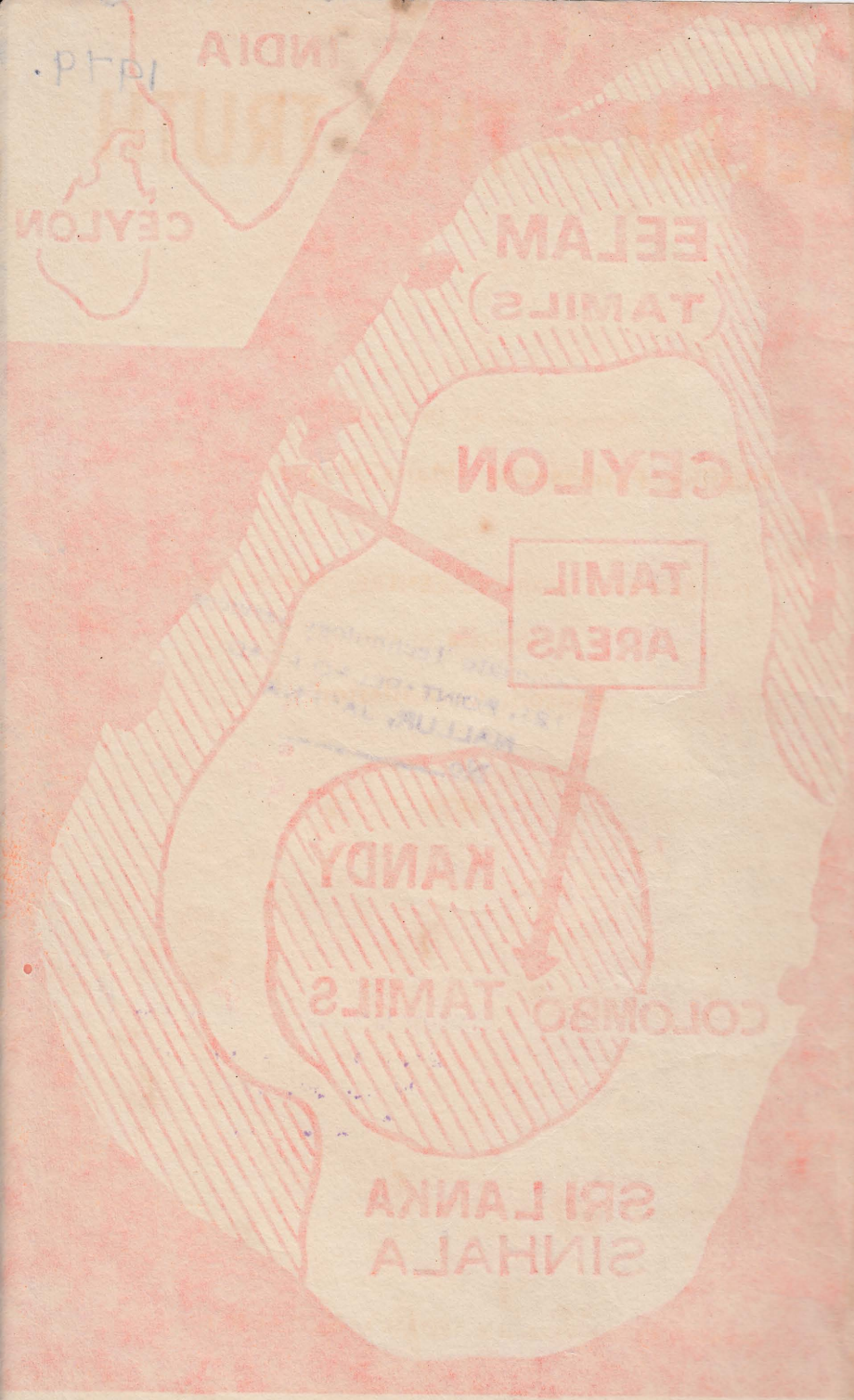
EELAM
ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL TAMILS



EELAM
ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL TAMILS

EELAM — THE TRUTH

being a

Memorandum by the Venerable

Madihe Pannaseeha Maha Nayaka Thero

of

THE BHIKKHU TRAINING CENTRE, MAHARAGAMA

submitted to the

Sansoni Commission

in

1979

Foreword by the Venerable SEDAWATTE DHAMMARUCHI

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FOREWORD

This Memorandum is compiled from information collected together and handed to me, by the Venerable Madihe Pannaseeha, Maha Nayaka Thero. The information was so valuable and accurate that I decided to help him to draw up the memorandum which he intended to submit to the Sansoni Commission. I did that to help convince Mr. Sansoni that what was being retailed to him were not merely half-truths, but even lies. It resulted in Mr. Sansoni receiving letters threatening his very life, and he had to be given special protection.

The Tamil United Liberation Front have consistently from even before the Vaddukodai Resolution and in their Election Manifesto sedulously, viciously, and widely propagated these lies all over the world. They even cremated their Christian leader's body (Christians in Sri Lanka are normally buried **not** cremated) and carried the ashes to their electorates causing blood to be shed, and a large number of Tamil people were made to feel, that the T.U.L.F. were speaking the truth, and the Tamil and Sinhala people were two divided and different Nations. They have disrupted families and severed friends. In fact the Sinhala and the Tamil people even of the Eastern and Northern provinces are one and the same race. They are descended from King Vijaya's Ministers, from whom the Sinhala people take pride of descent. After sending Ambassadors to the King at Madurai in the South of the Madras Presidency' which is now Tamil Nadu, who "when he had thus obtained many maidens.....sent his daughter . . . . . to the conqueror Vijaya . . . . . then King Vijaya consecrated a daughter of the Pandu King with solemn ceremony as his queen." After that the youngest son of the King of Madras was sent to Ceylon as the Prince Panduvasadeva who became ruler of Lanka and from them and their ministers are the Sinhala and Tamil people descended. This is the descent of the two nations according to the Mahavamsa.

The T.U.L.F. have built over the years "smoothly and consistently a lie that is concealed and distorted and will not immediately be clear."

This memorandum is published in the hope that the truth will be revealed to the Sinhala and the Tamil intelligentsia. The ultimate purpose it is hoped is to publish Sinhala and Tamil translations of this memorandum, but no permission is given for such translations which are not authorised by the Author. This memorandum and the authorised translations may be freely distributed. Alexander Solzhenitsyn referring to conditions in Russia, a 'left' country, in his prize-winning Nobel lecture states : "My friends ! Let us try to be helpful, if we are worth anything. In our own countries, torn by differences among parties. movements, castes, and groups, who for ages past have been not the dividing but the uniting force ? This, essentially, is the position of writers, spokesmen of a national language, of the chief tie binding ths nation, the very soil which the people inhabit, and in fortunate circumstances, the nation's spirit too.

I think that world literature has the power in these frightening times to help mankind see itself accurately despite what is advocated by partisans and by parties. It has the power to transmit the condensed experience of one region to another, so that different scales of values are combined, and so that one people accurately and concisely knows the true history of another with a power of recognition and acute awareness as if it had lived through that history itself — and could thus be spared repeating old mistakes. At the same time, perhaps we ourselves may succeed in developing our own WORLD-WIDE VIEW, like any man, with the center of the eye seeing what is nearby but the periphery of vision taking in what is happening in the rest of the world. We will make correlations and maintain world-wide standards.

Who, if not writers, are to condemn their own unsuccessful governments (in some states this is the easiest way to make a living ; everyone, who is not lazy does it) as well as society itself, whether for its, cowardly humiliation or for its selfsatisfied weakness, or the lightheaded escapades of the young, or the youthful pirates brandishing knives ?" It is this message that we hope to carry forward to you — the reader.

It is regretted that the supporting documents which are referred to have all been submitted to the Sansoni Commission and cannot be published with this memorandum, but I can assure all readers that the quotations are accurate.

Both the Author and myself wish gratefully to thank Mr. Sirisoma Ranasinghe for making this publication possible.

It is hoped that the object of the memorandum will be achieved; which is to unite the Sinhala and Tamil people and that all beings may be happy and not divided.

Ven. SEDAWATTE DHAMMARUCHI

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SRI LANKA.

MEMORANDUM

INTRODUCTION

The Lord Buddha in his first sermon delivered at Sarnath near Benares expressed in one paragraph the very basis of Buddhism which consists of the Four Noble Truths namely the Noble Truth of Suffering (*Dukkha*), the Noble Truth of the Origin of Suffering, the Noble Truth of the Cessation of Suffering, and the Noble Truth of the Way leading to the Cessation of Suffering.

In the same way, His Excellency the President in issuing the Commission to Your Honour, has asked Your Honour to find out the exact incidents that took place in August and September 1977, the origin or causes that led to those incidents, and to recommend the way or the remedies which will prevent such incidents occurring again. The burden on Your Honour is very heavy, for the future of Sri Lanka depends a lot on Your Honour's report and I will endeavour to help Your Honour to come to a correct conclusion within the limits of my abilities.

As regards the incidents themselves I did not see any of them and I have only heard about them from others or read about them in the newspapers. My lawyers advised me that my evidence on these incidents would be hearsay and therefore inadmissible in law. On the other matters I can place before Your Honour the proper interpretation of the documents placed before Your Honour to help Your Honour to come to a correct decision.

Incidents :

I have read portions of the evidence led before Your Honour in the newspapers and I also find that various organizations, sespecially the Tamil ones, have led evidence of incidents which they have heard of and become acquainted with but not seen and I am asked to submit to Your Honour to reject such evidence as being hearsay and only to accept evidence admissible in law. I am particularly making this submission because some of these organizations, and also

various witnesses have drawn conclusions after hearing of or reading about incidents, which conclusions, apart from being based on hearsay, are upon wrong bases of fact as I shall endeavour to show in this memorandum and coloured by the interests they represent. For instance the T.U.L.F in their manifesto which is contained in the Logos magazine and marked **M I A** (the magazine itself is marked MI) have said that "Tamil women have been raped and pregnant women slaughtered to pieces on the public highways etc., etc.,". Such statements cannot be accepted without evidence. All this is hearsay and is intended to catch the votes of the Tamil people but highly provocative to the Sinhala people. That is why this manifesto was not published in Sinhala. The English copy was published in the papers such as the Tribune of 6th and 13th August, 1977 and was one of the causes of the incidents Your Honour is inquiring into.

Causes :

1. The Tribune is owned and published by a Tamil Mr. S. P. Amerasingham. The incident of the burning of the market in Jaffna took place just three days after the 13th August. This was the cumulative effect of the publication of the manifesto and the violent election speeches. The train from Colombo met the train from Jaffna at Auuradhapura Station on the 16th and again blood was shed Here then is the prime cause.

2. Evidence has been led by Counsel representing Tamil persons and organizations regarding the reason why certain Tamils are agitating for the establishment of a state called **'Eelam'** which is to be a divided and separate sovereign state in the North, East and some portions of the West of Sri Lanka. Roughly on the East the state will be comprised of the Eastern Province, on the North it will be comprised of the Northern Province up to and including Vavuniya, and on the West up to and including Puttalam, vide annexed map marked M 2. I feel that although this evidence was sought to be led for propaganda purposes it was correctly led because one of the causes, or the main cause for the disturbances that took place is due to this cry for 'Eelam' as a separate and divided state. This is also the evidence of Father Caspersz — I will show that the 1958 incidents were also caused by an attempt to dismember Sri Lanka. In fact no politician will be able to preside over the destinies of Sri Lanka and agree to divide Sri Lanka. History clearly shows that whenever there was an attempt to divide Sri Lanka or to injure the religious susceptibilities of the Sinhala people they reacted violently.

Traditional Homeland :

The basis for 'Eelam' is that the Tamils should have a separate state consisting of what the Tamil United Liberation Front (herein-after called TULF) say is 'the traditional homeland of the Tamils.' I shall show you, Sir, that there is no such thing as the "Traditional Homeland of the Tamils". As far as Sri Lanka is concerned the traditional home-

land of the Tamils is the whole of Sri Lanka just as much as Sri Lanka is the traditional homeland of the Sinhala people and of the Burghers, the Moors, the Malays, and every other minority community living in this land. Just because there are concentrations of minorities in various parts of the country, and this must happen because human beings with similar interests, similar religions, and generally related to one another tend to cluster together and form an intergrated unit, such portion of the country cannot be called a "traditional homeland". Thus the Moors have their own communities in Kalmunai, Beruwala, Batticaloa, Malvana, Thihariya and other places, they are generally the descendants of the Arab traders who came to this country, it cannot be said that these portions are 'the traditional homeland' of this community. Bambalapitiya and Wellawatta contained at one time a large number of Burghers therefore could one say that this was the traditional homeland of the Burghers ? As a community they do not exist in any other country except Ceylon and in fact there would be Burghers, who will reject such a traditional homeland for them, just as much as there are Tamils who would reject Jaffna as a 'traditional homeland'. The Malays are mostly found in Slave Island but they wi l not say that Slave Is and is their traditional home-land. I say therefore that the words 'traditional homeland' are a misnomer. This is an attempt to mislead.

Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam :

According to Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam, the distinguished Tamil, who was the first Ceylonese to be admitted into the Ceylon Civil Service and a barrister-at-law of Lincoln's Inn, in a lecture entitled "Sketches of Ceylon History" delivered under the presidency of His Excellency the then Governor of Ceylon Sir Henry Blake, on the 30th January, 1906 in the Legislative Chamber in Colombo (a lecture which displays deep study and great erudition and is produced marked M 3) after the time of King Dutugemunu, that is after the defeat of the Tamil King Elara p. 18"the Tamils proved a never-failing source of harassment. They made frequent incursions into Ceylon, and Tamil Kings often sat on Vijaya's throne". In 104 B.C. they even took the most precions treasure in Ceylon, the begging bowl of the Buddha. "Sometimes the tide of invasion was rolled back into South India, as by King Gajabahu, who in 113 A.D. brought back a multitude of Sinhala captives that the Tamil King had taken and also a number of Tamil cadtives, whom he settled in Aluthkuru Korale of the Colombo District, Harispattu and Thumpane of the Kandy District and in parts of the Kurunegala District". There is no mention by so distinguished a Tamil as Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam of a single Tamil having been settled in the northern portions of Sri Lanka or in what is now called the "traditional homeland" of the Tamils". These frequent incursions into Ceylon by the Tamils of India and their taking of the precious begging bowl of the Buddha highlights the fear the Sinhala people have of establishing 'a traditional homeland' of the Tamils within swimming distance (as a Tamil has shown) of Tamil Nadu. Even today the Tamils run to Tamil Nadu for propaganda and help and make no bones about

saying that they will go for foreign help. Jaffna town is strewn with statues of the heroes of Tamil Nadu. Have they erected one for a Sinhala person from their true homeland ? This indeed is a contrast to Colombo where there are statues of Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan and streets named after Tamils like Ananda Coomaraswamy and Sir Chittampalam Gardiner. The Tamils of today must surely be asked to change their attitude towards the Sinhalese people. They must look to Sri Lanka and not to India for their mentors.

Coming back to history it was in the year 237 B.C. as Sir Ponnambalam says that the troubles of the Vijayan dynasty began with the usurpation of the throne at Anuradhapura by Sena Guttika; a Tamil who occupied the throne for 25 years and was dethroned and slain and the original dynasty restored. Some time later came the Tamil King Elara. Sena Guttika is called Senan Kuddikan and Elara is Elaban, in the T.U.L.F. manifesto which makes out that these persons ruled over the whole of Ceylon. Here is a twisting of history. According to Sir Ponnambalam Ceylon was then divided into three, Pihiti or Raja Rata, that is the royal region North of the Mahaweliganga with its capital at Anuradhapura, Maya Rata in the middle bounded by the Deduru Oya and Kaluganga with its capital at Kelaniya, and Ruhunu Rata in the south with the Mahaveli Ganga and Kalu Ganga on its north. It was from Kelaniya in Maya Rata that Vihara Maha Devi the daughter of King Kelani Tissa of Kelaniya set out in a boat, drifted to the South and married King Kavan Tissa of Ruhunu Rata. She had as one of her sons Dutu Gemunu who killed King Elara in single combat and ruled the whole of Sri Lanka, Pihiti Rata by conquest, Maya Rata by maternal inheritance and Ruhunu Rata by right of succession from his father. This was the first time that Sri Lanka came under one sovereignty. Neither Senan Kuddikan nor Elalan ruled the whole of Lanka. How could they when there were separate kings ruling Maya Rata and Ruhunu Rata and the king of Ruhunu Rata actually went to war with Elara and killed him?

After King Dutugemunu there was a long line of Sinhala kings and the country prospered till in the eleventh century A.D. Anuradhapura had to be abandoned to the Tamils and the Capital transferred to Polonnaruwa. In spite of the Tamil inroads the country prospered under Parakrama Bahu the Great who ruled from Polonnaruwa and under the Sinhala kings so that, according to Sir Ponnambalam, "even a woman might traverse the island with a precious jewel and not be asked what it was." According to Sir Ponnambalam it was not long before Polonnaruwa too had to be abandoned to the Tamils who now came from Kalinga and p. 29 "Like the giants of Mara they destroyed the kingdom and the religion of the land. Alas ! Alas ! The whole island resembled a dwelling in flames or a house darkened by funeral rites". The uneasy seat of government had to be shifted from time to

time to Dambadeniya, Yapahuwa, Kurunegala, Gampola, Kotte, Sitawaka and finally Kandy. While the Kings of Kandy resisted the foreign invaders till the Kandyan Kingdom was finally ceded to the British in 1825. In the fifteenth century the Kingdom of Jaffna came under the direct rule of the King of Kandy with his seat at Gampola and the power of the Ariya Chakravati was broken by Alakesvara. Then in the 17th century according to Sir Ponnambalam the Tooth relic of the Buddha was taken by the Tamil King of Jaffna from whom it was taken by the Portuguese on the capture of Jaffna. This defeat of the Tamils is admitted by the modern Tamils. Thus it will be seen that what the Buddhists fear is not only that the Tamils will lay waste the country from their seat at Eelam but take away their most precious religious possessions — the Bowl and Tooth. Already they are destroying Bo Trees, one at Seruwawila where they have erected a kovil and another at Trincomalee in the premises of the Konneswaram Temple. This could only have been done by Tamil Hindus.

It is said that the kingdom of Jaffna was established in the 13th century and absorbed into the Pandyan Empire. (Kingdom of Jaffna by Pathmanathan p. 160) Previous to that it is accepted that there was no separate Kingdom of Jaffna and our king at Anuradhapura or other capital ruled over the whole of Sri Lanka. According to the T.U.L.F. manifesto the Portuguese subdued the state of Tamil Eelam and for several centuries before the advent of the Europeans to Ceylon in the 16th century the Tamils had been living in this territory as their own kingdom—here the manifesto ignores Alakeswara and also Sapumal Kumaraya later Bhuvaneka Bahu of Kotte who ruled in Jaffna.

When extraordinary claims are made with regard to the kingdom of Jaffna it must be remembered that this king of Jaffna always acknowledged the suzerainty of the kings of Kandy or Kotte. The T.U.L.F. manifesto says that in the 13th century there emerged a stable political fact : — The territory stretching on the Western Sea Board from Chilaw to Puttalam to Mannar and then to the northern regions and in the East Trincomalee and Batticaloa up to Kumana was established as the exclusive homeland of the Tamils. This is the territory of Tamil Eelam, and as I have pointed out earlier and will show in this memorandum this statement is entirely incorrect.

A Portuguese, de Queyroz Book I p. 101, states that when the Portuguese first came to the island it was divided into 5 kingdoms, 'that of Cota to which all others were tributary acknowledging the King as Emperor.' One of these kingdoms was Jaffnapatam. This was in the year 1505. According to Phillipus Baldaeus, a Dutchman, the Nederlanders were not in peaceful possession of Ceylon after the conquest of Colombo harbour and Jaffnapatam in the years 1656 and 1658. According to de Queyroz the kingdom of Jaffna was tributary to king of Cotta and Baldaeus states that Rajasinghe styled himself "Emperor

of Ceylon, King of Kandy, Kotte, Seetawaka, Dambadeniya, Anuradhapura, Jaffnapatam, Prince of Uva, Matara, Denavaka, the four Korales, Grand Duke of the 7 Korales, Matale, Count of Kottiar, Trincomalee, Batticaloa, Wellassa, Bintenna, Dumbara, Pansiyapattu, Hewaheta Puttalam, etc.,". That this was a correct statement is borne out by the fact that Knox was captured at Kottiar in about 1600 and was taken to Kng Rajasinghe at Kandy. Knox, an Englishman, was captured by the soldiers of the King of Kandy, so that Trincomalee was then under the King of Kandy. Here we have the testimony of a Tamil, a Portugese, a Dutchman and an Englishman that the kingdom of Jaffna was not independent of the king of Kotte or Kandy. So that when the T.U.L.F. manifesto states that for several centuries before the advent of the Europeans to Ceylon in the 16th century the Tamils had been living in this country under their own kingdom, it is in direct contradiction of Sir Ponnambalam, de Queyroz, Baldaeus and Knox. A Tamil, a Portugese a Dutchman and an Englishman. This is another twisting of history.

Before I complete placing before Your Honour the correct History of Sri Lanka it is necessary for me to refer to another fact. According to Sir Ponnambalam "the primitive history of Ceylon is enveloped in fable, yet there is perhaps no country in the world that has such a long continuous history and civilization." Sir Ponnambalam was speaking in 1906 but in 1916 there appeared certain articles in the "Ceylon Antiquary' and I produce photostat copies of those articles marked M4A, M4B and M4C. They are a series of articles on 'Sinhalese Place Names in the Jaffna Peninsula' written by B. Horshurgh of the Ceylon Civil Service Reverend S. Gnana Prakasar who is an acknowledged authority on Dravidian history, J. P. Lewis C.M.G. and C.C.S. with replies by them and finally by S. W. Coomaraswamy, who according to Horsburgh painstakingly and thoroughly investigated the subject of Tamil place names. As I am submitting the articles I am not quoting them in *extenso* but will draw your attention to certain facts. Horsburgh says that he was told that there was no written record of any kind showing a Sinhala occupation of the Jaffna peninsula anteccedent to the Tamil period. The beginnings of the Tamil period itself are shrouded in obscurity, but he says the Sinhalese occupied the northern portion of the mainland, which is now tamil country and of that there is ample evidence carved in stone all over the Mannar and Mullaitivu districts and the fact that they were settled also in the Jaffna peninsula before the Tamils came consists mainly of the evidence furnished by the place names they have left behind them, corroborated by the very few stone relics that have been found. For instance he says that one of the most common endings of Sinhala place names is Gama or Gamuwa meaning 'village'. The tamil form of this is Kamam, for instance Kathir Kamam for Katharagama.

Sinhala Place Names :

He gives 8 villages such as Kodikamam, Chunnakam, and Mallakam as evidence of the Tamilizing of Sinhala villages. Likewise

names ending in '*vil*'. 'Vil' is the Sinhala *vila* (pond) and he gives 14 such villages such as Kokuvil. In all therefore 24 villages have Sinhala names. Finally he comes to the name Jaffna itself which according to Jaffna Tamils is Yalpanam made up of two Tamil words '*Yal*' meaning Lute and 'Panar' (which is the name of the caste of the Lute player. It is characteristic that the modern Tamils with little learning and less knowledge have accepted the story that a blind Lute player quarrelled with his wife in Chola country over a plate of rice and curry and came to Ceylon with the "blessings" of his wife "to bring back a fertile country and a tusked elephant." He played to King Elara so beautifully that the King gave him the Jaffna peninsula and thus the name 'Yalpanam' appeared. Horsburgh says that it requires very little critical faculty to decide that such a story is pure myth and the other learned authors of articles agree with him but the modern Tamils accepting this myth have as the crest of their muncipality "*a Yal*" or Lute ! Horsburgh goes on to state that Jaffna is from Japane or Yapane. Yapa is a good Sinhalese name and is the name of Sinhalese families and is also found in Yapahuwa while "ne"is an ending which is found in places like Habarane and Balane. This explanation by Horsburgh is not fully accepted by the other writers of articles but they agree that Yalpanam was originally Sinhala. Horsburgh says "it is clear from the evidence of the place names already considered that the Sinhalese were in occupation of the peninsula before the first Tamil invasion." Father Gnana Prakasar starts his article by staqing 'Horsburgh places beyond doubt the fact of a Sinhala occupation of the Jaffna peninsula anteceedent to the Tamil period' he gives over 60 place names which were originally Sinhala. J. P. Lewis gives further names of Sinhala villages and agrees with Horsburgh on his derivation of the name for Jaffna. I need not go into Coomaraswamy's article but he gives Sinhala derivations of places like Kopay, Manipay etc.,. In considering the name Kopay Coomaraswamy states the "Koviyas" were the domestic servants of the Vellalas of Jaffna and that they were treated as agricultural labourers along with the Palla and Neluwa castes. The word "Kovia" is unknown in Southern India as the name of a caste or tribe and he derives this name from Sinhalese "Govigama" which is a cultivator, and he goes on to state that Jaffna contains a village of the Pannaya (Pannamkan), a village of the Hunna (Chunnakam) and several hamlets named after the Bamuna, Duraya and Paduwa castes and that the existence of Govigama villages should not be a matter for surprise.

It is clear therefore from these place names that the Sinhala people and the Tamil people existed together in the Jaffna peninsula and most certainly in what is called Eelam from time immemorial. This means before the dawn of history. There is therefore no reason why the Sinhala people and the Tamil people should not continue to live together in the future whether in Eelam or the rest of Sri Lanka. The Sinhala people are extending and have always extended to the Tamil people the whole of Sri Lanka as their home and not merely Eelam.

What they say is do not malign the Sinhala people and twist their history and take away or destroy their sacred objects. Learn to live together with us as part of us and not of South India.

Electoral History :

Having corrected the misrepresentations made in the Tamil manifesto and the Vaddukoddai resolution, which I mark MIB, I shall set out the political history of Sri Lanka so far as it is relevant once the electoral system was established. The first member elected by the people of Sri Lanka was Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan in 1911. He obtained the active support of the Sinhala leaders notably Mr. Hector Jayewardene. When the riots broke out in 1915 Sir Ponnambalam justified his election by advocating the cause of the Sinhala people. The reason for the riots in short was the refusal by the Muslims to permit the Buddhists to play their music when the annual perahera was passing a mosque in Gampola. To the Sinhala people their religion is in their very bones. When Ceylon was ceded to the British one of the clauses contained in the Kandyan Convention of 1815 is that 'the religion of the Budhoo should be inviolate' and a Christian Queen Victoria accepted this condition.

I propose now to show how the T.U.L.F. has twisted recent political events and caused provocation. After the election of Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan by the vote of all the educated Ceylonese voters including Tamils and Sinhalese, the Tamil people began to raise a communal cry and at the next amendment to the constitution this cry was given effect to by having separate seats in the Legislature for the Tamils, the Muslims, the Burghers and the Europeans. Communal respresentation of this type was found to be unsatisfactory and led only to the Sinhala voters banding themselves together and forming a homogeneous Sinhala Board of Ministers. This also was found to be unsatisfactory and communal representation was done away with completely and election was to be on a territorial basis but the territories were to be carved out in such a way as to permit any unrepresented group to get representation and even then power was given for the nomination of persons to represent unrepresented interests. It must here be recorded that after adult saffrage while Tamils such as Sir Rathnajothi Saravanamuttu and Mrs. Naysam Saravanamuttu were elected to represent Colombo North, a Burgher Mr. Pieter Keuneman for Colombo Central, a European Mr. H. R. Freeman for Anuradhapura, and two other Europeans elected to represent upcountry electorates, no member of any community other than a Tamil has ever been elected to represent a seat in the Jaffna peninsula. At this stage Mr. G. G. Ponnambalam leader of the Tamil Congress with Mr. S. J. V. Chelvanayagam placed before the Soulbury Commissioners the plea that the Timils and Sinhalese should be represented on the basis of equality namely 50·50. This plea was not accepted by the Soulbury Commissioners who said that communalism was "like a canker eating into the vitals of this country."

If they had added that the Tamils represented at that time less than 11% of the population and were claiming 50% of the seats then it would be clear who it was that was eating into the vitals of the country.

It is indeed a matter for regret that questions that can easily be settled by discussion leading to agreement in the democratic process should have evaded the Tamil leaders. Mr. Ponnambalam realising the futility of his demand dropped it. He accepted a seat in Mr. D. S. Senanayake's Cabinet and rendered valuable service to his community, as Minister of Industries. He sited Kankesan Cement Factory, Valachchanai Paper Factory and the Paranthan Chemical Factory in what is claimed as Eelam. This does not mean that other governments neglected those portions of the country. Pulmoddai Mineral Sands Corporation and the Puttalam Cement Factory are evidence of this fact. There is an Irrigation Scheme at Thondamanar and the recommendations of the Commission for the Development of the Palmyrah palm are being implemented by a Palmyrah Development Board. The salt pans at Elephant Pass have been developed and perhaps if the Tamil members elected to Parliament had been more aware of the development of the economic situation in their areas, there would have been less need for campaigning for political advantages. However, the Tamils in Parliament and the politicians concentrated purely on politics. On the one hand they wanted to retain power as long as they possibly could and on the other hand they discovered that raising the communal cry gave them an easy method of retaining their power. They did this by agitating for jobs for the Tamil people. So Mr. Chelvanayagam broke away from Mr. Ponnambalam and started Federalism. Thus he missed a golden opportunity to unite Ceylon and sowed the seeds of dissension and division.

At this stage I produce mark M5 the Economic Review for July, 1977 and I would draw your attention to an article on page 12 which I mark M4A, according to that 52.8% of the Ceylon Tamil population live in the Northern province, whilst 21.4% live in the Eastern province and the article goes on to state that the two "poles" of Jaffna and Batticaloa are the two concentrations of the Tamil population in the north and east whilst the other districts in between have varying percentages of other groups. Tamils being in the majority in Mannar and Vavuniya ; whilst in Amparai and Trincomalee they are in the minority. This is important for the cry for Eelam begins here.

Mandate for Eelam :

In considering the mandate to the T.U.L.F. for the creation of a separate state the article states that the T.U.L.F. polled 69% of the votes in the Northern province and 32.9% of the votes in the Eastern province. In the Northern province 31% therefore voted against the T.U.L.F. whilst in the Eastern province 67.1% voted against the T.U.L.F. Clearly in the Eastern province there is no mandate for the is T.U.L.F

in fact there is over two thirds majority against the T.U.L.F. in this province. Later the article states the votes for Eelam in the Northern and Eastern provinces constitute less than 25% of the total Tamil population of the country.

Looking at provincial voting patterns both the U.N.P. and the S.L.F.P. have increased their percentage of total votes received in the Northern as well as Eastern provinces. The Federal Party and Tamil Congress received 82.4% of total votes in the Northern province in 1970 and only 69% in 1977 and these two parties gained their highest combined share of the total electorates in July 1960 and it is evident that the percentage of votes they have received from the total electorates has fallen. Thus the votes in favour of Eelam are falling as the Tamils realise what division means.

I produce mark M7 an appendix attached to the Parliamentary Hansard of the 21st May, 1979 which gives the votes cast, for Eelam and against Eelam, in the 1977 General Election. For easy reference I have added together the votes cast for T.U.L.F. candidates in the Jaffna peninsula electorates from Kayts to Kilinochchi, and in the other electorates from Mannar to Puttalam. 158,426 votes have been cast for T.U.L.F. candidates in the Eastern Province electorates with 281,949 votes not involved in Eelam candidates, and in Trincomalee which is billed as the capital of Eelam 15,144 votes have been cast for T.U.L.F. candidates while 20,634 votes are not involved in Eelam candidates. Therefore in the Eastern province and in Trincomalee there is no mandate for Eelam. In Jaffna town 16,251 votes have been cast for T.U.L.F. candidates while 18,614 votes are not involved in Eelam candidates. So that in Jaffna also there is no mandate for Eelam. In the electorates in the Jaffna peninsula inclusive of Jaffna 239,050 votes have been cast for T.U.L.F. candidates while 165,232 votes have been cast not involving Eelam candidates. Thus the majority in favour of the T.U.L.F. candidates in the Jaffna peninsula is only 73,818. This cannot be called a mandate for Eelam for, the T.U.L.F. manifesto called for a unanimous verdict of the Tamil speaking peoples! Even the latest Local Government polls show that there are 117,852 registered voters in Jaffna Chavakachcheri, Point Pedro, Valavettiturai, Vavuniya and Trincomalee of whom 58,039 voted for T.U.L.F. candidates. This is not a mandate for Eelam. It is a mandate against Eelam.

Vadukkodai Resolution

Thus I have proved that when the Vaddukodai resolution (IB) states that "throughout the centuries from the dawn of history the Sinhalese and Tamil nations have divided between them the possession of Ceylon, the Sinhalese inhabiting the interior of the country in its Southern and Western parts from the river Walawe to that of Chilaw and the Tamils possessing the Northern and Eastern districts, and also that the Tamil kingdom was overthrown in war and conquered by the Portaguese in 1619 and from them by the Dutch and the British in turn,

independent of the Sinhalese kingdoms." That resolution has not stated facts which are historically correct. The actual position being that instead of a division the Sinhala and the Tamil people had been living together in what is to be called Eelam from the dawn of history. Therefore when that resolution with the facts of history as set out by it completely without any basis of fact arrives at the conclusion, that the Tamil nation was relegated to the position of a subject people, that is absolutely wrong. **This is one of the provocations that led to the use of violence.** The misleading of the Tamil people.

Franchise :

It is also entirely incorrect to say that one-half of the Tamil people were deprived of their citizenship and franchise rights when the actual fact is that the Indian Tamils were given limited franchise rights in order to enable them to go back to their homes in India and recover their Indian status. Now, that agreement has been reached with India by the Nehru-Kotelawala and Sirima-Shasthri agreements every citizen of Ceylon including all the Tamils have the same voting rights. As regards placing the stamp of inferiority on the Tamils and the Tamil Language this sort of statement could only come from a self-oriented Tamil Politician.

Privileges Enjoyed by Tamils :

In fact the Tamils of Sri Lanka enjoy privilages, not only in language but in other respects also, unique when compared with other nations faced with racial problems. I produce an article by Mr. Sampson Wanigaratne in the Ceylon Daily News of the 8th May, 1979 ; M6 which gives illustrations of this. In regard to citizenship he shows that various legislation is really in favour of the Tamils rather than against the Tamils. It must be remembered that this legislation was passed at a time when there was a switch-over from English as the official language to Sinhala as the official language and legislative provision was made for the use of Tamil as a medium of instruction in schools and the university and as a medium for Tamil candidates seeking admission into the public service. This was in 1958 and in 1966 regulations were introduced for transaction of all government established business in the Northern and Eastern provinces and for correspondence between persons educated in the Tamil medium and an official of government. Now the Tamil Language Act was passed in 1958 and in 1966 the regulations were the result of an agreement between Mr. Dudley Senanayake and Mr. Chelvanayagam. It is incorrect to state that this agreement was not implemented. In the constitution of 1972 laws have to be translated into Tamil both in the Legislative Assembly and in the Northern and Eastern provinces the language of the Courts is Tamil. The Official Languages Department contains a special section for the Tamil Language. But the manifesto states that the incorporation of Sinhala words like Poya Pola, Laksala and Salusala in the Tamil Language is a corruption of that Language.

Every other race except the Tamil race takes the introduction of new words from other languages into their language as an enrichment of their language it takes a singularly narrow mind to call this a corruption. The Sri Lanka governments have gone out of their way to hold out their hand to the Tamil people. They have included a specific portion of and a colour for the Tamil people in the national flag. The Sri Lanka currency contains either inscribed or printed, Tamil words. All official documents and legislation is in the Tamil language. The Hindus who are exclusively Tamil have got special holidays. Is there a single country in the whole world in which a minority, especially one of only 11% has been treated in this generous way ? Has the British currency got Irish, Welsh or Scotch inscriptions ? Has the Indian currency got Tamil inscriptions ? When an Indian stamp was issued commemorating a great Tamil savant it was issued in the Hindi Language only and not in the Tamil language, whereas in Sri Lanka all the stamps, post cards and even the aerogrammes have Tamil words inscribed on them. Let the Tamil politicians mention all these if they want to be fair.

Buddhism :

Buddhism in Sri Lanka dates back to the Lord Buddha himself. He paid three visits to Sri Lanka and that fact is recorded in wall paintings notably at the Kelaniya Vihara. He left his foot-print on the top of Adam's Peak and this fact is acknowledged by all religions and all persons who make the arduous climb up that mountain. In various dagobas in the island, relics of the Buddha are enshrined such as the Mahiyangana and Tissamaharama Dagobas. The sovereignty of the island rests with the possession of the sacred Tooth Relic at Kandy and it is in protection of that sovereignty that the 1915 riots reached Kandy from Gampola. Every capital city of the country in Sinhala times has the ruins of a Temple of the Tooth and even Tamil Kings acknowledged this. In fact 1000 years ago Vijayabahu the First entrusted the guarding of the Tooth Relic at Polonnaruwa to his Tamil mercenary soldiers, the Velaikkaras.

In the Tamil State of Eelam the guarantee is that 'all religions practiced by the people in the state will receive equal protection and aid.' Every Sinhala village contains its own Bo Tree, Dagoba and Vihara. The worship of the tree, really the spirit inhabiting the tree, was practised in the Indian town of Harappa about 3000 B.C. and it was under a Bo Tree at Buddhagaya over 2,500 years ago that the Lord Buddha attained Enlightenment. A branch of that Bo Tree separated itself and was sent by the Emperor Asoka to Ceylon to his friend King Devanampiyatissa of Sri Lanka who received it in the year 250 B.C. by walking into the sea at Jambukolapattana, now Sampathurai, in the north of the Jaffna peninsula. This proves that there was no Tamil Kingdom or homeland in the north at that time. A history of the Bo Tree by Mrs. L. S. Devaraja, Professor, of History at the University of Colombo is annexed hereto and the whole event is recorded

in stone at Sanchi. A recording which should be as old as the event itself because the ruins at Sanchi date back to the Emperor Asoka. The ceremony was an impressive state ceremony and a fitting climax to that of the missionary efforts of Asoka's reign which had the most pregnant of results (see Rhys Davids Buddhist India 3rd Edition p. 137). How has the Tamil United Liberation Front fulfilled or attempted to fulfill its pledge that 'the religions practised by the people in the state will receive equal protection and Aid ? 'The ancient Bo tree at Seruwawila has been cut burnt and destroyed and a Hindu Kovil erected on the spot. The T.U.L.F. has not even uttered one word of regret at this vandalism, although prominent members of the T.U.L.F. were charged in court and two were suspected of being responsible for this act. At Trincomalee the future capital of Eelam the historic Bo Tree has been cut and the place where it stood cemented over. The leader of the T.U.L.F. in Parliament stated that a Hindu would not have done it but the T.U.L.F. stands for all the Tamil speaking people not merely the Hindus. A Sinhala would not have done this so it must be a Tamil speaking person. Is there even an expression of regret ? Besides, that Bo Tree stood in the premises of the Koneswaram Hindu Temple. Who is the person other than an influential Hindu Tamil who would have dared to do a thing like that? This is the protection which the T.U.L.F proposes to give to the religion of the Buddhists in Eelam. Remove the Bowl remove the Tooth remove the Bo trees and build Kovils over Temple ruins.

In the manifesto of the T.U.L.F. issued for the General Elections of 1977 (MIA) it is said 'Buddhism had been given pre-eminence in the Constitution and declared to be the only religion that would enjoy State protection'. This is a mis-statement of fact. It comments'other faiths have no right to any protection except the right of being practised in private . . . . the Constitution has thus placed on them the stamp of second class citizens'. These comments are another twisting of the facts which the T.U.L.F. has done again. The Constitution saysthe Republic of Sri Lanka shall give to Buddhism the foremost place and accordingly it shall be the duty of the State to protect and foster the Buddha Sasana, **while assuring to all religions the rights granted by Articles 10 to 14 (e)'.** Under Article 10 the right is granted to 'Every person to freedom of thought . . . . and religion or belief of his choice and by Article 14 (e) every citizen is entitled to . . . . . (e) the freedom either by himself or in association with others, and whether in public or in private, to manifest his religion or belief in worship, observance, practice and teaching.

These are some of the fundamental rights guaranteed by our Constitution and justiciable by right of action and thus the protection of the State. Why then does the T.U.L.F. manifesto talk of the right of persons of other faiths being permitted to practise their religion in **private** and omit the word **public** which is in the Constitution ? This is another of the provocations which have caused the disorders of 1977 and is yet another twisting of the facts.

Education :

I shall now deal with the other points raised in the Vaddukodai resolution in the course of this memorandum and not deal with them in the order given in the resolution as that will make this memorandum very confusing. Wanigaratne in M6 has dealt with education. In the time of the Sinhala kings, and in these two words I include the Tamil kings, and it must be remembered that the last Sinhala king was a Tamil named Muttusami who took the name of Sri Wickrama Rajasinghe. Children were educated at the Pirivena Schools which were attached to the temple and there was a close association between the village and the temple. The British as a definite policy broke up this association and began to establish separate schools. In the words of Lord Macaulay to serve their purposes namely to educate the people to become clerks. It was only in the middle of the 19th century that the first Ceylonese, Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam entered the Civil Service. In education the British reserved two thirds of the country for Missionaries based on the British Isles to educate the people through the Church Missionary Society and the Church of England. The Methodists were also encouraged. The American Missionaries were sent to Jaffna where they worked with a lot of money in a small territory. Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan with great foresight got large votes for education and established a Ramanathan and Parameshwara Colleges in the peninsula. Because of this most of the good schools were established in the Jaffna peninsula and the rest of Sri Lanka had to do with schools of a leaser grade. Thus with a better education the Jaffna Tamils had wider opportunities for employment.

It must clearly be remembered that 11% of the population were educated in good schools in the Jaffna peninsula and the majority of the balance 70% have to do with shanty type buildings in over-crowded classrooms. Between the years 1970 and 1973 the National Council of Higher Education gives the admission into the University of Sri Lanka as 1073 Tamils as against 2371 Sinhala. While this no doubt is the result of the better educational facilities available in the Jaffna Peninsula even on the basis of merit for 11% of the population to obtain a little over 50% of the admissions into the University is a remarkable achievement. Hence came standardization, by which it was hoped that the students with the lesser facilities in the rest of the country would be given an opportunity of being marked up and so entering the University. Immediately the Tamil Politicians seized on the question of standardization and made it a political cry to rally the youth of Jaffna behind them. The allegation has also been made that Tamil Examiners marked up all the answer papers in the Tamil Language. Even now when 70% of the admissions are based entirely on merit, the Tamil Politicians are beating the drum of merit for all the admissions to the University. Thus 11% of the population is the tail which is wagging the dog. The Colebrooke Commission is referred to in the Vaddukodai resolution, but what it did was to reorganise the School system by making provision for

the Sinhala Buddhist Schools. In 1880 Colonel Olcott was shocked at the treatment given to the Sinhala Buddhists and established the Buddhist Theosophical Society with the help of the Anagarika Dharmapala and the Venerable Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala but still in 1883 there were 402 Buddhist Schools which were not registered by the Education Department. The Sinhala Buddhists however, continued to fight for their rights and privileges and eventually they were successful. In 1961 the National Education Commission report states that if one considers the number of Tamil students in the University as a percentage to their population it will work out to one in every 320. This is most favourable when compared with the United States of America. In the case of the Sinhalese the ratio is one in every 3212 which was comparable to the situation in the Andaman Islands ! In the Jaffna peninsula there are 33 schools with University entrance (science classes) for a population of 492,000 people according to the 1959 University Commission report and in the rest of Sri Lanka 90 such schools for a population of 7,606,000. I have not been able to get more recent figures but at that time there were 33 such schools in the Jaffna district for 492,000 people and 34 such schools for 1,709,000 people in Colombo. According to the 1975 census of schools for the 33 schools with science classes in the Jaffna district there were 2,434 students while in Colombo North and Colomb South for 7454 students there were 42 schools. This startling disparity in educational institutions was due to the facts I have given earlier about the American Missionaries, and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan's policy. In the Jaffna district there are 836 students doing Arts, 2486 doing Science and 112 doing Commerce while in Colombo North nd South there are 2,300. students doing Arts, 4,001 doing Science and 1,253 doing Commerce Therefore the better educational facilities enjoyed by the Tamils in Jaffna are totally out of proportion to the fact that they are only 11% of the population. They should be grateful for this. Thus it will be seen how much the education system is weighted in favour of the students in the Jaffna district and even then the Jaffna Tamil Examiners had to resort to overmarking as pointed out by the Honourable Minister of Industries in Parliament.

University Entrance :

In the year 1970—1971 the admission of Sinhala students into University was 579 as against 337 Tamil, in 1971—1972 it was 899 Sinhala students as against 389 Tamil and in 1973—1974 it was 713 as against 347. In 1979 there were 298 Sinhala students as against 200 Tamil in Bio-Science, 260 Sinhala students in Medicine as against 160 Tamil and 255 Sinhala students in Engineering as against 112. The Tamils have all along been maintaining at least an admission of 50% of their students as against Sinhala students and all along they have been screaming that standardization has affected them badly and they got standardization removed. Now they want the new system removed. In other words they want all of their students entered into the University in which there is no room for them, whereas the correct proportion should

be that 11% of the Tamil students only should be permitted to enter the University and the balance 89% should be reserved for the other communi ies. Then instead of 472 Tamil students entering the University only 128 would enter and this is the correct proportion but the Sinhala people do not ask for this. The least the Tamils can do is to stop screaming. The Tamil politicians state that the Tamil people are not being given Government jobs. As this has a bearing on the University entrants let me place before Your Honour some of the figures and show you how well the 11% of the population have fared.

Professions :

As a result of the education system being weighted so much in favour of the Tamils in the Jaffna peninsula I found that among doctors there are 2469 Sinhala as against 1961 Tamils and 593 others. There are 716 Sinhala Engineers and 475 Tamil with 38 others. There are 2815 Sinhala lawyers as against 1121 Tamil and 759 others. Among the Chartered Accountants there are 305 Sinhala as against 360 Tamil and 73 others.

In the General Hospital Colombo there are 103 Sinhala doctors 81 Tamil doctors and 22 others, at the Colombo South Hospital there are 33 Sinhala doctors 13 Tamil and 1 other. At the Children's Hospital Colombo there are 29 Sinhala 11 Tamil and 2 others. At the Colombo Eye Hospital there are 10 Sinhala 13 Tamil and 2 others. At the De Soysa Maternity Hospital there are 4 Sinhala and 5 Tamil while at the Castle Street Hospital there are 9 Sinhala and 6 Tamil. It would appear that in these hospitals with an 11% population the Tamils have 40% of the Doctors. In the Irrigation Department among the higher grades such as Directors and Engineers there are 186 Sinhala 204 Tamil with 8 others. In the Ceylon Electricity Board there are 85 Sinhala Engineers and 68 Tamil Engineers with 11 others. In the Bank of Ceylon in the Staff Grades there are 847 Sinhala 429 Tamil and 147 others.

As far as accountants are concerned in the Institute of Cost and Management there are 116 Sinhala Accountants with 98 Tamil and 8 others.

On a population basis therefore when the Tamil politicians cry for jobs and more jobs for the Tamils it is without any foundation in fact and the Tamils have got very much more government jobs than their population proportion in the country warrants.

Colonisation :

Before I suggest to Your Honour remedies to prevent racial conflicts of this nature arising I want to deal with the question of colonisation. The constant cry of the Tamil politician is that colonisation is restricted to the Sinhala people and what successive governments are

doing is to colonise portions of Eelam with Sinhala persons. Their remedy is to stop colonisation with Sinhala people and in Eelam no such colonies will be permitted. Presumably colonisation schemes in Eelam will be reserved only for the Tamil people and the Sinhala people ejected from their land because colonisation takes place in sparsely populated land. This cry be rays a complete ignorance of colonisation procedure. Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam in M3 sets out at page 30 the position of Sri Lanka in the 13 h century and Tennant, according to Sir Ponnambalam found that the regions where the gigantic irrigation works were sited were deserted. Sir Ponnambalam attributes the desertion to the troublous time of foreign wars and internecine strife that preceded the establishment of the British dominion. The foreign wars, as far as these regions were concerned, were wars that the Tamils waged on the Sinhala people. At page 31 which I mark M3A King Parakramabahu the Second addressed his sons at the close of the 13th century and stated that the distribution of population was 31% in Pihiti Rata, 52% in Ruhunu Rata and 17% in Maya Rata. In 1906 Sir Ponnambalam states that the proportion stood roughly at 19, 46 and 35%, thus on the Western Sea Coast and its vicinity namely in Maya Rata the advance in population was over 100% while there was a 15% drop in Pihiti Rata which contains the irrigation works and 6% in Ruhunu Rata. Excluding Jaffna it is estimated that Anuradhapura, Mullaitivu and Mannar districts held less than 3% of the total population. Colonisation follows irrigation works and the irrigation works in Pihiti Rata are being gradually restored so that the shift of population must come from the over-populated areas which are in Maya Rata. Colonists must be chosen on a scientific basis and not by community, otherwise the colonisation will fail. According to an article in M5 page 23 at page 25 a survey conducted by the Marga Institute in 1973—74 revealed that youth unemployment was in the region of 50—65% in the rural areas in the districts of Colombo, Kalutara, Galle, Kandy, Matale, Badulla, Kegalle, Ratnapura and Kurunegala, now this is classic Maya Rata. The situation was aggravated by the displacement of the Sinhala people by the Indian Tamils on the estates. This the Tamil politicians ignore. The Indian Tamil whom he wooed and failed to get, displaced the Sinhala people and he cannot now object to the Sinhala people going to Pihiti Rata (which is their Raja Rata) which is under-populated. The article goes on to state that "the survey carried out by the Marga Institute records the rate of unemployment among rural youth in the Jaffna district at 11%." With such a low unemployment rate on a scientific basis the colonists have got to come from those unemployed in the districts where unemployment is high. Also those displaced by the restoration of the irrigation works must be accommodated first as colonists and they are all Sinhala people. Once these principles are established the settlement pattern must be on the cluster concept as an integrated unit. It is only then that the colonists will learn to live together, work together and be happy together. A simple political cry that the Sinhala people are being sent to colonise displays an ignorance which the Tamil politician has shown

he possesses in very great measure. If he is put in a position to select the colonists and he does this on a communal basis not only will the colonies fail but a great wrong will be done to the Sinhala people, who will be left unemployed.

Before I conclude I reply to a paragraph of the representations made by the Tamil Refugees Rehabilitation Organisation of 17, Alfred Place, Colombo 3. I do not know how many of the distinguished patrons of this organisation have read through the memorandum that has been submitted. They have seen the incidents only so far as they affected the Tamil people and the document itself can hardly be called an impartial representation. Exaggerated incidents and extravagant language cannot redound to the credit of the patrons whose names appear on the note-paper. For instance it states that the seeds of racial bitterness have been sown by the Mahavansa and they state that King Dutta Gamini is described as Gamini the wicked. Gamini acquired the pronomen Duttu because he was angry and would not agree to promise to his father that he would not attack King Elara who had usurped his throne. Why in this memorandum has the word Dutta been translated as 'wicked' and not 'angry.' This is an example of extravagant language. King Dutugemunu has been described as the biggest murderer and the person who introduced hate between the Sinhalese and the Tamils. no reference is made to the murderer Sena Guthika. It is therefore quite easy for Your Honour on this submission to attribute the causes of the Tamil Sinhala riots in 1977 to King Dutugemunu and leave it at that. I do not want to reply to this representation point by point but in paragraph 60 there is a reference to me and the letter I wrote advising the Prime Minister to send a permanent detachment of the Army to the North and the East together with the settlement of colonies of Sinhala people there. I still advocate that. Even in England the Army is based in different parts of the country according to the cardinal points. Why not in Sri Lanka ? Why should the North and East be unpoliced and without an army command ? I also suggest that Tamil people be settled in the South. Let there be a Southern and Western Command of the Army and let the people integrate. The Tamils and the Sinhala people must become one. As His Excellency says in his next birth he may be born a Tamil. I say that this should be in the South of Lanka.

Further Causes :

The causes of the riots in August to September 1977 have to be looked for a little earlier than the 1977 General Election but not as early as 161 B.C. when King Duttu Gamunu reigned. As every General Election approaches the Tamil politicians became more and more antagonistic to the Sinhala people first by raising the cry of Federalism and later Eelam. In 1958 the troubles broke out, because of the Bandaranaike-Chelvanayagam pact which gave to the Tamil people practically a government of their own in the Northern and Eastern provinces. Even this pact the Tamil politicians kept on stating was only a step

towards complete Federalism and the Sinhala people began to understand that what they meant by Federalism was Eelam and they realised that what was Federalism to the Federal Party in the South became from the very name of the party a cry for Eelam in the North. This division of the country the Sinhala people refused to take and if the Tamil people want to live at peace with the Sinhala people both in the South and in the North they must drop this attempt to divide this country. With the cry of Eelam the Tamil Hindus began cutting Bo trees and building Kovils in their place such as that which has happened in Seruwavila and Trincomalee, and that which they want to do in Vavuniya. As Bo trees began to be cut and the Buddhist religion insulted together with the fiery speeches made by Tamil politicians in the North which were reported in the newspapers and came to the South as rumours the Tamil politicians succeeded in antagonizing the Sinhala people and soon after the July 1977 election their eloquence came to the Ramakrishna Hall in Colombo and these self-same fiery speeches were made in Colombo, in August 1977 just before the rioting began. This is one of the proximate causes of the rioting. There is a small coterie of politicians who are misrepresenting Ceylon History thus causing provocation to the Sinhalese people and making inflammatory speeches which are always 'misreported' in the news papers according to them.

I set out the causes of the riots shortly as follows : —

1. The wrong history given in the Vadukkodai resolution that the Tamils and Sinhalese are two nations dividing between them the possession of Ceylon. This was to rally the Tamil youths but it hurt the Sinhala people deeply.

2. The wrong history given in the T.U.L.F. manifesto to establish a homeland for the Tamils and the publication of it on 13-8-1979 by the 'Tribune.

3. The Bandaranaike-Chelvanayakam pact and the Tamil declaration that this was only a beginning and not final.

4. The cutting of Bo Trees

5. The cry for Eelam

6. The maligning of the Sinhala people by calling Duttu Gemunu a murderer and the others as cads and the exggeration of the incidents that took place.

7. The constant degradation of the Sinhala people and calling themselves a subject race when they have more privileges than any minority of any country in the world.

Remedies :

1. Therefore, I suggest firstly that the Tamil politicians be asked to give up their cry for Eelam for which they have no mandate and that laws be enacted to punish those who call for a division of this country. These laws must be rigidly enforced. They must also stop maligning the Sinhala people and their history. There is no point in referring to Sinhala Kadayas and cads. Such people exist in every race.

2. Just as Tamil people can buy land in the South while Sinhala people cannot buy land in the North I suggest secondly that the Thesawalamai so far as it relates to property should be abolished.

3. I suggest thirdly that the government should carry out a propaganda campaign both in this country as well as in other countries giving the true position of this call for Eelam which is without a mandate and contrary to history.

4. I suggest fourthly that a Conciliation Council be appointed of Buddhists and Hindu religious leaders together with non-partisan leaders of both communities to stop any call for Eelam or division of the country and stop propaganda for that purpose.

5. Fifthly, desecration of Buddhist religious places must be stopped. After all when the British Government found that a person had cut the sacred Bo tree at Anuradhapura there was immediately a Trial-at-Bar in the Supreme Court of the person who did this. He was found to be insane and sent to the lumatic asylum. This government must not keep quiet while Bo-trees are being cut and swift action must be taken. The Conciliation Council must immediately deplore an act of this nature and the Supreme Court must send these persons to the Lunatic Asylum.

I desire to end this memorandum by quoting to Your Honour Rock Edict No. 12 of the Buddhist Emperor Asoka "Toleration, Honour should be paid to all laymen and recluses alike belonging to other sects. No one should disparage other sects to exalt his own. Self restraint in words is the right thing."

Let the Tamil politicians read these words and not, disparage the Sinhala people as they have been doing, condone murder by the Tigers, and learn positively to restrain the religious excesses committed by their people to the Buddhist people. THEN

ALL BEINGS WILL BE HAPPY.

Madihe Pannaseeha

Maha Nayaka Thero.

APPENDIX 1.

THE SO-CALLED TAMIL KINGDOM OF JAFFNA

By Prof. S. Ranwella.

Nagadipa or Naka-diva was the ancient name of the Jaffna peninsula. It is first mentioned in the Pali chronicles of Ceylon in connection with the story of the Buddha's second visit to Sri Lanka in the 6th century B.C. According to the Mahavamsa (ch. I. vv. 44-70) the Buddha during this visit pacified two Naga kings of Nagadipa who were arrayed in battle over a gem-set throne. Today the Jaffna peninsula is inhabited mainly by the Tamils. It is therefore assumed by some Tamil scholars that this was so from earliest time and the Naga kings of Nagadipa mentioned in the Mahavamsa too have been Tamils. They have also taken this as evidence for the existence of an inde pendent Tamil kingdom in the Jaffna peninsula from pre-Christian era.

In the Mahavamsa, or in the ancient Pali, Sanskrit or Tamil literature for that matter, the Nagas are never represented as human beings, but as a class of super natural beings or non-human beings who inhabited a subterranean world, whose normal form was that of serpents, but who would assume any form at will. Referring to the third visit of the Buddha to Kelaniya the Mahavamsa makes the following statement : 'When besought by the Naga Maniakkhika in Kalyani, he returned (to Sri Lanka) the third time. He took his meal there with the brotherhood, ... and when he had gone to this side of the place where the former Buddha had stood, the great sage, the light of the world, **since there were then no Human beings in Lankadipa**, uttered exhortations to the host of **devatas, dwelling in the island, and to the Nagas.** (MV. 15, 162-165). This statement proves beyond any reasonable doubt that the Nagas mentioned in the Mahavamsa were not human beings. As has been pointed out by Dr. S. Paranavithana, 'Even if the Nagas be taken as human beings there is no particular reason to treat them as identical with Tamils. If the Nagas be taken as Tamils for the reason that the ancient Nagadipa is now inhabited by Tamils, Nagas may also be taken as Aryans because the people living in and around Nagapura of North India today are Aryan in speech. (JRASCENS. Vol. VII, pp. 181-182) Therefore this legend in the Mahavamsa cannot be taken as evidence for the existence of a Tamil kingdom, not even the existence of a settled Tamil population in the Jaffna peninsula from very early times. In fact, except for this legend in the Mahavamsa and that in the Tamil poem Manimekhalai claiming Tamil settlements in ancient

Nagadipa or the Jaffna peninsula, so far we have not found any reliable evidence even to prove the existence of any Tamil settlements there before the Polonnaruwa period. According to Dr. S. Paranavithana, 'the Ceylon Tamils developed as a seperate community with an identity of their own' only after the period of Cola rule at Polonnaruwa in the 11th century A.D. (The Kingdom of Jaffna, p. 3).

Although there is no evidence for the existence of a distinctive Tamil community or a Tamil kingdom in the Jaffna peninsula before the 13th century ample evidence is readily available in our chronicles, in the records of foreign visitors to Sri Lanka and in our contemporary inscriptions indicating that there were large and extensive Sinhala settlements there from very early times and that the Sinhala kings, from the beginning of the historical period up to the middle of the 18th century and thereafter the Nayakkar kings of the Kandyan kingdom up to its fall in 1815 were the lawful rulers of and the legal heirs to the Jaffna region.

It was at the ancient port of Jambukola, the present Sambiliturai, in the Jaffna peninsula that the envoys of king Devanampiya Tissa (250-210) embarked when leaving Ceylon on their mission to the court of Asoka (273-236). (MV. ch, XI, 20-24) It was also at this port that the Theri Sanghamitta and her retinue had disembarked when they came from India with a branch of the Bodhi tree at Buddhagaya during the reign of Devanampiya Tissa. The Theri and her retinue were received by Devanampiya Tissa, who had come to Jambukola from Anuradhapura (MV. XVIII. 1-8, XIX, 23-32). Further the chronicle states that king Devanampiya Tissa built three Buddhist shrines, namely the Jambukola Vihara, the Tissamaha Vihara and the Pacina Vihara and planted a Bo sapling in the Jaffna peninsula (MV. XX. 25-27). A gold plate inscription discovered at Vallipuram near Point Pedro reveals that during the reign of Vasabha (67-111) the Jaffna peninsula was governed by a minister of that king and that a Buddhist Vihara named Piyaguka Tissa had been built there by that Minister. (EZ. IV. 229-237) According to the Mahavamsa (XXXVI. 9, 36) Kanittha Tissa (167-186) during his reign at Anuradhapura repaired the cetiyaghara of the Tissamaha Vihara in the Jaffna peninsula and king Voharaka Tissa (209-231) during his reign effected improvements to that Vihara. The Culavamase records that king Aggabodhi II (571-604) built a Relic House and a dwelling place named Unhaloma for the monks of the Rajayatana Vihara in Nagadipa and granted a village there for the provision of rice gruel to the monks living there (CV. 42. 62). These facts clearly prove that no independent Tamil kingdom was in existence in the Jaffna peninsula during the Anuradhapura period.

If there had been an in dependent Tamil kingdom in and around the Jaffna peninsula in ancient times, at least a few Tamil inscriptions of those kings who ruled in that kingdom should have come to light from

some sites in and around the Jaffna peninsu'a, but so far not a single Tamil inscription, or any other inscription for that matter, has been discovered in that area. It is interesting to note that the earliest Tamil inscription discovered in the Jaffna District is by a Sinhala king, namely Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) who ruled at Polonnaruwa. This inscription was found at the entrance to the famous Nakapusani-Amman Temple in the small island now know as Nainativu or Nagadipa ; and it contains certain trade regulations concerning wreckages off the port of Uratturai *i.e*, present day Kayts (UCR. Vol. XXI, pp. 63-70). In the words of Dr. Karthigesu Indrapala, the editor of this inscription and the Professor of History of the University of Jaffna, 'the fact that this edict was issued not by any subordinate official, but by the king himself shows that the monarch was in supreme control of the northernmost region of the island (UCR. Vo'. XXI, p. 66). A few Tamil inscriptions inscribed during the period between the 11th and the 13th century have been discovered at places such as Polonnaruwa, Kantalai and Trincomalee ; they do not belong to any Tamil ruler of Jaffna but, some to the South Indian Cola rulers who forcibly occupied Polonnaruwa during the 11th century and the rest to the Sinhala kings, such as Vijayabahu I (1055-1110) and Jayabahu I (1110-1111) who ruled at Polonnaruwa (EZ. II, pp. 242-255; IV, pp. 193-195 ; VI, pp. 28-30 ; 62-83, 88-94 ; VII. IV, Nos. 1338,1392,1408,1412,1415 ; ASCAR 1891, p. 12, Nos. 78-80). Although we have not found even a single Tamil inscription belonging to any of those so-called Tamil rulers of Jaffna in and around the Jaffna District, a few Sinhala, Tamil and Sanskrit inscriptions belongnig to some Sinhala kings of Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa have been discovered from some sites in and around the Jaffna District indicating that that region was under their control and it was part of their kingdom as late as the 13th century. We have already referred to the gold plate inscription of Vasabha discovered at Vallipuram and to the Nainativu inscription of Parakramabahu I. In addition to these two inscriptions found in the Jaffna District, two other Sinhala inscriptions of Dappula IV who ruled at Anuradhapura during the 10th century A.D. have come to light from that District ; of these two, one was discovered at Kandarodai, the ancient Kadurugoda Vihars, a Buddhist Temple in Uduvil and the other at Tunukai in the D.R.O.s, division of Punakari (Silumina, Literary supplement — 25.3.79, p. 'l 20.05.79, p. 11). A few more inscriptions belonging to some Sinhala kings have also been found at various places around the District of Jaffna ; we may mention among them, the Tiriyaya Sanskrit inscription of Aggabodhi VI (733-772), the Tiruketisvaram Pillar inscription of Sena II (853-887), the Mannar Kacceri pillar inscription of Kassapa IV (898-914), a tenth century slab inscription at Kurundanmalai near Mulaitivu dated in the reign of a Sinhala king named Abhasalamevan, the Palmottai slab inscription of Vijayabahu I (1055-1110) and the Kantalai stone-seat inscription of Nissankamalla (1187-1196) (EZ. III. pp. 103-113 ; V. pp. 174-176 ; ASI, Nos. 351,2057)

It is recorded in the Culavamsa that Vijayabahu I after the unification of the island having expelled the Colas from Polonnaruwa, effected repairs to two Buddhist shrines in the North, namely the Jambukola Vihara at Sambiliturai in the Jaffna peninsula and the Kurundi Vihara near Mullaitivu. (CV. 60, v. 60) It is clear from the above mentioned Nainativu Tamil inscription which contains certain trade and custom regulations that even in small islands, such as Uratota (Kayts) around the Jaffna peninsula, were under the control of Parakramabahu I. As has been pointed out by Dr. Karthigesu Indrapala, Parakramabahu I was in supreme control of the Northernmost region of Ceylon and there is contemporary and reliable evidence to prove that Uratota (*Uratturai*) was an important naval and commercial centre in Parakramabahu's time. The Tiruvalangadu inscription, a Cola record dated in the twelfth year of Rajadhiraja II (1178) informs us that Parakramabahu I was building ships and assembling troops at Uratturai, Pulaicceri, Matottam (*Mantai*), Vallikaman, Mattival (*Mattuvil*) and other places in order to make a fresh invasion of South India (UCR. XXI, pp. 63-70 ; El. XXII, pp. 86-92). It is evident from this inscription that not only Uratturai (*Kayts*) and other islets mentioned there were under the control of Parakramabahu I, but also all the other islets around the Jaffna peninsula were under his rule. Commenting on the name Uratturai occurring in the Nainativu inscription Dr. Indrapala states that 'the geographical name Uratturai occuring in the record is one of the few earliest recorded place — names of the Jaffna peninsula, after they became Tamilised. Hence its importance to the study of local nomenclature. The place — names of the Jaffna peninsula have a very strong Sinhalese element in them, thereby preserving memories of an earlier Sinhalese occupation of that area.' He further states in a foot note that 'The Tamil element in this Sinhalese place — name and the language of the record show that extent of Tamilisation in the North during the twelfth century. The retention of the Sinhalese element in the place-nomenclature helps to establish the extent to which a Sinhalese population after the Tamil conquests and settlements. A considerable percentage of Sinhalese names and the occurence of Sinhalese-Tamil compound names are circumstances that point to a long survival of a Sinhalese population and an intimate intercourse between the Sinhalese and the Tamils.' (UCR, Vol. XXI, pp. 67, 68 fn. 19) It is mentioned in the Culavamsa and in thePujavaliya that king Maha of the Kalinga race, the last ruler of the Polonnaruwa kingdom, had set up fortifications at Uratota, Mipatota, Mahatittha (*Mantai*), Mannar, Valukagam (*Valikamam*), Pulacceri, Kurundi and at a few other places in the North (PUJ. K. Gnanawimala ed. p. 790; CV. 83. 15-19). All these facts clearly indicate that no independent Tamil kingdom was in existence in and around the Jaffna peninsula even during the Polonnaruwa period.

It appears that, taking the advantage of the political disturbances caused by the invasion of Magha of Kalinga, some of the local leaders, both Sinhala and Tamil, who were living in the Jaffna penlnsula and

in its outskirts, and some South Indian political adventurers who came fishing in troubled waters forcibly began to rule in their respective areas and refused to acknowledge the authority of the kings of the Dambadeniya and the Gampola kingdoms. In the same way the Aryacakravartis of Jaffna also seem to have refused to acknowledge the authority of the Sinhala kings and began to rule that region as rebel kings. These self appointed local rulers are referred to as Vannin (*Vanniyars*) in the Culavamsa and in the Pujavaliya.

The fact hat contemporary Sinhala kings who had their seats of government in Dambadeniya, Yapahuwa, Gampola and in other places in the south had used the title of 'Trisimhaladhisvara' (the supreme overlord of the three Sinhala *i.e.*, Rohana, Maya, and Pihiti) indicates that they have claimed the overlordship of the whole island, including the Jaffna peninsula as a part of their kingdom (*EZ*. III. *pp*. 64, 66 244—247; V. *pp*. 451—452; *ASCM*. VI. *pp*. 63 70). An inscription dated in the 3rd regnal year of Vikramabahu III (1357—1374), found at the Medavala Rajamaha Vihara in the Kandy district records a treaty between hat king and an Aryacakravarti named Martanda (*Sin ai Ariyan*) of Jaffna. A noteworthy point in this inscription is hat while Vikramabahu III is referred to there as 'Cakravarti Swaminvahanse' (the Universal Lord), the Ariyacakravarti is referred to as Perumalun vahanse' only. This fact and the fact that it is dated not in the regnal year of Ariyacakravarti but in that of Vikramabahu III indicate that the dejure right of that king to the sovereignty over the whole island is recognised by Martanda Singai Ariyan by this treaty. (*EZ*. Vol. V, pp. 463—466). According to Dr. S. Paranavitana 'the Arya Cakravartis (of Jaffna) would accordingly have been considered as rebels who did not obey their lawful overlords). The Gira- Sandesa of the Kotte period, while referring to the conquest of Jaffna during the reign of Parakramabahu VI (1412—1467), says that that king having sent a large army against Ariyacakravarti who did not obey former kings of Sri Lanka recaptured thao region which will remain so for the next five thousand years. This reference shows that the Sinhalese kings had regarded the Ariyacakravartis as rebels, and it confirms the above quoted opinion of Dr. Paranavitana. This position seems to have been admitted internationally, for Ibn Batuta (1344) while referring to the Aryacakravarti as Sultan of Ceylon, calls the potentate as Konakar the emperor (Sultan-ul-Kabir) (*UHC*. I, p. 726.)

Although the Aryachakravartis had forcibly ruled the region of Jaffna for about 150 years, that region was once again annexed to the kingdom of Kotte during the reign of Parakramabahu VI (1412—1467) and Prince Sapumal, the Commander in Chief of the army who was sent to conquer Jaffna was appointed as the ruler there ; but the deposed Tamil leaders once again began to rule the region of Jaffna following the return of Prince Sapumal to Kotte where, after the death of Parakramabahu VI, a series of wars of succession and revolts took place.

The following references in 'The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon' by Father Fernao de Queyroz indicates that these local Tamil leaders had ruled that region not as independent rulers but as vassals of the Sinhala kings. The relevant passage reads thus; 'As long as Rajapura (Anuradhapura) was the capital of Ceylon the whole island was subjec. to one king; but after the inundation of the lowlands and after the city of Cota (Kotte) became the metropolis, there were in the island 15 kinglets, subject to the king of Cota, who therefore was considered to be Emperor, and the same title is in these days claimed by the king of Candea (Kandy). The kinglets were, he of Dinavaca, Uva, Valave, Putelao (Puttalam), Mantota, Tanagama, Muliavali, Triquilimale (Trincomalee) Cutiar (Kottiar), Batecalou (Batticaloa). Paneva (Panama), Vintena (Bintenna), Orupala, Mature (Matara), Candae (Kandy) and of the point of the North Jafanapatao (Jaffna peninsula) which together with the kingdom of Cota makes 16. (de Queyroz I,p. 101) again Fr. de Queyroz states that 'when we first came to that island (*i.e.*, Ceylon) it was divided into five kingdoms, that of Cota, Emperor, to which all the others were tributory acknowledging that king as that of Raygam and of Seytavaca (Sitavaka) states which he of Cota devided with his brothers; that of Candea and that of Jafanapatao (de Queyroz bk. I, p. 32). The following account given in the 'A true and exact description of the great island of Ceylon' by Philliipus Baldaeus, a Dutch predikant who lived in Jaffna for about 9 years, also confirms the statement of de Queyroz. 'The fort of Jaffnapatan is square surrounded with strong high walls as the print exhibits, it is larger than the fort of Batavia and is the capital of the entire kingdom. It remained under the Portugezen sway for upwards of 40 years, wrested from the Emperor by Philippo d' Olivero when he defeated the Cingalezen forces near Achiavelli (Achuvely) by the great pagode, where there are still to be seen the ruins and a wonderfully large wide well, deep and round and its centre 24 fathoms deep, truely a wonderful work hewn out of a large rock'. This account reveals that even after the time of Prince Sapumal the Jaffna region was under the control of the kings of Kotte for sometime and later under the rulers of the Kandyan kingdom. It also shows that the Jaffna peninsula was populated even at that time by a large community of Sinhalese who were Buddhists.

That those vassal states mentioned by Fr. de Queyroz were under the king of Kandy during the 17th century is proved by a statement in Robert Knox's 'An Historical Relation of Ceylon' where he says that he and his companions were taken into custody at Kottiar by a Disawa or General of the king of Kandy and were later taken up into the interior and quartered in different villages in the Kandyan kingdom. (*CHJ*. VI., pp. 189—192). It is quite clear from the above quoted references that not only during the Kotte period, but also during the Kandyan period the Jaffna peninsula and the other places such as Trincomalee and Kottiar in the North and the East were not considered as independent kingdom but as vassal states under the kings of Kotte or

Kandy. The statement of Fr. de Queyroz, to wit, that the king of Kandy was regarded as the Emperor of Ceylon, is confirmed by a reference in the book by Phillipus Baldaeus. Referring to the political condition of the island at that time he says that it'is divided into several kingdoms and principalities, as is to be seen by the titles which the Emperor bears, styling himself Rajasinga Emperor of Ceylon, king of Candea, Cota, Ceytavaca, Dambadan (Dambadeniya) Amorapora (Anuradhapura), Jafanapatam . . . . Count of Cottiar (Kottiyar), Trinquemale (Trincomalee), Batecalo, etc., (*CHJ*. VIII, p. 2). It is also recorded in Baldaeus' book on Ceylon that king Senarat of Kandy towards the end of his reign summoned all his subordinate rulers in the island for a council meeting for the purpose of selecting a successor to the throne of Kandy after him. Baldaeus has given the names of all those rulers who attended this council meeting and a faithful account of its proceedings. He has also given a translation of the proclamation that was issued by the king after the meeting. According to Baldaeus a representative of the contemporary ruler of Jaffna also attended this council meeting. King Senarat is referred to as the Emperor of Sri Lanka, The king of Kandy, Sitavaka, Trincomalee, and Jaffna etc., in the preamble of this proclamation. This account of Baldaeus clearly proves that the king of Kandy was the *de jure* ruler of the Jaffna region even during the 18th century.

It is clear from the facts so far presented that at no time was an independent Tamil kingdom in existence in the Jaffna peninsula during the long period of history of Ceylon beginning from the Anuradhapura period upto the end of the Kandyan period. Just as the South Indian Tamil invaders who conquered the northern part of the island and ruled at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa at times were never regarded as lawful kings of Ceylon by those Sinhala kings who ruled in the other parts of the island during the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa periods, the Vanniyars and other local rulers who occupied the District of Jaffna and other places in the north were never regarded as lawful kings, but as foreign invaders by those Sinhala kings who ruled at Dambadeniya, Gampola, Kotte, Kandy and other places ; such local rulers are referred to as usurpers in the Culavamsa and in the Pujavaliya (*CV*. 82, 17—28, *PUJ*. 768, 790). Even as late as 1805 A.D. the Tamils and the other minority communities who had settled in the Jaffna peninsula have been referred to as 'foreigners' by Captain Robert Percival in his book entitled 'An Account of the Island of Ceylon' (1805). While giving an account of the population of Jaffna he states that The inhabitants of Jaffna consist of a collection of various races. The greatest number are Malabars of Moorish extraction, and are divided into several tribes known by the names of Lubbahs, Belalas, Mopleys, Chittys, Choliars and a few Brahamins ; they are distinguished by wearing a little round cap on their close shaven heads. There is also a race of Malabars found here somewhat differing in their appearance from those of the continent. These different tribes of foreign settlers greatly exceed in number the native Ceylonese in the District of Jaffna (pp. 71, 72). Even during

the time when the Jaffna peninsula was under the Portugese and the Dutch, the Sinhala kings of Kotte and Kandy continued to make their claim to the overlordship of that region, when the British occupied the maritime provinces including the Jaffna peninsula.

One of the reasons given for the claim to a separate Tamil kingdom in the North by some Tamils is that there was a separate independent Tamil kingdom in the North from very early times. The facts so far presented in this paper clearly indicates that there never existed an independent Tamil kingdom in the North ; therefore the claim to a seperate Tamil kingdom in the North on that ground is baseless.

From the foregoing study it is also proved beyond any reasonable doubt that although some Sinhala and Tamil Vanni chieftains of the northern region had attempted to rule some parts of that region disregarding the authority of the Sinhala kings of the South, when there were internal troubles in the South after the 13th century, the Sinhala kings there never recognised those petty rulers as independent kings. A condition similar to this prevailed during the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa periods when the chieftains of the region known as Rohana on many occasions tried to disregard the authority of the king and to become independent. Rohana, infact, was a seperate principality for about 15 centuries from the time of Devanampiyaissa or even before it was under the Yuvaraja or heir-apparent from the beginning and later under an Adipada or heir-presumptive appointed by the king. At times some of these princes of Rohana not only had attempted to disregard the authority of the king but had also declared war against the king and had invaded the capital. According to the Culavamsa a prince named Mahanaga was appointed governer of Rohana by Silakala (518—531) and that prince sometime later rebelled against the king and attempted to become independent. During the 70 years that followed the death of Aggabodhi II (604—614), a period which was characterised by an unceasing conflict brought about by the rivalry of two factions for the throne at Anuradhapura, the local rulers of Rohana attempted to disregard the authority of the Anuradhapura king and to become independent. Again shortly after the accession of Udaya II a prince named Kittaggabodhi of Rohana made an attempt to become independent having rebelled against the king. When Udaya II (887—898) heard of this affair, he appointed a young prince named Mahinda to the governership of Rohana and sent him there with an army to seize and bring the rebel to Anuradhapura. Kittaggabodhi was taken captive and was sent to Anuradhapura and Prince Mahinda took control of the government of Rohana. Udaya's immediate successor Kassapa IV (898—914) had to face trouble from that ruler of Rohana ; we are told that shortly after Kassapa's accession prince Mahinda rebelled against the king and invaded Rajarattha. At the preliminary stage of the invasion Mahinda was successful. As Kassapa heard of this defeat of the Royal troops, he sent Mahinda's father Yuvaraja Kassapa to meet the son and to

persuade him to give up the campaign. Yuvaraja Kassapa was successful in persuading his son to give up.

A few years after the accession of Parakramabahu I (1153—1186) at Polonnaruwa the chieftains of Rohana rebelled against his authority but the king after heavy fighting brought them under control.

If some Tamils claim a separate kingdom in the North on the ground that there was a seperate kingdom in Jaffna for about 150 years after the 13th century, the people of Rohana in the South have a better claim to a separate kingdom in the South ; for that region was a separate principality for more than 15 centuries. There was also a separate kingdom after the 15th century upto 1815 A.D. ; on similar grounds the people of upcountry also could claim a separate kingdom for them. If we are to create seperate independent states in different parts of this small island on the ground that there were petty principalities, such as Vanni kingdoms or forest kingdoms in Panama, Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Denagama etc., ruled by opportunist chieftains, it is left to the readers to visualize as to how many parts we have to divide Sri Lanka.

APPENDIX 2.

BUDDHIST REMAINS IN THE JAFFNA PENINSULA

Historical References :

The Jaffna Peninsula is mentioned in History for the first time in connection with the story of the Buddha's visit to Sri Lanka. There it is mentioned as Nagadipa. There is no doubt whatsoever in the identification of Jaffna Peninsula as the ancient Nagadipa. The modern Sinhalese word **Yapane** is a variant form of the Sinhalese word **Yapapatuna** which occurs in Sinhalese literature. The Tamil word **Yalpanam** is a Tamilisation of the Sinhalese word *Yapane.*

The ancient inhabitants of Jaffna were Nagas and the ruling family is said to have been related to the ruling Naga family at Kelaniya. Therefore there is no doubt that the inhabitants then were Sinhalese who had a ruling family connected to a Sinhalese royal family in another part of the island.

The Buddha is said to have consecrated a site for worship and to have planted a **Kiripalu** tree. King Bhatikatissa (2nd century A.D.) built a relic house at the foot of the **Kiripalu** tree. Aggbodhi II (6th century A.D.) made benefactions to the same vihara.

Jambukola was the port which the envoys of Devanampiyatissa set forth to India. The landing of the sacred Bodhi Tree with Sanghamitta too took place at the same port in Jaffna. The site has been identified as modern Sambilturai near Kankasanturai. At the moment a monument has been constructed by the department of Archaeology at the site to commemorate the incident. A temple was built and a sapling was planted at the site by King Devanampiyatissa. Vijayabahu I (11th century) repaired the Jambukola vihara. This proves the fact that even upto the 11th century the Sinhalese Kings had extended their royal authority to Jaffna continuosly.

Tissamahavihara built by Devanampiyatissa was repaired by Kanitthatissa (2nd century A.D.) and was improved by Voharika Tissa (3rd century A.D.) A vihara called Pacinarama was also built by Devanampiyatissa.

Vasabhas Gold plate found at Vallipuram near Point Pedro mentions a minister named Piyaguka Tissa who built a vihara. As the word Piyaguka is identical with Piyagudipa where 12,000 monks are said to have resided, this particular minister must have hailed from Piyangudipa which has been identified without any doubt as modern Punguduitvu. This fact proves that the peninsula and its environs have been occupied by Sinhalese people during the 1st century A D.

Mangala vihara which was in the North wasrestored by Dhatusena (5th cen. A.D.). King Mallaka Naga too founded a vihara called Salipabbata vihara in Nagadipa.

A Cola inscription of the 8th year of Rajadhiraja II mentions the preparation made at a port called Urattunai which is the Uratota in the Sinhalese chronicle and literature. The site is modern Kayts. This is a very imporatant piece of evidence to prove that Jaffna was under the control of Sinhalese Kings even during 12th century. Ports atVallikaman (Valigama) and Mattuvil are also mentioned in the

campaigns of Prakramabahu I. Valigama is mentioned in Sigiri Graffitti where a Sinhalese person had visited Sigiri and had inscribed a Graffitti in Sinhala which proves that during the eight century the Valikaman area had been populated by the Sinhalese

The Tamilisation of Jaffna Peninsula was started after the Cola invasions which took place during the 13th century and was more or less completed during the time of Aryacakravartis whose control of the Jaffna Peninsula commenced during the 13th century. (For Arya Kingdom in North Ceylon. See Paranavitana, *JRASCB Vol. VII* pt. 2 (new series) pp. 174ff.

BUDDHIST REMAINS

Kantarodai :

This site is situated in the N/Valikaman D.R.O.'s Division in the village of Kantarodai. This site is reffered to as the Kadivungoda vihara in the **Nam-pota.** The bases of twenty-two dagabas with diameters ranging. from 8ft to 12ft. were exposed from the excavations here and one dagaba with a diameter of about 23½ft. From the site have been recovered dagaba finials of lime stone caskets, Bodhisatva head of lime-stone, pillar stumps, a sacred foot print stone etc. The first excavations at the site had yielded Buddha statues and other Buddhist remainings such as dagaba finials. A huge limestone Buddha statue recovered from the excavations are exhibited in the Jaffna Archaeological Museum.

Nilavarai :

The site Nilavarai is situated in the N/Valikaman D.R.O.'s Division on the village of Navakiri. From the site has been recovered the upper part of a Buddha statue elegently modelled in the Abhaya-mudra. The statue is now on display at the Jaffna Museum.

Not far from the place of find of the statue are the remains of a dagaba which may belong to the 10th century. Nearby are also the remains of a rectangnlar building which may have been an image house. At the site a Bo-tree and a deep well are seen.

Uruthirupuram Colony :

The site is situated in the Philai Palai Karachchi D.R.O.'s division in the village of Uruthirupuram. The remains of two ancient structured are found beside the road from Urithirupuram Colony to the tank. A small dagaba in the vicinity has been destroyed.

Vavunikulam :

The site is situated in the D.R.O.'s Division of Tunukkai in the village of Vavunikulam in the district of Jaffna. The torso of a standing Buddha statue was unearthed at the site. Nearby are the two pillars of some structure with a brick foundation around them. A broken flower altar, a broken moon-stone and a fragment of a stone door frame are found at the site. There are three other mounds which mark the site of ancient buildings.

Chunnakam :

The site is situated near the railway station of Chunnakam (Sinh. Hunugama). To the west of the rail tract is situated a mound which mark the remains of an ancient dagaba. In 1917 Dr. Paul E. Peris had found a finial of a dagaba from the site.

Koddiya Wattai :

Koddiya Wattai is a hamlet close to Chunnakam. The suffis **Wattai** indicates that the name is Sinhala which is a variation of **watta** (garden). Excavations at the site were conducted in 1917 and the remains of a dagaba had been discovered. A Buddha statue was discovered from the site in 1902.

Mallakam :

Mallagama is mentioned in the Nam-pota. Two fragments of a **yantra-gala** (a deposit-stone) were found from the site. A pond in the rock is still called **Kat-Pokanai** which is the Tamil form of the Sinhalese word **gal-pokuna.**

Mahiyapiti :

A Buddha Statue and the architectural members of a dagaba and other religious buildings have been discovered by P. E. Peiris.

Uduvil :

Uduvil is situated close to Kantarodai. Four stone finials of dagabas have been discovered from the site.

Puloli:

Puloli is situated two miles from Point Pedro. A siripatul stone was discovered from the site. Remains of other buildings too are visible on the site.

Gotha-maluva-watta :

A site called Gotha-maluva-watta is found on the road to Point Pedro from Ponnalai. It is situated about a quater mile away from Ponnalai. Though no structural remains were found the name of the site which has a Sinhalese origin is very interesting. The word **Gotha** (ගොතමී) is an abbriviated form of **Gotami** or **Gautami** which means an honoured lady. Most probably it may be referring to Sanghamitta who brought the Bodhi Tree as the site is situated closer to Sambilturai in which port she landed with the sacred Tree. An excavation conducted at the site yielded the remains of a building which could be the remains of a monastic establishment founded in connection with the arrival of the Bodhi Tree.

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