stones for the pearl and chank fishery off the north west coast of Ceylon

[lxix] *patti* [Sinhalese] — dairy.

APPENDIX I

List of expenses of the Franciscans^[1]

Our Lady of Victory in Mature [Matara]	100x	
Our Lady of Conception in Gale [Galle]	200x	
S. Antonio in Alicão [Alutgama]	100x	
Our Lady of Health-Caleture [Kalutara]	100x	
House of Neophytes — S. Thome	100x	
S. João of Matual [Mutwal]	100x	
S. Francisco of Negumbo [Negombo]	100x	
Mother of God in the Province of Negumbo	120x	
Porciuncula in caimel [Kammala]	100x	
S. Anna — Calane [Kelaniya]	150x	
S. Jeronimo — Nagão [Nawagamuwa]	150x	
S. Antonio — Palanchena	150x	
	1470x ^s	
Malvana [Malwana]	100x	} six <i>xerafims</i> and half a <i>candil</i> of rice per month each
Bategdra [Batugedera]		
Ceitavaka [Sitawaka]		
Manicravare [Menikkadawara]		
Atgaletoata [Etgaletoata]	-388x ^s	
	1858 <i>xerafims</i> of 3 <i>larins</i> each	

Certified by Estevão Franquo — writer of factory with records of João da Costa Perestello made on order of the captain general in Columbo 30th Nov. 1599.

APPENDIX II

Land grants^[1] — villages granted by the captain general

Village	Korale	Holder	muske- teers	Obligations natives musketeers	quit rents (annual)
Quiriela [Kiriella]	Corvite [Kuruwiti]	Manoel de Mello	1	—	20 <i>xerafims</i>
Galalua []	Alicur [Alutukuru]	Lourenco Teixeira de Macedo	—	—	70 "
Mapelegama [Mapalagama]	—	Antonio de Matos	1	—	20 "
Petedua ehape []	Gale [Galú]	Maria Minas	—	2	15 "
Xabradua Habaraduwa]	Gale [Galú]	Antonio da Costa	1	2	40 "
Derigam []	Hewagam [Hewagam]	Francisco Roiz Fronteiro [servant of captain general]	1	1	30 "
Ninatua []	Beligal [Beligal]				

(1) The Portuguese original is in the *Archivo Nacional do Torre de Tombo*; *Manuscritos da Livraria* 1 109 pp. 32-33 and has been published in *Studia* 20-22(1967) pp. 56-57. For a list of Franciscan churches three decades later see Robrecht Boudens, *The Catholic church in Ceylon under Dutch rule*, Rome 1957. pp. 34-39.

Balavale []	Ina [Siyane]	Manoel Ferreira Fronteiro (servant of the captain general)	1	1	25 <i>xerafims</i>
Nungama []	Ina [Siyane]	Jeronimo Bernades (<i>casado</i> , servant of captain general)	1	1	10 "
Metambua []	Ina [Siyane]	Bras Nunes Fronteiro (servant of captain general)	1	1	20 "
Obe teava []	Ina [Siyane]				
Bombaranda Bambaranda	Mature [Matara]				
[Maragore []	Ina [Siyane]	Thome Ferreira Fronteiro (servant of captain general)	1	1	10 "

Eleven villages granted for 320 *xerafims* of 19 musketeers.[2]

Gabada villages and coconut gardens granted by the captain general

Village/garden	Holder	Obligation	Period for which grant is effective
Garden at Ruanella [Ruanwella]	Julião Teixeira	185 <i>xerafims</i>	one year from 1 Dec. 1599
The small coconut garden (which is between Panadura and Kalutara)	Balthazar Roiz	70 <i>xerafims</i>	one year from 1 Sept. 1599
Veque [] in Ina [Siyane] <i>corala</i>	Luis Gomes, captain of the <i>oachas</i>	120 <i>xerafims</i>	one year from 1 Dec. 1500
Bocalagama []	Thome de Souza (now worth more)	150 <i>xerafims</i>	—

Pagoda lands of the Friars of S Francis given to the following

Holder	Village	Korale	Obligations	Period of grant
Gaspar Velozo	Salpe []	Alicur [Alutkuru]	130x	one year from 1.12.1599
Antonio Dias (native)	Calenegama []	Ina [Siyane]	} 56x	two years from 1.12.1599
	Yalagala []	Ina [Siyane]		
	Creciana []	Salpeti [Salpiti]		
	Venivel []	Salpeti [Salpiti]		
Simão Peres (native)	Polpetim []	Salpeti [Salpiti]	} 20x	two years from 24.11.1599
	Arugura []	Salpeti [Salpiti]		
Francisco Correa goldsmith (native)	Dompe []	Ina [Siyane]	} 175x	two years from 24.11.1599
	Dequratena []	Ina [Siyane]		
Francisco de Souza (native)	Perpetiana []	Salpeti [Salpiti]	} 20x	two years from 1.1.1600
	Ynademala []	Salpeti [Salpiti]		
	Enicape []	Salpeti [Salpiti]		
Domingos Alemão (native)	Veral []	Salpeti [Salpiti]	20x	two years from 1.1.1600
Vanaca Zala <i>motiar</i> (Panikki Rala <i>Mohottiyar</i>)	Nagam (with annexa- tions) (Nawagamua)		250x	from 1.9.1598 to 1.9.1599

[1] *ANTT Manuscritos Livraria* pp. 25-29.

[2] The total in the above table comes to 20 but the document has 19 as the total.

REVIEWS

I

Sinhala Writing and the New Critics. Ranjini Obeyesekere (M. D. Gunasena, Colombo, 1974). pp. xxxv, 119.

The Sinhalese literary tradition which begins about the third century B.C. had been, in its early stages, strictly religious in content. It is only by about the seventh century that it concerns itself with lay life as well. Alongside is found a rudimentary form of literary criticism: the earliest being a few spontaneous critical comments by the poets of Sigiri. In the tenth century after *Siyabas Lakara*, an adaptation of the Sanskrit work *Kāvya-darsa* of Dandin (8th Century) creative and critical work, especially in the field of poetry gradually came under the influence of Sanskrit literature. This situation by and large continued right up to the nineteenth century when under British rule a totally different cultural impact began to make itself felt leading subsequently to far reaching consequences.

Ranjini Obeyesekere's *Sinhala Writing and the New Critics* is the first major attempt at documenting this history of the critical tradition in Sinhalese literature. As the title suggests the author's major concern is with the twentieth century. She first provides a succinct account of the history of Sinhalese literature up to the nineteenth century (pp. XV-XXXV) and secondly a brief survey of the traditions of literary criticism during that period (pp. 1-13). Then she goes on to trace the emergence of a modern school of criticism (pp. 14-37) followed by a concentrated study (pp. 38-75) of the two major critics of modern times—Martin Wickramasinghe (1891-1976) and E. R. (Ediriweera) Sarathchandra (b. 1914). And finally she gives a brief account of the critical scene up to sometime in the late sixties (pp. 76-89). Thus SWNC being a pioneering venture into a field which is in urgent need of documentation contributes in no small measure to studies in modern South Asian literature.

The author has cogently demonstrated the manner in which the modernization in Sinhalese literature occurred under the auspices of an intelligentsia bilingual in Sinhalese and English. This class of men seduced "by the sweet and heady poison of western enlightenment" (to borrow a phrase from Elie Kedourie) took upon itself the task of moulding a new critical orientation and that of bringing about a creative output similar to that encountered in Western literature. Nevertheless the appearance of the new literary movement was neither sudden nor dramatic. As Obeyesekere has perceptively pointed out, when the prophets of the new literary movement appeared on the scene a receptive climate had come into being in the socio-cultural background. Thus by the time of the *Kukavi Vādya* the scholastic delvings into literary compositions, as seen in the dozen or so "controversies" from the mid nineteenth century onwards, had reached an intellectual stalemate. A new approach had become a sheer necessity. In the meantime, from the early nineteenth century the processes of Westernization, particularly in the spheres of education and the mass media had been in steady progress—creating a suitable climate for the emergence of the new literary ideology. Historically, the appearance of the two personalities Wickramasinghe and Sarathchandra was most opportune. For they fulfilled an urgent need—that of laying the foundations of a truly modern Sinhalese literature with standards comparable with modern literatures in other parts of the world.

With regard to the overall picture presented in the SWNC however, I should like to mention one major shortcoming. That is the failure to point out the principal tendency in the literary scene since late sixties. With the decline of the so called 'Peradeniya School' a 'Socialist realist' school has come into the limelight and it has been the dominant influence in the literary scene since 1970. The roots of the movement in fact may be traced to the early writings of Wickramasinghe himself, for example, the concern for the lot of the poor and the downtrodden in stories such as "Kuvēni Hāmi" in his first collection of short stories *Gāhāniyak* (1924) and in the soliloquies of the angry young man Vijita Manuwarna in an early novel *Miriṅgu Diya* (1925). Incidentally, this was about ten years before the founding of the Marxist political movement in Sri Lanka. Moreover, one of Wickramasinghe's criticisms of Sinhalese classics has been that they portray only the life of the upper classes. Found in his early as well as recent critical writings¹ this again is indicative of the above propensity

1. For example see *Sāhityodaya Kathā*, Mount Lavinia, 1932, pp. 70-72 and *Sampradāya Hā Vicāraya*, Colombo, 1971, p. 61.

in his thinking. And it was Wickramasinghe who in his *Sōviet Dēśayē Nāgīma* (1962) first introduced the concept of 'socialist realism' (in his words *Samāja Sattīā Yathārthavādaya*) to the Sinhalese reader. It became in the late sixties a convenient weapon in the hands of writer political activists against the ruling UNP.² Since 1970 when the United Left Front came into power with an avowed socialist programme the 'socialist realist' view of the arts has had undisputed sway. And in the contemporary literary milieu one often hears the slogans "art for the people" and "literature for national development". I feel that this contemporary factor is of major relevance because it is here that the parting of the ways between the pioneer collaborators Wickramasinghe and Sarathchandra is most apparent today. While Wickramasinghe became the father-figure in the socialist realist school³, Sarathchandra maintains that an aesthetic activity such as literature on the one hand and political or economic pursuits on the other are conceptually incompatible.⁴

With regard to the details presented in the SWNC one comes across several flaws such as the failure to examine the first three editions of Sarathchandra's *Sāhitya Vidyāva* (in 1949, 1952 and 1955 respectively) revised each time with drastic changes. In the SWNC only the fourth and last edition of 1965, which is a complete re-writing of the whole book, has been considered. This omission has prevented the author from making a comprehensive study of Sarathchandra's critical stance. Another weakness is the lack of proper historical perspective of the writings of Wickramasinghe. The author has failed to observe that the first attempt of Wickramasinghe at literary criticism was in a collection of essays entitled *Sāśtrīya Lēkhana*, published in 1919 at Galle. Moreover the dates when his major critical works of the early period was published have been left out. It must be admitted that the first appearances of *Sinhala Sāhityōdaya Kathā* (1932), *Vicāra Lipi* (1941), *Guttīla Gītaya* (1943) and *Sinhala Sāhityāye Nāgīma* (1946) are of major significance not only in his literary career but also in the history of modern Sinhalese critical writing.

Another drawback of the book is the dependence sometimes on secondary sources when primary sources are available. For example for the discussion on *Kukavi Vādaya* the author depends on an account given by Sarathchandra while a complete collection of the material of the controversy is available (i.e. Jayantha Weerasekera ed., *Kukavi Vādaya*, Colombo 1938, second edition 1963). This oversight has resulted in her being somewhat unfair to certain pronouncements of Cumaratunga—especially his answer to "Vijita Manuwarna" on characterization.⁵ Incidentally Obeyesekera appears to have overlooked also the fact that it was Wickramasinghe who took part in the controversy under the pseudonym Vijita Manuwarna.⁶

However, in spite of these shortcomings SWNC remains a significant contribution to Sinhala Studies. The author does have a clear grasp of the essentials of the literary trends she has examined. And she has displayed a consummate skill in the analysis of her material. For example, I would like to cite her analysis of, the background to the beginning of English influence (vide, pp. 23-26). On the whole SWNC provides a useful introduction to the formative years of modern Sinhalese literature—a period which is perhaps in danger of being forgotten in the aftermath of the fall of the "Peradeniya School".

University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya.

K. N. O. Dharmadasa.

2. For example see Karunasena Jayalath, *Sahityayakalāva Hā Janatāva*, Colombo 1967, and Gunasena Witana "Samājavādi Yathārthaya Hā Sinhala Navakathāva" in Palitha Gurusinghe Ed., *Sri Lanka Visva Vidyālayaya Saṅgarava*, Colombo 1969, pp. 24-26.
3. See the Felicitation Volume presented by the Marxist journal *Navalōkaya* on his eightieth birthday. (ed. Gunasena Witana, Colombo, 1971).
4. Ediriweera Sarathchandra, "Ek Novena Adahas", *Sarasaviya*, 14 September 1973.
5. Vide, SWNC, p. 18, For the full text of Cumaratunge's reply, see Jayantha Weerasekera Ed., *Kukavi Vādaya*, 2nd Edition, Colombo 1963, pp. 116-124.
6. In his early novel *Miriṅgu Diya* (1925) the character who obviously mouths Wickramasinghe's own opinion has this name. And Wickramasinghe used this pseudonym in writing to the newspapers during the twenties.

II

Memoir of Julius Stein Van Gollennesse, Governor of Ceylon, 1743-1751

translated and edited with notes and an introduction by (ed.), S. Arasaratnam (Colombo, 1974, National Archives of Sri Lanka) pp. I-VII, 1-154, Rs. 11.50.

This is the latest addition to a series of selections from the Dutch Records of the Government of Sri Lanka (Ceylon) which began publication 70 years ago. It is also by far the best in this interesting series not indeed for any notable literary merit in Van Gollennesse's *Memoir* or any exceptional candour, perceptiveness or fresh outlook on the themes he sets out to review, but because of Professor Arasaratnam's superb introduction. None of the memoirs published in this series in the past (there are ten of these in all, the last being Schreuder's in 1946) have had the advantage of an introduction by a historian with specialist knowledge of Dutch Colonial activity in Sri Lanka and elsewhere in the East. Professor Arasaratnam introduces Van Gollennesse's *Memoir* with a 41 page essay which sets his administration in historical perspective, and also provides a stimulating survey of Dutch rule in the island in the first half of the 18th Century, a period on which little of any value has been published so far.

University of Sri Lanka, Peradeniya.

K. M. de Silva

III

Portuguese regimentos on Sri Lanka edited and translated with an introduction by Tikiri Abeyasinghe. Department of National Archives, Colombo, Sri Lanka (1974), pp. 96. Rs. 25.00.

Just over half of this slim volume consists of the Portuguese original and the English translation of standing orders issued to three Portuguese officials setting out for Sri Lanka, in the first half of the seventeenth century. The documents are well chosen. Of them only one has ever been published before and that too only in Portuguese a hundred years ago. The translations are meticulously done with all doubtful readings clearly indicated and together the three documents provide valuable insights not only into the problems faced by the Portuguese in Sri Lanka but also regarding the political and socio-economic conditions in the island's littoral during this period.

In his thirty-two page introduction to the documents Abeyasinghe has discussed in some detail the contents and value of eleven other *regimentos* selected from the collections at the Historical Archives, Goa. Over a decade of work on Portuguese documents relating to Sri Lanka has given him the requisite know-how to draw the most out of a varied collection. The reader is likely to be impressed by his obvious command of background information displayed both in the introduction and in the copious footnotes to the published documents.

When all is said and done however, it must be admitted that Abeyasinghe's latest effort reads less easily than his earlier lucid yet scholarly surveys (for details of these see this journal, new series, Vol. III, No. 1, 1973, p. 70). Perhaps an important reason for this may well be the lack of a common theme running through the volume. However, while this book will certainly be no favourite for afternoon reading, it will win acclaim from scholars interested in the history of both Sri Lanka and the Portuguese Colonial Empire. A very useful index and a short glossary enhanced the value of the work. The Department of National Archives, Colombo must be commended for its continuing sponsorship of the publications of valuable documents but they would be well advised to commission someone else to design book covers in the future.

C. R. de Silva.

IV

The April 1971 Insurrection in Ceylon. A Bibliographical Commentary. by H. A. I. Goonetilleke. 2nd Edition. Revised and enlarged. Centre de Recherches Socio-Religieuses, Universite de Louvain, (Belgium) 1975. 100 pp + 50 plates. \$ 4.50.

The scientific validity and impeccable design that characterises H. A. I. Goonetilleke's previous work, which prompted J. D. Pearson to liken *A Bibliography of Ceylon* to the work of Cordier and Chauvin, are in ample evidence in this work. In the expression of the "central spire of meaning" however, this volume goes a step further. Undoubtedly this is related to the relatively more delineated nature of the topic and the idealism, romance and pathos

of the event itself. Whatever the reason may be, the tragic lyricism that runs beneath the method and professionalism of this work is inescapable. The systematic nature of the author's approach has not inhibited him from taking his own stand on the desirable form of future Ceylonese society. This book is as much a work of art as it is of science.

The book is prefaced by a series of quotations expressive of revolutionary philosophy selected from several great exponents of Marxism starting with a passage from *The Eighteenth Brumaire*. The nine page introduction starts with two quotations: one, the famous four lines from *The Waste Land* starting with "April is the cruellest month"; and the other, Prime Minister Bandaranaike's equally poetic reference to the seat of Ceylon as a volcano. These quotations set the tone for the pages to follow. Despite undisguised radical sentiment, the introduction, far from rhetorical, is a brief analysis of the insurrection and a professional statement on the bibliography. The reader is informed of such facts as the inadequacy of coverage of the insurrection at the time of the event and the subsequent role of censorship in preventing a perception of the event in sociological and historical perspective, leading to a proliferation of studies by foreigners with relatively much less by Ceylonese scholars.

The author modestly claims the work to be "an exploratory attempt to document the main and specific contributions to the literature on April 1971". There are altogether 440 entries ranging from scholarly articles published in major international journals to manifesto type literature of obviously convinced individuals or groups. The opinions range "from ecstatic possession to contemptuous derision", all of which the author in sober detachment considers "essential to perceiving even the tip of the iceberg". The large majority of the entries are annotated, about 25% quite copiously. The notes are precise and without prejudice. Many important entries are contextualised and sometimes even given a personal touch, such as the reference to "the prime minister's only son, then studying in England" (No. 15); or the explanation as to why one member of the team that interrogated Wijeweera in Jaffna was absent when the actual recording of the session took place two days after (No. 430).

A special word must be said of the fifty plates that form 50 of the book's unnumbered pages. The first series of 25 consist of photographs depicting various items used by the insurgents, and other pictures that dramatically highlight moving facets of the encounter. The photographs, which are well reproduced and of high quality, must be treated as rare and telling documents. The second series of 25 pictures are photographs of pictures drawn by the rebels on the walls of the Vidyodaya Campus building in which they were held captive. These pictures are exquisite expressions of poignant despair. Although some of the pictures use icons of international Marxism, such as chains or the profile of Lenin, they are intensely Ceylonese-Buddhist creations of considerable merit. These photographs are also invaluable because, in a rare act of building maintenance it is said, the Vidyodaya walls were promptly white washed back to their pristine purity.

This bibliography is destined to be the principal volume that will have to be consulted by future students of the Rebellion of 1971. It will also be a guide for all keen students of this period of Ceylonese society. At broader levels it will be an excellent source for those interested in the comparative study of social movements. For less academic reasons, this volume will haunt like an apparition the depths of consciousness of the more sensitive sections of people all over the civilized world. It epitomises the hope and frustration of contemporary Ceylon, and, in subtle manner, draws renewed attention to the corruption, senility and utter incapacity of the traditional left, right and centre. It is, most of all, a memorial to the youth who died for believing in a just society. T. S. Eliot's lines have not been more aptly quoted.

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