



# Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon

BY

H. W. CODRINGTON  
*(late of the Ceylon Civil Service)*

JULY, 1938

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COLOMBO

1938

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## PREFACE

THIS extremely valuable and interesting work relating to Land Tenures and Revenue in Ceylon was sent by Mr. Codrington to the Ceylon Government some time after his retirement from the Ceylon Civil Service. He modestly suggested that it might be printed as an appendix to a translation of the Portuguese Forals which was then being made. The Historical Manuscripts Commission who were arranging the translation of the Forals considered that the present work was of so great importance and covered so wide a field that it should be published as a separate work, and this has now been done. A great deal of the information contained in this book had not been collected previously. It throws light on many abstruse points relating to ancient tenures, rights, and customs and to the collection of revenue in ancient times. Some of the tenures, rights, and customs are still in operation, but many of them, in common with so many other features of ancient Ceylon, have either disappeared, or are in process of disappearing. It is very fitting that there should be a fully authoritative record of these matters, and it is a matter for congratulation that this has been done by so able a scholar as Mr. Codrington.

C. H. COLLINS.

Colombo, June 9, 1937.



ANCIENT LAND TENURE AND REVENUE IN CEYLON  
DOWN TO THE YEAR 1833

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Chapter I. The Village .. .. .	1
Chapter II. Classification of the Land .. .. .	7
Chapter III. Service and other Tenures .. .. .	17
Chapter IV. Villages from the point of view of Service .. .. .	22
Chapter V. Taxes, Dues and Payments .. .. .	28
Chapter VI. Taxes, Dues and Payments (continued) .. .. .	43
Chapter VII. The Tamil Districts .. .. .	53
Chapter VIII. Historical Summary .. .. .	59
Appendix I. Gam-bāṅḍima ; the Mode of founding a new Village .. .. .	63
II. The Daladāgē Inscription .. .. .	65

ABBREVIATIONS

acc.	..	Accession
AIC	..	Ancient Inscriptions in Ceylon
app.	..	in apposition
Bd. Comm.	..	Correspondence of the Board of Commissioners
CA	..	Ceylon Antiquary
CHI	..	Cambridge History of India
CLR	..	Ceylon Literary Register
D'Oyly	..	Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom
EZ	..	Epigraphia Zeylanica. The references are to volume and number of the inscription
JRAS	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society
JRAS. CB.	..	Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch
LM	..	Lēkammitiya
Mhv	..	Mahāvamsa with its continuation the Cūlavamsa
pl.	..	plural
P.T.S.	..	Pali Text Society
Sab. Report 1818	..	Report of H. Wright, Agent of Government in Sabaragamuwa, Oct. 6, 1818
SBE	..	Sacred Books of the East
SDT	..	Statement of different Tenures of Lands, 1818
Short Description	..	Koort Verhaal of beschryvinge, 1681
SII	..	South Indian Inscriptions
Sinh	..	Sinhalese
Skt.	..	Sanskrit
STC.	..	Report of the Service Tenures Commission
STR	..	Service Tenures Registers
Q	..	Queyroz, <i>Conquest of Ceylon</i> , translation of Fr. S. G. Perera
Z	..	Memoir of H. Zwaardecroon, 1697

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**HISTORICAL OUTLINE**  
with dates of kings mentioned.

Vijaya	..	..	..	v cent. B.C.
Devānampiya Tissa.	Conversion of Ceylon to Buddhism			247 B.C.
Gaja Bāhu I	..	..	..	ii cent. A.D.
Mahasen	..	..	..	277-304
Buddhadāsa	..	..	..	341-370
Hatthadāṭha II	..	..	..	691

Early Medieval period.

Udaya I	..	..	..	901-912
Kassapa V	..	..	..	929-939
Udaya III	..	..	..	964-972
Mahinda IV	..	..	..	975-991

Chola conquest, early xi cent., and occupation.

Vijaya Bāhu I	..	..	..	1056-1111
Gaja Bāhu II	..	..	..	1131-1153
Parākrama Bāhu I	..	..	..	1153-1186
Niśsaṅka Malla	..	..	..	1187-1196
Sāhasa Malla	..	..	..	1200-1202
Māgha, Indian usurper	..	..	..	1215-1236+
Parākrama Bāhu II of Dambadeniya	..	..	..	1234-1269
Bhuvanaika Bāhu II of Kurunegala	..	..	..	?1319-1325/6
Parākrama Bāhu IV	..	..	..	1325/6-

Gampola period 1344/5-1412.

Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV	..	..	..	1344/5-1353/4+
Bhuvanaika Bāhu V	..	..	..	1372/3-1405/6 or 1407/8+

Kotte period 1412-1551.

Parākrama Bāhu VI	..	..	..	1412-c. 1467
Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI	..	..	..	1472/3-1480/1+
Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy	..	..	..	late xv cent.
Parākrama Bāhu IX	..	..	..	1509-1528+
Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII	..	..	..	1521-1551
Dharmapāla	..	..	..	1551-1597
Rājasiṅha I of Sitavaka	..	..	..	1554-1593

Portuguese period 1594-1656/8.

Dutch period 1640-1796.

Kirtiśiri of Kandy	..	..	..	1747-1782
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British period from 1796.

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

I AM indebted to Mr. H. C. P. Bell for his kindness in allowing me to make use, prior to publication, of his valuable monograph on the Maldives. But for this I should have been unable to give for purposes of comparison such details touching taxation as appear in the following pages.

My best thanks are also due to the Government Archivist, Mr. E. Reimers, M.B.E., for generous help constantly afforded me in the course of my investigations.

Considerable use has been made of the important Daladāgē inscription. This has been published by Mr. Wickremasinghe in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, vol. I, No. 8. The translation, however, owing to the defective state of the record, is not very satisfactory, and a synopsis of the contents, prepared anew, is now given in the Appendix.

The list of dues in Chapter VI under the heads "Payments by Castes or Departments, by Trades, &c., or for Protection" and "Miscellaneous" is not intended to be exhaustive, nor has any systematic attempt been made to describe taxes or dues levied by the Dutch and British administrations, other than those connected with land or possessed of some special interest.

The letter  $\Theta$  is represented in Pali words as usual by  $\epsilon$ , in Sinhalese by  $\text{ch}$ . The names of districts, divisions and villages have been given in their customary forms, the only change being the substitution of  $v$  for  $w$ .

H. W. C.

43, Palace Gardens Terrace,  
Kensington,  
December, 9, 1936.



# ANCIENT LAND TENURE AND REVENUE IN CEYLON

## CHAPTER I

### THE VILLAGE

THE Sinhalese *gama*, plural *gam*, normally signifies a village, but the word is applied to an estate or even to one field. Such portion of a village is *gam-kotuva* or *gam-paṅguva*. Of the *gama*, whether village or estate, the centre is the paddy land, of which the high land is considered to be the appurtenance. This was the case as early as the tenth century (EZ., I, Nos. 12 and 16; II, No. 37). In the north of Ceylon the Sinhalese word appears in Tamil guise as *kamam*, meaning a field or in the local parlance a "farm".

The *gama* normally consist of paddy fields, gardens of miscellaneous fruit trees, and *chena* (*hēna*, pl. *hēn*), that is jungle land, cleared, burnt and cultivated periodically; in some places fields may be absent. The village territory consisted of *gam-val*, the inhabited and permanently cultivated area and the waste.

The Sinhalese village roughly speaking falls into two main classes. In the country where paddy cultivation is carried on by means of tanks the houses are gathered together in the neighbourhood of the tank bund. Such a village until recent times consisted of a number of families of the same caste and related to one another, presided over by one or two hereditary *gamarālas* or *gammahēs*, whose holding was the *gamvasama* or *gannilē*. The classes known in India as the village servants, the blacksmith, the washerman, the potter and others (*tovilkārayō*), live in separate villages of their own caste similarly organized. Elsewhere the houses usually are more or less scattered, and the villages may be inhabited by one or more castes. In the larger ones the inhabitants may consist of (1) families of superior status, perhaps descendants of the original settlers or founders, (2) others not originally related to them, and (3) the *tovilkārayō*. This seems to have been the case with the large villages once existing in the North of the Island. Thus the *gam-vāsiyō*, "village inhabitants", of the *Daḷadāgē* inscription (EZ I, 8) clearly held a position apart from the *kuḍin* and may represent the first named class. The *kuḍin* in the *Mihintale* Tablets, who apparently were the mass of the cultivators and were superior to the *dasun* or serfs, seem to be analogous to the Tamil *ulkuḍi*, hereditary cultivators whose ancestors either helped in the original founding of the village or were brought in to extend the cultivated area. In this class, the second just mentioned, have to be included the modern *pālkārayō* or *daḷupatkārayō*, "cotters", the subtenants of a larger holding; these correspond with the Tamil *parakuḍi*. The distinction between a "native" and another was still of importance in the Maritime Provinces in the seventeenth century; in the Portuguese Tombo the explanation for a particular tenure by an individual not infrequently is that he is a "native" (*por ser natural*) of the place. The objection of the "native" to the acquisition of land in his village by a stranger, even though resident a mile or so away, is still strong in parts of Ceylon.

The term *hāṭapas-amuṇu gankārayā*, "holder of an estate of sixty-five *amunams*", is now used of an owner of very extensive property, the *amunams* including both high and low land. Thus in a document purporting to be dated in Śaka 1664 (1742/3) the *Uda Aludeniya Vihārē* in Kandy District is said to be possessed of 65 *amunams* of which 18 were mud or paddy land, the rest consisting of gardens and *chenas*. The villages in early medieval times must have been of much greater extent; the names of many modern villages show that they originally were divisions of much larger units, of which not infrequently the very name is lost. As late as the early seventeenth century according to the Portuguese Tombo the village of *Nivitigala* in *Sabaragamuwa* was composed of *paṅgu*, the first of which contained 58 *amunams* of paddy land. In such large villages down to recent times there was a number of headmen of the same type of the *gamarāla*, though often with different titles.

As already stated, in the tank country each village was governed by one or two headmen styled *gamarāla*, *gammahē*, and the like according to the caste of each. In the Kandyan country further to the south, though the *gannilē* appears as the first holding in a village, the position of its hereditary holder was greatly obscured and reduced in importance by the presence in the village of various departments independent of his jurisdiction, particularly in the neighbourhood of the capital. In the Low-country his status seems to have been better maintained, at least in the Matara disavany. According to the Report of J. E. Forbes, Collector of Matara, dated July 1, 1818 (CLR IV, New Series, p. 77) the "mayorals" were of seven classes, namely those known as *hiṭihāmī*, *yāpāhāmī* (both of whom were very rare), *patirannāhē*, *gamarāla*, *vitārannā*, *liyannā* and *manannā*; these last two were the writer or registrar and the grain measurer. Valentyn (p.1) in 1726 says that the *kāriyakarannō* or mayorals are of five kinds and gives the first five of Forbes in the same order, which is that of the dignity of the office. He mentions the *liyannā* and *manannā* separately with other village officers. The name *kāriyakarannā* was that used under the Kandyan government for the minor headmen in the Seven Korales and elsewhere. The *gamarāla*, therefore, though hereditary or quasi-hereditary, was primarily an officer. In the early medieval period the governor of Anurādhapura was styled *nuvara-laddā* (AIC, 111), and the ruler of a district was *raṭ-laddā*. The name *gam-laddā* thus connotes one who not only has received a village to enjoy the revenue in whole or in part, but one who rules it. Similarly in Malabar the hereditary head of the village is the *dēsavāli* and the head of the district the *nāḍuvāli*, the last part of the compound meaning "ruler". In ancient times the *gam-laddā* was a person of considerable importance, of whom the more modern *gamarāla* was but a shadow partly for the reason already given and partly owing to the reduction in the size of the old villages and in the North owing to the diminution of the population. In the Kandyan royal villages (*gabaḍā-gam*) of Uva under the *gammahē* there were generally five *paṭabāndō*, "those on whom has been tied the fillet (of dignity)", the principal hereditary tenants, and in Vellassa the coheirs of the *gamarāla* in the *māruvena gamvasam* villages<sup>1</sup>, the *paṅgukārayō*, also were five in number<sup>2</sup>. In some places where the village headmanship was not confined to one family it was held in rotation by one of the *paṭabāndō*. In Sabaragamuva the holder of a *gamvasam* village was known as *paṭabāndā* (Sab. Report, 1818).

In Kandyan times the *gam-sabē* or village council assembled to deal with disputes, debts and petty offences. It was composed of the principal and experienced men of the place. If a headman was a member, a fine could be inflicted and this was shared by the assessors (D'Oyly, p. 28). The analogy of the

<sup>1</sup> In the Vediratas of Buttala and Vellassa large tracts of paddy land, the property of Government, were held by *gamarālas* whose duty it was to collect tribute for the king. They took dues from the *chenas* (of their *gamvasam*) as their perquisites. They were removable at the pleasure of the *Vidānē*, hence the term *māruvena*, but the posts were always in the same family (Bd. Comm., vol. 1122, Nov. 6, 1832).

<sup>2</sup> There were ten *paṭabāndi-paṅgu* in Dedigama in Four Korales in the 1669 *Lēkammitiya*. For the number five, cf. the Indian *panchayat*, *gam-vāsiyan pasdenaku*, "a body of five village inhabitants" in EZ I, 8, line 18, and *vela-yut pasdenā*, "the five field officers" in EZ II, 6. With the exception of the fourth the names in Valentyn's list of mayorals survive only in family names, as does *māpāhāmī*. In 2121 D of the Dutch Archives relating to Batticaloa and the year 1687 we find two *vaṅams* or divisions lying in the interior governed by "Chittyhamy" and "Mahapahamy" respectively. In medieval times the heir apparent to the throne was *māpā*, *mahāpā*, or *mahayā*, whence the name of his appanage *Māyāraṭa*. Mr. Paranavitana derives *ṣpā*, "prince", not from *adipāda* but from *ayapā* (*ayyapāda*), and hence *mahayā* from *mahā-ayya* and *mahāpā* from *mahā-ayyapāda*, *māpā* being from *mahā-pāda*. *Yāpā* according to him is from *ayapā*, a form of *ṣpā*. *Ṣiṭi* or *hiṭi* possibly may equal *ṣiṭu*, Skt. *śiṭin*, "head of a guild" man of consequence. The existence of the titles suggestive of royalty is difficult to explain satisfactorily. Possibly they may be a survival of a time when, as in parts of India, the king had a share (*panguva*) in every village (Baden-Powell, *Land-Systems of British India*, I, p. 119). If this be the explanation, the *yāpāhāmī* may have been the officer in charge of the prince's share, the *māpāhāmī* of the heir apparent's and more doubtfully the *ṣiṭihāmī* of the king's. But against this stands the fact that the *māpāhāmī* is found in *Ruhuna* which was not the heir apparent's appanage, at least when Ceylon was united under one monarchy. If the Sinhalese king ever did have a share in each village the existence of the numerous *mutteṭṭu* (v. Chap. IV) throughout the country might be explained; it is noteworthy that villages held for military service (*hēvāvasam*) very frequently possess such fields.



raṭa-sabhāva, "council of a district or division", suggests that the village court like that of the raṭa was once composed of the heads of families. If the reading (gam-vā)siyan pasdenaku can be established in the Daladāgē inscription, the gam-sabē presumably was much the same as the Indian panchayat. This last name is applied not only to the council of the whole village but to any five men selected to deal with a special case.

In the Badulla pillar inscription (EZ III, 4, D line 33) we read of the gam aḍaviya aṭadenā, "the eight village committee-men and the eight forest committee-men" as rendered by Mr. Paranavitana or with equal probability "the eight of the cultivated land and the waste", in the great village Hopitiḡamu. No lodgings were to be taken in the house of the eight in this village (lines 36-38). So far as I know this is the only clear reference to the administration of village affairs by committees such as are found in South India. For councils of five and of eight, compare the king's great council of five and the great assembly of eight in the Tamil classical dictionary *Tivākaram*. The Kandyan gam-sabē and raṭa-sabhāva were courts rather than administrative bodies.

In Kandyan times there was joint responsibility on the part of the village for murders and suicides, but only for such as were committed in the inhabited and cultivated area and not in the waste (Davy, *Interior of Ceylon*, pp. 180, 181; Bd. Comm., vol. 8, Dec. 3, 1819). Details of the same system in the tenth century with regard to crime in general with the dasagama or group of ten villages, the modern gandahaya, as the unit appear in the Vevelketiya inscription (EZ I, 21).

The cultivated land in the village was divided into paṅgu or shares, each paṅguva usually consisting of paddy land, of gardens, and, subject to the reservation made below, of chena. For purposes of service the paṅguva, whatever the number of the coheirs may be, is indivisible and the coheirs jointly and severally are liable for the service. It seems to be a survival of the Hindu joint-family estate. Of the joint-family all the male members own and have a right to the family property; no coparcener is entitled to any special interest in the property nor to exclusive possession of any part of it. Private property belonging to a single person is unusual except in the case of self-earned property or gifts. The joint-family property is generally managed by the eldest member. Dissolution takes place by mutual consent or by application to a court of law, but this division of the property generally is made only when the relations amongst the coparceners grow remote (*The Vaishnavas of Gujarat*, pp. 148 ff.).

At the present day the ownership by a paṅguva, family, or individual in paddy land, just as in a garden, is confined to a particular area. A peculiar custom, however, exists in the villages in the tank country. When the storage of water in the tank is not sufficient to irrigate all the paddy fields or at least one tract under it, a part of the field proportionate to the supply of water available is selected and divided among all the paṅgukārayō or shareholders in proportion to the extent each owns. Each takes the produce of the bit which he cultivates regardless of the ownership of the soil. This mode of cultivation is called betma, "division". A similar custom, but with the object of securing to each cultivator equal benefit from the land, existed in India, not only the paddy land but also the gardens and dry land being periodically redistributed. For this karaiyīḍu system, see Chapter II. In Ceylon as late as the seventeenth century the Portuguese Tombo shows that it was the practice in Bulatgama to reallocate yearly the land of the paṅgu among the people, the holder having to pay a fee "for the change". We may note that in this Tombo the taxpaying or otu fields of a village, for example in the Seven Korales, as opposed to those which had been allotted to individuals for service, appear registered in one block with no owners noted against it. The well known Alagiyavanna Mohottāla was in charge of the registration, and, as there is little doubt that by the early seventeenth century in practice the same plot of land in the otu fields was always held by the same family or individuals, it may be supposed that this mode of registering these fields follows that in use under the Kotte kings and came down from a more ancient period. At one time, then, the Indian practice above mentioned may have prevailed in Ceylon also. Mr. Paranavitana informs me indeed that in Talpe Pattuva annual reallocation is still or was until recently

carried out in the case of undivided land. Thus if the land be divided for purposes of cultivation into three lots, A works lot 1, say in 1936, lot 2 in 1937, and lot 3 in 1938, B and C working lot 1 in 1937 and 1938 respectively, and so on. The same system is or was applied to trees, especially jak trees, the object in both cases being that each coparcener should enjoy good, middling and poor in turn<sup>1</sup>.

A practice similar to the Indian still prevails in some places in the case of chena cultivation. The paṅgukārayō set one man in the middle of the jungle selected and send others out to a "hoo" cry's distance so as to enclose a suitable area. The centre point (mulkātē) is fixed at a large tree or mulgaha. A creeper about one or two cubits in length is tied to the tree and a small circle traced therewith round it. The circumference is marked with pegs (hēn-kaṇu-gahanavā), and is divided according to paṅgu, *e.g.*, one cubit for a whole paṅguva, half a cubit for a half paṅguva, and so forth. The division lines are then extended to the boundary of the chena, the lines being marked on trees with three cuts on each (kaludan koṭānavā). The people then burn the jungle, lay sticks on the ground along the boundary lines of the paṅgu (ima dānavā), and sow. The whole chena resembles a wheel, the spokes as it were dividing the paṅgu. There is no gamvasama. It should be noted that, though this system of cultivation may be styled communal (podu) in a loose way of speaking, it is not so in reality nor is it so considered in those villages which practice it. The land in the segment of the circle allotted to a paṅguva belongs to that paṅguva during the continuance of the chena cultivation, that is for two or three years, and the paṅgukārayā cannot be ejected from it during that period. There is however, no claim to the land otherwise.\* The right of the village is to practice chena cultivation in a certain area; it is not a right on the part of individuals to cultivate particular blocks. Nor is there any claim on the part of the village as a whole to ownership of the soil; the village as such has no corporate existence.

In the Vellasa and Buttala Veditatas the arrangement for chena cultivation was somewhat different. In the māruvena gamvasam the gamarāla, who once was appointed by the disāva, the local lieutenant of the king, divided the gamvasam chenas among the villagers, enjoying himself a chena as a temporary muttettuva (v. chap. VI.) No claims by individual villagers were made, the whole being at the disposal of the gamarāla (*Memorandum of Taldena Ratemahatmaya* of 1906), but in process of time what was admittedly held at the pleasure of the disāva has been claimed as heritable property. In Deyiyanne Gampaha in Buttala according to the STR there are no chenas held by separate paṅgu.

The growth of claims on the part of paṅgu or of individuals to particular blocks of land is comparatively recent; indeed in some parts of Ceylon the process is still going on before one's eyes, land being claimed by individuals which a quarter of a century ago or less was only claimed by the Paṅgukārayō of a village for purposes of the combined chena cultivation. The claim to individual chenas "above the mountains" would appear from deeds to date back at least into the eighteenth century, if not earlier; yet the Land Settlement survey of Tumpāne clearly shows that the mulkātē system once prevailed there also. Judging from experience "below the mountains" claims by paṅgu or by individuals began in isolated places such as valleys cut off by natural features from the rest of the village and in olagam, uninhabited villages of which the tanks are in working order and the fields cultivated by people of adjoining villages, in the case under consideration by people of one paṅguva. It is the mulkātē chena to which the Revenue Commissioner refers in a letter to the Secretary for the Kandyan Provinces, dated May 6, 1825, when he speaks of "those chenas in the neighbourhood of villages cultivated in common by the villagers, strictly speaking the property of the Crown"; these he contrasts with "private chenas" (Bd. Comm. 623).

A position intermediate between the claim to cultivate somewhere within the village boundaries and the claim to individual plots of land is to be found in the royal village of Dedigama. According to the Sinhalese Lēkammitiya written in 1669

<sup>1</sup> At Goa in 1526 there seem to have been no private rights in the village paddy land other than in such specific plots as had been brought into cultivation by individuals with the consent of the local authority (*Treatise of the Portugall Indies*).

under the Dutch almost every paṅguva has a number of chenas attached to it but without names or extents. In the Dutch Tombo of the Maritime Provinces the chenas and deniyas are lumped together at the end of the entries relating to a village. Rights to cultivate, not specific chenas, but a specified acreage are mentioned; for instance in the case of a mayoral we find the names and extents of his fields and gardens and then the entry "the aforewritten mayoral being enabled for his service also yearly to sow 20 kurunis of chenas or deniyas and possess free (of tax)". In Lower Uva such a chena is now reckoned at from 2 to 3 acres in extent, being what one man with his family can cultivate.

Though not chena strictly speaking the pillāva or vanāta may be noticed here. This is the "appurtenance" of a field, which it usually adjoins, used for threshing and other agricultural purposes.

There remains the forest land within the village limits. Such claim to it as was made by the paṅgukārayō of the village was not to ownership but to user. We have seen the right to practice the mulkāṭē chena cultivation, which naturally was exercised periodically in different localities according to the growth of the jungle. Other rights claimed, for example, were those of cutting wood for fuel and agricultural purposes and timber for house-building, of collecting honey and other jungle produce, and the like (gamē vissa-ṭa poḍu, "common to the whole village").

The village rights undoubtedly were qualified by those of the king, in many places only in theory, in others very actively. In the Kandyan period in almost every province there were "forbidden forests" (tahansi kālē) in which no chena could be cut (Bd. Comm. vol. 12, letter of the Board to Agent of Government, Sabaragamuwa, July 31, 1821; Bd. Comm. (Kandy Kachcheri) Feb. 16, 1821)<sup>1</sup>. There is no reason to suppose that the case was different in more ancient times. In the early seventeenth century the Portuguese Foral for Hevagam Korale refers to jungles of royal timber which no man can enter in Bogodavatta and a royal mūkalāna or high forest in "Asbada" in which no timber can be cut. The complaint of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII to the king of Portugal in 1541 implies that the timber on the hills (na serra) was royal (Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, p. 104.) The king also by his arbitrary power prohibited the felling of private as well as of forbidden forests with the object of preserving useful timber (H. Wright, Oct. 18, 1846, in Archives, Old P.F. 20). "King's jungles" used for chena cultivation are mentioned in the Portuguese Tombo (II, f. 434; III, f. 27 ff., s. v. Kaimal); in the Kandyan period similar large tracts existed in Velanvita in Uva.

According to *Armour's Grammar of the Kandyan Law* (p.4) "forests and wildernesses, unreclaimed and untenanted by men, mines of precious stones and metals, and pearl banks, belong to the king". This statement is borne out by the levying of the fee bim-puḷuṭu, "soil burning", for burning the king's soil at the cremation of a dead body and by the very name ratmahāra, the old designation of the waste, of which more hereafter. In the third century Mahasen was induced to confiscate the Mahā Vihāra, which had been abandoned for nine years, by the legal maxim, then current, that "ownerless land belongs to the king" (Mhv. XXXVII, 8). All this accords perfectly with the claim of Indian kings to the disposal of abandoned land and of forest (CHI, I, p. 199).

#### OVERLORDSHIP

The king was bhūpati or bhūpāla, "lord of the earth", "protector of the earth", or, as the late *Niti Nighanduvva* (Chap. I, 2) terms Manu the Vaivasvata, the first king of men, "lord (adhīpati) of the fields of all". The king's revenue according

<sup>1</sup> "The forest of Udawatte Keley near the Palace was strictly interdicted, so that people were not allowed even to gather firewood in it. Hantaane was likewise an interdicted forest, but yet people were permitted to get firewood, withes, &c., from it. The forests belonging to the King in the more distant parts of the country, were likewise under prohibition, but not so strictly watched, and the inhabitants of the neighbourhood were at liberty to fell timber in them, but not to clear any part for chena" (D'Oyly, p. 65). The forest at the present Kadugannava Pass and a belt along the Kandyan frontier were preserved for military purposes. The belt in the Four and Three Korales has long since disappeared, the only remaining portions often being the gal-atul on the tops of hills. A royal forest Dambakaduva in Three Korales is mentioned in 1821 (Bd. Comm., Kandy Kachcheri).

Nārada's law book, xviii, 48, and to the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, ii, 12, was for the protection of his subjects. The royal claims in the matter of land doubtless were of gradual growth, but were well developed by the third century B.C. Dr. F. W. Thomas writing of the Maurya empire in India says " Apart from the royal domain the ultimate property in the land appertained, in the sense which has since prevailed, to the king : that is to say, the king was entitled to his revenue therefrom, and in default could replace the cultivator in his holding " (CHI, I, p. 475). It was the great Maurya emperor Aśoka who not only sent Mahinda to convert Ceylon to Buddhism but also enabled its ruler Tissa to receive consecration as king. The new Sinhalese monarch adopted Aśoka's title of Devānampiya, and the whole story testifies to the unmistakable influence exercised on the Island by the Indian empire of the day. There is no reason to suppose that Tissa's conception of his royal rights differed materially from those of his model and patron. On the general question Mr. Moreland's remarks on the subject of Indian land tenures are so excellent that I cannot refrain from quoting them. He writes, " Traditionally there were two parties, and only two, to be taken into account ; these parties were the ruler and the subject, and if a subject occupied land, he was required to pay a share of its gross produce to the ruler in return for the protection he was entitled to receive. It will be observed that under this system the question of ownership of land does not arise : the system is in fact antecedent to that process of disentangling the conception of private right from political allegiance which has made so much progress during the last century, but is not even now fully accomplished. Nor was the occupation of land necessarily a right in the judicial sense of the word : the king required revenue, and the cultivation of sufficient land to supply his needs might be regarded rather as a duty, and might in some cases be enforced by appropriate penalties " (*India at the Death of Akbar*, pp. 96, 97). The above illustrates the difficulty often experienced in deciding, for instance, in a given case whether badda means " rent " or " tax ". In the following pages it will be understood that the words " ownership ", " proprietor ", and the like are used with no precise legal significance. Whether the European legal conception of ownership prevailed in ancient India and Ceylon is doubtful. We gather from the protest against a grant of land as a sacrificial fee, " The Earth also sang the stanza : No mortal must give me away " (*Satapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 7, 15, SBE XLIV, p. 421), that like air it could not be owned. The Indian point of view differed from the European in looking primarily at authority over land rather than at the soil itself (Logan, *Manual*, p. 609), and early grants by the king were of revenue and rights and not of land. This point of view seems to have continued until the influence of European law made itself felt<sup>1</sup>.

The king, though having the supreme disposal of land, was bound by the law. Thus in *Bṛhaspati*, xix, 22 (SBE XXXIII, p. 354) " When land is taken from one man by a king actuated by anger or avarice, or using a fraudulent pretext, and bestowed on a different person as a mark of his favour, such a gift is not considered as valid. 23. When (however) land is taken from a person enjoying it without a legitimate title of ownership, and given to a worthier person, (the latter) must not be deprived of it." Again it was considered wrong for the king to take another's land and dedicate it to a temple (Alavala Amuna inscription, xiv century). Such doubtless was the law, but the position of the landholder, subject to removal from his land for failure, real or imaginary, to fulfill his duty to the king, failure of which the king was sole judge, must have been precarious under arbitrary government. His rights, however, would normally be respected and so long as custom ruled unquestioned the villager may have had little to complain of from the central government. It was his local chief or headman who actually exercised the right of removal from his land for failure of duty or service.

The overlordship of a village might have been two-fold in origin, namely by grant or by subdivision of the estate. If conferred by royal gift, the grantee received only what the king himself possessed, that is to say in more ancient times the revenue and the disposal of the land, as indicated, and in more recent times

<sup>1</sup> As to ownership see Hayley, *Laws and Customs*, pp. 222 ff. Note that in the Dondra and Demaladuva sannas of the Kotte period land is given that the grantee may enjoy the use or profit (prayōjana viṇḍinā niyāyen).

the home farm land (*mutteṭṭuva*), if such existed, the enjoyment of the services rendered by the people in consideration of their holdings, and the *aṅḍē* and *otu* share of the crops where such were paid. In either case a gift of slaves may have been included. The grant of the king's rights in the village when made heritable tended to the conversion of the inhabitants into tenants of a landlord, but even so late as the early nineteenth century the British Government in giving villages to Kandyan chiefs in Sabaragamuwa seems to have carefully worded the grants in such a way as to preclude ownership of the tenant's land. A position, so far as the internal economy of the village went, identical with that brought about by royal grant is found, for instance, in a number of villages in the Four Korales held for such honourable service as membership of the *disāva's* *Atapattu* bodyguard and now registered as *ninda-gam* (v. *infra*, Chap. IV), though not such as regards the sovereign. We also find the *gam-laddā* in the possession of rights, which though less extensive are clearly those of an overlord. Thus in Sabaragamuwa the "proprietor" of a *gamvasam* village cultivated his own lands by means of the inhabitants, whom he fed for their service, and also was entitled to a share of the crops (*aṅḍē* and *otu*) from all other lands in the village (*Sab. Report*, 1818). This type of overlordship may be due to a local grant on the part of the *disāva*, such as we find recorded in the Portuguese Tombo, but quite possibly the "proprietor" sometimes enjoys the rights as the representative of the original founder of the village and by subdivision of his land among the tenants. The recognition of nominal overlordship sometimes takes the form of a present of forty betel leaves, in particular in the hands of landowners who are the coheirs of the *gam-laddā*.

In Sabaragamuwa in 1818 the "proprietor" of a village, the "lord" of the Portuguese Tombo, might be the owner of a *ninda-gama*, an *Atapattu* or *Kodituvakku ārachchi*, a *paṭabāndā* of the *gamvasam* department, or a *lascarin* of the *kōralē*, that is of the *hēvāvasam* department. For the *aṅḍa* and *otu* shares paid to these, see under *Aṅḍa paraveṇi* and *Otu paraveṇi* in Chapter II.

## CHAPTER II

### CLASSIFICATION OF THE LAND

Land in Ceylon can be classified according to the use to which it is put in cultivation, to the apportionment of the produce, and to the right therein enjoyed by the Possessor.

#### I.—*Classification by cultivation*

1. *Fields*.—*Kuṁburu*, in which paddy is grown, are either dependent on rain water or on irrigation. Fields which lie fallow are *puran* or *malan*.

Subject to periodical cultivation are *ōviṭas*, flat meadow land strictly speaking by the side of a stream (*oya*), and *kākulam*, described in the Portuguese Tombo as "dry fields" (*campos secos*). In the Dutch New Tombo *deniyas* and *vilhaḍu*<sup>1</sup>, perhaps once the same as *vil* or swamps, as well as *puran* are classed with *caenas*, presumably because they were cultivated at intervals, and were not then usually regarded as private. A *deniya* is a narrow valley running up between the spurs of a range of hills and cultivated with paddy; the word is the same as the Pali *doni*, "trough". It has or had also another meaning, namely high ground as distinguished from low or marshy ground. Van Imhoff's *Memoir* describes *deniyas* as "sand plains" and says that these and *ōviṭas* were cultivated with *kurakkan*.

Land newly brought into cultivation as a paddy field or more recently than the original field is *asvādduma* or *dalupata*, "tender leaf." Such land usually is of no great extent, but the name is applied to the lowest tract of fields under a tank. The early medieval name is *viyaḷa* (cf. the inscription of *Sāhasa Malla*, EZ II, 36, A, lines 23-24, *Lakḍiva nam Vijayarājayan yakṣa pralaya koṭa kaṇu mul bā tānū viyalak se pavat kalaṇeyin*, "because King Vijaya by destroying the yakṣas made the Island of *Lāṅkā* to exist like a *viyaḷa* prepared by removing stumps and roots"; cf. also *ib.*, IV, 10, line 14).

<sup>1</sup> *Vilhaḍu* in Galle District now are fields which contain below the surface decaying trunks of trees (*vil-koṭan*).

For the meaning of khetta and vatthu reference may be made to the *Pali-English Dictionary*. In later Sinhalese it seems fairly certain that ket-vat usually means "fields" and nothing more. Thus in the sannaya or gloss on the *Saptasūryyod-gamāna Sūtra* we read "At that time having made ket-vat, having dammed up water, cultivated, divided the paddy (hāl-vi)", and in the fourteenth century Sinhalese version of the *Kurudharma Jātaka* āl-keta seems to be identical with ket-vat. In EZ I, 2 A, there is a prohibition of growing muṅ āti, that is vegetables, in the ket-vatu, sihin-āti being permitted. On the whole then it would appear that ket-vat means "fields", though quite possibly the term includes dry fields as well as mud land, and so piṭi-bim, piṭi, "flat open lands".

2. *Gardens, etc.*—In modern times garden land may be divided into the ge-vatta, "residing garden", and plantations or vatu, an areca-nut grove being called araṃba. In early mediæval times we find vatta, "garden", ge-bim, "house-lands", ge-vatu, "house-gardens" and arub, the modern araṃba (EZ I, 16; II, 12, 37). Uyan was not the same as vatta; uyanā now is the name applied only to royal or temple plantations.

3. (i.) *Chena land (hēna, plural hēn)*.—High land of which the jungle is felled and burnt at intervals of time; the ash is used for manure and hill paddy, fine grain, &c., is grown. The cycle of cultivation lasts for two or three years, after which the land relapses into jungle. For the extent of a "chena" where no specific acreage is given, see page 5.

Another name for chena land was val or valpiṭa (EZ III, p. 238) this was also ratmāsara or ratamahāra, a term, however, of much wider application (Aramanapola documents of Parākrama Bāhu VI, 1412-c.1467, in *Vidyodaya*, II, pp. 11, 12). Chenas given by name appear in the Velivita sannasa of Śaka 1727 (A.D. 1805) as goḍa valpiṭa, and the same denomination occurs in the Sabaragamuwa Hī-Lēkammitiya of 1808 under Saman Dēvālē and in the Disā Lēkammitiya under Atakalan Korale.

The common expression goda mada, "high and mud land", occurring in sannas and sīttu, is amplified in a Kavudawa sīttuva from Buttala Veditata of Śaka 1734 (No. 94) into goḍa-hēn-da maḍa-kūmburuvalin-da, "both high land chenas and mud fields".

(ii.) *Ratmahāra*.—The older ratmāsara, "the king's great thicket". This was the waste in general. It was used for chena cultivation, and by the beginning of the seventeenth century parts were then reckoned as paraveṇi or heritable. Thus for example in the Portuguese Tombo, vol. III, under the heading of Mahabadda people of Velitota, Gente de Carapo Tirapo (kaḍappu tirappu), the durayā held  $\frac{1}{2}$  amunam of ratmahāra which he sowed as his paravenia. According to Cairns ratmahāra "signifies what of right belongs to the Crown; it is a term used to describe all waste and uncultivated lands, to which no private title can be shown, and includes all Government forests, chenas, &c. It never applies to paddy fields, except in cases where, by unauthorized appropriation of such Government lands, portions may have been worked or improved into a condition suitable for grain cultivation. . . . There are, however, in the maritime districts, Ratmahera lands granted by the Dutch to private individuals on the conditions of their conversion into fields and gardens, the produce to be taxed at one-tenth". See also SDT and Bertolacci, p. 284.

(iii.) *Kaṇu-is paraveṇi (kaṇu "stumps", his "empty, cleared of")*.—Originally forests or jungles of large extent cut down and cleared by individuals, which were sown once every seven or eight years (SDT). In other words they were chenas. The use of the name seems to have been confined to certain localities, such as the Chilaw and Matara Districts.

## II.—Classification by apportionment of the crop

1. *Ninda*.—Skt. nija, "one's own", v. EZ IV, p. 54 (Bengali nij, "demesne" land of a landlord), Tamil nintam, "one's own peculiar right, exemption from claim by others, immunity". Land the crop of which is taken entirely by the possessor. In the Portuguese Tombo it is rendered by "foro"; it is not there

applied to all fields which paid no añdē or otu, for such might be service land, but only to those of the village proprietor or the proprietor of part of the village who then dealt or once dealt direct with the Crown.

Ratninda, "king's exclusive possession", is a field corresponding with keta, a royal field which in royal villages is the same as muttettuva (v. Chapter IV).

The word nind, ninda, occurs in early medieval inscriptions but, at least in those published, not in respect of land (EZ I, 7, B lines 54-55; IV, 6).

2. *Añdē, in combination añda*.—Skt. ardhā, "half", a doublet of aḍa which is from Pali aḍḍha. The word occurs in the Sinhalese *Kurudharma Jātaka*, "āl-keta-rajjuruvan-tat ma-tat añdaya-ta kaḷa deyaya".

According to the Portuguese Captain General in 1636 (Q., p. 1017) the crop of añda fields was divided into two equal parts after deducting the two customs (1) pāldora and (2) "assucadão"; one half went to the king or lord, the other half to the cultivator. Pāldora is the perquisite due to the watcher of the field, being the crop of paddy round the watch-hut. The same principle prevails to-day, though the deductions vary with the locality; these include repayment of the seed paddy supplied by the lord. Karu-añdē is the quarter of the crop, that is the half divided between two cultivators. Sometimes the lord's share is one-third or tunen-añdē.

The Portuguese Tombo in the Galle and Matara Districts mentions "anda de bada" (badu-añdē) due in badu-kuṃburu (v. infra).

Añdē is levied from fields, and usually from fertile ones, these being retained in the lord's hands.

3. *Otu*.—A tithe of the produce, not necessarily one-tenth. "Otu is of three kinds: (1) A portion of the crop equal to the extent sown, or one and a half or double the extent sown in some paddy fields or chenas. It is the usual share paid to the proprietor by the cultivator from fields which are barren, or difficult of protection from wild animals, particularly in the Seven Korales, Saffragam, Hewahete, and some chenas in Harispattu. In many royal villages in Seven Korales are lands paying otu to the Crown. (2) The share of one-third paid from a field of tolerable fertility, or from a good chena sown with paddy. (3) The share which the proprietor of a chena sown by another with fine grains cuts first from the ripe crop, being one large basket full, or a man's burden" (D'Oyly, p. 55). The word also means the share of a fine paid to an informer.<sup>1</sup>

Land paying otu normally is that left over after the best has been kept for the lord either as muttettuva or as añda fields. In the Portuguese Tombo the otu paying land is that remaining after the needs of the lord and of the service tenants have been provided for; in Four Korales, for instance, the otu land has almost disappeared, in Seven Korales it often is of large extent, the service tenants holding garden land only as such.

Normally at the present day añdē is paid in respect of the lord's own land, otu in respect of a tenant's own holding. The first is always a definite proportion of the actual crop, the second usually is based on the sowing extent and is less in amount than añdē. Payment of añdē or of otu, however, does not necessarily indicate different interests in the land; in either case this may belong to the lord absolutely. Whether one is paid or the other then depends on the lord providing or not providing the seed paddy, cattle, &c. Thus at Medabedda in Matale the lord's muttettuva is sown for añdē or otu; if for otu the cultivators bear all the expenses and pay 3 pālas per pāla (STR). In Uva a landlord's field, where there is little competition, is not given for añdē share, but for bimē vī, identical with bim taram otu or the share of the crop equal to the extent sown; in this case the cultivator supplies the seed paddy and the cattle. At Nayiliya in Seven Korales belonging to Vilbava

<sup>1</sup> In Nivitigala, paṅguva no. 110, a tomtom-beater receives otu, 1/20 from 2 kurupis of oviṭi in the kapu-nilē paṅguva. Here apparently it is a remuneration. The derivation of the word appears to be in doubt. In the *Ruvanmala*, 710, otu is rendered in the sannaya or gloss by "vat", which equals Skt. vyāpta. "Vat" has another meaning, that of "tax", "due", (e.g., pisamburu-vata or vatu, EZ II, 15, 17 *et pass.*, sut-vat EZ III, 4 C 12) from Skt. vṛti. For the change of initial v to o, cf. voṭunu, oṭunu (Skt. veṣṭana) and the vulgar Kandyan-ola for -vala in the plural ending: for the o, cf. gama, gamuva, gomuva in place names. The words "in many" do not appear in the reprint of D'Oyly, but were in the original text.

Dēvālē, on the other hand, the aṇḍa and otu fields in a tenant's holding, the dura paṅguva, give aṇḍē if the seed paddy is supplied by the temple; if not so supplied they pay bim taram otu (STR). In the North-Central Province, if the seed paddy and the cattle are not supplied by the owner, he gets as land share only one-quarter of the crop (Ievers, *Manual*, p. 181) or one-third, that is tunen-aṇḍē. Thus the principle which decides whether aṇḍē or otu is to be paid also settles the degree of the aṇḍa share. As in the case of otu, the degree of fertility of the soil may sometimes decide the amount of aṇḍē. Bertolacci (p. 209) states that if the soil is good the share is one-half, if poor one-fourth, one-fifth, or less; but it perhaps may be questioned whether these smaller shares are not really otu. As we have seen, the aṇḍa fields are the best, the otu fields the less good.

The two principles, the supply of seed paddy, cattle, &c., and the fertility of the soil, are seen at work in the Tamil districts. In the Vanni in paddy cultivation the landowner or "farmer" finds the seed, cattle, and implements, and the vārakkūḍi or cultivator "for share" (vāram) delivers to him one-half of the produce after repaying the seed paddy. In chena cultivation, on the other hand, the farmer gets one-third, and the reason given for this is that no cattle are supplied (Lewis, *Manual*, p. 197). According to present day local information in the case of paddy land after deductions for seed and cattle manure the balance of the crop is divided into two parts, as is the straw; if the land be good the farmer may get as much as two-third. If he supplies neither seed paddy nor cattle he gets one-third and half of the straw. Similarly in the fishing industry, the owner of the boat gets one-third of the fish; the vārakkūḍi two-thirds (Lewis, *op. cit.*, p. 200). The rent of land is one marakkāl of paddy for one marakkāl sowing extent; this is paid to the proprietor, when, having no seed paddy, he allows another to sow his field (*ib.*, p. 173), and is the Sinhalese bim taram otu. In Jaffna the *Tēsavālamai* lays down (IX, 7) that if A sows the field of B without previous agreement as to the share of the produce A pays taraivāram, "ground share", calculated at  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the profits except the  $\frac{1}{10}$  which is given previously. If A plants the land of B and supplies the plants, he gets  $\frac{2}{3}$  of the crop; if B supplies the plants, A gets  $\frac{1}{3}$ ; if both equally each gets  $\frac{1}{2}$  (*ib.*, III, 2).

Wood's *Report on the Revenues of Ceylon* written about 1811 states that, if the proprietor of a plot of land himself has cleared the ground for cultivation, the cultivator is generally considered to be entitled to one-half of the crop which he raises and to be removable at the pleasure of the proprietor. But, if the ground was cleared in the first instance by the cultivator, he acquires a right of property to half the extent cultivated. This principle, Wood states, was variously understood and interpreted in every village. The first case, of course, is that of the aṇḍa cultivation commonly practised throughout Ceylon; the cultivator used to stand almost in a feudal relation to the lord and rendered the latter certain services as well as paying the share of the crop. The second case is explained at length by Armour in the chapter on Lat himi or Right by acquisition. In section 21 on "Occupancy under permission" he says: "If with the permission of the proprietor a cultivator asweddumized [converted into paddy land] a plot of waste ground, or enclosed it and planted perennial trees therein, such as cocoanut and jack trees, he will have a permanent interest in the soil and the proprietor cannot eject him, but must allow the cultivator to possess the said ground, subject however to some stipulated service or the payment of some duty or rent such as Panduru mila, or Asweddum panama, &c. [see Chapter V, I b] or it may be optional with the proprietor of the soil, either to make a full pecuniary recompense to the cultivator for his trouble and expense, and then resume possession of the improved ground, or to resume a moiety of the ground, on finally relinquishing the other moiety to the cultivator". Another course open to the parties was for the cultivator to retain the whole land, paying a share of the produce to the lord. Similar provisions are laid down in the case of occupancy without permission (section 25). In section 26 on Occupancy by usurpation the same principle applies to reclamation of waste land being Crown property and its conversion into paddy or garden land "with the permission of competent authority"; the cultivator thereby acquires a permanent title to the land, "subject nevertheless to such duty as Government may impose thereon".



Though Wood and Armour speak of the half share, the "duty or rent" may just as well be *otū* or its equivalent, and the grants by the Dutch Company are for *otū* as well as for *añda* share in the case of fields, while for gardens one-third was levied when planted with the Company's consent and one-half when without.<sup>1</sup>

### III.—Classification by the right enjoyed by the possessor

#### Paravēni and Māruvena holdings

By *paravēniya*, in Sanskrit guise *pravēniya*, is denoted that which has come down from one's ancestors; the Ceylon Tamil form is *paravēni*. The Sanskrit word *pravēni* has the meaning of "a braid of hair"<sup>2</sup>; the Pali *pavēni* in addition has that of "series, succession, line; tradition, custom, usage". D'Oyly defines *paravēni* land as that "which is the private property of an individual proprietor, land long possessed by his family, but so called also if recently acquired in fee simple" (p. 54). Such land nowadays often is considered as absolute property. Service tenure land in *ninda-gam*, however, frequently is *paravēni*. Yet the ownership of the holder once was limited by the fact that failure to perform service might lead to escheat; it is entirely due to judicial and legislative action under the British Government that the tenant's position is now secure. *Paravēni*, therefore, does not necessarily imply absolute ownership; strictly speaking it means only that the land is heritable and that it has come into the owner's possession from his ancestors.

Opposed to *paravēni* is *māruvena*, "changing". This is often defined as tenure at will, but incorrectly as the tenant cannot be removed until the end of the cultivation year or season. In practice the *māruvena* tenant often remains without interference for many generations. This leads to claim that the land held is *paravēni* and but for the evidence of the Service Tenures Register such a claim would be difficult to rebut. This development of *māruvena* tenure into *paravēni* doubtless has been going on through the centuries. In the Portuguese Tombo the admission that a holding is *paravēni* is comparatively rare, yet the Petition of 1636 and Ribeiro's account (p. 104) shows that in the eyes of the people their holdings were such. The process may be illustrated from the case of the *nilakārayō* in *Dedigama*. In the Tombo of 1618 they claimed and had registered 11 *amunams* 2 *pālas* 8 *kurūnis* of paddy land as *paravēni*, though under *Rājasinha I* (1554-93) they had held nothing.

According to the proverb "After a possession of thirty years a devil may become a *paravēni* proprietor"<sup>3</sup> we find in the Low-country the following varieties of land, some with self-contradictory titles:—

(a) *Añda-paravēni*.—Land originally the property of Government cleared and cultivated by individuals without permission. The cultivators or the persons who

<sup>1</sup> "Translations affecting Lands" made from the Sinhalese into Dutch, *Matara* 1798, &c.

No. 9. Nov. 29, 1789. *Ratmahāra* land lying waste. Applicant wishes to *asweddumize* and plant gardens on condition of paying *otū* and other customary shares (*voordeelen*) as *paravēni*.

No. 138. May 1, 1798. *Minoanwile* cultivated from *ratmahāra*, a tank with its bunds, sluices, &c., having been made. Half *paravēni* (*viz*, *añda paravēni*) allowed on account of cultivation.

No. 168. Dec. 5, 1747. *Chenas* cleared of jungle and made habitable by the grandfather of A and B; C and D have no just claim. A and B to possess the planted gardens and the *asweddumized* *mulan* without any *otū* or garden duty.

In 2273 D occur the following:—

Sinhalese *Ola* of gift by Governor Rumpf, July 12, 1721. Divers lands in *Mandampelle* in *Alutkuru Korale* lying waste and uncultivated up to date since the conquest of this Island, 3 *amunams* of land are given to A on his application for conversion into paddy fields. No timber or cinnamon trees to be felled. For the first three years to pay *otū* and thereafter for the trouble taken by him the duty of *añdē* for one half and *otū* for the other half. To be possessed as his *paravēni*, but inalienable.

Permit *Ola*, June 4, 1720. Grant of land *Kandegahappitje* capable of holding 200 coconut trees, on which 32 stand. To be planted with *jak*, coconut and *arecanut* trees. Certified that there are no cinnamon trees on the land. For one-third to the Company.

In the *Kandyan* country forest land in *Dumbara* converted into field paid *otū* the first year and *añdē* the second (D'Oyly, p. 137).

<sup>2</sup> A petition addressed to the writer by a Tamil claimed a plot of land as his "braid of hair".

<sup>3</sup> According to the Board of Commissioners (vol. 7 of 1819) this was invariably acted on. D'Oyly, however, says (p. 45): "No specific term of years constitutes a prescriptive title of land, notwithstanding a vulgar saying which attaches validity to 30 years. But an undisturbed possession of many years is considered in all cases as a strong presumptive proof in favour of the possessor".

converted them into fields are entitled to one-half of the soil which they may either sell or mortgage and which is heritable (SDT). This description comes from the Maritime Provinces, but in Sabaragamuwa in 1818 fields called *aṇḍa* are the private property of the village people, cultivated at the joint expense of the village proprietor (*gam-laddā*) and the field owner (Sab. Report, 1818). See above under Classification by appropriation of the crop, Armour on Lat himi.

(b) *Asvadu-paraveni*.—Encroachments by the holder of a *paraveni* field.

(c) *Otu paraveni*.—Heritable paddy land paying *otu* to Government. This was alienable. Under the Dutch this species of land frequently was the excess on the Company's land held as *divel* or *service-land*. For *aya-pravēṇiya* in the Kotte period see under (h). In Sabaragamuwa in 1818 *otu* was paid to the village proprietor from fields the private property of the inhabitants, cultivated entirely at their own expense (Sab. Report, 1818). Similar to this in the Maritime Provinces were :—

(d) *Otu kuṁburu paraveni*,

(e) *Oviṭi paraveni*,

(f) *Kaṇu-is paraveni*, and

(g) *Karudena paraveni*.

This last from the name should have paid a *karuva* or quarter. According to Bertolacci this species of land was covered with low jungle and impregnated with salt water.

(h) *Purchase paraveni*.—In the Kelaniya inscription of Parākrama Bāhu IX (acc. 1509; CA I, p. 153) we find provision for payment of a share of the paddy crop from land purchased and from land which was inherited and paid tax (*milaya-ṭa siṭiyen hā aya-pravēṇiya-ṭa siṭiyen*). There is however, nothing to show that the land purchased was *paraveni*; possibly in the early sixteenth century it was still thought incongruous to apply a term implying inheritance to purchased property. In the Maritime Provinces bought property was known as *lat paraveni* or *mudal paraveni*. According to SDT it was revertible to Government on failure of male or female heirs; it was possessed by paying *otu* and could be sold. According to Cleghorn's *Minute* of 1799 it paid 5 per cent. to Government on every change of proprietorship in addition to the collateral taxes such as the tithe of rice, oil, betelnut, &c<sup>1</sup>. In a Kandyian *sittuva* (N. C. P., No. 1155) ancestral (*pravēṇi*) possession is opposed to that by purchase (*mudal dun pēruvak*).

In spite of the similarity of the names it may be questioned whether Cleghorn's *lat* or *mudal paraveni* is the same as the Galle *atmudal paraveni* of SDT. This last, as it paid one-tenth, may be simply *paraveni* land purchased.

The term *praveni* or *paraveni* cannot be traced back beyond the Chola conquest in the early eleventh century. *Aya-pravēṇiya* occurs under Parākrama Bāhu IX. The ancestral home of the great Alagakkonara (xiv century) is described in the *Nikāya Saṅgraha* as his *janma-pravēṇi*, "birth hereditary property", and in the Laṅkātilaka inscription of the third year of Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV (acc. Śaka 1266 = 1344/5) mention is made of *pamuṇu pravēṇiya*. The fourteenth century Nakolagane record referring to the twelfth century holders of the land and their sons speaks of the property having been made *praveni* by royal command. The word occurs in its Pali form as *pavēṇi-gāma* in the reign of Vijaya Bāhu I (1056–1111, Mhv. LV, 31, LX, 75). Under Parākrama Bāhu II (1234–1269) *kulappaveni* in Mhv. LXXXIV, 2, LXXXVII, 19, 21, 22, is rendered in the contemporary *Pūjāvaliya* by *pamuṇu parapura* and by *mav-piyan-gē kula parapura*, "property in unbroken succession (Skt. *paramparā*) in the family of mother and father". The word *parapura* is common in Niṣṣaṅka Malla's inscriptions (1187–96) preceded by and perhaps qualified by *pamuṇu*, but Mhv. LV, 31, referred to below in the sections on *pamuṇu*, shows that the two were not identical. The oldest instance of *parapura* known to me is *haskaru parapuren*, "cultivation-unbroken succession" in the Mihintale Tablets (v. infra, s. v. *Kārāya*).

<sup>1</sup> In Travancore in cases of alienation by sale mortgaged land is subject to a process called *orri vilakkam*. The mortgage amount is reduced by 25 per cent., and the interest on this percentage is added to the tax. This is repeated at each alienation until the capital debt is eventually extinguished and the property is converted into *pāṭṭom* tenure. See *Travancore Land Revenue Manual*, 1915, vol. III. Cleghorn's statement seems to be unsupported.

The term *sahada pravēni* (Skt. *sahaja*, "hereditary in the family"), occurs in a Galagedara deed (No. 896 of Sept. 17, 1858), the land to be enjoyed by the grantor's two daughters and the heirs of their bodies in any way they please. The expression *sahada pravēni* occurs in the Pinnagodakanda ola sannasa of the reign of Kirtiśri.

IV. The following classification is found only in the middle ages and in its entirety apparently only before the Chola conquest :—

(i.) *Pamunuwa*, *pamunu*, occasionally *pamanu*, *pamana*, or *pamaniya*.—This term is used as late as the fourteenth century, but not, so far as I know, in the Kotte period or later. According to W. P. Ranasinha the word is derived from Skt. *prāpana*, "attainment, obtaining, receiving, acquisition" (JRAS. CB., VII, pt. iii, No. 25, p. 249). The basal meaning, therefore, if Ranasinha is right, is "what is obtained or acquired". In the Mihintale Tablets (EZ I, 7, B lines 56-58) the temple land is forbidden to be given either in mortgage or as *pamunu*, and the context clearly shows that money was expected to pass in the transaction. In the regulations of Kassapa V (x cent.) it is laid down that *pamunu* granted to the priesthood though with prejudice to the royal family are not to be taken away (EZ I, 4, line 26). *Pamunu* thus could be created by sale or gift by the holder of *pamunu*. It was also created by the king or within his principality by the heir apparent under seal (EZ I, 9; II, 4, 42); it was to last as long as the sun and moon (*ib.*, I, 9). Such a grant was the counterpart of that effected by the Kandyan sannasa. According to D'Oyly (p. 54) grant by sannasa rendered *paravēni* or heritable a village hitherto held only temporarily. But a service tenant's holding might be heritable, yet its possessor could be ejected by the lord for failure of service. *Pamunu* was more than this; it was in fact of the nature of a *ninda-gama*. It is true that the terms *pamunu-parapuru* and *pamunu pravēniya* are found, as already mentioned, and that in the case of the last it is certain that the two words form one compound. But in Mhv. LV, 31, the chief Buddha asks for his *pavēni-gāma* or ancestral village held by inheritance as a boon or gift (*vara*). The *pamunu* seems to have been subject to no service or dues save in some cases to a comparatively small payment to a religious or charitable institution. Thus in the Gonneva inscription (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, 1933, No. 718) the condition was the payment to the Mahā Vihāra of a share of one *amunam* on every *kiriya* cultivated (*kiri-amunā-bā dī*), that is on every four *amunams* sowing extent. The same share was paid by holders of *pamunu* in what seem to be the Tooth Relic villages for *viya* or *asvāddumas* (EZ I, 8). The interpretation of the Sinhalese phrase given above is that suggested by Mr. Paranavithana. In another case the grantee was bound to pay to a hospital a *badda* of one *pāla* of white ginger or in default 2 *hunus* of gold; in others oil was rendered to a temple (EZ IV, 5; II, 4; Doratiyava sannasa). With these should be compared the sannas of the Kotte period with a like provision of small money payments to a god. The object of making the land technically the property of a temple or charitable institution may have been to protect the grant from the rapacity of later kings.

*Pamunu* occurs in some early medieval documents in conjunction with and always following *ukas* in *ukas-pamunu* (EZ I, 7; III, 27). This is not a species of *pamunu* but a phrase similar to *āpā māpā*, "prince and heir apparent", and the modern *de mav-piyō*, "the two (parents) mother and father"; that this is the case is shown by the separate mention of *ukas-gam* and *pamunu-gam* in the Daladāgē inscription.

(ii.) *Ukas*.—"Usufructuary mortgage", the Tamil *oṟri*, that is the common mortgage in Ceylon by which the mortgagee possesses the land in lieu of interest, the mortgagor having power to redeem the property at any time. A variety of this under the name of *karal-badda* exists in Dumbara, the mortgagor being entitled to redeem only at the end of a number of cultivation seasons fixed by the agreement. In Goa in 1526 "If any Towne or Village be so decayed, that they cannot pay their custome or rent that appertaineth to us, the Governours and Inhabiters of it, shall give intelligence of it to the chiefe Master of the Ports, and to the Notarie of the Iland, and they shall goe to see the said losse, and finding it for good truth that it hath such a losse; the said chiefe Master of the Ports shall commande the chiefe Governours of the eight principall Townes, above rehearsed, and then there may come to this other Governours, . . . and altogether with the said chiefe Master of the Ports, and the Notarie, the Inhabitants of the decayed Towne may

engage or mortgage their Town unto the Governours, because they are bound unto it; and they may also make sale of it . . . . The Governours of the Towne decayed, do not lose their Offices by that which is spoken. And at all times that they shall ask, or demand, the Towne paying the whole rent or custome, it shall be delivered unto them, and the said Towne shall be no more of the Farmers, having ended their time or lease" (*Tractate of the Portugall Indies*). A "governour" was a village headman. In the Maldives the word ukas is said to mean "property".

Mortgaging is forbidden in the Mihintale Tablets together with selling.

Ukas thus practically is pamunu but subject to an indefinite right or re-entry on payment of the debt. This definition clearly only applies to mortgage of pamunu land.

(iii.) *Pätta*.—In the Mihintale Tablets this is placed after ukas-pamunu and before kārā. The word is Tamil pādḍam. It is in common use in Tinnevely District with the meaning of "rent", always in cash as opposed to vāram, a share of the produce. It exactly equals the Sinhalese badda, the mediæval Indian taḍḍar-pādḍam, &c., being the Sinhalese kottal-badda, &c. In Malabar the word pāttam is not confined to cash but includes share of the produce as well. The Mihintale Tablets provide that the temple lands shall not be given as pätta but are to be "tied" in kārāya (v. infra). At the same time no penalty of exile is laid down for infringement of this provision as is done in the case of sale and usufructuary mortgage. It may be inferred that the temple land was not actually or virtually alienated by the grant of pätta.

Inscription EZ I, 4, provides that from those who held the office of kāmīyan and those who enjoyed "gam-pätta" and who have taken refuge in the temple village only debts are to be recovered. Enjoying the "village rents" may mean holding a village in rent or farming its revenue (badu-karanavā)<sup>1</sup>.

The precise nature of the pätta tenure is far from clear. Some pamunu, as we have seen, were liable to an annual payment, definitely called in one instance badda. The difference which undoubtedly existed between pamunu and pätta perhaps may be explained if the latter was a lease for a fixed period. The amount of the badda also may have been substantial. In the Portuguese Tombo badu-kumburu are given in Galle and Matara Districts, paying badu-andē. The amount of this andē was one-half or one-third, and these fields seem to have been leased. Uninhabited islands in the Maldives are leased out for a rent payable in cowries.

The term pätta is now obsolete in Sinhalese. It is not found so far as I know after the tenth century and then only in the Mihintale Tablets.

(iv.) *Kārāya, kārā*.—The main source of information touching the kārāya or kārā are the Mihintale Tablets. The temple villages and lands are not to be given as pätta but are to be "tied in kārāya" (gam bim kārāyehi bāndā salasat-mut pätta no diyā yutu, A lines 43-44). In places belonging to Āt-vehera the officers (kāmīyan) and serfs are not to enjoy mortgage, pamunu, pätta or kārā fields, gardens, and the rest (ukas pamunu pätta kārā kumbur arub āy), but only what has been given as jīvel (A lines 45-46) or service land. Kārā-fields which "continue in cultivation-unbroken succession" (haskaru parapuren vātena), unless they do not so continue, are not to be taken away<sup>2</sup> (A 48-49). Earlier in the inscription (A 37) the word occurs in connection with two species of fines, but the interpretation of the sentence is not free from doubt. It is found also in an incomplete sentence in the Badulla pillar record (EZ III, 4, C line 4), apparently qualified by kusalān, "religious endowments". In the Eppavala inscription (EZ III, 18) Galamburu-kārāya appears as the name of a tract of fields. The word occurs in combination as dasa-kārā (EZ I, 4, 20) and seemingly in jivāl-kārā (EZ II, 37).

The significance of the term is obscure, but it is certain that from the point of view of the temple the tenure denoted by it was the most desirable. As in ukas pamunu the ownership of the lord was virtually or actually given away, so in kārāya it was kept intact; it clearly was less favourable to the holder than pätta, "rent". Yet occasionally land<sup>3</sup> of this description had become hereditary or at

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tractate of the Portugall Indies*, "If any Governor shall goe or runne away because he will not, or is not able to pay us the rent that he is bound to pay . . . ."

<sup>2</sup> Hārā no gatā yutu. This may be rendered "are not to be changed", cf. A 25 of this inscription.

least, if not strictly hereditary, was held by the same cultivator from one season to another.

Various explanations of the word have been proffered. Mr. Wickremasinghe derives it from Skt. *kārikā*, with the technical meaning of a fixed rate, e.g., tithe or share, but adduces no evidence in support of this meaning. Mr. Paranavitana suggests that it comes from *kārya*, "service", and that the land was the equivalent of the modern service-tenure land. But land held for service is *divel*, which the Mihintale Tablets contrast with *kārā*. Neither of these two explanations is satisfactory. If we could equate *kārāya* with *kara*, "tax", we might explain the term as indicating land which paid a share of the produce as opposed to that which paid rent in cash, the Tamil *vāram* as against *pāḍdam*. But in the sense of "tax" *kara*, *karā*, are the only forms known. There remains the Sinhalese word *kārāya*, still in use in *badukārāya* and the like and meaning a "deed" or "instrument". Indeed Mr. Wickremasinghe himself actually translates *kārāyehi bāndā* by "administered upon deeds of lease". Whether the word, if this be the sense, could have been applied to the land itself as in the Eppavala record perhaps is doubtful, though *badda*, "rent, tax", is used of the people paying the due and also of the division occupied by them, as for instance *Kalutara-badda*, *Maggon-badda*. If this explanation be accepted, another derivation has to be found for *dasa-kārā*, for serfs would hardly have documents for their holdings.

A fourth solution is now suggested, namely that the word is derived from the Tamil *karai*. This word according to the *Tamil Lexicon* means "shore of the sea; bank or bund; bound, limit; ridge of a field; border of a cloth; side, proximity (usually in compounds); large division of coparcenary land in a village consisting of dry and wet lands and garden fields", while *karaippanku* is a "share in the village lands". *Kara* in Malayalam is "shore, bank; (natural) limit; the people living within such limit; territory; land by water; paddy field block or tract". Similarly the Sinhalese *vel* has the meaning of "shore, field".

The Tamil *karaiyidu* is the tenure by which the lands of a village are exchanged periodically among the coparceners or owners. It has been described by H. Stokes in "The Custom of Kareyid" as it prevails in the Tanjore District. "Samudāyam" villages were of two kinds. In one the land was cultivated in common and the produce divided according to the shares (*paṅgu*). There were no separate allotments; "the property was a right to a certain share or a number of shares in the produce". The only separate land was the garden or backyard attached to the house. In the other each shareholder was allotted a certain portion of land to cultivate, but not permanently. This tenure is *karaiyidu*. At first the allotment probably was made yearly as was the custom in Chingalpat District. In Tanjore District the periods now vary from eight to thirty years according to the pleasure of the community. The procedure is thus described:—

"In a village, say of 20 *vēlis* . . . a certain unit is fixed on, which is called a *pangu* or 'share', and is in some villages 1 *vēli*, and in others varies from  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 3 *vēlis*. The village is divided according to its extent into from 4 to 10 'kareis' or blocks, to each of which so many shares are allotted. Thus in a village of 20 *vēlis*, there might be 15 shares, apportioned to 4 blocks of land among 12 shareholders, each block containing the land of 3 shareholders".

The manager of a *karai* is the *karaikkāraṇ*. A document of division, quoted by Stokes, excludes land held by right of purchase, land set apart for temples, Brahmans, artisans, &c., that is land corresponding with *pamuṇu* and *divel*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In the Gond kingdom of Chhatisgarh "the cultivated lands are all divided into a certain number of lots called *Koonts* or *Lakas*, generally five in number. One of them belongs to the headman, and the remainder are ruled by chosen elders, whose duty it is to assist the headman in dividing all the arable rice land of the village into fields. These are so arranged that every cultivator shall receive as his share, at the periodical distribution of village land, a proportion of every kind of soil sown with rice exactly equivalent to the share due to his total holding . . . It is the duty of the *koontdar* to apportion the fields of his *koont* to the number of cultivators allotted to him, and their several capacities, these being, since ploughing was instituted, calculated according to the number of plough bullocks each cultivator possesses". The *panchayat*, consisting of the headman and the *koontdars*, determined yearly what portion of land each group should undertake. The custom of redistribution was commonly followed except in the most fertile parts of the district, where the soil was generally of a uniform quality. Periodical distribution once took place in South Arcot (Hewitt, *Communal Origin of Indian Land Tenures*, pp. 634, 635, 636).

It may be objected to this Tamil derivation that karai is represented in Sinhalese by karāya (EZ III, 5, Mannar Kachcheri pillar). But the form karaya occurs in the *Pūjāvaliya* under the reign of Gaja Bāhu I, and from the varied spelling of Tamil words such as mēlātsi there is no *a priori* reason why karai should not be represented by karāya, karaya, kārāya, or even karā. A Tamil word pātta precedes kārāya in the list of tenures. The custom of reapportioning land yearly, as we have seen, existed in Bulatgama in the early seventeenth century even extending to a paraveni garden (Portuguese Tombo, II, fol. 36 v.), the practice of betma still continues in the tank country, and until recently chenas were divided up annually in the māruvena gamvasam of Vellassa. If the suggestion here put forward is accepted, kārāya will have the meaning of "block". Dasa-kārā (EZ I, 4 and 20) will thus be "servile block", the land of the serfs, and jivāl-karā (EZ II, 37) that set apart for maintenance or divel. In the case of the Mihintale villages the cultivators who worked the kārā land presumably were not the owners but the temple, though in some instances the same man continued to cultivate the same piece of land season after season. The temporary allotment thus was becoming permanent. The principal evidence for this tenure comes from Mihintale, and quite possibly it was confined to certain places. The Mihintale Tablets (B 55-56) speak of the "former Tamil time" and the kārā system, if it be what has been suggested, may have been due to that régime.

In the case of the Eppavala inscription the vendor clearly was the owner. In the case of the Mihintale lands it has been assumed above that the monks were the proprietors and not the cultivators. In the Chola country a dedicated village might be freed from tenancy rights (kuḍi nikki) or not so freed (kuḍi nūnkā, SII, vol. III, iii, 151). The first named condition perhaps may be that indicated by nirākulaṁ, "undisputed", in Mhv. XLVI, 16.

(v.) *Divel*.—In the Mihintale Tablets the holdings of the kāmīyan or temple officers and of the serfs, land given in payment of service or for maintenance. The divel of the kāmīyan were changed yearly (EZ I, 7, A 25); they were not to be occupied<sup>1</sup> unless the officer's accounts were rendered this side of the eighth of the waning moon of Vap (EZ III, p. 268). The Kandyan minor headmen were changed annually and are so still in the temple villages.

"Jivāl" in jivāl-karā appears to be a variant of divel, jivel. Vel is "sandbank, seashore, field"; vela, "field"; vāla, "seashore".

(vi.) *Kābālla*, pl. *kābāli*.—In a number of inscriptions there occur prohibitions of taking up or occupying kābāli among the immunities conferred on the village granted, a prohibition curiously enough absent *eo nomine* in the Mihintale Tablets. Kābāli could be occupied apparently in any species of land; thus in EZ I, 16, are mentioned kābāli in paddy lands, in gardens (vatta), in ge-bim and in piti-bim. Sometimes the prohibition is conditional, as in EZ IV, 5: Tun-nakayā kābāli ganut kābāli gannā isā, "And should kābāli be occupied (in land belonging to) the Three Brotherhoods, kābāli shall be occupied (here)".

The kābāli mentioned are of various kinds:—

- (a) veher-, veherā-k. EZ I, 2, 16; of a vihārē.
- (b) tun-nakayā-k. *ib.*, IV, 5; of the three Nikāyas or Brotherhoods.
- (c) enjoyed by the royal family, *ib.*, I, 8. This may = rad-pamaniya of EZ II, 11, and the rāja-bhāga with its paricāraka (tenants) of Mhv. XLIV, 120.
- (d) raṭ-ladu k. AIC 114; held by governors of districts in vihārē villages.
- (e) Demel-k. EZ II, p. 143; rad-kolen bahālū Demelā-k. *ib.* III, 28; held by Tamils.
- (f) pamānu-k. EZ III, 28.
- (g) de-k. EZ I, 8; AIC 114.
- (h) aniyā-k. EZ III, 28; irregular, unlawful.

The holders of kābāli and de-kābāli are styled kābāli (de-kābāli) laduvan or laddan, "receivers or rulers of kābāli or de-kābāli".

The word kābālla in Sinhalese means "piece, fragment". Hence in connection with the land it must mean a piece either of a village, of an estate, or of other some

<sup>1</sup> "Occupied" represents gamma. The word is often rendered "taken". Referring to land it must mean "taken up, occupied."

unit, such as a tract of fields. In the case of the royal kābālla it clearly was of some size and had tenants attached to it. The same probably was true of the Tamil kābāli, which seem to have been assigned to the Tamil soldiers. The word in fact seems to correspond in use with the modern bāgē,<sup>1</sup> for instance in Demala-bāgē, Marakkala-bāgē, and the like, or even with paṅguva. A paṅguva in ancient times may have been of considerable size and very different from the modern conception of the term. In the Portuguese Tombo at Denavaka in Sabaragamuwa the paṅgu were of great extent (v. Chap. I) and the headman or gamayā had under him a number of other gamayās with blacksmiths, washermen, &c.; a paṅguva there was more like a village in itself. In Vellassa in modern times the paṅgu in the māruvena gamvasam villages also were very large, in some cases sufficiently so as to render the panguvē-rāla independent of the original gamarāla.

The constant prohibition of kābāli in connection with temple land must indicate that their constitution impaired the perfect ownership which the vihare was expected by the grantor to enjoy. It is noticeable that the prohibition is not referred to in the lengthy Mihintale Tablets, and it seems likely that the creation of kābāli was covered by the forbidding of sale or grant (pamuṇu) and of mortgage, and possibly of pāṭṭa. If the kāraya was as suggested, the kābālla may have been independent of the block system, but what is more probable is that the prohibition was aimed at the creation of independent or quasi-independent paṅgu out of the baṇḍāraya or lord's demesne. Thus in *Bṛhaspati* viii, 14 (SBE XXXIII, p. 306) a royal grant of land to Brahmans was one "which must never be cut down or taken away, and is entirely exempt from diminution (by the allotment of shares to the king's attendants, and so forth)". Here as in the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, iii, 83 (SBE VII, p. 22) diminution by the king is forbidden, but in the Ceylon inscriptions the prohibition probably had in immediate view the monks themselves<sup>2</sup>.

In the Daḷadāgē inscription (EZ I, 8), apparently dealing with the baṇḍāra land and encroachments thereon in the way of new fields and gardens, the de-kābāli-laduvan, holders or rulers of de-kābāli, play an important part. They divide among themselves the revenue. In EZ I, 21, the fines are divided between the gam-laddan and the pamuṇu-laddan. In the Daḷadāgē record there is no mention of gam-laddan, and it seems clear that the de-kābāli-laduvan practically take their place; there is little doubt that they held some official position. What this actually was is still doubtful. It seems unsafe to base any argument on EZ IV, 1, in which "Demel-kābālla" is written at the end of the record as "De-kābālla". At present this equation is unsupported and the whole may be due to carelessness on the part of the stonemason. "De" perhaps may represent Skt. deya, "gift", but normally it should mean "two" or "double". It is of interest to note that in the Vanni to this day the kāla and arakkāla (from the Tamil for "quarter" and "eighth") are the half and quarter of the mul-paṅguva or whole share. This last, therefore, should be the half of some unit. Similarly in Three Korales there were the mul-gamvasama of 65 amunams, the kuḍa-(small) or bāgē-(half) gamvasama of 35, the keravaḷa-gamvasama of 16, and the kāl-(quarter) gamvasama of 8. Here again, since keravaḷa normally means the "half", the mul- or whole gamvasama is the double. These modern instances are given merely to show that de-kābālla quite possibly may mean what it seems to mean, namely a double allotment or share.

The prohibition of kābāli in temple villages suggests that their creation was common outside.

### CHAPTER III

#### SERVICE AND OTHER TENURES

The proprietary right created by clearing the jungle, spoken of by Manu (ix, 44) was conditioned by (a) maintenance of cultivation, and (b) payment of a share of the produce to the king or lord, with or without (c) the performance of certain

<sup>1</sup> Bhāga = kābālla. With de-kābālla, cf. Gadilādeni-de-bhāgayen in the Gadaladeniya inscription of the fourteenth century (EZ IV., 12), where it refers to the two halves of the village.

<sup>2</sup> In EZ I, 16, occupying kābāli in the garden, ge-bim and piti-bim may mean no more than making the garden, &c., into kābāli. But these lands may have been of some extent.

personal services. This customary tenure still exists in Malaya (*Land Administration and Surveys*) and is the basis of the old land system of Siam following Indian usage (*Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*).

Condition (a) is still in vogue in some of the remoter parts of Ceylon, and as late as 1927 a case occurred to the knowledge of the writer of a gamarāla disposing of a garden, the owner of which had long left the village. In this the gamarāla only followed ancient custom. The principle underlying the practice is that the abandonment of land or neglect of cultivation was detrimental to the revenue; it directly involved failure to pay a share of the produce. We shall see the existence of escheated land (nilapālā and malapālā) later on. In the Kandyan country service tenure was universal in 1815; when abolished elsewhere, it was retained in the temple properties and ninda-gam, and it was not until British times that the service tenant, even when paraveni or hereditary, was protected from summary eviction for failure to render service. The obligation to cultivate is hardly understood in Ceylon at the present day; in India under the Mughal empire a case is on record of a man being put to death for refusal to work the land (*India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 97).

Tenures may be classified in various ways :—

A. *Holdings which pay part of the produce.*—In the case of fields and the like this share is añḍē or otu, in the case of chenas otu. For garden land the share may be paid in the actual produce or in oil.

B. *Holdings which pay in cash.*—These payments may often be the share of the produce commuted as in the case of pol-aya and vatupaṇḍuru (v. Chap. VI). On the other hand they may be a nominal tribute such as the 5 ridi or larins paid to the king from each ninda-gama. For these see D, and for the value of the tribute page 26, note 1.

C. *Holdings held on condition of performing service or as payment for service.*—In its most primitive form this payment took the shape of a share in the grain, for example in minum-vī, the paddy measurer's perquisite; such payment still occurs. But divela, pl. divel, "livelihood (Skt, jivita) field", means the land given to an individual for his maintenance in consideration of services rendered, and also land subject to a small share of the crop, usually the quantity sown, payable to such an individual. Small villages or hamlets dependent on large ones given for the performance of service by the washerman, tomtom-beater and others are aṅgudaḷu-pat. Under the Dutch and at the present day the term divela is confined to land held for such service, but in the fourteenth century it was used also of land held for maintenance by great lords (Gadaladeniya inscription, EZ IV, 12). With this preliminary note it may be convenient to consider the service tenures in two periods, (a) the early medieval down to the Chola conquest, and (b) the later medieval and modern.

(a) *Early medieval.*—Divel, already mentioned in the last chapter, is the land held by the kāmīyan or officers of a village, the kammakāra of Mhv. L. 64, LXI, 68, and the serfs (dasun), the artificers, and many others; the extent varies in the Mihintale Tablets from  $\frac{1}{2}$  to 5 kiriyas (1 to 20 amunams). In the Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription (EZ I, 1) the vṛti, jivita-dāna or jivita of masons and carpenters consisted of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kiriya of field (6 amunams), vātṭi (enclosure, garden, courtyard, house-site), and sthali for sowing dry grain (dhānya); this last is Sinh. goda and may not be a chena land but a dry field such as those in the Jaffna Peninsula. For the jivā-karā and dasa-kārā, see Chap. II, s. v. Kārāya. The tenants in Pali were known as paricāraka (Mhv. XLIV, 120).

(b) *Later medieval and modern.*—Divel are frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of Niṣṣaṅka Malla. Divel-gam according to the *Daḷadā Sirita* are to give to the Tooth Relic yearly lamp-wicks and oil. They were of considerable size in some cases, witness the village Hevadiḷa in Four Korales. The village given to Brahmans in the Oruvala sannasa (EZ III, 3) was a sēvā-divala. The tenants are styled parivāra janayan in the Pepiliyana copper sannasa of A.B. 1972 and in the Saman Dēvālē inscription of Parākrama Bāhu VI; in the first named documents the tenants were slaves (vāl), in the second the headmen are called by the Sanskrit name kammakāra and their holdings divel, with which are mentioned vātum, "maintenance" (CA II, p. 44).



In his letter of Nov. 12, 1545, to the Viceroy D. João de Castro King Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII explains the tenure thus (Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, p. 196) :—

“ And as to the lands of favour (mercé) I will tell you of what sort they are, to wit : from ancient days till now the kings gone by used to give these lands to whom they pleased, and having given them if they fell sick of any illness, lameness or old age, and were not able to come to watch at their palaces or were not able to go to war and disobeyed them in whatsoever way it might be, they were able to take away the said lands from them ”.

The same letter complaining of purchase of land by Portuguese asks that such buyers shall be bound to pay and serve with the service rendered by the seller. It seems clear from this and from Portuguese authorities that most of the land was held on service tenure.

Under the Portuguese the service holdings as well as those held free of service or for a share of the produce were known as comedias, because the holders “ ate ” them ; the Sinhalese name baḍavādilla, given for the same reason applies properly to land held for maintenance. A certain number of these comedias are noted as being paraveni. In the case of a soldier, on his death his son succeeded or if he had none some man of the same family. The Petition of 1636 (Q., p. 1016) complains that on the death of a nilakārayā without a son the land was taken to the Crown at once, on the plea that women could not serve, and that it was not given to another to serve in place of the deceased.

Under the Dutch the service holdings are either accomodessan, that is land given to an individual while holding office and as remuneration therefore, or paraveni divel. The first was held by chiefs, the second by the smaller headmen and others. The paraveni divel under the British were also known as vādavasam, “ holdings for work ”. Land which had escheated to Government for failure of heirs was sometimes given as divel ; hence the name maḷapalā divel.

Accomodessan was neither heritable nor alienable. Paraveni divel, as the name denotes, were heritable subject to the due performance of the service for which they were held. The cinnamon peelers “ have not the right, like other natives of Ceylon, to sell or alienate the lands granted to them. Their heirs may inherit, but they may not sell ” (*Instructions*, 1656–1665, p. 46). In Matara precautions were to be taken to prevent the sale or mortgage of hereditary holdings of this kind without special permission (*ib.*, p. 61). In 1707 the *Memoir* of Governor Simons states that the holder is not to sell or mortgage his paraveni, which is to be recovered on his death ; he is succeeded by a son or brother, who has to obtain a “ leenbrief ” or deed of enfeoffment to prevent confusion. The Governor here uses the word accomodessan for the usual paraveni divel (Valentyn, pp. 307, 306, 313). The “ Translations affecting lands ”, however, provide a case of transfer in 1685 (No. 94) and of the purchase of a share in a divel garden by a woman in 1702 (No. 109). The general position seems to have been that the lascarins’ holdings were heritable in the male line only and others in the male and female, the woman as in the Kandyan districts having to provide a suitable substitute. Forbes’ account of Matara in 1818 says much the same (CLR IV, pp. 77, 78). Regulation No. 8 of 1809, however, which professes to restore the old custom, lays down that the succession to all paraveni divel is in the male line and that the holdings are inalienable. The SDT of 1818 under Tangalla further says that the holder cannot divide the land and that the succession is by primogeniture.

In the Sinhalese country the same distinctions appear, the maintenance lands being temporary (sārāmāru), such as the villages enjoyed by the disāva during the term of his office,<sup>1</sup> or hereditary ; some of the smaller offices were held in rotation by the members of certain families and the maintenance land thus was quasi-hereditary. In the Kandyan country service lands by 1815 were heritable by women who had to provide a substitute or pay for the service ; the lands of the Maḍuvē

<sup>1</sup> Fields were held by a few headmen in Sabaragamuwa by virtue of office only ; “ the person holding them cultivate them at their own expense and take the whole produce ”. Such land was known there as baḍavādilla (Sab. Report, 1818).

department or regular soldiers were inalienable and could not be mortgaged (D'Oyly, p. 88). At the present day the holding of a service paṅguva by one man responsible for the service has disappeared.

The services rendered in respect of holdings were and are extremely varied in character. Some were military, others civil. Those for land in king's villages and in ninda-gam are mentioned below, but the classification given is by no means exhaustive.

Soldiers and artisans were paid while serving, the usual daily subsistence of the last named according to the Portuguese Tombo being one measure of rice (II, ff. 405, 557 v; III, f. 9; Foral, f. 43). At Negombo, in addition to this subsistence rice (comedia), each month more or less Rājasiṅha I (1554-93) gave them something and in cash about one larin. This "custume de mantimento" was called vichão, that is vechchama. In certain cases service tenants paid a sum in cash when not serving. Thus in Dolosdas Korale (Foral, f. 143) there were 7 headmen and 100 men whose duty it was to feed the elephants. They divided the service into three turns per annum, and during the four months when they were not serving each man paid 2 larins (see Foral, f. 168, Titolo do Vidana dos paneas dos elefantes). Similarly in Puttalam a panical (panikkiyā or elephant catcher) enjoyed his land free for his service, but when not employed paid 15 fanams a month.

A man's service could be changed subject to the provision that the new duty was not incompatible with his social status. Thus we find people of all castes serving as lascarins, both in the Maritime Provinces and in the Kandyan districts. The most drastic change of service was that of the Chalias, originally weavers, who were ordered to collect cinnamon, apparently by Rājasiṅha I (Petition of 1636, Q., pp. 1011 ff.).

D. *Holdings free of service or subject to a nominal quit rent.*—In this class perhaps should be included those holdings mentioned above, possessed in consideration of a payment of forty betel leaves, as well as those ninda-gam which paid a yearly acknowledgment of five larins to the king. The class includes land given as reward for meritorious service rendered, as maintenance for widows, and the like. Such land was baḍavāḍilla or divela. If conferred definitely by royal grant in earlier times it presumably would have been pamunu. For the foros, which may be a development of the quit rent, see Chapter VI.

In this class must be included the temple villages. These were subject to no royal service; hence the necessity of obtaining permission to dedicate land to the temples. But in common with land held with no obligation of service or subject to a quit rent the people could be called out in time of war or for extraordinary public works.

Holdings of classes A and B are constantly found under the Portuguese, Dutch, and British governments forming part of class C; in the Kandyan districts the rājakāriya, "king's service", of a service holding is composed of a medley of personal service and money payments, sometimes accompanied by delivery of part of the produce.

E. *Holdings held by persons of foreign origin.*—An exception to the universality of service tenure in the Kandyan Provinces in 1815 is found in the case of the Maḍigē Department, an exception, however, more apparent than real and negligible for practical purposes. This department consisted chiefly of Moors and in some few places of Karāwē people. The Moors were traders, possessed of pack bullocks, with which they transported the king's grain, brought salt from the coast, and carried on trade on the king's behalf. Their lands, however, do not seem strictly speaking to have been held for service. In 1820 it was reported that, though they held no service lands, they were liable to answer unlimited calls of the Kandyan Government for the gratuitous service of their cattle, and that most of them were subject to a considerable tax payable in salt and salt fish, which they purchased or obtained by barter at their own expense in the Maritime Provinces and delivered into the royal stores in Kandy free of all cost to the Crown (Bd. Comm., vol. 9). For this service "permission to reside and settle in the Kandyan country was deemed sufficient compensation" (*ib.*, 543, Kurunegala, June 10, 1818). They were in fact treated as foreigners. In the Low-country for the same reason both they and the Chetties were liable to forced labour or ūliyam (v. *infra*, Chap. VI).

Perhaps it was for this reason that the Chalias, also in origin foreign immigrants, were treated by the Portuguese as king's slaves, which, of course, they were not. The Petition of 1636 (Q., p. 1018) states that they used to pay one tuppotttiya cloth yearly. The reason given by them for this is that they were weavers. This may have been true, but this payment, whether in kind or in cash, was a tax on foreigners (v. Tuppottti-panam, Chap. VI).

F. *Binna, bini*.—This term occurs in several of the Kandyan *lĕkammitiyas* and thirty years ago its meaning was quite lost, the guess being hazarded that it referred to the binna system of marriage, by which the man lives in the wife's house. It occurs either as *binna*, *bini*, *bini-vasam*, or *bini-panġu*, the abbreviation being *bĭ*- (Udapalata LM, Śaka 1678 = 1756 : Udapalāta disāvē ārachchivasam hēvavāsam gampattu binime pamanāyi; *ib.*, Śaka 1737 = 1815 : mema disāvē gampattu binivala vaga nam). The names of the holders of these *panġu* are always, I believe, those of men. No particular caste seems to be associated with the term. The *bini* paid the *pingo* duty (*kat-hāl*). There were *binna* people under one of the Adigars, and a *binnē ārachchi*; they performed no public duty, but paid certain dues to the Adigar and a part of them were liable to occasional work (D'Oyly, p. 2).

According to a document giving the history of the Rambukvelle family down to the reign of the last king of Kandy an only daughter of Kumāra Baṇḍāra of Dumbāra in the sixteenth century was given Rambukvālla daḷupat as *gānu-binna* (*gānu-binnē-ta*), "woman-binna", on her marriage with one Ūvē Maharāḷa, who was brought in from outside (*genvā*) and became the ancestor of the family. This property presumably descended to their son, the only child mentioned.

In a late account of the Doratiyave family in which the historical order is confused we find a relation of "Laṅkādhikāra Lokēvan", who for building a Daḷadā Man-ḍiraya or Tooth Relic temple called Vijaya Śrī-pāya obtained from Parākrama Bāhu II land of 4 *yālas* 4 *amunams*; "leaving aside" (*at-āri*) 1 *yāla* 4 *amunams* for *gānu-binna*, the remaining 3 *yālas* were to be held subject to the supply of oil to the Tooth Relic. Before this episode, in the time of Bhuvanaika Bāhu of Kurunegala land was given "to remain as endless unbroken *bini*" for the duration of the *kalpa* and so long as sun and moon exist without paḷi, *marāla*, *maḍi-huṅgam*, *rājakāriya*.<sup>1</sup> These statements, being late, in themselves may be of little value, but the story of the gift attributed to Parākrama Bāhu II is based on a genuine document still existing, though only in a copy. This is the Doratiyava *ola sannasa* given by Niśsaṅka Malla to Laṅkādhikāra Lokēnāvan; it runs: "Of a sowing extent of 4 *yālas* 4 *amunams*, leaving 1 *yāla* 4 *amunams* sowing extent which was for the enjoyment of the revenue by this man (*mekun aya velanduma-ta*), there were given as *pamuṇu* 3 *yālas*", subject to a tribute of oil to the Tooth Relic.

In Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, I, p. 83, in Attaragama of Harisattuva is mention of a *gānu-panġuva*, "woman's lot", descending in the female line, and again in II, p. 862, in Uduvavala in Śaka 1724 (1802) of Paranagambinna of 3 *amunams*.

The expression *gānu-binna* is found in the *Nīti Nighaṇḍuva* in the sections dealing with inheritance from the mother. On p. 119 we read: *ema strigē gama-da param-parā-gatava gānu-binna-ta-ma at-vī tibū gama-vūyē nam*, rendered on p. 109 of the English translation "and if her lands have been inherited by the *bini* married females of the family for generations", or more literally "and if that woman's estate be the estate which has come into her hands (or, possessed by her) as an ancestral *gānu-binna* itself". Elsewhere in this work the usual expressions "*bini bahinavā*, *bini vivāhaya*", "marry in binna, binna marriage", occur.

A consideration of the above passages tends to the conclusion that *gānu-binna* and *gānu-panġuva* are two names for the same thing, namely, property held by a woman in her own right, whether transmissible in the female line or not. The *gānu-binna* in two of the passages certainly is connected with binna marriage.

This kind of marriage quite possibly is a relic of the Malabar *marumakkattāyam* and Canarese *aliya santāna* system, survivals of which are found among the Mukkuvar

<sup>1</sup> Pali, fine levied from a man on whose account another commits suicide; *marāla*, "death duty"; *maḍi-huṅgam* "tolls on cattle caravans"; *rājakāriya*, "king's service", though also applied to other service or duty.

and some Veddas in Ceylon. According to this the family property, which is indivisible, descends in the female line. The *paṭṭam*, however, or office of dignity held by the family, likewise indivisible, descends to the eldest male, and further a male manages the property and usually has his name entered in the revenue records. The presence, therefore, of the names of men as holders of *bini* in the *lēkammitīyas* is not incompatible with descent of the property in the female line, if such can be proved to have existed.<sup>1</sup>

The derivation of *binna*, *bīni*, is by no means certain. The word may represent (1) *bihini*, "sister, woman" (Skt. *bhagini*) or perhaps Skt. *bhāginī*, "coheirress", or (2) Skt. *bhinna*, "broken, divided, separated, detached; different from; distinct, other, different", as a noun meaning "fragment, bit, part, portion". In the second case *binna* will be contracted from *bihinna*, this last formation being analogous to *daham* (Skt. *dharma*).

(1) *bhagini*, *bhāginī*.—This derivation, though tempting, is difficult to reconcile with the common expression *bīni bahinavā* or with *gānu-binna*.

(2) *bhinna*.—*Binna* applied to marriage means a state, as indicated by *bīni bahinavā*, perhaps that of "broken" or different clanship. This species of marriage was and is resorted to when the wife is an heiress, and the children often take the mother's family name. At some very distant period, then, they may have belonged, not to the father's clan, but to that of the mother. Cf. Skt. *bhinnodara*, "brother by a different mother"; *bhinna-jātiya*, "of a different tribe or caste"; *bhinna-gotra sapinḍa*, a kinsman "sprung from a different family in the male line, such as a daughter's son" (Hayley, *op. cit.*, p. 167).

Applied to landed property *binna*, if derived from *bhinna*, seems to mean "portion, piece broken off" in the concrete, and so *gānu-binna* should be "woman's portion or lot". As we have seen, this expression appears to be identical with *gānu-panḡuva*. A difficulty in the way of accepting this explanation is that *bini-panḡuva* is frequently found side by side with *binna* and *bīni*. But if the meaning of *binna* was lost, the pleonasm caused by the word *panḡuva*, "share", taken into Sinhalese from Tamil in comparatively modern times, is understandable in eighteenth century documents. If this supposition is right, *binna* in the *lēkammitīyas* may be an abbreviation of *gānu-binna*. The whole matter, however, is very obscure.

If reliance can be placed on the Doratiyave family history the *gānu-binna* was identical with the land which the grantee already held for the enjoyment of its revenue. It was thus tax-free. But in this it was in the same position as many *pamuṇu* lands. The only explanation which occurs to me is suggested by Knox (pt. iii, chap. 7): "Lands of Inheritance which belong to Women are exempted from paying Harriots to the King. Women pay no Custom for things they carry to the Sea-Ports. Neither is any Custom paid for what is carried upon any Female Cattel, Cow or Buffalo". If exemption from the *marāla* or death duty was the distinguishing feature of *bīni*, the abolition of this exaction by *Kīrtisīri* (1747-82) would account for the loss of all popular recollection concerning the tenure; it simply merged in the general mass of service tenures.

## CHAPTER IV

### VILLAGES FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF SERVICE

The term *gamvara* is of frequent occurrence in Sinhalese literature; its precise meaning, however, is not clear. In the *Udupalata Lēkammitīya* of Śaka 1712 (1790/1) it is found with the meaning of "village" and nothing more. In the *Kantalai* inscription of *Niśāṅka Malla* (EZ II, 42) we find *gam-varak ādi-vū aya*, "a *gamvara* and other revenue", and in one of *Sāhasa Malla* (*ib.*, 36) the grant to a minister of *gam-vara hā parivāra hā siyaḷu sampattiya*, "the *gamvara* and the

<sup>1</sup> T. G. Kristnah Pillay, *Alīya Santana Law*, pp. 10, 46; G. Krishna Rao, *Treatise*, pp. 62, 63. "Marumakan" and "aliya" both mean "sister's son". For the *Mukkuvar* and *Veddas*, and for grounds for surmising that the Sinhalese at a remote period in the past traced descent through females, see Hayley, *op. cit.*, pp. 165, 167. For the origin of the *binna* marriage, see *ib.*, pp. 167-169.

tenants and all (its) wealth". The term appears often in the Sinhalese Jātakas and always as the equivalent of the Pali gāma vara, which the P. T. S. Dictionary explains as "excellent village". Whether this was the original meaning perhaps may be questioned. Skt. vara is "boon, blessing, favour; gift, reward; benefit, advantage, privilege; charity, alms". The word vara in the early medieval Sinhalese inscriptions, whatever its origin, for all practical purposes means "due" or "tax"; it is found in various combinations, for example in kiri-var tel-var (EZ III, 5), the last possibly being the same as tel-badu (EZ II, 4). The Maldivian varuva is the produce tax, analogous to the Sinhalese karavu-vara. Thus gamvara may have meant at one time "village-gift" or "village-benefit", that is the income accruing from it to the king, for it was anciently the revenue and not the land which was the subject of the grant. In the records of Niśśanka Malla and Sāhasa Malla, however, the word perhaps only means "village".<sup>1</sup>

In the *Mahāvamsa* the word commonly used for a village granted by the king to the priesthood or to others is bhogagāma or if to the former samghabhoga (—gāma, Mhv. LIV, 28). This term may be a rendering of pamunu-gama, bhoga meaning "possession" as well as "enjoyment, eating"; if the last is the correct interpretation it equals baḍavādilla or comedia. A village is styled in the Rameva inscription (EZ II, 12) sambhogagama, the meaning being as before but qualified as "complete"; it is the same as the Tamil sarvamāṇiyam, "complete exemption from tax", found in the Munnessaram Tamil record of Parākrama Bāhu VI and still in use in Travancore. A pamunu-gama, that is a village granted or made pamunu (q. v. supra), might be granted permanently or temporarily; an example of the second named is the conferment on a courtier, Siva by name, of the seaport Māvatu with its revenue (aya-badu paṇḍuru) in the story "Nandi-vānija-vastu" in Dharmakīrti's *Saddharmālaṅkāra*.

Similar to pamunu-gam were ukas-gam, "mortgage villages" (EZ I, 8). Divel-gam were villages held for service or for maintenance of the grantees. For ukas, divel, divela, see above.

The dasagama occurring in some early medieval inscriptions is not a servile village but a group of ten villages, the later gandahaya. King Buddhādāsa provided a physician for every ten villages. The gāma dvi-pañcake of the *Mahāvamsa* is dasagamaka-ṭa in the *Pūjīvaliya*. In EZ I, 21, the dasagama was responsible for crime and included gam-laddan and pamunu-laddan, and impossibility in a village of serfs. The word occurs in the *Arthasāstra* (p. 207) also with the meaning of a group of ten villages.

In a village of modern times the muttettuva, pl. muttettu, is the "field which is sown on account of the king or other proprietor, temporary grantee, or chief of a village, as distinguished from the fields of the other inhabitants of the village, who are liable to perform services or render dues. Muttettu land is of two kinds, viz.—1st Ninda Muttettu, which is sown entirely and gratuitously for the benefit of the proprietor, grantee, or chief, by other persons [nilakārayō], in consideration of the lands which they possess; 2nd. Anda Muttettu, which is sown by anyone without obligation, on the usual condition of giving half the crop to the proprietor" (D'Oyly, p. 54). The Vidāna muttettuva is that part of the lord's field held by his vidānē or headman in payment of his service. The word muttettu is Tamil and is still in use in Batticaloa District. The old Sinhalese word for such fields in royal villages is ratninda or king's ninda. A keta is "a royal field or land sown on account of the Crown. In royal villages it is the same as the muttettu" (D'Oyly, p. 54). In the Portuguese Tombo the reduction of the muttettu field is not uncommon, the population having been diminished by the constant wars. Thus at Dodampe in Kuruviti Korale out of 35 amunams only 3½ were then cultivated. The most common form of reduction was to give the field or part of it for aṇḍa share; this is the aṇḍa muttettuva defined by D'Oyly. A case of a small muttettu field becoming otu land occurs in Ambuvaka in Beligal Korale (Port. Tombo, II, f. 41). Another mode of reduction was division among the inhabitants for service. Cases of this are found in Ambepussa, Algama, Tolangamuva, Menikkadavara, and Dedigama in Four

<sup>1</sup> In the *Lak-vāhiya* (? xiv cent.) gamvara Śālāsma seems to mean the same as the later zamvasam department.

Korales ; in the last named village the ratninda had been 40 amunams, but at the compilation of the Tombo there were only 10 amunams muttettuva, the other 30 having been divided among the villagers. The same mode of division took place in paraveni property of individuals. Thus in Beligal Korale (Tombo, II, f. 62) 1 amunam 2 pālas 8 kurunis were held by a lascarin,  $\frac{1}{2}$  amunam by a jagereiro, and 15 kurunis by a "native", the whole being the paraveni property of the lascarin. This process may sometimes account for the holding, for example, of an Atapattu lascarin or soldier of the disāva's bodyguard assuming the appearance of a ninda-gama ; not a few villages have thus been registered as ninda-gam which were not such so far as the King's service was concerned.

Increase of the muttettuva occasionally is recorded in the Portuguese Tombo. At Hunuvala in Navadun Korale (II, f. 412) there was anciently 1 amunam which the people, being Christians, increased to 4 amunams. The same took place at Munnessaram (III, f. 7). The dedication, for such it was, presumably was made from the otu-paying fields.

In this Tombo the name muttettuva is applied not only to the lord's field, but also to his garden and even to his chena. As has been seen, the gamarāla's chena bears this name in the māruvena gamvasam of Vellassa. In the Kandyan country the garden of the king or of a temple is known as uyan-vatta.

King's villages were of two main kinds, gabaḍā-gam and vidāna-gam.

The gabaḍā-gam or villages of the storehouse, whence the Low-country "Despence villages" from Portuguese "Despensa real", in Kandyan times belonged either to the Maha Gabaḍāva, the king's principal storehouse, or to the Uḍa Gabaḍāva, his private storehouse, or to the Pallē Vāhala Gabaḍāva, that of the queens and princes. These were either retained in the hands of the king or other royal person, or conferred on officers such as a disāva during the term of office or granted temporarily as ninda-gam, in which case they were known as sārāmāru, "change". Gabaḍā-gam were either (a) ancient ones which had always been in the king's hands, or (b) confiscated property. In the last the king enjoyed only what the late owner had possessed, namely, the muttettu fields and the baṇḍāra or lord's high land, together with the services and dues of the tenants. In the first the position was different ; "it seems to be considered that in most of the Royal Villages which were never alienated by the Crown, none of the Nilakarayas have an hereditary right to their Panguas" (Bd. Comm., vol. 38, March 3, 1829 ; D'Oyly, p. 88). According to Bd. Comm., vol. 933 $\frac{1}{2}$  (March 6, 1832) in Uva, where the royal villages were never alienated and one half of their produce went to the Crown (Sab. Report, 1818), none of the nila fields were paraveni except in villages confiscated by the last king. The nilakārayō were changed at the option of the vidānē. Likewise neither the paṇivīḍakārayō or headmen nor the gammahēs had paraveni lands ; the gannila field, though always held by the gammahē and continued generally in the same family, was not at their disposal and they could be ejected. The correctness of this statement has been doubted, but chiefly, it would seem, through a misunderstanding of the term nilakārayā as if this meant a tenant in general and not, as is the case, one bound to cultivate the muttettuva or to perform other menial service or both ; there seems to be little doubt that such originally were serfs, the early medieval dasun. The Petition of the Sinhalese in 1636 (Q., p. 1013) definitely states that they were such (escravos), and earlier still in the Pepiliyana copper sannasa of A.B. 1972 tenants including the govi-nila or cultivators, artisans, washers, tomtom-beaters and others were slaves or vāl. The same was the case in Siam (*Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*).

Sharpe who was Assistant Agent in Badulla in 1869 gives a full description of the Uva royal villages in his *Memorandum*. According to him the land in a gabaḍā-gama was of three kinds :—(1) the muttettuva, "the absolute property of the Sovran, for whom it was cultivated and to whose granary its crop was delivered by certain Paraveni tenants or Pangukarayo, generally five in number who held from generation to generation as hereditary the (2) Pangu or Paraveni fields on condition of services which consisted of being responsible for the due cultivation, care and delivery at the Royal Granary of the crop yearly of the Pangu's portion of the Muttettuva, in the actual work of which they were assisted by the Nilakarayo who were

allowed to occupy (3) the Nila fields, generally at the rate of one amunam a man, which were distributed yearly by the Dissawe as he thought fit to the Nilakarayo who as tenants-at-will held their lands in return for their labour of cultivating the Muttettu field (for the safe delivery of the crop of which the Pangukarayo were responsible) and of carrying the produce to the local granary and to Kandy when ordered and of doing I believe any other work at the residence of the Dissawe whose servants, 'wedakarayo', they were regarded as in virtue of his being the local representative of the Sovrān".

In the Kandyan country purappāḍu land was land vacant or without an owner either through failure of heirs or by abandonment or by forfeiture; but if taken to the Crown, as usual in the latter case, it was called gabaḍā-gama (D'Oyly, p. 55; Armour, p. 100). Land not forfeited could be reclaimed at any time. It was at the disposal of the disāva, who delivered it to any applicant on payment of 8 or 10 ridī as bulathurulla. The new occupant then paid otu to the "proprietor" of the village. In a ninda-gama purappāḍu land was at the disposal of the lord (Sub. Report, 1818; D'Oyly, p. 77). In the Maritime Provinces the old distinctions of nilapalā and maḷapalā were retained. Nilapalā land was that held for service which had reverted to the Crown either through failure of male heirs or of the service due or because the office itself may have been discontinued. Maḷapalā were lands originally held by private persons which had reverted to the Crown through failure of other heirs. Such lands when regranted as divel were maḷapalā divel. With purappāḍu land must be included puran and potupuran.

In connection with purappāḍu land may be mentioned the resumption of grants. If a temple was abandoned the lands became Crown property or if dedicated by private individuals they reverted to their descendants. If the king or the private parties were pious they might rebuild the temple and rededicate the land, but this was quite optional.<sup>1</sup> A clear case of a whole village being resumed by the king is that of Gilimale in Kuruviti Korale; it was dedicated to Adam's Peak by Vijaya Bāhu (Mhv., LX, 65), but under the Kandyan rule it was a gabaḍā-gama and had been such for centuries, for the Portuguese Tombo which always states if a village had belonged to a temple notes it as "gabaḍā". The same was the case with Kendangamuva dedicated by Parākrama Bāhu VI (*Vidyodaya* II, pp. 9, 12).

The vidāna-gama, as the name implies, was a village governed by the disāva in office or other chief as king's vidānē and not by the Gabaḍā Nilamē. Such a village usually was inhabited by people of low caste liable to public services. The older name for this type of village seems to be bat-gama, "rice village".

D'Oyly defines a ninda-gama as "a village which for the time being is the entire property of the grantee or temporary chief; when definitely granted by the king with sannas, it becomes paraveny. It generally contains a muttettu field, which the inhabitants, in consideration of their lands, cultivate gratuitously for the benefit of the grantee, and besides are liable to the performance of certain other services for him" (p. 54). Sawers states that it is impossible to define all the tenures upon which lands are held, as these differ in every village and as they rise from that of the ūliyakkārayā, "whose condition appears to be little better than that of a slave to that of a person who merely pays homage, by appearing on particular seasons, or at festivals, with a few betel leaves". He divides, however, the tenants into five classes: 1. the ūliyakkārayō, who perform low menial service (ūliyam); 2. the nilakārayō, already described; 3. the hēvānannāhēs and patabāndō, always of the Ratē or Vellala caste who generally do honourable service; 4. the vatukārayō, "who possess gardens and pay a certain portion of the produce yearly to the ninda proprietor, and are generally liable to be called on to assist the proprietor, being paid by him or fed, for their labour"; 5. the asvāddumkārayō, "who have brought pieces of waste land into cultivation on certain conditions, which are so various as not to be defined; and lastly 6. those persons "subject to no service to the

<sup>1</sup> So the evidence of Pelpola Unnanse in Malvatte Vihārē Temple Land Case, November 23, 1857. The priest added "A Temple is abandoned when the performance of service [ceremonies] is given up. Even if a Pilamawahanse [image] remains the temple is abandoned if the devil ceremonies are discontinued. there are plenty of Bomaluwas and Pilamawahanse in the jungle but the land is Rajasantika", that is Crown.

ninde proprietor beyond that of rendering him the same slight token of homage as chief of the village", already mentioned (D'Oyly, pp. 66, 67). These last in many cases represent the coheirs of the original lord. Other tenants, not mentioned by Sawers, are the smiths, potters, and other artisans as well as the washermen, who both in ninda-gam and in king's villages held land for the service appropriate to their respective callings. In addition to the nilakārayō there were anilakārayō. The word nila is derived from the Tamil verb nil, "stand, stop, be, remain, become fixed", and directly from the noun nilai, "state, condition, stand, post". The meaning of anila, therefore, seems to be "unfixed", the anilakārayā being a tenant with unfixed or indefinite service. In the Portuguese Tombo cases of smiths and potters are found who were bound to serve the king whenever required, but the anilakārayō in that register were "coolies" as were the nilakārayō, "the service coolies". Under the late Kandyan government there was an anila badda or caste organized in a department; it consisted of an inferior class of tomtom-beaters.

A ninda-gama given temporarily was sārāmāru. Ninda-gam normally were not subject to the disāva, but if the lord was unable to protect his people from performing service under the disāva's headmen he lost their services. The ninda-gama was bound to serve the king in time of war and in urgent public works. The lord paid an annual tribute to the king in Kandy of five ridī<sup>1</sup> (Turnour's *Report on Saffragam*, June 18, 1824).

All the people in such a village were not necessarily the proprietor's tenants. Thus in Beligal Korale (Port. Tombo, II, f. 11) Polgampola was held by a "native" as his ancient paravenia, possessed for one hundred years past in virtue of a copper ola (saṅnasa) given by the Sinhalese king. Yet in the village were 1 amunam and two gardens which paid dākum and pingos to the king and the vidānē of the kōralē.

The position of the ninda-gama tenants towards the lord according to Sawers was as follows:—"All those who held their lands before the nindegama was granted to the present proprietor, or who got possession of their service panguwas from the same authority who originally granted the village to the family of the present proprietor, are understood to hold their lands in perpetuity [i.e., as paraveni] . . . but all those who have received their service panguwas from the present proprietor, or from his family subsequent to the grant being made to him, are understood to hold their panguwas solely at the will of the ninde proprietor" (D'Oyly, p. 67), that is to say, they are māruvena tenants. The paraveni tenants could only be ejected for failure to perform the services to which their lands were liable (*ib.*, p. 87).

Ninda-gam held by temples are vihāra-gam or dēvāla-gam.

A gam-lat-gama or gallat-gama was a village held on a peculiar tenure, viz., that the grantee had no other right than that of having the muttetṭuva cultivated for himself by the nilakārayō, while the latter were liable to pay certain dues to the royal stores and to perform certain services to the Crown (Bd. Comm., vol. 6, June 8, 1819). Such villages were chiefly in Three Korales and in Beligal Korale of Four Korales. The term gam-laddā, of course, is not confined to the proprietor of this type of village.

Before the time of the Portuguese villages are said to have been held during pleasure (*Archivo Port. Or.*, VI, 855). The accuracy of this statement may be questioned in view of the case of Polgampola just mentioned. But it undoubtedly was the case with the greater royal villages. Madampe, for instance, always remained in the hands of the royal family, being given to relatives of the king. Of Kodagoda in Galle Korale (Port. Tombo, II, f. 537 v.) we read that it was once held by Vidiyē Baṇḍāra, father of Dom John Dharmapāla, was on the conquest by Rājasiṅha I given by him to a mudaliyar called Vikramasiṅha, and on the latter's death reverted to the gabaḍāva.

Villages such as korala-gam and the like are so called from the service due by them to the Crown. In the neighbourhood of Kandy a number of departments had

<sup>1</sup> The ridi or larin in 1815 roughly equalled 8*l*. Five once made a Spanish piece-of-eight. In the Portuguese Tombo the price of paddy varied according to the district from 1 to 2 larius per amunam.



subjects in one and the same village. The difference between such villages and royal villages which had always been in the king's hand seems to have been that the inhabitants of the first were free while those of the second originally were mostly serfs.

The Portuguese Tombo shows that the dues from a village granted to an individual often were divided between the king and the grantee, as in the case of gallat-gam. In the Sabaragamuwa Disā-Lekammitiya of 1810 we also find otu gannā bim, mudal gannā bim, and e.g., in Nivitigala otu mudal gannā bim, that is lands from which otu, cash, or both were taken. In the last the otu went to the bandāraya, in this case the temple, the cash to the tenant.

#### ALIENATION OF LAND

We may consider first alienation of land by the sovereign. In the period before the Chola conquest there is little information on the subject compared with the wealth of detail as to the manner of making grants in the Chola empire (SII, vol. III, pt. iii, Nos. 142, 151, 205). We have however, in the inscriptions some details touching the proclamation of the grant of immunities. The officers despatched on the business met on the spot, made the grant by pouring water (EZ II, 1), and, after verifying the boundaries in the presence of the notables of the neighbourhood, set up the boundary stones (sīmā pahaṇ) and the "assembly" or "edictal" pillars (attāni kanu, samvatā pahaṇ; vyavasthā pahaṇ, sammata pahaṇ). In EZ II, 37, two dates appear, twenty days elapsing between the royal order and its local proclamation. The grant of immunities was made by the heir apparent (māpā) in his principality. In one instance of a grant of immunities to a pamunuva belonging to a layman the grantee had to pay heavily for the privilege (EZ III, 32), namely 150 kaṇḍas of gold as "vāl-mīla" to the badora or treasury beforehand and 250 yearly as dues or rent from the two harvests (de-karalin badu).

Niśsaṅka Malla takes to himself the credit of introducing copper plates as permanent records of grants. These in Sinhalese are sanhasa, sannasa, literally "signature (and) seal", but the seal, usual in Indian copper plates, has entirely disappeared in Ceylon, even in the rare case of a grant written on more than one plate. The appointment (dakvā) of a chief apparently to supervise the grant occurs in the Kapuru Vedu Oya inscription of Gaja Bāhu II (1131-53) and in the Doratiyava sannasa.

The copper plates of the Kotte period throw some light on procedure. According to the Oruvala sannasa (EZ III, 3) two Brahmans received as maintenance for their service (sēvā-divala) the village of Oruvala. Subsequently this property was made a nibādi dānakṣetra (perpetual gift of land) in favour of the younger Brahman, who obtained at the same time a second village. He then applied to the king who had made this grant for a copper plate. This was the "permanent plate" (svasthira-va pat) by which the land became heritable for ever, subject to the annual payment of a small quit rent to Vishnu. In other sannas of the period paraveṇi land becomes svasthira, "permanent", in virtue of the grant, the possession so guaranteed sometimes being specified as the enjoyment of the produce (Dondra and Demaladuva sannas). The payment of a small rent (paṇḍura) to a temple goes back to the tenth century (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, 1933, No. 718). The object doubtless was to make resumption by the king more difficult. From the sannas we learn that the grant was made by word of mouth when the king was seated in a specified hall in the palace and an order issued for a copper plate. The document ends with the certificate that this plate has been written and given. Presumably the grant was registered as in India. The copper plate or copy of the grant on stone was not the only document connected with a grant. Those extant dealing with the first dedication of land to the Pepiliyana Vihārē by Parākrama Bāhu VI are (a) an Im-patraya or list of boundaries, of the 16th year of the reign, (b) two vaṭṭōru (lists) of 12 pura Bak and 10 pura II of the 17th year, and (c) a copper sannasa of 15 pura II, A.B. 1972, in the 17th year. For the second dedication in addition to the stone sannasa of the 39th year is an Im-patraya dealing with the land given by this sannasa and by the Denavaka grant of the 44th year (*Vidyodaya*, I, pp. 298-9, 327-8, 374-5, 376-7, 418 ff.).

Under the Kandyan government, and doubtless under its predecessors, grants by the king were made by word of mouth, by the gift of a *kāṭa sākkiya*, that is of a token such as a knife, a sword, &c., or by writing. This if on copper was a *sannasa*, if on a palm-leaf scroll a *tuḍupāta*, "mouth-leaf". D'Oyly speaking of *ninda-gam* states that a temporary village of this kind when definitely granted by the king with *sannasa* becomes *paraveṇi*. There is, however, another aspect of the *sannasa* which appears in the papers connected with the proposed grant of a document of the kind to Molligoda junior (Bd. Comm., vol. 28), who wished to have included in it the lands of himself and of his late brother. The Board of Commissioners on Sept. 9, 1826, stated "It was always the custom for a fortunate member of a family who had acquired so much of the Royal favour as to get a *Sannasa* for his lands to have included in the Deed the whole of the Hereditary Lands of the family, although he might have no immediate interest in but a small portion of them, which however did not prejudice the rights of the other Members of the family". "Such deeds [*sannas*], except in so far as they have reference to Grants of Crown Lands to the individual in whose favour they are issued, are of no avail against the hereditary rights of the other branches of the family, in the family Estate, and such Deeds were chiefly prized as permanent records of the consequence of the family at the time, and of the Royal favour which the individual who obtained the *sannas* had enjoyed." In a letter of August 20 of the same year to Capt. Fletcher at Alupota the Board wrote: "It was the common practice for the Individual in whose name the *Sannas* was granted not only to have included in it all the Lands of his Family but the lands to which the family pretended to have claims—and if the party possessing such Lands was ignorant of the fact of the Lands being to be (sic) included, or was not of sufficient influence or had not the Means of paying the necessary *Bulatsoorooloo* to prevent it a Law Suit generally ensued afterwards, when the case was heard and decided upon its own merits without reference to the *Sannas*." In this connection see also Armour, pp. 99, 134.

Alienation by the private individual was by sale or gift or mortgage. The land so transferred was of course subject to the same service or dues and so normally the person who received the land was of the same caste as the one who gave it. There was and in places still is a strong feeling against the alienation of land in the village to and outsider an anciently such alienation could be prevented (cf. *Tēsa-valāmai*, III, 1). The feeling was due to the old Hindu conception of the joint-family. The symbolic transfer of the property by delivering a *kāṭa-sākkiya* was in use (Hayley, *op cit.*, p. 293)

## CHAPTER V

### TAXES, DUES, AND PAYMENTS

The Hindu law books prescribe the amount of taxation to be taken from the people by the king. Manu lays down  $\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $\frac{1}{4}$  or  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the crops,  $\frac{1}{8}$  being normal; common artisans paid by one-day's work in the month. Gautama prescribes the same for artisans, but the share of the produce taken by the king is  $\frac{1}{10}$ ,  $\frac{1}{8}$  or  $\frac{1}{6}$ . The *Viṣṇu Smṛti* has  $\frac{1}{6}$  of grains and seeds and  $\frac{1}{50}$  of cattle, gold and cloths. Nārada (xviii, 48) speaks of the customary receipts of the king and "what is called one-sixth of the produce of the soil" as forming the royal revenue "for the protection of his subjects" (cf. CHI, I, pp. 246, 289). According to the *Arthaśāstra* at the election of Manu the Vaivasvata, the first king of the human race, the people allotted one-sixth of the grains grown and one-tenth of the merchandize as sovereign dues (p. 24). A king in great financial distress may demand of his subjects  $\frac{1}{3}$  or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of their grain according to their capacity in such parts of the country as depend solely on rain and are rich in grain; he should not demand this of his subjects living in tracts of middle or low quality nor of people who are of great help in the construction of fortifications, gardens, buildings, roads, colonization of waste land, mines, &c. (*ib.*, p. 291). The normal rate of taxation seems to have been one-sixth (*ṣaḍbhāga*) and the yield of paddy fields reckoned for revenue purposes at twelve fold.

In the eighteenth century the Sinhalese provinces of Ceylon were in sharp contrast with India and the East in general in the almost complete absence of a grain tax.

Yet Niśsaṅka Malla (1187-96) in laying down the amount of paddy to be paid per amunam considered that he was fixing the rate of taxation for the country or at least of that part of it which told most heavily on the people. In Jaffna under the Dutch and doubtless long before the Dutch every form of agriculture was taxed as is still the case in India, for example in Travancore, a State hardly touched by the Muhammadan invader, and in the Maldives which were colonized from Ceylon. Evidence of the old system survives in the Service Tenures Register of Uva, in which province lies Ruhunu Maha Kataragam Dēvālē, the oldest dēvālē now extant in Ceylon. Thus at Kotaboya in Vellassa the service of the vatu-paṅguva is as follows: (1) Yearly in the month of Il each garden pays one mat, 6 seers of rice, and 6*d.*; (2) when the chena land is cultivated, each kurakkan laha sowing extent pays 4*d.*; and (3) the paddy field pays bim taram otu, the amount of paddy equal to the sowing extent. In other villages also the service of a paṅguva often is distributed among the paddy, garden, and chena land; the first may pay otu, the second oil, and the third cash varying in amount with the kind of crop. The whole system differs markedly from that in the later temples, where the service of a paṅguva is lumped together with no regard to the constituent parts of the holding.

The description of the procedure for assessment, given in an ola manuscript styled *Lak-vidhiya*, of which the original may go back to the fourteenth century, reads: "It is to be known that villages and fields are from 3 to 32 kiriyas in extent, kings when they write all the mul-vara on first coming to the throne fixing the amount of the paṅḍuru recovered from all the inhabitants of the world including in the first place sub-kings and chief courtiers, ascertaining how much the full sowing extent is and examining the four registers. This is the way they take, having defined the amounts of the various paṅḍuru and of the full sowing extents" (CLR, III, 1934, p. 445). The mul-vara, "primary, original tax", here may have been a lump assessment of a rata or smaller division. But if this were the case, Niśsaṅka Malla would not have laid down the amount of paddy and cash to be paid on each amunam, and the mul-vara, like the Maldivian periodical assessment of the vāru or poll-tax paid in cash and kind, may have been concerned only with the paṅḍuru and such like dues. With the mul-vara, as dealing with extents, may be compared the Siamese "walking the gardens and fields", which took place at the beginning of each reign about the time of the coronation. The officials "not only inspected the area of each cultivator's gardens, to see how much had been changed into padi land, and to measure any new areas cleared of jungle, but also made a new estimate as to the numbers of each kind of fruit trees that had died since the last estimate was made and also those that had been planted since that occasion. Thus justice was done to the cultivators and the amount of the tax due from them was marked on their new title-deed, which amount was collected from them each year until a new inspection was made. . . . The procedure for walking the fields was almost the same" (*Ancient Siamese Government and Administration*, pp. 218, 219). The Portuguese Tombo reveals a most extraordinary variation in the matter of taxation, each kōralē having different rates. It seems clear that there was no general rate for the kingdom and that the local authorities did much what they liked; the *Maha Kada-im pota* says of the Siduruvāṇa division that it was "sufficient for one king". But this condition of affairs perhaps reflects the disorganization of the Sinhalese kingdom in its decline.

In Kandyan times the whole of the paddy sowing extent of the country was divided for the purpose of kat-hāl rājakāriya, the pingo duty or acknowledgment of suzerainty, a payment not to be confounded with the old grain tax, into kat, "pingos". This doubtless was a survival from some much older system of assessment for purposes of taxation, of which the division of the land into lots varying from 3 to 32 kiriyas may be a form. The unit of 32 kiriyas or 128 amunams is very large and as the expression gam ket-vat, "villages and fields", is used in the *Lak-vidhiya* the unit may not be for fields only. I know of no unit approaching 128 amunams; the expression "owner of 65 amunams" is used of a very large landowner, and the use of the number 65 and not, as one might have expected, 64 is noteworthy. In Three Korales the maha- or mul-gamvasama is said traditionally to have been of 65 amunams, including both mud and high land, and to have paid 4 pingos, the kuḍa- or bāgē-gamvasama of 35 amunams with 2 pingos, the keraval-gamvasama

or 16 amunams with one pingo, and the kāl-gamvasama of 8 amunams with a half pingo. The Kandyan kada, "pingo", in Four Korales was exactly 3 amunams, the divisions mukkāḷ ( $\frac{2}{3}$ ), keravaḷa ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) and kāla ( $\frac{1}{3}$ ) being in proportion. If lands were small, more than one were grouped together so as to make up a kada. Intermediate amounts were calculated at 1 nāliya of rice for a pāḷa of field; this was called dākum. It is of Four Korales that our information on the subject is most precise. In Sabaragamuva the Hi-Lēkammitiya of 1808 gives the total number of kat, &c., in the disavany and also the total extent of the fields. By this calculation 1 kada should equal on an average about  $6\frac{2}{3}$  amunams. The figures from the old Grain Tax Registers of Seven Korales vary enormously; there is nothing like the regularity found in Four Korales. D'Oyly's figure of 12 amunams is for mulu kat (whole pingos) in Ihala Dolos Pattuva (Diary, p. 51; Bd. Comm. vol. 8 of 1819). In the small villages of the tank country it usually was the village which paid a pingo or its half (keravaḷa), not a specified number of amunams.

The existence of a unit four times that of the keravaḷa or "half" has been noticed in the case of the mul-paṅguva in the Vanni and of the mul-gamvasama in Three Korales. In Maha Dēvālē villages in Four Korales a holding assessed at one whole pingo pays such three a year. But in Seven Korales in addition to such holdings there are others paying three or two pingos three times annually; in other words these holdings are rated at treble and double the ordinary pingo. This assessment is in keeping with the large extent of the kada.

It is perhaps possible that the pingo duty originally was the acknowledgment of suzerainty paid by the joint-family and the extent of land concerned that considered sufficient for the maintenance of the joint-family. In ancient times the yield of the soil was poor, the official Indian rate for purposes of taxation being only twelve-fold; in the time of the Portuguese it was much less than this as shown by the figures given for each village in the Tombo. This poverty explains the large extents appearing in the more ancient inscriptions (*e.g.* AIC, 67). In early medieval times we find, for example, 5 kiriyas or 20 amunams of paddy land allowed to the higher officers of Mihintale and again  $1\frac{1}{2}$  kiriyas or 6 amunams to a mason or carpenter (EZ I, 7, B lines 2 ff.; EZ I, 1), amounts far in excess of what was considered suitable in more modern days. The extent of 12 amunams for the kada in Seven Korales may be that fixed at some comparatively recent revision. The fields in the flat country are larger than those in the more hilly region, and the proportion of 12 amunams for the kada in Seven Korales against 3 amunams in Four Korales is reflected in the holding of a gamayā of the kōralē in the Portuguese Tombo; in the former district this usually was of 5 amunams, in the latter from 1 pāḷa to  $1\frac{1}{2}$  amunam.

The total of taxes and dues sometimes is spoken of as aya-badu-panḍuru. The last word always means payment in cash; it is used of offerings to the gods. Aya in Niśsaṅka Malla's inscriptions is the share of the crop together with the cash payment, that is the grain revenue. Badda may mean dues like the tel-badda, the contribution of oil, or caste dues such as the koṭṭal-badda and the like. But as the grain tax seems also to have been known as maḍa-badda it is likely that aya-badda is a compound simply meaning "revenue" as apart from presents. The expression aya-panḍuru also was used.

I. *Taxation, &c., on Fields and the like.*—Fields in the time of Niśsaṅka Malla were divided into three grades or taram, namely, uttē, "best", mānda, "middling", and pāssē, "worst". The same grades still existed in the Kotte period, the second then being called maddē; vil-ōviṭi and depi-atmaṅ were excluded (Pepiliyana Documents, *Vidyodaya*, I, pp. 374-5). Under the British in some Grain Tax Registers fields were divided into "fertile" (saru), "middling" (maddhima), and "unfertile" (nisaru). I have found no instances of this grading of fields between the fifteenth and the nineteenth century, though in the Sabaragamuva Disā-Lēkammitiya the jungle land of Kukulū Korale is designated piṭa-, nisaru-, and goḍa-kālē. Early Ceylon usage may be reflected in the division into three found in Pali literature, namely, agga-, majjhima-, and hina-khetta (P. T. S. Dictionary, s. v. Khetta). In the Chola empire there were as many as eight grades or taram (SII, vol. III, iii, 150, 152, 154, 155). In Jaffna there were four.

Two principal taxes or dues appear in the early inscriptions. These are the daka-pati or daka-peta, and the boja-, bojiya-, bojika-, bojaka-pati, or beji-, beja-peta. The two together were known as do-pati or de-peta-kara (EZ I, 22; IV, 14). Another name for the first mentioned due is daka-bāka (udaka-bhāga, EZ IV, p. 126).

The first named is mentioned in Mhv. XXXV, 84 (Ālisārodabhāgam) and literally means "water share"; it is always used in connection with tanks or channels. The *Arthasāstra*, II, Chap. 15, mentions taxes on lands below tanks built by the king, and Chapter 24 lays down that those who cultivate irrigating by manual labour shall pay 1/5 of the produce as water rate (udaka-bhāgam), those who do so by carrying water on their shoulders 1/2, those who make use of water lifts 1/3, and those who raise water from rivers, lakes, tanks and wells 1/3 or 1/4. The Sinhalese "water share" presumably is this. The early medieval diyabedum, "water division", perhaps is the same (EZ I, 7, B line 56; *ib.*, 12 and 16).

The bojaka-pati or bojiya-pati is usually understood to refer to the income of the gāmakabhōjaka, the hereditary officer who governed and who enjoyed certain proprietary rights in the village. This certainly is wrong. Mr. Paranavitana has called attention to the difference between the wording of royal dedications, "having freed from the tax bojiyapati", and that used by private individuals, "having caused to be made free from the tax bojiyapati", and rightly points out that the name of this tax or due means "king's share" (EZ III, pp. 117, 118).

Buddhagosa in the *Sumāṅgala Vilāsini* makes the revenue assigned to Manu the Vaiivasvata to be one amunam of paddy on every amunam sown. This amount differs from that in Indian accounts and perhaps was the share considered proper to be paid to the king in Ceylon in Buddhagosa's day. It is in fact the later otu.

In addition to the two taxes or dues given above mention is made in one inscription (EZ I, 22) of a third, the utu kubara kara. The word utu means "best, excellent, chief", and uttē was the best of the three grades into which fields were divided in later times. Uta kubara, therefore, means "best field". The bojaka-pati corresponding with the modern otu, the due now in question possibly may be the aṅḍa share, the aṅḍa fields retained in the lord's hands being the better ones. But this interpretation is very doubtful.

In the *Mahāvamsa* the king's share in the produce is kara, rājakara, or bali. In the tenth century it is styled in Sinhalese de-karalin badu, "the dues from the two harvests" (Velmilla pillar, EZ III, 32), where, however, it is paid in gold as in parts of the Chola country. Or it is karavu-vara, the name which long continued in use (EZ III, 27). This perhaps is derived from the same word as the last and so is equal to karal-vara. The name of the village Karalliyadda in Dumbara is spelt Karavuliyadda in the Hī-Lēkammitiya of that division and in the Gamvasam bīni kat-hāl Lēkammitiya. That this was the pronunciation at an earlier period also is shown by Queyroz speaking of Karalliyaddē Baṅḍāra as "Carauliade Bandar". The word karal-badda is in use in Dumbara for a species of usufructuary mortgage; in Matara it equals suvandirama, of which more below.

Before the Chola conquest the word karavu-vara appears rarely. On the other hand, there is constant mention in the catalogues of immunities of mēlāṭsi, found with many variations of spelling. This is the Tamil mēl-āḍsi. Mr. Paranavitana in EZ III, pp. 110, 111, has suggested that it is the equivalent of uparikara, "above tax" (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, vol. xvi, p. 78) and so the king's share, and compares it with nāḍāṭsi and ūr-āṭsi (SII, vol. III, p. 226; *Epigraphia Indica*, xvii, p. 308). The mēlāṭsi samdaruvan presumably were the officers in charge of the tax.

Under Niśsaṅka Malla the revenue from the fields both in kind and in cash was aya, karavu-vara, or ket-vat aya (v. his inscriptions *passim*). The ola manuscript history of Alutnuvara Dēvalē in Four Korales (p. 28) speaks of gold fanams recovered from the goḍa-badda and maḍa-badda of the villages, obviously the revenue or part of the revenue from the high and paddy land. The first of these two names is found in the Portuguese Tombo.

(a) *In kind*.—(i.) Aṅḍē. For this in general see above in Chapter II. It is mentioned by this name in the *Kurudharma Jātaka*. The Portuguese Tombo

frequently speaks of " anda which is of half " and in a few instances of " anda de bada " as recovered from certain fields (badu-kumburu) in the Galle and Veligam Korales. In these two divisions the yield is entered as six-fold and the " anda de bada " is either twice or three times the sowing extent, the share of the crop going to the lord being one-third or one-half. Under the Dutch and British the Government share normally was one-half. This according to SDT was paid by ratninda, muttettu, malapala and nilapala fields; if these at one time had been service holdings the share under the proclamation of Sept. 2, 1801, was one-fourth. Anda paraveni fields in Matara District paid one-half after deducting 1/7 for valahan or allowance for reapers, threshers, &c., and the seed paddy. In the same District ratninda land held by private individuals by purchase from Government or by grant, after deduction of valahan, paid 3/7 of the balance to the Crown (SDT).

(ii) Otu. For this see above in Chapter II. The fields subject to this payment were the less fertile, the king or lord keeping in his hands the best as muttettu (ratninda) or anda. Finally they represent all that was left of the taxpaying paddy land after the allotment of service holdings.

The word otu, perhaps the vulgar name for the tax, seems to occur first in the fourteenth century Gadaladeniya inscription (EZ IV, 12, line 32), in which a chief gives the revenue to the new temple, reserving the use of the land to his relatives; the words used are aya-otu, " revenue tax or due ". The term aya-pravēniya in the Kelaniya record has been noticed in connection with Paraveni.

In later times otu was paid in kind or in money, or was waived wholly or in part by reason of service. The ūliyam paṅgu in villages in Sabaragamuwa were exempt from paying otu in consideration of their services to the chiefs and the village proprietors (Sab. Report, 1818); similarly the people of Marikara Pattuva in Demala Pattuva " formerly caught Eytun [tuskers] and therefore paid no Otu " (D'Oyly, p. 49). Sometimes a portion of the otu was excused (*ib.*, p. 48). Conversely in the Rūhuṇu Maha Kataragam Dēvālē STR in Kahattevela Obadarella a certain paṅguva cultivates the muttettuva, but if the temple gives out this field on rent or for anda share the paṅguva pays otu, namely 5 pālas of paddy and 4 nāli of rice per amunam. On the same principle, if the king chose that his muttettu in the gabaḍā-gam should be cultivated in aṅḍē, he could tax the lands of the nilakārayō for whose services in other respects he had no further occasion (D'Oyly, p. 78). A number of other cases in which otu is paid in paddy and rice occur in the STR of the Rūhuṇu Maha Kataragam Dēvālē. In Sabaragamuwa it was paid in paddy or in rice, or was commuted for money (Sab. Report, 1818).

Niśsaṅka Malla claims to have reduced the excessive grain tax of previous kings and fixes this yearly for one amunam sowing extent at:—

Best grade	1½ amunams (7 pālas)	and maṅḍaran in cash 6 akas.
Middling	1½ amunams (6 pālas)	and maṅḍaran in cash 4 akas.
Worst	1¼ amunams (5 pālas)	and maṅḍaran in cash 3 akas.

The rate of otu in the Portuguese Tombo varies very considerably. The highest is twice the sowing extent, the lowest half. The intervening amounts may be 1½, 1¼, 1 (bim taram otu), or ¾. Otu " de bada " in Galle Korale is twice the sowing extent. According to the Petition of 1636 the amount of the otu in the Sinhalese king's time varied with the crop; if it was good 2 amunams per amunam were taken, if bad only one. A similar practice existed in Kaddakkulam Pattu in Trincomalee District (v. Chapter VII). So in Sabaragamuwa, where the ordinary rate of otu was half the sowing extent, " little or nothing " was taken by the village " proprietor " if the crops did not thrive (Sab. Report, 1818). In the Kandyan country and in modern times the rates were much the same, being ½, ¾, 1, 2, or even 3 times the sowing extent. At Ridigama in Seven Korales in one paṅguva the otu varies with the harvest, 2 pālas per pāla being paid at the maha and 15 lahas (1½ pāla) at the yala. At Rambukoluva in Matale 2 pālas per pāla are paid at the maha and bim taram otu at the yala (STR). In the Maritime Provinces under the Dutch and British otu was fixed at one-tenth of the crop. In 1818 this was the share payable by paraveni, otu paraveni, and atmudal paraveni.

fields ; paraveṇi divel fields, however, paid one-fifth. The one-fifth paid in the Four Batgam of Matara District was known as baṇḍāriya. This share should be classed with otu ; amounts as high are found in the Portuguese Tombo by reason of the poor yield of the soil. For Vi-badda, see below, Chapter VI, Miscellaneous.

According to Nārada, xviii, 48, and the *Viṣṇu Smṛti*, ii, 12, the king's share of the grain crop, the Ceylon otu, was paid him in return for protection afforded to the subject, and tradition has it that the first king of mankind was elected in order to put an end to disputes and was assigned therefor a certain share of the paddy crop. Otu thus in its origin differs radically from aṇḍē, the share paid for the cultivation of land kept in the king's or lord's hands, though, as we have seen, even the muttettuva itself on occasions can be worked for payment of otu when the seed paddy and cattle are supplied by the cultivator. The position of the otu payer in respect of the temple or ninda-gama exactly reflects his position in respect of the king as it was before the royal rights in the village were made over to the new lord. In such a case, however, the village was immediately in the king's hands at the time of the grant. But there seems to have been no difference in theory as to the position of the payer of otu to the king in villages not in the royal demesne proper. Such identity of position results naturally from recognition of the king as the ultimate owner or rather disposer of all land, nor is it inconsistent in either case with the idea of protection. The difficulty of differentiating between " tax " and " rent " has been mentioned. In quite modern times otu certainly is rent in the case of the muttettuva just referred to ; it is here exactly parallel to the payment in the Vanni of one marakkāl of paddy for each marakkāl sown to the landowner who, having no seed paddy available, gives his field for cultivation by another.

The edict of Niśsaṅka Malla fixing the amount of the grain tax does not necessarily imply direct relations between the sovereign and the cultivator. Some slight indications exist for the tenth century to show that at least in some places the revenue was farmed (badu-karanavā) by the hereditary or other headman. Thus in the case of those " who have enjoyed gam-pāṭṭa " taking refuge in a temple village only their debts are to be recovered (EZ I, 4). The precise meaning of gam-pāṭṭa is uncertain, but from what has been seen above in the matter of pāṭṭa it seems likely that it was a lease or rent (badda) of the village. Again the village revenue was divided among the de-kābāli-laduvan (EZ I, 8) and the fines among the gam-laddan and pamuṇu-laddan (EZ I, 21). In later times fines were the perquisites of the chief who levied them ; the division of the revenue, on the other hand, seems to imply that it went to the officers mentioned, and it is reasonable to suppose that these in return made some payment to the Tooth Relic which in the case in question, if the villages concerned belonged to it, enjoyed the royal rights. On the other hand, they may have taken the revenue in return for service, just as in later times the gam-laddā took the aṇḍē and otu shares of the crops in his village. The explanation of the gām-pāṭṭa perhaps may be found in old Mysore practice. There the Amildar and others set out in January or February for the purpose of inspecting the crops. During the tour the Amildar prepared an estimate of the November crops, already in heaps, as well as an estimate of the expected revenue from the May crop. The total being made out, the rent was given to the patel or village headman (Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 620). The officers making the assessment may correspond with the Sinhalese mēlāṭsi samdaruvan, if the identification of mēlāṭsi with the grain tax is correct.

Suvandirama, huvandirama, from Skt. svatantra through Tamil sutantaram, sutantiram, svatantiram, 1. " inheritance, heirship " ; 2. " perquisite, benefit, share, allotment, fee " , originally was the due of an hereditary chief such as a vaṇṇiyār. In South India it is the name of a fee, a small portion of the village grain heap, paid to the headman and others, and also of a money fee given by cultivators to the proprietary landholders of the village (Baden-Powell, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 89, 120, 126-7). Under this name the Disā-Lēkammiṭiya of Sabaragamuwa gives for Kuttapitiya a payment of 5 nāli of rice to the mohotṭāla and for Nivitigala a cash payment of 8 tuṭṭu ; in both cases gabaḍāvē kada and valavvē kada (pingo dues to king and lord) were also paid. In Matara kāriya huvandirama was a fee of 1/48 of the paddy crop paid after deduction of the Government tenth to vidānēs and mayorals or kāriyakarannō ; a like fee existed in Galle District (SDT ; Wood's

*Report*). In some villages in Seven Korales, Demala Pattuva and Matale huvandirama or sāvānuma was paid in cash as at Nivitigala. It seems to be the due of a subordinate officer, though in Matale the name was also applied to the valavvē kada or pingo presented to the disāva (D'Oyly, p. 43).

In Puttalam deeds suvandirama occurs together with another small payment called ūsikāndan. This was the writer's fee; suvandirama may have been paid to the vaṇṇiyar or other headman. See also under Marāḷa.

In the Maldives, there being no paddy fields, the varuvā or produce-tax is levied on the three dry grains cultivated at the rate of one-quarter of the crop in the inhabited islands and one-fifth in the uninhabited. Pyrard, who was in the Maldives from 1602 to 1607, gives the tax as one-fifth (*Voyage*, p. 162).

(b) *In cash*.—The number of akas to be paid per amunam for each of the three grades of fields is laid down as above by Niśṣaṅka Malla. This payment is called maṇḍaran, the modern maḍaran or maṇḍaran, "mud money". Armour defines it as "a fine paid by a cultivator to a proprietor of land for cultivation". This is its usual meaning in the Kandy District, Four Korales, and part of Seven Korales, namely, a payment in advance in order to receive a fertile field in aṇḍē. In Beligal Korale the amount is said to be one rupee with forty betel leaves per pāḷa sowing extent or one pāḷa of paddy per pāḷa at the harvest. In Seven Korales it is stated to be 2 rupees per pāḷa; this in 1870 was the value of a pāḷa of paddy. At present the highest bidder secures the land. According to old custom, if maḍaran was paid, the aṇḍa cultivator was not expected to do work for the landlord. This quasi-feudal relation existed also in Jaffna with the vārakkūḍi. In Vellassa, though no payment under the name of maḍaran is made, a man applying for a field to work pays bulathurulla, "roll, bundle of betel leaves", on which a fee is laid. In the Dutch Tombo in the Colombo District maḍaran appears occasionally as a payment made to the Company in respect of fields. The name, however, must have been familiar to the people, for under the British it was applied there to be commuted grain tax.

The modern Kandyan payment sufficiently explains what this ancient due was originally, at any rate in theory, namely, a fee to obtain land or a particular plot of land for cultivation from the king; the Beligal Korale practice shows that it could be paid before preparing the land or at the harvest. The corresponding payment in Malabar is kattakkāṇam or mūppapṇam (kaṭṭa, "lump, clod"; mūppan, "old man, chief"), an acknowledgment paid by a cultivator to the proprietor for the land he is allowed to cultivate (Logan, *Manual*, Glossary). A possible connection with the system of reallocation (karaiyiḍu) has to be borne in mind. The value of Niśṣaṅka Malla's maṇḍaran is difficult to assess. In the tenth century a paya (amunam) of paddy land was sold for 8 kaḷāḍas of gold or 64 akas (EZ III, 18, p. 190). But this was before the debasement of the coinage. What the purchasing power of the aka in the late twelfth century was is unknown.

Gam-ṇḍuru, "village tribute", seems to appear first by this name in the Kotte period. Thus in the Saman Dēvalē sannasa (CA, II, p. 43) we find: me gamvala badu-da paḷi-da marāḷa-da niyama-vū gam-ṇḍuru, "the baddās, the suicide fines, the death duties, the fixed gam-ṇḍuru of these villages", and the same appear in the Munnessaram grant but with aya-badu in place of badu (*Vidyodaya*, III, p. 239). Here gam-ṇḍuru seems to include all the cash revenue of the village exclusive of the three headings first mentioned; it presumably included the dākum.

In the temple villages of Seven Korales gam-ṇḍuru is given in the Service Tenures Register as payable from fields often in conjunction with the pingo duty and accompanied by a smaller payment in cash, the huvandirama or sāvānuma. It is calculated at so many tuṭṭu or pice per amunam or pāḷa. In the Matale Service Tenures Register gam-ṇḍuru is paid at the New Year together with pingo duty and forty betel leaves, the pingo consisting of 12 seers of rice and 7 coconuts (Medabedda ninda-gama). In some villages, e.g., Kendangamuwa ninda-gama, the gam-ṇḍuru is a fixed sum, each tenant paying 3d. at the New Year together with forty betel leaves. In the Matale Lēkammiṭiya of 1743 the New Year payment to the king is called bulathurulla (v. supra). In the Uva Service Tenures Register are found pangu which pay otu and also penum (v. Chap. VI, General) in cash at



the New Year or when the temple chief visits the village. This penum is not fixed on the sowing extent but on the amount of the otu, 2*d.* being where the otu is of the amount of the seed sown (bim taram otu), 1*d.* where half that amount.

Pañdura-mila was a payment in cash made to the disāva at the same time as the king's pingo duty. In Four Korales it was 20 tuṭṭu each kada or pingo load; in the Maha Dēvālē villages of that province it was one ridi and was paid at the New Year. It was not paid in Sabaragamuwa. Calculation by the pingo does not really differ from that by the amunam or pāla; the kada in Four Korales was paid on an extent of three amunams. Pañduru-mila also was paid to land-owners for land brought into cultivation with their permission (v. Vatupañduru). Asvāddum-panama is pañduru-mila paid for asvāddumas; it is also styled asvāddum-rājakāriya.

Being paid at the New Year the pañduru-mila, gam-pañduru and bulathurulla or rather in the case of the last the cash laid on the betel leaves, seem to be identical. It was at this festival that all officers gave dākum, the present on "seeing" the king or their chief, and that they received their appointments, which in the minor posts were for a year only as is still the case with the temple headmen. Niśsaṅka Malla's mañḍaran may have been the predecessor of pañduru-mila and gam-pañduru. A bulathurulla as often as not is a present with the object of securing something for the giver; lat-dākum is a fee on appointment. If gam-pañduru was identical with pañduru-mila, this last must at one time have been paid to the king and not to the disāva<sup>1</sup>.

Maḍa-badda, "mud due", with its counterpart goḍa-badda, is paid in gold fanams according to the history of Alutnuvara Dēvālē (*op. cit.*, p. 33). It may be the grain tax commuted or perhaps maḍaran. Otu was sometimes commuted for a money payment; this was otu-panam, otu-mila, or at times even otu.

Suvandirama or sāvānuma sometimes was paid in cash.

(c) *Kat-hāl rājakāriya, kat-rājakāriya, Pingo duty.*—In the case of tenants a penum-kada, "appearance pingo", consisting of sweetmeats, provisions, vegetables, dried fish or flesh, chatties, &c., is given annually or at festivals to the landlords (STC). The public pingo duty was of the same nature; it was not, as sometimes stated, any form of grain tax, but rather an acknowledgment of sovereignty, an act of homage. The division of the fields into kat or pingos has been mentioned above.

There were two kinds of pingo, (i) one paid to the king, gabaḍāvē or vāhala kada, (ii) the other containing less, paid to the disāva, valavvē kada, known in Matale as suvandirama (D'Oyly, p. 43). Their contents were—

*Four Korales.*—(i) 12 nāli of rice and 8 coconuts.

*Maha Dēvālē:* 8 nāli of rice, 3 coconuts, 1 mālu-geḍiya (pumpkin); in the keravaḷa (half) 4 nāli of rice and 3 coconuts.

*Seven Korales.*—12 amunams of land reckoned as mulu kada, "whole pingo" which is 12 ridi per annum and at the Kātti 14 nāli of rice and 1 nāliya of oil (D'Oyly's Diary, p. 51, *re* Ihala Dolos Pattuva).

<sup>1</sup> Gam-mudala, normally meaning "village money", is found in grants of the Gampola and Kotte periods. In the Laṅkātilaka inscription of Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV we find gam-mudala gasa-kola valpiṭa ātulu-vū tām, "places including gam-mudala, plantations, jungle"; a similar wording occurs in the Sagama epigraph of Bhuvanaika Bāhu V. The Madavala stone sannasa of Parākrama Bāhu VI has gam-mudala gasa-kola; its copper counterpart has goḍa-maḍa gasa-kola. Note that the Naranbedda inscription of Parākrama Bāhu II (*Report on the Kegalla District*, p. 77) has gam-goḍa gasa-da. The question is whether gam-mudala equals goḍa-maḍa or gam-goḍa. The Tamil inscription at Laṅkātilaka, contemporary with the Sinhalese, in the case of Parana Badalagoda has kāḍu, "jungle", toppu, "garden" of mango and tamarind trees, and ūr-nattam, "village site", in that order; the Tamil is not a translation of the Sinhalese record, though conveying its sense. Valpiṭa being the equivalent of kāḍu and gasa-kola of toppu, it may be inferred that gam-mudala represents ūr-nattam and so means the same as gam-goḍa.

*Uva*.—A half pingo of 10 measures of rice, some lamp oil and mats (1815–1818).

*Matale*.—(i) Udugoda and Asgiri Korales. The pingo of 12 nāli of rice and 6 coconuts. (ii) Suvandirama, 3 small nāli of rice, 2 coconuts (D'Oyly, p. 43).

*Udunuvara and Yatinuvara*.—1 pingo per amunam : 5 nāli of rice, 5 coconuts, 1 pumpkin or the like.

In *Tumpane* 1 amunam paid 6 handfuls (pata) of rice and 4 coconuts ; 3 pālas, 5 and 3 ; 2 pālas, 3 and 2 ; 1 pāla, 2 and 1. In *Harispattuwa* and *Dumbara* 1 amunam paid 10 handfuls, 3 pālas 8, 2 pālas 5, and 1 pāla 3 (so the so-called *Tumpane Kat-hāl Lēkammiṭiya*).

Davy states that the Vellalas paid, as far as can be made out, a quit rent to the king as lord of the soil of 1/20 of the rice produced and 6 challies for their high ground (*Interior of Ceylon*, p. 115). But in Four Korales, where alone we have complete detail, 1 pāla of paddy land paid 1 nāliya of rice and therefore 3 amunams paid 12 nāli. This is the actual rice content of the pingo. 12 nāli of rice equal 24 of paddy or 6 lahas. There being 120 lahas in 3 amunams, the rice contents of the pingo were 1/20 of the sowing extent, not of the rice produced. The commutation for the pingo duty was kat-mila, kat-mudala, "pingo money". In Beligal Korale the amount was 22 tuṭṭu per pingo ; in Seven Korales it was the same, while the money paid for the valavvē kada to the disāva was 20 tuṭṭu (D'Oyly, p. 43). In Puttalam it was 1 ridi<sup>1</sup>.

According to the Petition of the Sinhalese in 1636 the nilakārayō paid "the pingo of the year" to the king or lord ; this no doubt was at the New Year (Q., p. 1015). About the same period the principal Sinhalese came thrice a year to make obeisance and offer presents to the Captain General, the mayorals two or three times (*ib.*, pp. 103, 1032). Governor Simons in 1707, however, speaks of the "general paressie" in May or June (Valentyn, p. 307), that is in the month of Āsāla. Knox definitely says that rents were paid to the Kandyan king three times a year, at the New Year, the Alutsāl (New Rice), and the (Ī-) Kātti, chiefly in corn, oil, &c., and a little money (*Relation*, pt. ii, chap. 4). But there seems to have been no uniformity. In the Maha Dēvālē villages in the Four and Seven Korales the pingo duty according to an old temple manuscript is paid thrice a year, at the Nānumura, the Kātti, and the Alutsāl festivals. In Matale District Inamalava, the Vidāna-gam, and Vagapanaha paid the duty at the New Year ; others paid it at the Alutsāl festival. Oil was contributed at the Kātti, but not by all (Matale LM, Śaka 1665 = 1743). A Lēkammiṭiya of this disavany dated in Śaka 1666 (1745) mentions the New Year pingo (kada-malla, "pingo bag") or "New Year New Rice pingo" and the Kāttiye kada. According to the Sabaragamuwa Disā-Lēkammiṭiya at Nivitigala the pingos were presented at the Perahāra and at Durutu-kāttiya ; at Kuttapitiya at the Perahāra and at the Alutsāl. In Udunuvara and Yatinuvara the pingo is said to have been given at the New Year. In Vellassa in the māruvena gamvasam villages "alutsāl" or firstfruits were given to the gamarāla from the chenas, and at the New Year from each "chena", that is 2-3 acres, 1 pāla of kurukkan and 1 pāla of Indian corn and by some people a penum in cash. It seems probable that where there was only one presentation of the pingo it was made at the New Year together with the offering of dākum and paṇḍuru.

Another pingo duty is mahē kada, "month pingo", in some ninda-gam. It consists of raw provisions and lamp oil and is given by the tenants of mul-pangu, *i.e.*, gamvasam, duravasam, &c. (STC).

II. *Taxation, &c. on Gardens*.—Nothing seems to be known as to the taxation levied on gardens in the early period of Ceylon history. For the early medieval period the Mihintale Tablets (A, line 38) provide for taking to the temple of one-third

<sup>1</sup> Puravasama according to STC is the same as gam-paṇḍuru. This cannot be correct because in Velpalla, Pitigal Korale, in the same gamvasama under pingo duty is given : gam-paṇḍuru, puravasama, and sāvānuma, 4 ridi. Puravasama thus may be kat-mila.

of the plantation (gasagāsiyen) on the hill Kiribandpav. The Daḷadāgē inscription (EZ I, 8) dealing with viyaḷ (asvāddum) and plantations, seemingly held in the Tooth Relic villages, gives more information. On previously made plantations (gaskola) there was taken one nut or crop in three according to previous regulations. In the case of new plantations of coconut and (palmyra) palms one nut in ten was to be taken, but the planters in addition were liable to satar maha varak (? four great dues). For betel vines, orange trees, plantain, jak and other useful fruit trees yearly for a garden (vatta) there were to be taken two akas per well. The same regulations are repeated at the end of the record in connection with the Tamil villages. The provisions are reminiscent of the taxation in the late Jaffna Tombo, namely, a levy made on certain trees and in addition a "garden tax" on the house-compound cultivated with plantain trees, &c., and irrigated from a well. The considerable reduction in taxation from one-third to one-tenth may be more apparent than real; we do not know what the satar maha vara was, but presumably it was service of some sort, perhaps analogous to the modern service at the four festivals (gabaḍāvē hatara pantiyē rājakāriya). If so, the reduction is similar to the waiving of a share of the otu in consideration of service.<sup>1</sup>

There also is notice of payments of oil. The Mannār Kachcheri pillar (EZ III 5), refers to tel-var, the Negama inscription (EZ II, 4) to the payment of tel-badu to the temple, and the Rambeva epigraph (EZ II, 12) to oil also given to the temple.

In the later medieval period goḍa-badda, opposed to maḍa-badda, was the revenue from the high land; it presumably included the revenue from chena cultivation as well as that from gardens. In the account of Alutnuvara Dēvālē (*op. cit.*, p. 22) it was paid in gold fanams.

In the Galapata inscription of Parākrama Bāhu II (1234-69; *Ceylon Notes and Queries*; EZ IV, 25) reference is made to the making of gardens or plantations (kola-vel) after felling the jungle (lines 9, 10); another garden was bought (line 8); the tax levied on coconut, areca, &c., is aya (line 6, mehi pol puvak ātuḷu-vū kola-vel aya).

The early sixteenth century Kelaniya sannasa orders paṇḍuru at the rate of one fanam for every ten coconut trees, as well as its counterpart, a levy of otu at the rate of 2 pālas per amunam of paddy field.

To the Tooth Relic oil was to be supplied according to the Doratiyava grant of Niśsaṅka Malla, and later on under Parākrama Bāhu IV (acc. 1325/6) vāṭi-tel, "lamp wicks and oil", by all divel-gam, the pamuṇu-gam offering paṇḍuru and "the rest" mas-ran is-ran d'avas-ran, "month money,<sup>2</sup> head money, day money" (*Daḷadā Sirita*).

In the Portuguese Tombo payments were made in kind from betel, plantains, mustard, jaggery, pepper, and areca, and occasionally coconuts. The payment of pepper, according to the Petition of 1636, was not made under the Sinhalese kings. The statement probably is true so far as any general payment is concerned, as in Cochin pepper and other spices were treated as a monopoly only after the arrival of the Portuguese (*Travancore Land Revenue Manual*, vol. IV, p. 53). Touching payments of and for areca our information is more detailed.

(a) Koṭika-badda, in Portuguese "areca de bada". This was the payment of a quantity of areca to the king or lord from certain gardens gratis. The Petition of 1636 (Q., p. 1017) says "Our duty was to pay a recognized portion out of our plants

<sup>1</sup> There are several "great dues" (maha vara) mentioned in inscriptions of the period. (1) maṅṅ maha vara (EZ I, 7; AIC 115), presumably connected with the roads; (2) kuli maha vara (ib.); (3) suvar maha vara. This last occurs in EZ I 12, 13, and IV, 23. If 'su' can be equated with 'sulu', suvar maha vara would mean "dues small and great", cf. the Chola sila kuḍimai, "small rights". Perhaps melāṭsi, discussed above, should be included in the "great dues", but its precise meaning is uncertain.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. tiṅgalippanam, "moon money", general monthly levy on all classes of the inhabitants by the Rajas (Logan, *Manual*, Glossary).

and gardens. But to-day they take from us our pepper and areca, and they compel us to go in search of it to other parts". In the sections dealing with the lascarins they state that anciently "the areca which the King took was only from the Mototu (sic) of his gabara villages, cultivated by his slaves" (*ib.*, p. 1013), that is the muttettu gardens of his gabaḍā-gam. But *Documentos Remettidos*, III, 51, assert that areca was on the king of Portugal's account as under the Sinhalese kings (see below *re Mila koṭikā*). The koṭikā-badda areca is valued in the Tombo at 6 larins the amunam (24,000 nuts).

(b) Mila koṭikā, "money areca". This was areca compulsorily sold to the king or lord at 4 larins the amunam, the current value when this exaction was introduced. The areca usually was not sold for cash but for cloth (cachas) of the required value. Valentyn (p. 268) calls this Wattabadea (vatu-badda) and says "they give a number of areca-nuts which are paid them by the king at 48 stuivers the 24,000 nuts or the amunam in money, whether many or few trees stand on the ground, provided that this is suitable therefor. The rest remains for the use of the owners or tenants of the lands and villages." According to the Portuguese Tombo, III, f. 90, at Alutgama this exaction was practised by Rājasiṅha I. The inhabitants there paid the king 60 amunams of areca. To get it four principal merchants went to Pasdun and Valallaviti Korales and bought it by selling their merchandize. The king paid them for each amunam 4 larins in goods of the country and opium, salt, cloth and coconuts. The compulsory sale of areca continued until the end of the Kandyan kingdom (see below Chap. VI, Miscellaneous, Trees).

Payment of oil of different kinds is mentioned in the Tombo. At Madampe in Chilaw District the people excepting those who paid larins, that is cash, paid the lord for the 31,000 coconut trees which they possessed 62,000 nuts at 2 nuts a tree, namely, one nut for the lord's oil by immemorial custom and another nut by agreement with the Portuguese to commute a most ancient custom of taking one crop each year of the three which they collected (Tombo, III, f. 25). Here we find again the payment of one-third recorded in the tenth century.

Under the gardens the Tombo gives as paid in cash in addition to dākum, paṇḍuru, and bulathurulla; the following, namely:—(a) gevatu-panam, (b) pol-aya, (c) piyadda, piyadi-panam (Port. piedá), (d) vatu-badda, (e) vatu-paṇḍuru, and (f) goḍa-badda (Port. gorabada). No clue is given as to the difference between these dues. Paṇḍuru by itself possibly may some times stand for (e) and badda for (f), but of this there is no certainty. The gevatu-panam usually was of small amount; the pol-aya was of 1 silver fanam for 10 coconut trees; the piyadda often the same as this last, but less regularly. For the other payments it is impossible to discover how the sums in the Tombo were calculated. These dues appear scattered as follows:—

(a) Pasdun Korale (a few); Valallaviti Korale; Navadun Korale; Kuruviti Korale; Kukulū Korale; Atakalan Korale; Galle Korale, and Kaluvamodara on the coast.

(b) and (c) The whole coast from Chilaw District to Dolosdas Korale as well as Pasdun Korale (a few cases) and Alutkuru Korale (one case). Both are found in Galle Korale, (c) in Veligam and Dolosdas Korales.

(d) Galle Korale, and one case in the Agras, *i.e.*, the gemming districts of Sabaragamuwa.

(e) Beligal Korale (gabaḍā-gam); Handapandunu Korale; Atulugam Korale; Kuruviti Korale; Navadun Korale; Pasdun Korale; Sina Korale; the coast of Galle Korale; and the Agras.

(f) Occasionally in the Galle and Veligam Korales.

Sums described as the "renda" of gardens or "renda de bada" presumably represent one or more of these dues. Thus in Atulugam Korale we have for Ballahela (chenas and gardens) payment to the lord as "renda de bada" 125 silver fanams; similarly for Gabbala Miyana-ovita to the king 900 silver fanams equal to 45 larins "de bada", anciently 1,500 fanams. At Gilimale the people once paid the king as "renda" 40,000 silver fanams equal to 2,666 larins and 10 old fanams at 15 silver

fanams the larin. At Madampe ten service coolies with no fields held 300 gardens yielding 8,000 nuts; each man paid as "renda" per annum 30 fanams in three payments as well as pingos.

In the Kandyan country payment of oil existed, largely in the *dēvālē* villages under the names of *tel-kada*, or *tel-badda*. When commuted it is *tel-mila*. *Gevatu-panam* occurs in *ninda-gam*. *Vatu-rājakāriya*, "garden service", may be paid in kind or in cash; if in cash it is *vatu-panḍuru*. It is paid for holdings which consist of garden with no field; such usually are held by *dalupatkārayō* or *pālkārayō*, and have been created out of another's *paṅguva*. But this is not always the case, for in Uva and Vellassa there are many instances where the payment for the garden land of a *paṅguva* is distinct from that for the fields and *chenas*. Usually, however, the *paṅguva* is treated as a whole for the service, and hence *vatu-rājakāriya* is recovered only when the garden is the whole holding. Sawers on the subject of tenants of a *ninda-gama* says that the *vatukārayō* possess gardens and pay a certain portion of the produce thereof yearly to the *ninda* proprietor and are generally liable to be called on to assist the proprietor, being paid by him or fed<sup>1</sup> for their labour (D'Oyly, p. 66).

The earliest Dutch Tombo follows the Portuguese. With Valentyn (p. 268) we get for the first time the following definitions in connection with *Matara* and the year 1677 :—

"*Wattabadea* [*vatu-badda*] is a burden on the lands whether much or little planted and 2,000 coconut trees give 1 rixdollar per annum".

He then proceeds with a second duty of the same name, *vide supra* under *Mila-koṭikā*. Then :—

"*Polleye* [*pol-aya*] is a tax on the fruit of the coconut trees, which is collected about three times a year and which altogether does not amount to one-tenth of the fruit; but at the first introduction both of this and of the previously mentioned (tax) uniformity has not been observed to such a degree that there is not a great difference between one place and another; these places, however, are not subject to other taxes or duties," *i.e.*, those where the amount is defective.

In enumerating various payments *van Imhoff's Memoir* mentions "*Polaye pannam* or the tenth of the fruits of the coconut trees which commonly is paid in money". Valentyn at the beginning of his description of Ceylon also defines "*Polwatte Piedie*" as "a tax of the *Matara* coconut gardens with the Four Gravets, by which a half *stuiwer* is levied yearly from ten fruit-bearing trees". This payment in 1745 is styled "*pie die* or *wattoebaddoe*" (*Compendium*, D G 246); "*pie die*" was also taken from coconut gardens within the Four Gravets of *Galle* (*ib.*) at  $2/5$  Holland *stuiwer* for ten trees. In SDT of 1818 gardens in *Matara* are said to have paid under the Dutch "*pie die*" of  $\frac{2}{3}$  pice for ten coconut trees and the same amount for five *jak* trees.<sup>1</sup> In addition to the gardens which paid a tax in cash, there were others which contributed oil or arecanuts (*Report on the Records*, p. 26; *Schneider's Report*, p. 118.)

We now come to the question of the Company's one-third share, the recovery of which caused so much trouble. The matter assumed importance owing to the progressive cultivation policy of the Dutch. *Ratmahāra* land was granted to individuals on condition that it was brought into cultivation or planted within three years. On the expiry of that period the low land paid one-quarter of the produce or such other share as was indicated in the grant; the high land paid one-tenth, and when the trees came into bearing one-third of their produce (SDT; also see page 11, note 1). Gardens planted "without consent" paid one-half. Gardens on which the one-third was due are mentioned in *Bolscho's "Visitation"* of 1707

<sup>1</sup> In Valentyn's extract from *Bolscho's "Visitation"* of 1707 for the scrutiny of the Tombo "*pie die*" is given as a payment on fields in *Morotuva* (p. 325). The new Tombo, however, has no such entry; there is a column for "*manderan*", but it is blank. Mr. Reimers informs me that an undated "*Register der Landsbeschryving der Landen van Ceylon*" in the *Batavia Archives*, p. 180, has "*Piedie pannam*—money tax of certain dry lands which are sown with fine grains." This definition seems to be unique. The half light *stuiwer*,  $2/5$  Holland *stuiwer*, and  $\frac{2}{3}$  pice are of equal value.

(Valentyn, p. 328). Governor van Domburg raised the Company's share to one-half and also imposed a yearly tax in addition, an action which led to riots. His despatch of Dec. 17, 1735, speaks of the condition under which gardens were sold as payment of "polayepanam otherwise commonly called wattoebaddoe" (D 2505). According to the Batavia letter of May 25, 1736, this already existed in the Kalutara, Matara, and Galle Districts and in the paraveni lands in the "despence" villages (gabadāgam) of the Colombo District, but was objected to by the Salpiti, Rayigam, Hina, Hevagam, Pasdun, Alutkuru and Valallaviti Korales. The stretch of country in which the tax already existed is that in which pol-aya is found, and it may be this ancient duty which the Governor raised in amount and made general. The task of settling the difficulties caused by van Domburg's action devolved on his successor van Imhoff. He abolished the new tax and reduced the Company's share to one-third. In his *Memoir* of 1740 for his successor he says: "In this disavany [Colombo] there are also some garden dues in certain places but not everywhere as in the Galle Korale and at Matara, which commonly are called wattedaddoe and come out of the third of the plantation which otherwise is sold for the profit of the sovereign, but now being aggravated in place of it by a certain tax yearly (of) one schelling or may be two, four, or even more, paid in cash, this being the due the introduction of which together with the appraisalment (taxatie) of the third of gardens planted legitimately and the half of those illegitimately in the time of Heer van Domburg caused so much trouble". He further states that what the people objected to was not the appraisalment (taxatie) of the Company's share in the gardens, as all newly planted lands after the elapse of some years had been subject to it since the time of their forefathers and from of old, but to the novel introduction of yearly charges in addition to the aforesaid due.<sup>1</sup> Governor Overbeck in his *Memoir* of 1743 discusses the advantage which may be derived from the sale or farming out of the large number of gardens planted with or without the Company's consent. The former yielded one-third, the latter one-half as the lawful share of the sovereign like andē and otu in the case of the fields. Van Domburg's additional impost is here called wattedadde. Overbeck suggested that the Company's share, which if sold would only yield a year's profit, should be appraised, regard being had to the value of the annual produce, and leased to the present owners for 20 per cent. less than the estimated value. In 1746 the Company began the registration of gardens and the recovery of the sums due from them, namely, the third and the half, but up to 1757 a comparatively small amount of money had been collected. Loten in his *Memoir* of that year was of opinion that less annoyance might have been caused had the money been recovered as a charge "paid annually or at some other fixed time; for it was in this manner, as well-informed natives have assured us, that the tax on trees in the gardens of landholders was levied by the Kings of Kotte, and in that manner it would also have continued to be of permanent advantage to the Company although not immediately of such considerable importance" (p. 23).

The planters of gardens continued very generally to evade payment of the Company's share and Governor Schreuder (1757-62) accordingly made a new attempt to deal with the defaulters. The one-third of the garden planted "with consent" was to be put up to public auction, the planter being given the option of purchase if his offer equalled the highest bid (cf. Burnand's *Memoir* of 1809, CLR III, NS, p. 271). His policy succeeded no better than that of 1735 and met with general resistance, which developed into war with Kandy. In the end the recovery of the one-third was practically abandoned, and even the cash payments such as pol-aya

<sup>1</sup> The translation published by Government being inaccurate the original is here given:— In dese dessavonie zyn ook eenige thuyns geregtigheeden op soetmige plaetsen, dog niet overal, gelyk in de Gale Corle en op Mature, die gemeenlyk wattedaddoe werden genoemt, en voortkomen uyt het derde van de aanplantinge dat anders ten profyte van den heer des lands werd verkogt, maar nu beswaart synde met sekere schattinge instede van dien jaarlyx een schelling, ook wel twee, vier en iets meer in gelde betaald, zynde dit die geregtigheyd welkers invoeringe nevens de taxatie van het derde der wettig en de helfte der onwettig aangeplante thuynen wylen den heer Van Domburg so veel onlus en spooks heeft gemaakt.

en tegens de zaak zelfs, dat is de taxatie overlatinge van s'Comps portie in de thuynen nooit iets gehad hebben als zynde een oud herkomen van hare voorvaderen en van al oude tyden af, dat alle nieuw aangeplante landen na verloop van eenige jaaren subject zyn, maar wel tegens het invoeren van die jaarlykse belastinge nevens voorsch. aanschattinge dat een nieuwigheid was en alsoo billyk voor altoos afgeschafft blyven moet.

ceased to be exacted owing to the fall in the value of money. It was not revived by the British, and these gardens thus ultimately have become entirely private property.<sup>1</sup>

Some gardens planted "with consent" are known as tun-havul, "three-share". These were given on the following conditions. One-third of the land was to be planted with cinnamon for the exclusive use of the Company, and the remaining two-thirds with coconut, jak, and other fruit trees for the use of the grantee. If the plantation was not made, the whole land reverted to the Company. Gardens planted "without consent" and so liable to payment of one-half were known as sambuddi, that is "self will, own accord", a sambuddi-hirē being a wife taken against the consent of the parents. The designation is mentioned here, as owing to the abandonment of the Company's share in the circumstances given above it has acquired the curious meaning of absolute ownership.

In the last Tombo for Galle District (1748) the word vatu-pañḍuru regularly occurs in lieu of the vatu-badda and pol-aya of the Portuguese; in a number of cases it equals the pol-aya in amount, namely, one-half light stuiver for 10 coconut trees or 5 jak trees. In Kalutara District pol-aya and vatu-badda occur, the last rarely. In Colombo District we find vatu-badda "or garden due" and vatu-pañḍuru in separate columns. Both may be paid in the same village, though never on the same land.

One of the first actions of the British administration was the imposition of a tax of one silver fanam on every coconut tree in 1796; this was withdrawn the next year. By the proclamation of Sept. 2, 1801, the old non-service paraveni gardens were free of tax, though they paid 1/10 if sown with fine grain; divel gardens paid 1/10, though according to Wood their holders had neither performed service nor paid this tax since the abolition of service tenure; maḷapalā divel gardens were liable to payment of one-fifth. Ordinary maḷapalā gardens paid  $\frac{2}{3}$  in the case of the best soil, one-half in the case of inferior. Accommodessan gardens, that is the Government share of certain gardens granted for performance of service, the tun-havul, and the sambuddi gardens also had evaded taxation in practice (SDT; Wood's *Report*). Ratmahāra grants by the British were made on much the same conditions as by the Dutch. In Tangalla the cultivator, though he could sell his interest, could not divide the land. In the same District high land, if cultivated with grain and pulse, paid 1/10, as did arecanut and coconut trees whatever the tenure of the land; jaggery trees, coffee, pepper, yams, sweet potatoes, and betel were exempt (SDT).

The *Ceylon Almanac* of 1819 mentions baṇḍāra-vatu, "Government gardens", mostly planted by the Dutch Company, but in a few instances by individuals "who possess the planting share of the trees only, in such proportion as the nature of the soil will admit; i.e., those gardens on the coast pay annually to Government two-thirds of the produce of the trees (chiefly coconut trees), and the remaining one-third or planting share is enjoyed by the planter; and those gardens situated in the interior pay half to Government". This is the same tenure as the maḷapalā gardens in Matara District. In Galle they paid one-half.

<sup>1</sup> Burnand, once in the Dutch service in an unnumbered manuscript in the Cōlombo Archives reports that the reservation made in the grants of the Dutch Government of one-third of the number of trees planted is too high to be enforced and has taken effect in a few instances only, and from the depreciation of money the quit rent formerly paid by some gardens is too insignificant to be collected. In another place, dealing with plantation, he says: "The mode of proceeding was thus: upon the application from the Goyah or planter for permission to cultivate, a commission was sent accompanied by a survey in order to ascertain the extent of the ground and the number of fruit bearing trees that could be planted upon it, as also whether the granting it for these purposes would interfere with the cultivation of cinnamon. Accordingly to their report, a valuation was made of what the ground would be worth when the plantation should begin to bear fruit (this was made at so much per morgen, i.e., 2 acres). In the Dutch time I believe 25 R.Ds. [rix dollars] for land near the sea, and something less for land in interior. Government took one-third of the value of the ground at this valuation and the planter then became entitled to the whole as his own property.

The only conditions between Government and the Goyah or planter were that the ground should be planted within three years with the number of trees which the report declared it capable of containing [? and] when the trees began to bear fruit the planter was to pay to Government [ $\frac{1}{3}$ ] of the value of the whole according to the established rule of valuation".

According to Cleghorn in 1799 (CLR, VI, p. 45) *moedalchenassen*, that is "money chenas", paid  $\frac{1}{3}$  if planted with consent, half if without. These are the gardens planted on the Dutch Company's land, and the shares of the produce mentioned are those paid before the conquest by the British.

As to tobacco cultivation in Puttalam it was reported in 1767 that each planter delivered to the king three plants and to the *vannyār* one and a half, each of 35 leaves (*Instructions* of Governor Falck to the Commandant of Puttalam, May 5, 1767, in 491 D). Under the British tobacco paid 1/10 except in Jaffna where it was free (*Wellesley Manuscripts*, CLR II, p. 14).

The Portuguese Tombo gives little help towards the understanding of the various dues entered in it against gardens. The impression left on the mind is that, though the names of different taxes survived at the beginning of the seventeenth century, there was then little knowledge of what each originally was. The *pol-aya* alone stands out as an intelligible impost, namely, 1 silver fanam for ten coconut trees. The average yield of a tree in the Tombo is 15 nuts per annum,<sup>1</sup> and as the price of nuts was 10 a fanam the tax worked out at about 1/15 of the crop. In the early sixteenth century we have this tax mentioned in the Kelaniya Vihāre sannasa of Parākrama-Bāhu IX under the name of *paṇḍuru*; it was 1 fanam for ten coconut trees. The value of the fanam at this period is uncertain and we do not know whether coconut cultivation had then fallen on such evil days as it had ninety years later. What is of importance is that the tax is the counterpart of a reduced *otu* on the paddy fields, namely, of half the sowing extent. In the tenth century dues on gardens are mentioned twice, once  $\frac{1}{3}$  in the Mihintale Tablets, and again in the *Daḷadāgē* inscription  $\frac{1}{3}$  in the case of existing coconut and (palmyra) plantations, 1/10 and in addition *satar maha varak* in the case of new ones. From the statements of Valentyn and van Imhoff the one-tenth was still sometimes paid in kind in the eighteenth century.

There is no reason to suppose that the revenue system in early medieval Ceylon differed materially from that of India or that the different products of the soil were not taxed either separately or in classes as continued to be done in Jaffna. Gardens, then, normally were taxed; the residing garden (*ge-watta*) was subject to *gevatu-panam*, presumably the late representative of the 2 akas per well for the betel vines, orange trees, plantains, and jak trees of the *Daḷadāgē* inscription, while the regular plantations of coconut trees, &c., were liable to pay a share of the produce in the same way as the paddy fields. The gardens as well as the fields were exempted partially or wholly from tax in consideration of service, a practice which explains the reduction from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to 1/10 in the tenth century. If the *paṇḍuru* of the Kelaniya sannasa was a commutation of the one-tenth share of the produce and was reduced from one-third, the full *otu* in that record may have been  $1\frac{1}{2}$  times the sowing extent, an amount common in the Portuguese Tombo. It is possible that in some parts of the Island there was no taxation on trees, as in the Wynaad in India. In the Chola empire arecanut, coconut and jak were the only trees taxed.

The difference between *vatu-badda* and *vatu-paṇḍuru* is obscure. The last named certainly was paid in cash, as indeed was the first in the Portuguese and Dutch Tombos. *Vatu-badda* in the Dutch records clearly was elastic in meaning. The plural *vatu-badu* (*wattoebaddoe*) is often used. Its original meaning seems to have been the tax or share of the produce on plantations other than *ge-vatu* or residing gardens, whether paid in kind or in cash, *vatu-paṇḍuru* being the same commuted for a money payment. *Goḍa-badda* as opposed to *maḍa-badda* covered, I imagine, all the revenue from high land, whether residing garden, plantations, or even *chena* land.

To sum up. The principle governing the payment of one-third and one-half in the case of gardens is analogous to that underlying *otu* and *aṇḍē* in the case of

<sup>1</sup> Burnand in his memoranda referred to in the last footnote writes: "A coconut tree in full bearing and in a good soil may be computed to yield from 50 to 80 nuts. In a less favourable spot from 40 to 60. In a bad soil from 20 to 40. As it grows old still less but never below 10 to 20".



fields. The one-third share is one which goes back many centuries in India.<sup>1</sup> In Ceylon it is found now among the Tamils of the Vanni and of Jaffna (v. Chap. II), and among the Sinhalese it is the otu share from fields of tolerable fertility. In the case of gardens it is reasonable to infer that it corresponds with otu, especially as the share for gardens planted "without consent" was one-half or añdē. Armour distinguishes occupancy under permission, without permission, and by usurpation. In the case of the first two he indicates no difference in the share due to the landlord; in both it is añdē. It may be surmised that in ancient times the Sinhalese king from the revenue point of view was concerned more with the question of the greater or less fertility of the soil and the amount of his share of the produce than with the question whether leave had been or had not been obtained, though permission seems to have been sought at least at one time, for there was ample land available for cultivation. Where the king's own interests in the matter of prohibited forests and the like were touched the position doubtless was different.

## CHAPTER VI

### TAXES, DUES AND PAYMENTS (*continued*)

III. *Chenas*.—In the Mihintale Tablets (A, line 41) kuḍin, but not the temple serfs and the kāmīyan or officers, are to pay bim-sovas. The second part of this compound may be from "sova", "small", and "as", "share", the whole meaning "land small share", ground share. Or it may be derived from "ovas" which in the *Daḷadā Sirita* equals Skt. āvāsa, and so may mean "own dwelling", in which case bim, "land", is difficult to explain. The serfs and kāmīyan had their divel which as has been seen included a piece of high land (vāṭṭi), the later ge-vatta, and presumably also their house or hut. The kuḍin on the other hand had their fields and plantations "in kārāya", which has been already discussed. The house with its plot would normally be liable to tax, perhaps the ge-kulī. The chena is nowhere mentioned, and bim-sovas possibly may be the same as the Kandyañ bim-mila, and so the payment made for cultivating the temple chenas. This, however, is far from certain.

The inscriptions of Niśsaṅka Malla have acquired a certain notoriety as that king is commonly supposed to have abolished all taxation upon chenas. This interpretation was given by Turnour, who first of all published the Dambulla epigraph, and has been repeated without further investigation ever since. Turnour's view undoubtedly was influenced by the fact that in the last days of the Kandyan kingdom and indeed until 1833 no general tax from chenas was paid to the Crown. Niśsaṅka Malla's records supply the following names of taxes which were abolished:—

- (a) kāti aya and kaṭukaṇa bā aya (EZ I, 9 Dambulla).
- (b) sehen kaṭusara aya (EZ II, 17).
- (c) val koṭā gat ket-aya (EZ II, 15).
- (d) sehen koṭā gat tena-ta da hāma davasata-mā kāti aḍa (EZ II, 23, 24, 25).
- (e) kāti aḍa (EZ II, 13, 14, 19, 21, 22).

In (a) and (c) the reason given for the abolition is the laboriousness of living; in (b) the phrase is qualified by "which is done with difficulty". The readings above given are correct; they have been carefully collated by Mr. Paranavitana, Government Epigraphist and myself. It is clear that two distinct taxes are referred to in (a), the kāti-aya, elsewhere styled the kāti aḍa, and another. The interpretation of the name of this second tax is open to doubt; in the *Ruvanmala* the word kaṇa

<sup>1</sup> Thus in *Bṛhaspati*, xvi., 13,  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the produce is to go to the labourer if food and clothing are not given, otherwise  $\frac{1}{5}$  (SBE, p. 338; CHI, I, p. 287). In modern times in Malabar the janmi or landlord is entitled to no more than  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the net produce, and the ordinary ryot by custom to the same. The customary division of the produce of wet lands is  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the kṇakṇāran (tenant),  $\frac{1}{3}$  for the expenses of the cultivators attached to the soil, and  $\frac{1}{3}$  to the janmi. The customary rent (verunpāṭṭam) for coconut and arecanut gardens is  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the gross produce, this last being the whole number of nuts on the tree at one time less  $\frac{1}{3}$  for accidents, loss by rats, windfalls, &c. In Cochin for wet land, after deducting seed paddy and a similar quantity for the cultivator's expenses, of the resulting net produce  $\frac{1}{3}$  goes to the cultivator and  $\frac{2}{3}$  are paid as pāṭṭam or rent (Logan, *Manual*, pp. 587 ff., 617, 675, 718). If the owners of salt pans let them out on pāṭṭam or rent, this is generally supposed to have been  $\frac{1}{3}$  of the annual produce (*ib.*, Glossary). In the Maldives the varuva or produce tax is one-half on coconut, areca, breadfruit trees and screw-pines, and one-third on root crops and garden produce.

is the same as kaṇu, and so it may mean "the revenue after felling thorns and trees"; or it may be "the revenue share (bhāga) of the chena crop".<sup>1</sup> On the whole the first interpretation is to be preferred, the tax being levied for clearing the forest; a fee, as we shall see, was paid in Mannar in the seventeenth century for clearing jungle preparatory to making a garden.<sup>2</sup> The other tax, kāti aya or kāti aḍa, also is interpreted in different ways. Aya, of course, is "revenue" and aḍa is "half", the aḍa share of the crop. Kāti may be "bill hook"<sup>3</sup> or Pali khattiya, Skt. kṣatriya, "royal". Mr. Paranavitana has called my attention to the *Sālikedāra Jātaka* (IV, p. 276), in which a Brahman's field is katti-khetta, "the lord's field". Against the usual interpretation of tax remission is the fact that the payment of otu on chenas is found in the Portuguese Tombo and in a number of instances in temple and ninda villages at the present day; before such villages were granted, therefore, the otu was paid to the king. On the other hand any remission by one king could be revoked by another. The most reasonable conclusion seems to me to be that Niśśanka Malla abolished two impost, (1) a tax on the felling of forest apparently paid by a share of the chena crop, and (2) the kāti aḍa, the half share of the crop of the field made on the site. In other words the transaction is concerned, not with ordinary chena cultivation at all, but with the making of paddy fields out of forest land; the expression in (c), "the revenue on the field (ket-aya) made after felling the jungle", seems to be conclusive. Though the aḍa share was remitted, there is no reason to suppose that otu was not ultimately recovered. It is, I think, to the transaction just mentioned, and not to ordinary chena cultivation, that Davy refers when he says that all forests and chenas were considered to be royal domains and could not be cut down or cultivated without express permission. Leave was obtained through a minister. The cultivator was at liberty to improve the land felled and to convert it into paddy field, no duty being imposed during the life of the first cultivator (*Interior of Ceylon*, p. 185). According to the Ehelepola sannasa of Śaka 1667 Varadamanē Vijayasundara Mudiyanāheē, who seems to have flourished before the time of Rājasiṅha II., received a sannasa enabling him to make asvāddumas in any place desired by him within certain limits (Nārangashinnen pallat Tiṃbillatoṭin uḍat abhiprā-tānaka asvāddum tanā gannā sātiyaṭa sanhas patrayakut labā geṇa duggāna sītiyāya).

In the Portuguese Tombo the produce of chenas is usually given in paddy, more rarely in "tana". Where chenas were not the main cultivation the produce paid to the lord frequently is described as vegetables (legumes, but "tana" is so called), reckoned in amunams of paddy. The system of taxation is far from clear in the ordinary village. But where chenas were of large extent and fields few or none otu was usually levied, that is when the chenas were not held "free" or ninda being part of a service paṅguva. In a few instances there is a fixed payment for such land. Thus in Denavaka Kadadorakanda is a great jungle in which they make chenas. There live eight jagreiros (haṅgarammu), who each one cuts his chena, for which they give to the lord per annum 8 amunams of paddy and also pay 436 lumps of jaggery. In the same village is Narangodakanda in which live five jagreiros who cut chenas and "eat" free. They pay the king per annum 5 amunams of paddy and per mensem 60 lumps of jaggery (III, f. 218). In some places chenas are noted as paraveṇi; thus at Velitota the durayā of "gente de Carapo Tirāpo" (kaḍappu tirappu) held at his charge half an amunam of ratmahāra which he sowed as his paravenia (III, f. 123). Occasionally mention is made of king's chena land as at "Mahabate" (Mapote) in Kuruviti Korale; in addition to chenas from which the lord got 7 amunams of paddy there were king's jungles (matos), which if sown paid otu (II, f. 434). In certain places we hear of mutteṭṭu chenas.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. EZ IV., p. 82, kaṇu = Pali khāṇu, "trees". For bā, cf. EZ II., 36, kaṇu mul bā tānū vīyalak se, and the modern kaṇu-is, "cleared of stumps". For kaṇa, cf. kehelkaṇa, vatukaṇa, Pali kaṇṇika "sheaf", Skt. kaṇṇika "stem of fruit"; cf. for this kaṇusara "relating to dry grain cultivation", in b. Kaṭukana, with the dental is the head of an animal killed in the chase down to the neck at a place to which the ear (kana) reaches when pulled down; it is or was the perquisite of the headman.

<sup>2</sup> In Malabar on reclaiming waste land the fee of 2 fanams paid is more an act of fealty than recompense for the privilege of possession (Logan, *Manual*, p. 612).

<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese Tombo has catifanāo, that is kāti-paṇam, "bill hook money", paid by the Chandos of Maggona, &c. But this tax has reference to toddy tapping and not to chena cultivation.

In the Kandyan kingdom there is definite evidence of payment of tax in kind (otu) or in money by chenas in many royal villages of Seven Korales and in the temple and ninda villages in Sabaragamuwa, Seven Korales, Matale and Uva. In the last named province, as has been pointed out already, the old system of separate taxation for fields, gardens and chenas survives, and moreover the rate of tax on chenas sometimes differs with the crop. Thus under Soragune Dēvālē a taṅgama (4*d.*) is paid as otu for every kurakkan laha cultivated. The same is levied at Kotabova. Under Ruhunu Maha Kataragam Dēvālē in Pandikkulam Korale the otu for kurakkan is 6*d.* a laha, for cotton or chillies 9*d.* In Buttala Korale in one place the one tenant is entitled to cultivate yearly a portion of the temple chenas on payment of one kuruniya of mun if that be sown, or if it be cotton one peṭṭiya or box. In Sittaram-palata and Pandikkulam Korale the gamarālas in consideration of certain service are allowed yearly remission of otu payable on two "chenas". In Uva this otu is often called goḍa otu, "high land otu" (STR).

In Vellassa and Buttala in the māruvena gamvasam the gamarāla has a mutteṭṭuva, a chena of no fixed site, and divides the gamvasam chenas among the villagers. They do five mornings work (vāda-paha) on the mutteṭṭuva for which they are fed, about March give alutsāl or firstfruits to the gamarāla, in Buttala iriṅgu lēnsuvak (about 25 ears of Indian corn), a cucumber and a pumpkin, and at the New Year or thereabouts a bat aḍukkuvā (cooked rice) and penum of 25 cents in Buttala, and a pāla of kurakkan and a pāla of Indian corn with or without a penum in Vellassa. In this last division the value of the offering may be some two rupees for a "chena", *i.e.*, about 2 acres.

Chenas other than those belonging to the king or lord were private in the same degree as the rest of the paṅguva and even where the mul-kāṭe system prevailed the land thus occupied was considered part of the paṅgu while under cultivation. There were private chenas even in old established gabaḍā-gam such as Gampola (Bd. Comm., vol. 22, Jan. 5, 1825). In the Four Korales "they never paid duty or performed service for such description of lands" (*ib.*, 4, Dec. 29, 1818), a statement which must be qualified by the fact that the paṅguva rendered service for all its land as a whole. Wright, who had long been Revenue Commissioner in Kandy, in 1846 stated that "no Bing-mila could be demanded by Government from *private* chainas and as the proclamation of 1818 exempted all lands from tax except paddy lands, the cultivation of such chainas was entirely free. The difficulty arises from their undefined nature, and it is only by a long continued possession known and shown by their frequent or repeated cultivation at intervals of 6, 8, or 10 years that furnishes the requisite evidence of ownership—not the payment of taxes, for taxes were never due. If prior to 1818 Bing-mila was ever collected by the Chiefs of the Kandyan Provinces from private chainas it must have been merely as a prerequisite of office in the arbitrary exercise of unlimited power. I am not aware that it ever formed an item of Revenue to Government since 1818 except from Crown lands" (Old P. F. 20)<sup>1</sup>. This evidence is supported by the report of the Assistant Agent, Badulla, of May 28, 1853, and by that of the Government Agent, Jaffna, No. 79 of April 20, 1852, who says that "in Nuwarakalawiya, as part of the old Kandyan territory, no tax is, or ever has been levied on such cultivation". The statement of Turnour, Government Agent of Kandy, on June 10, 1853, that after 1818 chenas were not taxed except when paddy was cultivated certainly is inaccurate; he should have said after 1833.

Bim-mila, spoken of by Wright, was levied for example on royal chenas in Velanvita in Uva, about 30 miles long and 16 wide, cultivated periodically by the people of Sabaragamuwa, Matara and other places. They paid according to custom 4 fanams and a basket of cotton to Government (Bd. Comm., vol. 14, of 1822).

In the Maritime Provinces, apart from the conversion of waste land into gardens and chenas held in consideration of service, chenas interested the Dutch Company chiefly from the point of view of the protection of cinnamon. In 1707 Governor Simons instructed the disāva of Colombo that when the inhabitants applied for licence to chena none but written licences were to be issued and that only after

<sup>1</sup> Wright apparently did not regard the otu paid by chenas in some royal villages (D'Oyly, p. 55) in the light of a Government tax. But this may have ceased to be paid after 1818, or these chenas were Crown land.

inspection by a commission in order to prevent destruction of good timber and cinnamon (Valentyn, p. 308). Prohibition of clearing or cultivating before inspection is mentioned in the *Memoir* of Governor Becker in 1716 (p. 42). Mandaat-olas addressed to the mudaliyars of the Colombo disavany in 1718 and the two years following prohibit the use of a chena for more than one cultivation season. The *Compendium* of the Galle Commandement (DG 246) of 1745 complains of the evasion of the regulations; clearers sheltered behind holders of accommodessan who connived at illicit clearings and took añdē or otu. Little or nothing seems to be said as to the share paid to the Company. In 1740 van Imhoff in his *Memoir* in giving an example of a mudaliyar's accommodessan supplies figures based on the payment of otu or one-tenth by chenas and òviṭi; in another passage he speaks of mulan, òviṭi and deniyas on which kurakkan is grown as paying or not paying tithe according to the custom of the locality (pp. 28, 29). In the Lascarin Roll of Pasdun Korale (vol. 8) of 1770 the chenas are either free (ninda) or pay añdē or otu.

An unnumbered volume in the Archives contains a Memorandum respecting chenas in English. According to this in February, 1811, the Collectors of Colombo, Kalutara, and Galle were instructed to levy a tax of one-tenth, a similar tax being already established in other Sinhalese districts. A note states "Chenas are nothing more than Ratmahare high grounds, which the poorer classes of people are allowed at particular seasons to cultivate on their application, and on which in some districts no tax was formerly imposed but which are now subject in common with Ratmahare high ground cultivated with permission to a tax equal to one-tenth of their produce."

Kaṇu-is paraveni land in three villages in Chilaw District paid one-fifth, an old variety of otu (*Wood's Report*). Land of the same name in Matara District, which under the Dutch had been free, perhaps as forming part of service holdings, under the British paid one-tenth (*Ceylon Almanac*, 1819); with reference to Tangalla the SDT says that "the licence [to possess] does not amount to a grant, for the lands remain *bona fide* Government property", though prescription ran if they were planted and no share of the produce paid to Government. The *Wellesley Manuscripts* (CLR, II, p. 141) state that the Dutch levied no tax on chenas except when paddy was sown, inaccurately as is proved by van Imhoff's *Memoir* just mentioned.

IV. *General*:—1. *Bulathurulla, bulaturulla*.—Strictly speaking a roll or bundle of forty betel leaves, but usually with money placed upon it. *Vide* Paṇḍuru-mila.

2. *Dākum*.—"Seeing", the present made on seeing the king or lord, especially at the New Year or on receiving appointment to office. It was not paid only in respect of land. Both this and the pingo duty were acts of homage and where paid in connection with land possibly were once personal dues. The poll-tax of the Chalias bore this name (*Instructions*, p. 52; see Āṅgabadda, below). With dākum or dākma is to be compared the Malabar kānikka, the fee paid by Nayars in token of allegiance on receiving their allotment from the landlord (Baden-Powell, *op. cit.*, III, p. 162). In Jaffna kānikkai, from the root kān, "to see", is an offering to the gods, the Sinhalese paṇḍuru.

Dākum kada is merely a pingo offered on seeing the chief.

3. *Foros*.—Under the Portuguese the possessor of a village or part thereof paid to the Crown a quit rent calculated at 12 per cent. on the value of the village or property to the possessor. This quit rent had to be paid two-thirds in pepper and one-third in cash. It was continued in cash by the Dutch (2722 D of 1698). This payment seems to be analogous to the dākum paid to the Sinhalese king by ninda-gam proprietors, but extended to others and increased in amount. Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII petitioned the King of Portugal that no Portuguese should be allowed to buy land without his licence and that the purchaser should be obliged to "pay the foros and fulfil the obligations and customs", as had the vendor (Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, p. 114.)

4. *Higa-badda, higa-kāsi*.—A fixed fine or money commutation for a turn of service. Also called mura-riḍi or mura-kāsi.

5. *Paṇḍuru*.—Offering to the gods or to the king in cash; so the quit rent payable to a temple in Kotte sannas. In the early medieval period the name is applied to presents to officers, such as the kāmīyan (*Mihintale Tablets*, EZ I, 7, A line 47; *Badulla pillar inscription*, EZ III, 4).

•6. *Penum*.—“Appearance”. Present on any appearance of a tenant before his lord. *Penum kada* is the ping of presents made on such an occasion.

PAYMENTS BY CASTES OR DEPARTMENTS, BY TRADES, &C., OR FOR PROTECTION

According to the law books of *Manu* (vii, 138) and *Gautama* (x, 31) artisans pay tax to the king in one day's work a month just as cultivators pay a share of their crops (*CHI*, I, pp. 246, 289). In medieval and modern times in South India every industry was taxed. Thus in Malabar kudichillara, “house (and) sundries”, include taxes on houses, shops, warehouses, the professional implements of silversmiths, blacksmiths, carpenters, potters, oilmen, weavers, and washermen, fishermen's nets and boats, in all thirty seven items; persons of these professions pay the house tax as well as that on their implements (*Logan, Manual, Glossary*). In Ceylon the matter is not so simple as the artisans, washers and others in general hold land, and their dues thus are attached to their holdings. But in the Puttalam *Lēkam-miṭiya* of Śaka 1693 (1771/2) the Chetties, Moors, weavers (*viyamakkāra*), *Karāvē* people, barge-men (*pādakkāra*), *mi(ṅ)māni* or fishers for seven boats, and smiths of the port are classed in groups or *paṭṭala*, “workshops”, each of which pays a lump sum of pagodas. According to Knox (pt. ii, chap. 4) “All sorts of Tradesmen also, and such as by their Skill can any ways get Money, at the New Year are to pay into the Treasury each man a certain rate.”

1. *Agampadi paṇam, agampadi dākum*.—In the Portuguese Tombo this is entered against land. It may be a caste tax, but those who paid it in Dolosdas Korale seem to have been of mixed castes. It was still paid there in 1745 (DG 246).

2. *Āṅga-badda, “body tax” or poll-tax*.—Possibly the is-ran, “head money”, of the *Daladā Sirita* mentioned above. In the Portuguese Tombo it was attached to the holding of land; thus at Kosgoda (III, f. 126 ff.) a Moor bought two gardens from a Chalia “de sua paravenia”, who paid the king 4 larins 5 fanams *āṅga-badda* and the purchaser had to pay the same. The *āṅga-badda* or “decum de amgabade”, (*ib.*, f. 123) of the Chalias was a true poll-tax. Those who held gardens and fields in king's villages once paid 6 larins and as well 10 fanams for a pingo, half at the New Year and half at the *Kātti*. Later in lieu of the 6 larins they delivered a bahar of cinnamon. Those living in other villages paid one third or 2 larins (*ib.*, f. 158 ff.). According to the Petition of 1636 and Queyroz (pp. 1018, 1030) the original tax per household became a poll-tax of 4, not 6, larins payable by every man. This sum of 4 larins appears under the Dutch as the maximum under the designation of *dākum*, the peelers paying it in cinnamon; lascarins were exempt (*Instructions*, pp. 43 ff.).

In 1745 (DG 246) the dues of the washers, smiths, tomtom-beaters and others, usually known as *radā*-, *koṭṭal*-, *beravā-badda*, are styled *āṅga-badda*. “*Divana*” and “*pitagaya*” may be species of the same impost.

3. *Badda*.—Either (i) rent or tax, (ii) a body of payers of such tax, *e.g.*, a caste organized as a department, or (iii) the territory occupied by such payers. In the Portuguese Tombo it is often impossible to say whether it is a tax on land such as *vatu-badda* or a caste tax. It occasionally is found as a tax with the name of the organized caste, as for example *koṭṭal-badda*, *radā-badda*, &c., or with the name of a department such as *assala*, “the horse stables” in Veligama Polvatta and Mirissa (III, ff. 179, 181). An example of tax paid by the people of an area and giving its name thereto is *Bentota-badda*; an entry under Maggona has: 1 chunambeiro . . . . . pays to the lord per annum  $\frac{1}{2}$  larin pollaia and to the lordship of Bentota 6 larins Bentota bada.

4. “*Diwana*”.—The word occurs once in the Portuguese Tombo in the Veligam gattara (II, f. 587): 13 Pannayō pay *āṅga-badda*, all together pay their “*diwana*” per annum 3 larins and 10 pingos. The word may be the same as that found in the village name Jivanavatta or Divanavatta in Harispattuva.

5. *Kadappu tirappu, “gente estravagante” or wanderers*.—Apparently people who had left their own country and become domiciled elsewhere; also the tax paid by them. At Kalamulla they consisted of 3 goldsmiths who paid *kottal-badda*, 15 lascarins who once paid *āṅga-badda*, and 2 washers of the Chalias (Portuguese

Tombo III, f. 151). Cf. Pitagaya. The expression occurs in the Seven Korales in enumerations of taxes and dues from which grantees of land were exempted either in the form given above or as kaḍappuli tirappuli.

6. The Karāvē people in the Portuguese Tombo paid the following dues, which were rather taxes on trade than on the land held by them :—

(a) dāl-panam or in Tamil valai-panam, "net money", paid in October when the nets were first cast into the sea; (b) karuvādu-panam, "dried fish money"; (c) oru-panam, "boat money"; (d) "padimalo", one fish in ten; (e) parimīn, "basket of fish", at Maggona and Puttalam, perhaps the same as (d) (Foral, f. 161 ff.; Tombo, III, f. 2 *passim*). Pingos of dried fish are also mentioned. These dues are called in Dutch strandgeregtigheid, "shore due".

Under the Dutch according to the *Wellesley Manuscripts* (CLR II, p. 140) from the fisheries in the sea, lakes and rivers the headman took 5 per cent. and the farmer of the tax one-third of all fish caught by lines, one-fourth or one-fifth of all taken by nets. Bertolacci states (p. 383) "The Ceylon Government has, from time immemorial, been entitled to a share of the fish caught at sea; . . . . The share appropriated to Government, and that forming the pay of the Head-men varies from one-fourth to one-sixth in different districts, and according to different customs; originally established, perhaps, upon the greater or less quantity of fish found on various parts of the coast".

See also tuppōṭṭi-panam.

7. *Kāti-panam*, "bill-hook money".—Paid by Chandos, perhaps a trade tax on toddy tapping but paid in addition to āṅga-badda and pol-aya and entered against gardens in the Portuguese Tombo.

8. "*Pitagaya*."—In the Portuguese Foral (f. 168) in Morovak Korale it is called āṅga-badda and is paid by certain persons of low caste. In the Tombo (III, f. 171) three headmen of the "Pitagaya de Malidua dos Amgramas", that is haṅgarammu, pay 4 larins "pitagaya" and have at their charge 14 jagreiros taneas who pay the king by ancient custom 220 fanams "de bada" and 264 lumps of iron. This is identical with haṅgaram-badda. In Yakawala (*ib.*, f. 221) there is the "rent" of "pitagaya", "que quer dizer estarem os naturaes das agrās pellas corlas seguintes" namely, Morovak, Veligam, Dolosdas, Kolonna, and Kukulu Korales, a sum of 45 larins paid by these emigrants from the Agras in Sabaragamuva. The people must be very similar to kaḍappu tirappu. Valentyn on p. 12 gives Malidoewe pittigay as a tax on the caste called Hangereme who tap for toddy; these do not live in one place but are scattered here and there in the villages and kōralēs Canoemoeldenie Pitagawa is a tax of the land (that is the country) as the last. In 1745 this last tax is called Canoemoeldenie pittigaays deccums.

9. *Saruva, saru*.—In the Portuguese Tombo the word in the form of xaro apparently has two meanings, a person and a tax. In Beligal Korale (II, f. 57) at Kobbevala four coolies became xaros of lascarins. In the "Gatras" (*gattara, ib.*, f. 394) nineteen out of twenty-one taneas have been made xaros. In Galle xaros pay kaḍappu tirappu (III, f. 166 ff.), and at Polvatta are fifteen "natives who are called xaros" (f. 181).

In the Matara disavany a number of taxes called xaro appear with such names as Belala (Vellala), Megora (megoda), Hegora (egoda), Malidua xaro and the like; see also Valentyn, p. 11. At Dondra the "saros" of the Pareas of Tennauare equal "beruayē bada" (beravā-badda). At Galle there was a xaro de chetiuary (seddivari), "rent of the shop keepers of all the nation", that is of the Chetties. In Matara under the Dutch the numerous taxes were continued; they are called saroe (saru). A bewys ola of 1685 mentions the lord's due or saroe de kme (saruva dākma; No. 94 in "Translations affecting Lands", Matara; saroe and nadappoe are mentioned in No. 176 of 1698).

10. *Tuppōṭṭi panam*.—Tuppōṭṭiya is a cloth 10 cubits in length worn round the waist by Kandyan chiefs and headmen, also a bed sheet of rough coloured material, or a cloth for the shoulders. The name thus means "cloth fanam or money". According to the Petition of 1636 the Chalias used to pay a tuppōṭṭiya per annum because they were weavers. The Portuguese Tombo also mentions a "rendimento" of the dyers in Matara who paid one or a half tupeti or tupeti pintado, a dyed

tuppottiya. But the tuppotti panam or dākum was a tax paid along the west coast of Ceylon. van Imhoff in 1740 says that it was in lieu of personal appearance with a piece of linen. The real explanation of the impost is given in the Portuguese Tombo under Alutgama. Here sixty Moors paid tupeti to Rājasiṅha I (1554-93) yearly, 60 larins divided according to their holdings. This they did "to possess certain gardens and for their persons to live in the said port" and carry on their trade. The Karāvē people here paid it for the same reason. It is often entered under the gardens, but clearly was really a tax on foreigners. At Kaimal it was paid in kind (III, f. 88 ff., 27 ff.).

11. *Ūliyam*.—This was forced labour exacted from certain foreigners and persons reputed as such, namely, the Chetties and Moors. Bertolacci (p. 385) says that before the arrival of the Portuguese these classes of people "obtained the privilege of being, exclusively, authorized to keep shops in particular markets, for the retail of certain goods imported in Colombo and other principal seaport towns; and in consideration of such exclusive privilege, they bound themselves to work three months in the year for the Prince who governed the country". He gives no authority for the statement that the privilege was exclusive; the tax seems to be analogous to tuppotti panam and to have been paid for permission to live in the country and carry on trade therein. It may be questioned whether it existed in the form described by Bertolacci in the Sinhalese country before the establishment of the Dutch Company; it was of course customary in Jaffna. Governor van de Graaff (1785-94) allowed commutation. The exaction was abandoned by the British, but was revived by proclamation of Oct. 2, 1802; it was finally abolished by Régulation No. 5 of 1830. See also Chapter III, E. Holdings held by persons of foreign origin.

#### MISCELLANEOUS

1. *Betamā*.—This payment appears only once in the Portuguese Tombo in Valpita of Galle Korale (II, f. 518), thus: "Twelve persons of this village pay the king each year by old custom 6 larins de betamā which is the mode of impost which the heathen kings made of 6,000 fanams for a festival which they made when they were crowned". Perhaps the word is meant for vātuma, "maintenance".

2. *Bim puluṭu*, "soil burning".—A fine or fee of 5 ridi recoverable on cremations for burning the king's soil (D'Oyly, MS notes). A similar fee of 4 or 5 chakrams was levied for burning dead bodies in Jaffna (Q., p. 41); in the Chola empire this was called sudukādduppāddam (Madras *Annual Report of Epigraphy*, 1911, p. 69). In the Ambulugala sannasa purporting to be dated in Śaka 1254 among a list of dues remitted by the king is gal pas dāya, "burning stones and earth"; this may be the same as bim puluṭu which figures in similar lists. The document is a forgery, but the name is not likely to be invented.

3. *Boutiques and Markets*.—According to the Portuguese Foral (f. 162) at Colombo the shopkeepers each paid 12 fanams at the rate of 1 fanam a month. The Chetty and Moor "passeadores" ("walkers") paid each one cacha of cloth worth 4 larins. The boutique tax under the Dutch was for its site (*Wellesley Manuscripts*, CLR II, p. 14; Bertolacci, p. 353).

In this connection it may be of interest to note that within the boundary ditch of Kandy "all the lands belonged to the King and he disposed of them as he pleased" (Evidence of Dambawe Nayaka Unnanse, Nov. 23, 1857, in Malvattē Vihārē Temple Land Case).

According to the Portuguese Tombo (III, f. 31) at Negombo on each garden or slave or plot of land bought in the port there was paid 1 larin to the king as a due called meluari (Tamil mēlvāri). It was recovered from the purchaser and whatever the value of the thing bought it never exceeded 1 larin. Strictly speaking this may not have been for the use of the market place but rather a tax on trade.

In the Chola country fees were levied on baskets of grain brought to market and on arecanut in shops. See also under Jaffna in Chapter VII.

4. *Customs*.—(i) *External*.—On coastwise trade and on goods brought by the merchants of "the eighteen countries" to the "nine ports" (Lankātilaka inscription);

in the early period called *suka*, Skt. *śulka* (*Ceylon Journal of Science*, 1933, inscription No. 536). In the Portuguese Tombo the following dues were paid at the port of Kaimal, which "champanas" and other boats had entered anciently (III, f. 27) :—

On cachas of cloth	..	5 per cent.
„ opium	..	10 „
„ mattocks	..	5 „
„ drugs and spices of the South	..	10 „
„ each "cotta" of salt or rice	..	2 silver fanams

Each "champana" entering the port paid 1 cacha of cloth to the "tanadar" or chief of the port, and each dhony half a cacha.

(ii) *Internal*.—At the kaḍavat (gravets) or posts on the boundaries of the various divisions of the kingdom and elsewhere. In the Kandyan kingdom the duties on the goods transported by tavalam or carriage cattle caravans were known as maḍi-huṅgam. Goods carried by women to the seaports or upon any cow or she-buffalo were exempt (Knox, pt. iii, chap. 7). In the Portuguese Tombo (III, f. 27) at the pass of the Maha Oya (Rio do Topo, that is Toppu) the dues are :—

On each bullock load of areca	..	700 nuts
„ „ rice	..	1 silver fanam
„ „ kurakkan or vegetables	..	1 do. do.
On each man's load	..	1 measure
„ „ if of rice	..	$\frac{1}{2}$ do.
On each elephant load	..	double that of a bullock

The duties at the gravet of "Caramgahare" in the "Lands of Valave" on salt coming from the lēvāyas or natural salterns were (*ib.*, III, f. 196) :—

On each bullock load	2 fanams and 2 measures of rice for the lascarins who watched at the kaḍavata, and
On each man's load, that is a pingo load,	1 fanam and 1 measure.

The kaḍavata in the Tombo is known as *juncão* (Tamil *suṅkam*, Sinhalese *sungam*), properly speaking the name of the duty levied at it. The duty existed under the Dutch and British.

In Kandy there was a *mudra-maḍuva*, "stamp hall", where cloth was stamped prior to being exposed for sale. The same name occurs in Puttalam as that of the place where the local *vaṇṇiyārs* met. When that port was in the hands of the Kandyan king it doubtless was used for the same purpose as that in Kandy. For stamping cloth, see under Jaffna in Chapter VII.

5. *Gems*.—A royal monopoly. In Sabaragamuwa it was customary to dig for precious stones everywhere without reservation in favour of *vihārē* or *dēvālē* lands. The pits were worked for the king alone but it was the custom to give the produce of the first days to the Nivitigala Kataragam *Dēvālē* and Sabaragamu Saman *Dēvālē* for good luck. The searching for gems in Sabaragamuwa is said to have begun first in the time of Parākrama Bāhu of Dambadeniya (1234-69), who built the *dēvālēs* (Bd. Comm. 536, Oct. 8, 1816).

6. *Houses*.—In the Jaffna Tombo the house tax was distinct from that on the garden, the Sinhalese *ge-vatta*. In the Mihintale Tablets (A, line 39) *ge-kuli*, "house hire", on the "*saṅgvālla*" of Kiribandpav was to be recovered for the temple; the provision immediately follows that relating to the one-third of the plantation mentioned in the last Chapter (cf. *vāsal-panam* "door money" on houses near the temple in SII, vol. I, 65). For the Chola tax in Ceylon see Chapter VII, and for the house tax in Malabar under "Payments by Castes or Departments" above.

According to the Petition of the Sinhalese in 1636 the Chalias used to pay 2 fanams for a household (*casa*, "house"); they also paid 1 *tuppottiya* or cloth inasmuch as they were weavers. This money seems to have been paid if they held no *comedia* (*divela*). It finally became a definite poll-tax with a maximum of 4 *larins*. Queyroz says that under the Sinhalese kings the tax paid by the heads of households was 4 *larins* (pp. 1018, 1030). If this is correct, the house or rather household tax had been raised from 2 fanams. See also *Vi-badda* below.



7. *Marāla*, or more correctly *maḷārāya*.—Death duty. This seems to be mentioned first in the fifteenth century when Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI (acc. 1472/3) on his settlement of a rebellion undertook to allow half of the *maḷārāya* to the heir (Dedigama inscription as now read), and also when Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy about the same period remitted it in the case of men who fell in battle or in the elephant hunt (EZ III, 29 ; IV, 2). It is mentioned more than once in the reign of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII. The Franciscans addressed this king in 1543 on the iniquity of the ancient law that the king should succeed his subjects in the inheritance, “*pulsis eorum caris prolibus, parentibus atque uxoribus.*” The king consented to abolish the exaction in the case of Christians, but complained in 1545 that men became Christians two or three days before their death in order to benefit by the concession. A report to the King of Portugal in 1546 states that “by a law of his kingdom he [Bhuvanaika Bāhu] inherited all the property of his vassals” (Schurhammer, *Ceylon*, pp. 129, 195, 411, 589). At Goa when a man died without a son, even if he had daughters, all was taken for the king, but the Portuguese there modified the old law, letting the movables to the value of 50 *pardaos* go to the daughters and only taking any landed property (*ib.*, p. 235).

Detailed accounts of this duty appear in the next century. According to a letter from the king of Portugal in 1612 the kings of Ceylon were wont to take the whole inheritance of those who died without leaving a son and the third part of those who had such male heir. The rules in force at Goa were to apply to Ceylon (*Documentos Remettidos*, II, p. 136). In the Foral it is stated that the kings of Ceylon took one-third of the movables “of every person who died in this Island” (f. 169) and rehearses the Goa regulations, namely, that the sons, should they become Christians within four months of their father’s death, were to be their heirs and in default of them any relative who became a Christian within six months. The inventory being prepared, one-third was taken for the king, and of the two-thirds, if the estate was of importance, one *larin* in ten was taken by the collector and another *larin* for the king. Of these two the first was called *tondelecule* or *tandelcule* (Tamil *teṇḍutal-* or *teṇḍal-kūli*, “collection hire”), the second *vandirāo*, that is *huvan-diram*.

The duty was continued by the Dutch, levied on the movables of all deceased non-Christians in consideration of the land held from the sovereign.

In the Kandyan country the *marāla* according to Knox was levied on the estate of any one dying possessed of cattle, namely, a bull, cow and calf, and a male and female buffalo. It was not paid by women (*Relation*, pt. ii, chap. 4, 5 ; pt. iii, chap 7). The tax was abolished by Kirtiśrī (1747–82) ; it then consisted of cattle and buffaloes according to the poem *Saṅgarāvata*. But the last king revived it in an aggravated form in one case (D’Oyly’s *Diary*, p. 135).

We shall see in Jaffna that the duty was levied only on land held from the king as a reward for service or for maintenance. This also was the case in India in the Mughal empire (Moreland, *op. cit.*, p. 51). It probably became general in the Sinhalese kingdom with the extension of service tenure.<sup>1</sup> See also Vi-badda.

8. *Nadappu*.—Tamil “custom”. Valentyn (p. 269) quotes van Rheede (1677) thus : “*Madaspo* (sic) is a due of little worth, which the village headmen render yearly to the king’s teachers (Leermeesters) by virtue of the possession of the said

<sup>1</sup> As to Malabar, Logan in his Glossary mentions (1) Purushantaram, sums varying from 120 to 1,200 fanams levied by Rajas from *nāḍuvālis* (rulers of districts), *dēsavālis* (hereditary heads of villages), heads of commercial corporations, holders of land in free gift or under conditional tenure, and generally all persons holding official dignities in the State. They also in common with other *janmis* or private proprietors levied this due from their tenants as a fine of entry upon the decease of a proprietor or tenant. (2) *Attāḍakkam*, *attāḷāḍakkam*, “extremity, end” and “subjection, possession, enjoyment” : the Raja was entitled to the property of a *nāḍuvāli* or *dēsavāli* or an *āḍiyān* (vassal) or any person who held lands in free gift, dying without heirs. So with the *nāḍuvālis* and *dēsavālis* with regard to persons in the same manner dependent on them. The first corresponds with the Ceylon *marāla*, the lands escheated with *malapālā*.

According to the *Travancore State Manual*, vol. III, the succession duty is *āḍiyara*, equal to one-fourth of the value of the property left by a person under the *marumakkattāyam* system when he dies without direct heir but with only distant kindred. It is paid also by the legal heir of the holder of a Nayar *viruti* (*vṛti* = *divela*).

villages, all reckoned in a whole year hardly amounting to six stuivers for each village". It was still paid in Veligam, Morovak and Dolosdas Korales in 1745. The "Account of annual Emolument by the Dissawe of Saffregam", dated Sept. 4. 1818, has Maha nadappu, 344½ ridi, and Panam nadappu, 47 ridi, from Yakawala.

9. *Salt*.—Under the Portuguese the people of the port of Puttalam paid yearly 400 "cotas" of salt (Tombo, III, f. 2 ff.). In 1767 when the Dutch had just secured possession of Puttalam the vanñiyars paid 30 per cent. duty on the saltpans, but what was made by them for their own use was free of duty under the king's government (491 D, *Instructions* of Governor Falck to the Commandant of Puttalam, March 5, 1767). According to the *Wellesley Manuscripts* (CLR II, p. 141) the Dutch claimed one-tenth of the salt made at Puttalam, Chilaw, and in the south-east of the Island. But under the early British administration one-half of the salt collected in the last named region went to Government (Bertolacci, p. 366) until a change in the system in 1804. The lēvāyas or natural salterns were not private property; and the half share presumably was ancient.

10. *Trees*.—In South India and in the Maldives there are "royal trees", of commercial value, which cannot be cut even if standing on private land. I have not come across any trace of this in Ceylon, though the claim made by ninda-gam owners and chiefs of temple villages that their paraveni tenants are not entitled to fell valuable trees on their holdings except for the purpose of building houses seems to be of the same nature. The practice of reserving for the king any fruit of particular excellence as described by Knox (pt. i, chap. 4) seems to be based on no claim to the tree itself.

In the early medieval period the enumeration of immunities in inscriptions often includes one protecting trees. Apart from general prohibition of cutting gas kol, we may note in particular the following :—

EZ I, 7, Mihintale Tablets, A line 50. Talan (palmyra), mi and other fruit bearing trees are not to be cut except with the consent of the officials.

EZ I, 10. Talan and coconut trees are not to be cut.

EZ I, 15. Talan and mi trees are not to be cut.

AIC 115. Talan, coconut, mi, and tamarind trees are not to be cut.

AIC 123. Coconut leaves and talan leaves (kol) are not to be cut for elephants.

Inscription of Gaja Bāhu II (JRAS. CB., XXVI, No. 71). Talan, coconut trees and other fruit trees are not to be cut.

The feeding of elephants at the expense of the people is found in the seventeenth century in Jaffna and Batticaloa (see the following Chapter).

Under the Kandyan government there was a kuruñdu-aya, "cinnamon revenue", in Ganata Pubbiliya of Seven Korales (Puttalam Lēkammiṭiya of Śaka 1713 = 1791/2) consisting of 36 ridi of 8 tuṭṭu each, 24½ ridi of 16 tuṭṭu, 4 handkerchiefs and 2 bathing cloths. There were also monopolies of areca, coffee, wax and cardamoms, and pepper. The monopoly of areca in Sabaragamuva and the Three Korales was usually rented, and money advanced by the king at the rate of 3 rixdollars per amunam to the renter, who undertook to pay the value of a certain number of amunams at the Colombo price or latterly at 14 rixdollars the amunam. The rent was usually bought by people of Colombo and they had the exclusive privilege of trade in cloth, salt, &c. The inhabitants could neither buy nor sell to anyone but the renter; the people of Lower Bulatgama were by custom obliged to furnish 50 amunams of areca per annum, for the purchase of which the sum of 300 ridi in copper challies was advanced from the treasury. In Sabaragamuva the monopoly of coffee, pepper, wax and cardamoms was in the hands of the disāva (Bd. Comm., vol. 521 of 1816, H 2, I 2, O 2, W 2; Reports of Mahavalatenne and Dolosvala disāvas, *ib.*, Kandy Kachcheri, 1821). See above under Mila kotikā.

11. *Tuvakku aya*.—"Gun revenue". This occurs in a list of remissions in a sannasa, probably spurious, from the northern part of Seven Korales. With reference to this document D'Oyly in his manuscript notes says that the tax was "a monthly duty of one massa from every person, who used a gun". The massa is the same as the ridi.

12. *Vi-badda*.—“Paddy tax” or “rent”. In the *Saṅgarājavata* this is mentioned immediately after the *marāla* as consisting of five *pālas* from every house; it also was abolished by *Kīrtiśīrī*.<sup>1</sup> In Lawrie's *Gazetteer*, II, p. 634, reference is made to land subject to *marāla rājakāriya*, “death duties service”, the holder of which had to measure “five measures of paddy” from the estates of persons newly deceased. According to information obtained some thirty years ago there were levied on death five *pālas*, in the second year four, in the third three, in the fourth two, and in the fifth one. It may be to this to which Knox refers (pt. ii, chapter 4) under “Accidental Incomes of the Crown”. He describes the *marāla*, and then says: “Also at Harvest yearly there is a certain rate of Corn to be paid by every man according to the Land they hold and enjoy. Heretofore the King granted, that upon Payment of a Sum of Money, they should be clear from this yearly Tax of Corn so long, till the present Possessor died, and the Land descended to his Son or some body else. And then the Estate became liable again to the fore-mentioned Duties. But now of late there is no mention of any discharge by Money. So that in time all Houses and Families in the Kingdom will be liable to the Payment of this Tax of Corn; which will bring in no small quantity of Provision to the King. Only soldiers that are slain in the Wars their Lands are free from the Payment of this Tax; but if they die naturally they are not”. If this tax be not the *vī-badda*, it must be some form of household tax.

Under the British Government *vī-badda* was a name for the grain tax.

Elephants were always royal property and their price, when they were sold, formed part of the revenue under the Portuguese and Dutch. The pearl fishery before the time of the Portuguese was under the control of the ruler of the Coast of Madura. In 1344 we learn from Ibn Batuta that it was then managed by Ārya Chakravarti the king of Jaffna. The half-legendary *Vaipavamālai* records a war over the fishery in Śaka 1380 (1458/9) between the kings of Jaffna and Ceylon. The revenue doubtless always went to the most powerful ruler for the time being, whether in India or in the Island: The Sinhalese king presumably controlled the small fishery off Chilaw. “Stone money” was the tax on every stone used by divers for the purpose of going down to the sea bed. Under the Portuguese and Dutch the amount of this was lightest in the case of Christians, heaviest in the case of Moors (Jaffna Foral, f. 50 ff.; *Memoir* of H. Becker). According to Duarte Barbosa in the early sixteenth century all the large pearls were taken for the king who then had jurisdiction over the fishery (CLR IV, p. 212).

## CHAPTER VII

### THE TAMIL DISTRICTS

The earliest record relative to land taxation in the Tamil districts of Ceylon is an inscription of the Chola king Rājarāja I (985-1012) giving the villages assigned to the Tanjore temple. The Ceylon villages are three in Māppisumbu-Kōṭṭiyāram *alias* Rājarāja valanāḍu and land in Māsār in Kaṇakkan-Kōṭṭiyāram *alias* Vikrama Soḷa valanāḍu. The land revenue (kānikkaḍaṅ) including “pāvumaṇaittum pāyapākāḍi taṇḍu vachchāl” is paid in paddy and cash<sup>2</sup>; in addition, *iluppai pāl*, “milk of the *bassia longifolia* or *mī tree*”, is given in *kalams* and the subdivisions of the *kalam* as in the case of paddy (SII, vol. II, pt. iv, No. 92). The taxes differ from those given for the villages in India and presumably are peculiar to Ceylon, at least so far as their names go.

### JAFFNA, THE VANNI, AND MANNAR

The colonization of Jaffna by the Tamils cannot be of extreme antiquity. Such Sinhalese place names as exist, and they are not a few, are not pre-medieval, and the *Vaipavamālai*, though unreliable as serious history, records the presence of the Sinhalese in the peninsula in the fifteenth century. It was still under Sinhalese

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පස් පැල එක මෙක	ඹ

<sup>2</sup> *Manaittum* = house. The rest has defied interpretation.

← J. N. A 88519 (4/49)

sovereignty in the reign of Parākrama Bāhu I (1153–86), as shown by the Nainativu inscription. The original land system, therefore, probably was not substantially different from that prevalent in the rest of the Island. But for information on the subject we have no documentary evidence until the Portuguese. This unfortunately is the Foral and not the Tombo, so that for details we have to rely upon Dutch and British documents. These appear to reproduce the old Jaffna system in essentials.

According to the palm-leaf Tombo bearing a stamp with the date 1822 taxation on land, which however was then obsolete, was divided into A. *aḍai*, "assessment", and B. *palavakai*, "miscellaneous".

A. "Assessment" was confined to fields, both wet or paddy and dry. Exemptions were made in the case of paddy land for brackish soil, land subject to flood, and tanks; in the case of dry fields for stony, sandy or shady land and for paths. The tax was paid in money, the old fanam, *kāsu* and *siṅgam*, which go back at least to the Portuguese time. The land was divided into four grades. Each village had its own rating per *lāchcham*,<sup>1</sup> but the grades were always four in number and there was always a regular proportion between the grades, the fourth being half of the second, the third half of the first, and the second equal to the third and fourth combined.

B. "Miscellaneous" was divided into four main taxes:—

1. *House tax*.—A verse has "The dwelling house (*maṇai*) and garden each contains in extent 4 into 6 [24] *kulis*: 1 *lāchcham varaku* culture contains 18 *kulis*, and 1 *lāchcham* paddy culture contains 12 *kulis*". The *kol* is a rod of 8 cubits or 12 feet in length; the *kuli* is 1 *kol* in length and 1 *kol* in breadth. The "house" thus was under 13 square poles.<sup>2</sup> The tax was 1 fanam of 10 *kāsu* or 50 *siṅgams*, the fractions of a house being in proportion.

2. *Garden tax*.—The garden (*tōḍdam*) is the compound of the house in which are plantain trees, &c., irrigated from a well. It is of the same size as the "house"; the tax also was the same. A "man with seven wells" is a rich man.

3. A fixed tax in money, namely,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *siṅgams* per *lāchcham* on wet fields, 2 *siṅgams* per *lāchcham* on dry.

4. *Trees*:—*Palmyra*.—The tax was 1 *kāsu*, that is  $\frac{1}{10}$  fanam, per tree; male trees were exempted.

*Iluppai* (*Sinh. mī*).—Fractions of trees are given. The whole is taxed at 25, 26 or 24 *siṅgams*. The first-named sum makes 5 *kāsu* or  $\frac{1}{2}$  fanam.

*Margosa*.—Fractions also are given. The whole tree is taxed at 12,  $12\frac{1}{2}$  or 13 *siṅgams*.  $12\frac{1}{2}$  equal one quarter fanam.

The grain tax on the wet and dry fields in the Portuguese period was known as *areatane*, of which word the Tamil form is not known for certain. In 1697 the tax was paid in cash. Pyl, when Commandeur of Jaffna in 1679, introduced the practice of having all the fields, trees, houses and gardens indicated on maps, and moreover had the grain tax as well as the taxes on fruit-bearing trees varied according to their productiveness (*Z.*, p. 17; *Memoir* of Pyl, p. 18). The payment in cash presumably was taken over by the Portuguese, for the denominations are Tamil; further the grading of fields into classes is found in the medieval Indian and Sinhalese kingdoms. What Pyl did possibly was to revise the cash assessment; this would account for the number of *siṅgams* per *lāchcham* varying with the village.

The "garden" is the Sinhalese *ge-vatta*; irrigation by wells is mentioned in the *Daladāgē* inscription.

In addition to the palmyra trees and the margosa and iluppai, from the nut kernels of which oil is extracted, the coconut trees at one time paid tax as in the Sinhalese country. On orders from Batavia dated Dec. 12, 1695, the coconut trees were no

<sup>1</sup> The *lāchcham* (*Sinh. lahassa, lāssa*) in paddy cultivation = 12 *kulis* =  $\frac{1}{24}$  acre, in *varaku* or dry grain cultivation = 18 *kulis* =  $\frac{1}{18}$  acre.

<sup>2</sup> For the *kuli* cf. *Tractate of the Portugal Indies*, ". . . shall pay according to the order and custome, which is every Field and Plaine, of twelve paces in length (which is the space between Palme-tree and Palme-tree, reckoning one hundred Palme-trees to the field)".

longer to be subject to taxation as the owners were obliged to feed with the leaves not only the Company's elephants but also those already purchased by merchants. Though relieved of this burden Jaffna was ordered by the Governor in 1696 to deliver yearly no less than 24 casks of coconut oil besides that required for use in the Jaffna Commandement and at Mannar. Before this, in 1687, the people had complained to Pyl, then Governor, that they had to give the leaves of their trees as food to the elephants and that now they were also prevented from selling their fruits but had to press oil out of these for the Company (Z., p. 33). The interference with private trade was a novelty and due to the Dutch (1062 D, *Short Description*).

The Company possessed fields as well as trees. The cultivators of the former paid tithes; the latter were scattered throughout the country in all the provinces and paid dues (*ibid.*).

The mayorals or headmen (talaiyāris) of the villages from ancient times had the use of certain fields free of tithe (*Instructions*, 1656-65, p. 124). These, of course, correspond with the Sinhalese *divel*. So the Kōviyar, the old servant class, have or had fields free in consideration of work at weddings, funerals, and other like occasions.

Villages and lands were given by the Portuguese as in the Sinhalese districts, the *foro* or quit rent being calculated at 12 per cent. of the value. Under the Dutch one-tenth was levied from forests, mud lands, &c., granted for cultivation by the *disāva* with promise of exemption from taxation for three, four, or six years. The Tamil kings of Jaffna were wont to make grants of land or of the revenue. Such a grant was known as *utāram*, "generosity, present", and was for a limited time, at most for one life, as a reward for services rendered, for maintenance on marriage or of mere grace. On the death of the grantee the son or other relative applied to the king for leave to succeed, which usually was given on payment of half the value. This was the *marāla*. Succession to inherited property, provided that the heir was the son, brother or nephew, was allowed by the *adigar*, the provincial governor, on payment of a *chakram* (Q., p. 55). A mayoral, if he had a son who could succeed him in office, compounded for this "*patāo*, as they call it" (apparently *paḍḍam*, "honour, dignity") with the king for 60 *chakrams*, or this was done after death. If there was no legitimate son, in order to provide a successor the headman had to pay the same sum during his life and the substitute as much again after his death (*ib.*, p. 54).

Precisely similar to the Sinhalese *bim-puluṭu* was the Jaffna *marāla* of 4 to 5 *chakrams* levied as a cremation fee (*ib.*, p. 54).

The *Foral* (ff. 42, 43) under the head of *marāla* tells us that the property of all who die without heirs, namely, sons, grandsons, brothers or sons of brothers or sisters, escheats to the king and that it is given as a favour (*mercê*) to the nearest relative on payment of half its value in cash. "And this property always continues with the same obligation to all other possessors, even though they be sons". The escheat does not apply to the property of the deceased's wife or husband, as the case may be, unless both die without heirs. The property escheated and regranted was not divisible.

As to *marālas* "*da cabeça*", "of the head", a *Vellala* wishing to compound his poll-tax makes according to his capacity one payment of 30 to 60 *chakrams*. A son born before this composition and desiring to enjoy the same privilege pays as much as his father; a son born afterwards is free of the tax.

A headman (*talear*) desirous of adopting a *Vellala* makes one payment of 60 *chakrams*, and the adopted son will enjoy the headman's holding (*foro de talear*). A *Paradēsi* adopting a *Vellala* pays once according to his ability from 15 to 30 *chakrams* and is free from paying the poll-tax (*livre de pagar a renda da cabeça*).

Under the Dutch there was a monopoly of pepper (*Instructions*, 1656-65, p. 112). Palmyra timber required by the Company for Colombo and Jaffna was exacted at a very low fixed price from the inhabitants, who had also to transport it from their gardens to the place of embarkation. This forced sale was abolished by the Indian Government in Batavia, but the favour did not extend to planks and laths required by the Company for ordinary works in the Jaffna Commandement (Z., p. 34).

The following taxes are mentioned here for the purpose of comparison with similar payments in the Sinhalese districts. In these the taxes have become attached to the land; in Jaffna they apparently were still personal as they were in their origin in India:—

1. *Poll-tax*.—A tax payable by every man. It was raised by the Dutch in 1675, but in 1690 had been recently reduced so that all who owed service paid no more than 4 fanams and the traders and artisans 6 fanams a year (Z., p. 20; *Report of Floris Blom*, 1690).

2. *Officie gelden*.—Paid by all free of service except the old, blind and crippled (*Short Description*, 1681). Zwaarddecroon lays down that this tax should be demanded from each individual and not in aggregate for a caste as a whole. In the Portuguese Foral it is called “rendas . . . per officio e casta de diverças nações”, “rents for office and caste of divers races”; it there includes lump sums for the different castes and the merchants who sell cotton in the bazaar. The Dutch name “officie” comes from the Portuguese “officio”; in their Tombo the “officiaes” are the smith, the potter, and others who do work for the village.

It seems clear that the tax was a lump sum assessed on a particular caste and presumably divided among the members of the caste by their headmen. It represents the Sinhalese badda, the people paying it being the kottal-badda, badahāla-badda or what not. The lump assessment enables one to understand the great variation of incidence in the Sinhalese books, especially as revision was rarely, if ever, made in more modern times. The Sinhalese tax was often paid in kind, for example with a knife or the like by a blacksmith.

3. *Adigary geld, adigareye geld*.—This was paid by every man without distinction in the same way as the last but only by the Vellalas, Chāṇḍar, and Taṇakkarar. It did not exceed 1 fanam a head, and was in lieu of victuals given to the adigars (Z., p. 21). The *Short Description* of 1681, however, calls it “appearance money” (parresseeringh gelt) and says that it was in lieu of rice and miscellaneous articles (kleenigheden = sillara) given to the king.

The Portuguese Foral mentions money payments for “the two visits of the year”. The “general parestse” or appearance of the headmen before the chief of the government took place twice a year (Z., p. 88). The payment thus seems to be the Sinhalese dākum or rather a commutation for the pingos presented on the occasion (kat mila).

Ūḷiyam was forced labour of one day a month or three days every three months. Vellalas for exemption paid 60 chakrams as a marāla. This was suppressed in 1631 as being harmful to the king’s service, the Paradēsi caste alone remaining for work (Q., p. 54). Under the Dutch the fine for failure to attend was termed chicoos or sicos (*Instructions*, p. 115; Z., p. 22).

As in the Sinhalese districts there were taxes on fishing and on bazaars. On all foodstuffs, whether paddy, fine grains, pulse or vegetables, sold in the market one handful was exacted. Weavers were obliged to sell their products in the great bazaar, where according to ancient custom a fee of 1 fanam was payable for the “chapa” or stamp on every eight sēlais (Foral, f. 36). The northern system of vāram (“share”) cultivation has been given above while discussing aṇḍē, as also the prescriptions of the *Tēsavaḷamai* for the share of the crop and of the plantation in the absence of agreement.

In 1818 in the Jaffna District all the land was freehold. When sown with grain a tax of one-tenth was paid. There was then no tax on other produce, though under the Madras Administration coconut trees had been taxed. The whole of Delft and the Two Brothers’ Islands, however, was the sole property of Government held by hereditary and prescriptive right (SDT).

The land and tax system in the Vanni resembled that in the Jaffna peninsula. The vaṇṇiyārs, however, possessed their districts for a fixed tribute of elephants, in return for which they appropriated the grain tax and other dues. The Taṇakkarar had to catch and deliver two elephants in lieu of their poll-tax and ūḷiyam service (Z., p. 44). In 1818 land was held on conditional grants from Government. If abandoned or left unclutivated for three years it reverted to Government. There

was no tax for the first three or five years (SDT). The idea that abandonment involved escheat, as we have seen, is extremely ancient ; it still prevailed in the popular mind in the Vanni in 1910.

In Mannar Island and the neighbouring seaboard the system was much as in Jaffna. The *Instructions* of 1656-1665, p. 112, speak of the one-tenth of the harvest and further revenues from coconut gardens and poll-tax. The *Short Description* of 1681 mentions the tithes, the poll-tax, the officie-gelden, the small dues from the gardens, and the bazaar tax. There was also a butter tax or farm called the cattle stables ; owners of buffaloes were obliged to pay two measures of butter every time a buffalo calved (*Report* of 1794, CLR I, p. 412 ; *Report* of Schneider in 1807, CLR, II, p. 150 ; *Report* of Floris Blom, 1690).

The Portuguese Foral of 1646 tells us that the grain tax was known as tīrvai and that, though called tenths or tithes by the Portuguese and Dutch, it was an amount of paddy equal to that sown, that is the Sinhalese bim taram otu, and was paid from paravaṇi land. As in the Vanni the unit seems to have been the tank or kamam, the Sinhalese gama (fol. 46). The people of Mannar Island paid a duty to the king when they felled jungle in order to make gardens ; a sum of one half xerafim or 3 fanams was paid for each garden newly made, presumably the same duty as that just mentioned (fol. 46). Tithes were also levied on the choya or sāya root, the Indian madder (fol. 45).

In 1818 the grain tax was one-tenth. Possession of land was acquired in five ways :—(1) purchase, either originally from the Dutch Government or by transfer ; (2) grant ; (3) dowry and donation ; (4) orri or usufructuary mortgage ; and (5) paravaṇi āḍsi or hereditary right (SDT).

#### THE BATTICALOA AND TRINCOMALEE DISTRICTS

These districts formed part of the Sinhalese kingdom and the greater part came under the Company's permanent rule only by the treaty of 1766. For some centuries, however, the majority of the inhabitants had not been Sinhalese.

The state of the two districts in 1687 is contained in the " Accurate description of the condition and the Company's revenues " in manuscript 2121 D of the Colombo Archives. The high castes paid a poll-tax or dākum and a fixed amount of paddy from their fields. They also cultivated the royal muttetṭu fields, where such existed, at their own cost, that is with their own seed (Archives 1062 D). The poll-tax consisted of cash and cloth (kachchi), which was returned to them in consideration of their felling so much timber and in a few divisions of their catching elephants. In Manmunai and Eravur they delivered salt.

Of the Moors the traders paid a poll-tax of  $\frac{2}{5}$  rixdollar or in lieu of it supplied wax or cut timber ; others were lascarins. Of people who lived by fishing some did service, others paid poll-tax as well as part of the fish caught, timber, and paddy. Other castes including the paṇḍārapillāis, described as king's slaves,<sup>1</sup> rendered service. The Veddās supplied wax.

According to the *Memoir* of Governor Falck dated April 25, 1767, the territory then newly acquired paid one-tenth of the paddy, which included the produce of the king's muttetṭu, while fishermen, washers, weavers, and Moors paid revenue in cash or in kind.

In 1818 cultivated fields paid 3 fanams per amunam, unclutivated  $1\frac{1}{2}$ . Jungle cleared for paddy cultivation was exempt for from one to three years. There was no duty on coconut plantations.

In 1687 the concession was made that no more coconut branches than were necessary were to be cut for the elephants as they could be fed on grass (2121 D).

<sup>1</sup> The paṇḍārapillāis were messengers of the disāva (2121 D). In Jaffna they are described as " persons sent as bailiffs with the mayorals of the villages to enforce payment of the taxes, or, in failure thereof, to seize the property of the debtor until payment is made according to the custom of the country " (*Instructions*, 1656-65, p. 123). In Malabar the paṇḍāram is the Government Baṇḍāra has the same meaning in the Maldives. The Pepiliyana documents (*Vidyodaya*, I, p. 376) speak of saṅgarammu offered by the bhaṇḍāraya ; the Kandyān baṇḍāraya now is the lordship of a village.

The following account of a modern cultivation system in the District is taken from J. P. Lewis' "Paddy Cultivation Customs", p. 328 :—

"In the cultivation of a field, a portion of the land is set apart for the 'Pōdi' or proprietor, which is called 'Muttāḍḍu', and another to the 'Munṇilaikkāraṇ', or the head field-servant, called the 'Munṇilai vayal'; and the rest is divided between the cultivators, or 'Veliyāns' which divisions are called 'Veliyān vayal'. As a general rule, about a fifth of the field is taken as a 'Muttāḍḍu', but if the field be more than twenty *avanams*' sowing extent, about a fourth is cultivated as 'Muttāḍḍu', and in consideration of the responsibility and supervision of the whole field by the 'Munṇilaikkāraṇ', who is the sole manager of the cultivation, the 'Munṇilai vayal' either equals, or is a little larger than, the 'Muttāḍḍu'; and the remainder is divided equally, according to the extent cultivatable by each man, having respect to the facilities for cultivation, the quality of the soil, and the means of irrigation, as well as the expenses of fencing and watching. Care is however taken that each man's share shall not be less than two *avanams*' extent, nor exceed three *avanams*' extent at most". The proprietor is entitled to free labour in the cultivation of the *muttāḍḍu*, as is also to a certain degree the *munṇilaikkāraṇ*. The system is of interest as the lots of the lord and head cultivator correspond with the Sinhalese *mutteṭṭuva* and *vidana mutteṭṭuva*, while those of the cultivators represent the *divel* of the *nilakārayō*, though all are temporary.

In the year 1687 the dues from the Trincomalee District were as follows (2121 D) :—

*Kottiyar*.—The king's *mutteṭṭu* were cultivated by Timilar, Vellalas, Karaiyar and Moors, who were cultivators, at their own expense. Each headman paid yearly to the king 1 fine *kachchi* and 150 pingos, to the *disāva* 1 fine *chela cloth* and all together 15 rixdollars in cash. The *Veddas* supplied wax, honey, &c. The Moors, Chetties and other traders paid each a poll-tax of 2 *larins*, and not less than 1½ *larins* however small their trade might be. Certain fishermen paid a share of their catch. The smiths, potters, carpenters, washers and barbers did service when called upon without payment, and also paid *dākum*. Others including the *paṇḍārapillais* rendered service only. In three villages the Company took one-eighth of the salt made. All the above except the temple servants paid from their harvest two to three *amunams* on every ten, according as it was badly or well threshed. The headmen appeared before the *Opperhoofd* to report on their work every two or three months.

*Tambalagam*.—The Vellalas and others caught yearly one tusker or two *aliyās* (elephants without tusks), and in addition paid an exact tenth of their crops. The *Veddas* also supplied at least one elephant as well as wax, honey, &c.; in return they enjoyed 3 *amunams* of field free. Salt paid one-eighth as in *Kottiyar*.

*Kaddakkulam*.—Three villages supplied a tusker or two *aliyās*, or in default *bim taram otu* or half of this if the crop was bad. The headmen appeared with pingos, some every month, others every two or even every three months. Two villages paid one-tenth of the salt; later on in this account it is stated that every man paid one or half an *amunam* of salt, each *amunam* consisting of 14 *parras*, according as much or little was formed.

The payment of the grain tax direct to the Dutch Government was due to the suppression by the Company of the local *vanniyārs*, whose existence is proved by the Donation of Dom John Dharmapāla of August 12, 1580. As elsewhere, the *vanniyārs* took the revenue to themselves, paying the king a fixed tribute. The *Memoir* of Governor Falck dated April 27, 1767, dealing with the recently ceded territory, states that each of the two *vanniyārs* of *Kaddakkulam-Tambalagam* and *Kottiyar* paid tribute in elephants, each animal being commutable for 1,000 *parras* of paddy (491 D).

A report of 1793 dealing with *Kantalai* (CLR, I, pp. 5, 14) complains that the people had no established possession of their fields, but that the headmen looked on the village as their own property and took away a field enjoyed by one man and gave it to another; this was "the old *Kandyan* system". Villagers, therefore, were *māruvena* tenants. The yield of the field was ten-fold.

In 1818 possession of land in the Trincomalee district was by purchase or grant from Government. On abandonment, non-cultivation, or failure of issue it



escheated. The fields paid one-tenth, which formerly had been applied to the support of the temple. The old tax of one-tenth on dry cultivation had then been relinquished by Government on account of the smallness of the amount and the vexatiousness of the impost (SDT).

## CHAPTER VIII

### HISTORICAL SUMMARY

In the reign of Niśśanka Malla (1187-96) it is evident from his alleviation of taxation that the main source of the king's revenue was the grain tax with its accompaniment of maḍaran in cash. By the beginning of the seventeenth century payment of the grain tax or otu to the king had practically disappeared.

In the twelfth century, then, the land and revenue system almost certainly was similar to that prevalent in India, as it doubtless had been for centuries. With certain exceptions all land cultivated paid a share of the produce, whether paddy fields, chenas or gardens. By this system it may be noted that chena cultivation was automatically discouraged, the king's interest being to have paddy rather than fine grains cultivated; in Travancore, the part of India least affected by the Muhammadan conquest, this is still the case, chena cultivation being confined to certain hilly districts. The exceptions above mentioned were the divel, land given to be held free of produce-tax in consideration of service. From the arrangement of the Portuguese Tombo it may perhaps be deduced that in many cases the divel consisted of gardens, the paddy land of the village still paying otu. In villages corresponding to the later ninda-gam the produce tax went to the temporary or hereditary lord as it did in the temple villages. The king in addition to drawing his revenue from the country at large also possessed his own demesne. The ancient royal revenue from trades and occupations, once levied from those who held no fields or gardens, was represented by the baddas, lump sums payable in money or in kind by different castes, by the house tax and the poll-tax. To all this has to be added the dākum and pingo duty, apparently in their origin of a personal nature and an acknowledgment of the king's sovereignty. The system which continued at Jaffna is of importance in reconstructing the twelfth century system of Ceylon. At that time the later Jaffna kingdom was still under Sinhalese rule, a fact proved by the Nainativu inscription of Parākrama Bāhu I (1153-86). We also have to take into consideration the system still existing in the Maldives, islands which were colonized from Ceylon and ruled by independent kings at least as early as the twelfth century. It is to be noted that in territories ruled by vanniyaṛs the old grain tax continued until comparatively recent times; these chiefs, often semi-independent, took the local revenue to themselves and paid a fixed tribute, usually in elephants, to the sovereign. Their existence of course, is symptomatic of the decline of the Sinhalese power, and the territories under their rule were not directly affected by the changes in the land and revenue system which took place in the main body of the kingdom.

Under Parākrama Bāhu IV (acc. 1325/6) we find in the *Daladā Sirita* that people who paid tribute to the Tooth Relic fall into three classes: (1) those who held pamunu, (2) divel-gam, and (3) the rest. The first paid paṇḍuru or cash tribute, the second lamp-wicks and oil, the third month-money, head-money and day-money (mas-ran is-ran davas-ran). On the analogy of the later āṅga-badda or poll-tax it may perhaps be concluded that the third class consisted of low caste people; the second or divel-gam thus formed the majority, for the pamunu-gam, the later ninda-gam, cannot have been very numerous. If this be so, by the fourteenth century the bulk of holdings in the Sinhalese kingdom was made up of service tenancies exactly as we find was the case when the Portuguese arrived. Whether this was so is a matter of opinion. In the time of Bhuvanaika Bāhu VII (1521-51) it is clear that the prevalent tenure was by service. Yet in the Portuguese Tombo in Seven Korales large areas of paddy land were still paying otu; in Four Korales, on the other hand, the great extension of divel had caused these areas almost to disappear. Otu at this period was not paid in most cases to the king but to the holder of the village. A number of such holders clearly owed their position to the Portuguese, as we know

in some cases from entries in the Tombo, for it was their policy to give a village to one man who was responsible to the government for the revenue, or rather who paid a foro or quit rent of 12 per cent. of the value of the village and took the otu and other revenue himself, paying over, however, various dākum and dues still reserved to the king which anciently had been paid in person by the gamarāla and others. If the holder of the village or foreiro be removed, the otu, it would seem, should go to the king as in the twelfth century. But it is by no means certain that the king usually got the produce-tax before the Portuguese distributed the villages to the foreiros. Under the Kandyan government in Sabaragamuva, where the payment of otu was general, it was the gam-laddā, whether he belonged to the gamvasam, hēvāvasam or other department, who took this due, and it is probable that this was the case under the later Kotte kings and that the Portuguese merely extended the system which they found, for from the contemporary accounts the country was administered on the basis of service and we hear nothing of any grain tax such as prevailed in India.

The cause for the general transfer of otu from the king to the gam-laddā must be sought in the continued decrease of prosperity, which resulted in the first place from the Chola conquest and the long period of Tamil rule and was aggravated by the costly foreign campaigns of Parākrama Bāhu I and the usurpation of Māgha (1215-36). The progress of impoverishment can be traced in the coinage. In the tenth century this had been of gold; under Vijaya Bāhu I (1056-1111) it was so debased as to be almost or entirely silver; under Parākrama Bāhu I and his successors it was of copper. In the reign of Parākrama Bāhu IV (acc. 1325/6) it is definitely stated that the masuran, once of gold, were then copper (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 187). Another symptom, of course, is the decay of the great irrigation works. The ancient administrative system, highly specialized, became too burdensome for the country, money was scarce, and relief was sought in the general extension of tenancy by service: In the Kandyan kingdom the process of disintegration continued. The old system of separate taxation of the field, the garden, and the chena almost disappeared, and the service of the paṅguva, as it is revealed in the Service Tenures Registers, is a confused medley. The process is illustrated in two villages of Seven Korales appearing both in the Portuguese Tombo and in the Register just mentioned. In Ihala Piyumgalla the Tombo (II, f. 109) gives for the whole village a divel field of 5 amunams belonging to the gamayā of the kōralē with his garden and 7 amunams of otu fields; the Register has 7 amunams in two paṅgu, for which otu and service are rendered. For Ihala Nakalagamuva the Tombo (II, f. 179) gives 18 amunams made up of 2 amunams belonging to a canacapole (kaṇakkappiḷlai or accountant) of the kōralē, 5 to the gamayā of the kōralē, and 11 paying otu; these two officers and a lascarin had a garden apiece. The Register has one paṅguva of 19 amunams 2 pālas 9 lahas and another (tovilkāra) of 2 pālas 5 lahas, both rendering service and paying otu; in the first paṅguva is a field called Gamavelē kuṁbura of 5 amunams 1 pāla 2 lahas, the old holding of the gamayā, and another Akuranvelē kuṁbura of 3 amunams 3 pālas 5 lahas, presumably that of the accountant or writer. Here we see the complete absorption of the otu fields into the service paṅgu and the combination of two distinct sets of dues into one. Parallel with this development is the growing sense of individual rights in land and the gradual diminution of communal feeling.

It is obvious that at the beginning of the seventeenth century, though the old names of dues survived, the difference between them had become obscured. It is indeed difficult to discover any system at all. The reasons for this are (1) the exemption from otu, either wholly or in part, in consideration of service; (2) the payment of the trade or caste badda or of poll-tax combined with the holding of divel; and (3) the absence of any revision of the registers. This last is conspicuous in the Portuguese Tombo where taxes not infrequently appear out of all proportion to the income from the land. In the Kandyan Lēkammitīyas too we often find payments in ridi of varying numbers of tuttu side by side. Finally (4) there has to be taken into account exemption from taxes of various kinds for meritorious service rendered to the king, such as we find in the Gadaladeniya and Nātha Dēvālē inscriptions (EZ IV, 2 and 4). To evolve order out of seeming chaos it would be necessary to know the history of every holding.

The Dutch at first continued the system taken over by them from the Portuguese. Later on the accommodessans were drastically cut down. Where no land was available for divel the services were paid for by remission of the otu or garden dues. The instructions for the preparation of the New Tombo in 1745 (Landraad of Galle, Dec. 20, 1745, in 69 D) were strict. All malapalā and nilapalā land illegally held was to be recovered for the Company. For other land in excess of the proper divel or accommodessan the usual produce-tax was to be paid; of this none could be alienated unless it were held by purchase (koop-parveny) or gift or had been brought into cultivation by the holder, and in case of this last only after deduction of the Company's share. In the Tombo the malapalā and nilapalā lands, unless given for service, paid añdē. In the same year 1745 there were still being paid foros for villages given in accommodessan in Matara disavany (DG 246). By this reform a considerable amount of añdē and otu was paid direct to the Company. The existence of non-service paraveni lands, which were not to be found in the Kandyan kingdom, that is holdings other than those paying a share of the produce, was due partly to the failure of the Company to exact the service or the money dues, the last largely due to the depreciation of the currency, and partly to the fact that the Company's share had been bought out or that the land had been granted subject to no dues.

The first British administration of the provinces conquered from the Dutch was in the hands of the East India Company. The ancient land tenures and dues were abolished and the Madras revenue system introduced. Services required were to be paid for with money, the ūliyam was done away with, and the service paraveni holdings were to vest in the owners and to become alienable, a produce-tax of one-tenth being paid by all paddy land. The resistance of the people to the new tax of one silver fanam per annum on each coconut tree imposed in 1796 led to the collapse of the Madras system so far as the Sinhalese districts were concerned. Elsewhere the tax of one-tenth on paddy fields continued. In the Maritime Provinces the service tenures were restored in 1798, the tax on coconuts having been abolished in the preceding year.

Governor North, however, was dissatisfied with the old system and by proclamation of May 3, 1800, ordered that :—

(para. 1) On and after May 1, 1801, all land then held in undivided tenure by more than one proprietor was to pay to Government a tax of one-fifth of the produce. When divided, the tax was to be reduced to one-tenth, except where held subject to payment of añdē.

(para. 2) All persons having a common and undivided interest were to make it known to the Landraad before May 1, 1801.

(para. 8) " All land now enjoyed without title or grant under the denomination of Canois Parveny, Ratmahere or any other whatsoever may be appropriated by the occupier on condition that he do state the said possession before the Landraad before the first of November next, and have the same enregistered duly in the Registry of the District ". Such were to pay one-tenth, or if not registered one-half.

(para. 11) All persons holding land by tenure of service might appropriate the same on payment of one-tenth of the produce of high lands and one-quarter of the produce of low lands, unless the tenure of such service or accommodessan land was formerly malapalā, nilapalā, ratninda and anda, which might be appropriated paying one-quarter of the produce.

(para. 14) Grants of land to all deserving persons " in full and perpetual property ", the amount granted at one time not to exceed 4 amunams of low or 8 amunams of high land, were promised duty free for the first five years. At the expiry of that term the uncultivated part was to revert to Government. The tax was one-quarter of the produce of low land and one-tenth of that of high land.

(para. 16) All lascarins or families of lascarins having accommodessans from Government and being obliged to serve on account of such accommodessans were at liberty to give up the same. They were to serve only on the special command of the Governor and for payment, the same rule applying to lascarins who could prove that they received from Government neither lands nor accommodessan.

By proclamation of Sept. 2, 1801, paragraphs 11 and 16 of the previous proclamation were withdrawn. From May 1, 1802, all obligation to service on tenure of lands was to cease, those held duty free on account of service paying one-tenth for high land and one-fifth for low land, unless this was *malapalā*, *nilapalā*, *ratninda* or *añda* which continued to pay one-quarter. The people were to serve on the special order of the Governor or Lieutenant Governor only, and then for pay. All accommodessans enjoyed by headmen and others were to be resumed. Governor Maitland did not agree with North's policy, but service tenure was not restored. Nevertheless in order to reverse a decision of the Supreme Court that service paraveni land was liable to sale for debt Regulation No. 8 of 1809 was passed dealing with abuses in the matter of such holdings in prejudice of the rights of Government and to the impoverishment of the families concerned. It was laid down that according to the ancient tenure :—

- (1) all such lands were held, as in former times, immediately under Government ;
- (2) the privilege of succeeding thereto was in the male heirs only of those who died possessed of the same ;
- (3) these lands were to revert to His Majesty on failure of such male heirs or breach of the conditions of tenure ;
- (4) they could not be alienated by gift, sale, bequest or other act of any party or charged or incumbered with any debt whatever ;
- (5) nor were they liable to be sold in virtue of any writ.

In the Kandyan Provinces on the British accession in 1815 no changes were made in the system of Government. After the rebellion of 1817–1818, however, the proclamation of Nov. 21, 1818, abolished service tenure with certain exceptions so far as Government was concerned. In lieu of it a tax of one-tenth was imposed on paddy fields. This in certain loyal districts was reduced to 1/14, and in the case of lands forfeited and restored to their owners was raised to one-fifth. From this taxation the temple lands were exempted as were the lands of chiefs and headmen in office. All land belonging to persons allotted to the cutting of cinnamon or to the personal service of the *disāvas* and those doing *Kaṭupullē* or *Atapattu* duties was also free, as was that held for carrying out or assisting in the cultivation of the royal property. The *Veddas* who possessed no paddy land were to continue to deliver to Government the usual tribute in wax. The imposition of the Government grain tax in places where *otu* was paid resulted in double taxation and, out of the royal and temple villages, the old produce-tax disappeared in favour of the new. In a *ninda-gama* the proprietor in order to keep the services of his tenants was obliged to pay the tax of the whole village himself (Sab. Report, 1818 ; D'Oyly, p. 78). *Ninda-gam* tenants had paid *kat-hāl* to the Crown (D'Oyly, p. 67).

In the Maritime Provinces Regulation No. 5 of 1830 abolished personal service and *ūliyam* duty incumbent on the *Moors* and *Chetties*.

The separate administration of the Kandyan Provinces being discontinued, the Order in Council of April 4, 1832, laid down that no service to His Majesty in respect of tenure of land or in respect of caste or otherwise was to be exacted with the exception of services for lands in the royal villages in the Kandyan Provinces or the temples in the same. This exception in favour of the royal villages soon fell into abeyance, and at present the sole survivors of the ancient land tenure are the temple villages and those registered as *ninda-gam*.

The proclamation of 1818 prescribed the levying of a produce-tax on paddy land ; private *chenas* were not taxed by the Government. The amalgamation of the Kandyan Provinces in 1833 with the rest of the Island led to the employment in those provinces of *Civilians* who had been employed solely in the Low-country and accustomed to the taxation of grain grown on high land. It is to these officers that the taxation of hill paddy on *chenas* was due. It is clear that the requirement of Ordinance 12 of 1840 of proof " of such customary taxes, dues or services having been rendered within twenty years for the same [i.e. *chenas*] as have been rendered within such period for similar lands being the property of private proprietors in the same districts " cannot refer to taxation by Government, for none such existed prior to 1833.

By Ordinance No. 14 of 1840 passed to secure the due collection of the duties or tax now respectively levied or payable under proclamations of Sept. 3, 1801, and Nov. 21, 1818, and by custom upon and in respect of the crops of paddy and dry grain grown in this Island "there shall continue to be levied by and payable to Government a tax of one-tenth or such other proportion of the crops of paddy and dry grain grown in and upon all lands now liable thereto as by law, custom or usage is at present levied or payable".

The grain tax was either uncommuted or commuted. In the first case no tax was levied if the land was not cultivated. In the second an agreement was entered into for a varying number of years to pay the tax at so much per bushel whether the land was cultivated or not, the quantity of the tenth being fixed.

In conclusion, it will be observed that the late Kandyan land tenure and its accompanying dues, though invaluable from the point of view of the student, are clearly in a state of disintegration and in many ways are less representative of the older Sinhalese system than those in vogue under the Kotte kings and the Portuguese. Indeed in the general outlines the ancient order was better preserved in the kingdom of Jaffna. A word of explanation as to terminology also is desirable. The difficulty of distinguishing between "tax" and "rent" has been mentioned above. The use of "tax", "taxation", therefore, in the foregoing pages implies no one particular political theory as applicable to every period of Ceylon history. The terms have the sanction of literary usage, and accordingly have been employed in this examination of ancient Ceylon land tenure and revenue.

## APPENDIX

### I.—GAM BĀNDIMA ; THE MODE OF FOUNDING A NEW VILLAGE

The following notes on ancient custom were collected in 1909-10 at Vavuniya. The tank referred to below is one of the many ruined ones to be found in the jungle of the Vanni. A preliminary account of the arrangement of paddy fields under a tank is desirable. This is given in Ievers' *Manual of the North-Central Province*, chap. XII. The tract nearest the tank is mulpoṭa or upayāpoṭa, the second hārenapoṭa or peralāpoṭa, the third kaṭṭakāḍuva, asvādduma or koṭuvela. Each tract is divided into two or three portions called bāgē, namely, Ihala (upper) bāgē, Māda (middle) bāgē, and Pahala (lower) bāgē. Each tract "has two small strips, one at the tank end and the other at the opposite end, which are called kurulu pāḷu, meaning an allowance of extra land as compensation for 'damage by birds'". Next to these are larger strips called ālapat. According to Ievers the gamvasama comes next in the ihala bāgē only and then the ālapat paṅguva with the remaining paṅgu. The gamvasama, kurulu pāḷu and ālapata belong to the gamarāḷa free of irrigation rājakāriya; the ālapat paṅguva also is his but is subject to such service. On either side of the tract is the vanāta, a strip of jungle cleared for the protection of the crop from wild animals. According to information gathered at Vavuniya the gamvasama in that neighbourhood does not lie between the ihala (upper) ālapata and the ālapat paṅguva, but at the end of the paṅgu. Thus if there be two gamarāḷas their gamvasam are situated adjoining one another in the middle of the tract, if there be two bāgēs only; should there be a māda bāgē this lies between the two gamvasam. The second gamarāḷa has his ālapat paṅguva next to the pahala (lower) ālapata. If there be one gamarāḷa only there is no ālapata or ālapat paṅguva at the bottom of the field, but instead aniyam daha baṁba, "unfixed ten fathoms". In the hārenapoṭa there are no ālapat in small villages nor in the asvādduma, but instead aniyam daha baṁba at the bottom. In small villages also there is no asvādduma. In the Northern Province itself, where the Sinhalese villages have been colonized from Nuvarakalaviya there is no gamvasama; the chief man of the village, called gamarāḷa, however, holds the kurulu pāḷu, ālapata and ālapat paṅguva. We are now in a position to describe the founding of a village.

The people who propose to found a new village go to the site and sleep on the tank bund to see if there are devils or dreams (hīnē, sopnē). If any devil appears they abandon the proposal. The appearance of a tusker or of a white horse or of a man riding is the best omen. They then report to the village, and the names of

applicants and the amount of paddy land to be assigned to each are written on a talkola or slip of palmyra leaf. Two gamarālas are then elected, one for the ihala bāgē, one for the pahala bāgē. The amount of money each man will contribute towards the repair of the breach in the bund is decided, and paṅgu apportioned accordingly. They then clear the breach of jungle and call in the Tamil kulankaṭṭi people and bargain with them as to the earthwork. The place from which the earth is to be cut is cleared by the villagers. They cut trees the length of the breach and lay these (maḍakaṅḍa) lengthwise on either side of the breach, that is on the tank side and on the village side. They then fix on the inner side of these forked posts (idda-ulla), two feet high, at intervals of about five yards. On top of these they lay another tree or trees (yānkaṅḍa) lengthwise, and then fix logs (pānāpola) thrust diagonally between the māḍakaṅḍa and the yānkaṅḍa from the outer side to the inner; the bottom of each log touches the māḍakaṅḍa and its top the yānkaṅḍa, against which it is held up on the inner side by forked posts. On the same side and above the idda-ulla and against the yānkaṅḍa they place a vertical māssa or hurdle-like frame made of logs from sound fallen trees and cover this with leafy branches, straw, &c. The two complex structures thus completed retain the new earthwork. At a good nākata or lucky time at a certain piyavara (hour) fixed by the nākatrāla or astrologer the first earth is put; a collection is made and offered to Aiyana deviyō on the bund (muḍippu bandinavā) and the eldest or principal man puts the first earth, the rest of this work being done by the kulankaṭṭi people. The villagers pay the expenses of these labourers but give no food. If, however, food should be supplied, the amount of cash paid is diminished; thus if a seer of paddy costs a fanam, only half, that is 2 tuṭṭu, will be given. Till the bund is built the villagers watch according to their paṅgu day and night to see that the kulankaṭṭi fill the breach properly with fallen trees and earth. To fill up the breach at the top higher than the kota mundiyama (top of the breach), the new earth being liable to sink, they have to give kaiya, otherwise called mutteṭṭuva (kāvum or sweet meats, kiribat or milk-rice, kehelkan or plantains, &c.) to the kulankaṭṭi.

The sluice is either a kuṁbaha (clay pipe), which is blocked on the tank side with a stone, or a koṭē (wooden pipe) similarly blocked. Near the end on the tank side is a hole on the top of the pipe, in which a smaller wooden pipe (mudun-koṭē) is fixed vertically; this is closed with earth plastered over and round its head. When water is wanted, the earth is removed and the small pipe cut off at water level. The process is repeated as the water sinks in the tank; finally the pipe is thrown away and a new one inserted. Anciently the bund was not kept clear of trees and vegetation, but a footpath ran along the top leading to the spill (vāna).

After the breach is closed the new settlers come together and pay the money agreed upon according to paṅgu. No money is paid for the gamvasama, ālapata or kurulu-pāḷuva; the ālapat paṅguva, however, pays. They then go to divide the field (vela), looking in the jungle for good land and sending men to various spots in the jungle and on the bund to cry "hoo". They then come to one place, sit down and call upon the gods and the Buddha thus:—*Hatara varam deviyan-gen (sic) tun-ruvan-gē āvāmen mēken parājayak venṭa tibenavā-nam bādhāvāk pennanṭa ōnā*, "If there is to be defeat from this (undertaking), by the invocation (āhvāna) of the four guardian deities and of the Three Gems, let them make manifest (an omen of) hindrance". Then one rises with a kātta (billhook) and cries "hā—purā" and cuts a tree once; this is nākata-ta val allanavā, "taking (possession of) the jungle at a lucky time". After cutting boundaries in the jungle in three places, *i.e.*, three lines at right angles to the bund, they measure the ihala bāgē lengthwise with kirivāl creepers in baṁba or fathoms, leaving the kurulu-pāḷuva, ālapata and ālapat paṅguva and dividing the rest crosswise into paṅgu and gamvasama. There should be ten paṅgu in all, but if there be many people and several bāgēs there may be seven paṅgu in each bāgē; a half paṅguva is kāl paṅguva, a quarter arakkāla. Then the pahala bāgē is measured in the same way. Afterwards the jungle is felled and mūṇḍukiriyal rice sown. After reaping, mūṇḍukiriyal is sown again, and after the tree stumps have rotted and have been burnt the field ridges (niyara) are made.

After sowing the first mūṇḍukiriyal the villagers clear round the vāḍiya or temporary camping place and build small houses of branches (kalal geval) without pila (verandah) or fence, close to one another for fear of wild beasts. Then the women

come with dogs and fowls, the dogs to keep watch and to give alarm of wild animals, the fowls to give notice of daybreak and to frighten away beasts. The land is then divided into gardens according to the paṅgu and proper houses built. The old custom was to build them in a row with a common pila in order that when the men went to Kandy and elsewhere on rājakāriya or service their families might not be exposed to danger. The collection of houses (gam-goḍa) lies close to the tank bund and is surrounded by a ring fence. The tis-baṁba or "thirty fathom" clearing round this fence to let in light and air is due to the British administration, and not so long ago the jungle came right up to the fence and leopards carried off the cattle tied in the pila.

The fields, gardens and chenas (see Mulkāṭē, Chapter I) were held according to paṅgu and were not "communal" (podu), though a proprietor could only sell to a fellow villager. The reason why the names of all the villagers were entered in Crown grants was that there were no proper surveys of each share, which was roughly calculated in fathoms (baṁba) or cubits (riyan). Only jungle produce strictly was communal; the fruit of mī, kohoṁba, kōn and tamarind trees standing therein was divided according to the paṅgu as were the tank fish at the mula mas āllima or communal fishing. The rājakāriya of the new village was settled by the chief of the district.

The washermen (hēnayō) lived in a separate village. For the washerman's service to a village a baḍavāḍilla or divela was given, namely, a liyadda or cross division of a paṅguva which was sown and watched by the giver but reaped by the washerman. Ievers (p. 184) gives the name ulappuva as an alternative for divela. The word is from the Tamil ulaippu, "work, employment".

## II.—THE DALADAGE INSCRIPTION

This inscription, assigned to Mahinda IV (975-991) and published in *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, I, 8, is described therein as lying near the Store Canoe, a few yards east of the Thūpārāma Dagāba in Anuradhapura. Actually it is situated in the Citadel, close to ruins supposed to be those of the Tooth Relic temple. The record unfortunately is damaged, but the repetitions permit of probable reconstruction of some sentences. The subject-matter is certain fields and gardens in ukas- and pamunu-villages possibly belonging to the Tooth Relic.

I. Lines 4-7. "The kālāli fields in the kābālla enjoyed in time past by the royal family shall be enjoyed as they were enjoyed before".

II A. Lines 8-13. Where there were viyaḷ, that is asvāddumas, *i.e.*, before the date of the edict, pamunu-holders may make viyaḷ, but kābāli-holders are not to make them (in the future). When the former people have made them, a share of one amunam (of paddy) on every kiriya of land sown (kiri-amunā-bā) shall be "divided and taken by the de-kābāli-holders. Should there be a dispute as to this, they shall take the share as assessed by the gam-vāsiyō.

II B. Lines 13-17. The next section is of uncertain meaning owing to the damage referred to above. It deals with places held by previously constituted kābāli-holders apparently relapsed into or covered with jungle. The construction of tanks is mentioned, and the division and taking of a share in a harvest. Any dispute is to be settled according to the losses viewed by the gam-vāsiyō.

Lines 17-19. The share laid down by a body of five gam-vāsiyō is to be divided and taken by the de-kābāli-holders from the ? crops grown in the vāv-sar-nelāya (? old asvādduma) under the tank made at the expense of "these people", apparently the old kābāli-holders. For vāv-sara, cf. EZ IV, pp. 124-126.

III A. Lines 19-24. In the case of previously made plantations the crop at the rate of 1 in 3 is to be divided and taken, apparently in accordance with regulations (vyavasthā) made by a certain king when residing at Hunan. Should there have been a "maintenance" (vātmak = vāṭum) accruing to the pamunu-holders from the kuḍin in time past, it is to be continued.

III B. Lines 24-30. In the case of coconut and [? ta]lan (palmyra) palms planted ? by or for "these people", seemingly the pamunu-holders, the de-kābāli-holders are to divide and take "four great dues" (satar maha varak) and in addition

one nut in ten. As for betel vines, orange trees, plantains, jak and other useful fruit trees the de-kābāli-holders are to divide and take yearly for a garden (vatta) 2 akas per well.

IV. Lines 30-35. The next section apparently deals with default by the kuḍin. They are not to be driven out, but the de-kābāli-holders are to divide and take the ? dues as settled by the gam-vāsiyō, without oppressing the kuḍin. An obscure reference to a "mēlātsi-holder" (mēlātsi-laddaku) follows, together with a provision that fines (danḍ) are to be recovered as laid down by a body of five gam-vāsiyō.

V. Lines 35-45. General provisions for settlement of disputes as to the tank service (vā-meheyat) follow, in which assistance is to be rendered by various high officials including a Mahā-le or their representatives. Apparently record has to be made at the Daḷadāgē in accordance with regulations made in the fifth year of some deceased king. The whole of this section is so damaged that a consecutive reading is impossible.

VI. Lines 45-49. The document at the end is clear. In the Tamil villages and lands "for previously made plantations they shall take in accordance with former custom. In the case of plantations made here also in the future one nut in ten, four great dues, and (payment) at the rate of 2 akas a well shall be taken".

A clue to the interpretation of the two passages referring to regulations by kings perhaps is to be found in the Badulla pillar inscription (EZ IV, 4) in the phrase satalosā pirinivīyanvahanse. Mr. Paranavitana renders this by "the lord who died at Satalosā", guided by South Indian usage, but allows that it may be translated "the lord who died in the seventeenth year (of the reign)". If this last interpretation be accepted, the sentence in lines 41 and 42 of our record perhaps may be restored ekolos(ā) [pirinivi . . . vat-]himiyanvahanse pasvanu, "in the fifth year of His Majesty . . . who died in his eleventh year". This should be Udaya I (901-912); if so, the space of about two letters still unaccounted for may have contained the name Udā. In lines 20 and 21, the restoration of the text on the same principle possibly may take the form of a[tā pirinivīyan-] (va)hanse Huṇan-hi vādavēna kalā kaḷa vya(va)[sthā], "the regulations made when His Majesty who died in his eighth year was living at Huṇan." But this is very uncertain as there is no clue visible to the identity of the first missing letter. If the interpretation can stand, the king will be Udaya III (964-972). Huṇan presumably is the same as Huṇan-naru, in its Pali form Uṇha-nagara, which appears in the designation of Hatthadāṭha II (691).



## INDEX

- A**
- Accommodessan, 19, 41, 46, 61, 62  
 Aḍa, 9, 43, 44  
 Aḍai, 54  
 Adam's Peak, 25  
 Addha, 9  
 Adhipati, 5  
 Adi ar minister of state, 21; Jaffna\*district chief, 55, 56  
 Adigary, adigareye geld, 56  
 Adiyān, 51  
 Adiyara, 51  
 Adoption, 55  
 Agampadi dākum, paṇam, 47  
 Agga khetta, 30  
 Agras, 38, 48  
 Aiyana deviyō, 64  
 Aka, weight, coin, 32, 34, 37, 42  
 Alagakkonāra, 12  
 Ālagiyavanna Mohoṭṭāla, 3  
 Ālapata, 63, 64  
 Ālapat paṅguva, 63, 64  
 Alavala Amuna inscription, 6  
 Algama, 23  
 Alienation of land, 12, 13, 17, 27, 28; to, outsiders, 1, 65  
 Ālisārodabhāgam, 31  
 Aliyā, 58, v. Elephants  
 Aliya santana, 21  
 Āl-keta, 8, 9  
 Alupota, 28  
 Alutgama, 38, 49  
 Alutkuru Korale, 11, 40  
 Alutnuvara Dēvālā, 31, 35, 37  
 Alutsāl (New Rice), 36; first-fruits of chenas, 36, 45  
 Ambepussa, 23  
 Ambulugala sānna, 49  
 Ambuvaka, 23  
 Amunam, grain and so land measure = 4 pālas = 40 lahas or kurupis, 11 *passim*; of arecanuts 38, 52; of salt, 58  
 Aṅḍē, app. aṅḍa, "half share", 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 18, 23, 31, 32, 33, 40, 42, 43, 44, 46, 56, 61; definition of, 9  
 Anda de bada, 9, 32  
 Aṅḍa mutteṭṭu, 23  
 Aṅḍa paraveṇi, 7, 11, 32  
 Aṅga-badda, "body tax", poll-tax, 46, 47, 59  
 Aṅḡudalupat, 18  
 Anila-badda, 26  
 Anilakarāyā, 26  
 Aniyā kābālla, 16  
 Aniyam daha bāmba, 63  
 Anuradhapura, 2, 65  
 Āpā, prince, 2, 13  
 "Appearance money", 56  
 Appurtenance, 1, 5  
 Arachchi, military headman, 7, 21  
 Arakkāla, "eighth", 17, 64  
 Aramanapola, 8  
 Arāmba, areca grove, 8  
 Arcot, 15  
 Ardha, 9  
 Areatane, 54  
 Areca, 11, 37, 42, 48, 50, 52; de bada, 37; dues or tax on, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42; monopoly, 52; v. Koṭikā-badda, Mila-koṭikā  
 Armour, J., 5, 10, 11, 25, 28, 34, 43  
 Arthasāstra, 23, 28, 31  
 Artisans, 24, 28, 56, 58; holdings, 18, 30; pay, 20  
 Arub, 8  
 Ārya Chakravarti 53  
 Āsala, lunar month (June-July) 36; Perahāra, 36  
 Asbada, 5  
 Asgiri Korale, 36  
 Āsoka, emperor, 6  
 Assala, horse stables, 47  
 "Assembly pillars", 27  
 Assucadāo, 9  
 Asvādduma, pl. app. asvāddum, 7, 10, 13, 35, 37, 63, 65; definition of, 7; v. Viyaḷa  
 Asvāddumkārayā, 25  
 Asvāddum paṇama, 10, 35  
 Asvāddum-rājakāriya, 35  
 Asvadu-paraveṇi, 12  
 Atakalan Korale, 8, 38  
 Atapattu, bodyguard of disāva, 7, 24, 62  
 Atmaṇ, portions of jungle outside a field to preserve it from wild animals, sometimes cultivated with fine grain, 30  
 Atmudal ("ready money") paraveṇi, 12, 32  
 Attāragama, 21  
 Attāḍakkam, 51  
 Attāḷaḍakkam, 51  
 Atulugam Korale, 38  
 Avaṇam, Tamil measure, 58  
 Aya, 30, 31, 37, 43, 44  
 Aya-badda, -badu, 30, 34  
 Aya-badu paṅḍuru, 23, 30  
 Aya otu, 32  
 Ayapā, 2  
 Aya-pṅḍuru, 30  
 Aya-pravēniya, 12, 32
- B**
- Baḍahāla-badda, potters department, 56  
 Baḍavāḍilla, 19, 20, 23, 65  
 Badda, pl. app. badu, 6, 13, 14, 15, 30, 33, 34, 37, 47, 48, 56, 59, 60; definition of, 47  
 Baden-Powell, B. A., 2, 33, 46  
 Baḍora, 27  
 Badu-aṅḍē, 9, 14  
 Badu-karanavā, to farm, to rent, 14, 33  
 Badukārāya, 15  
 Badu-kūmburu, 9, 14, 32  
 Badulla, 3, 24, 44; pillar inscription, 3, 14, 46, 65.  
 Bāgē, 17; Ihala-, 63, 64; Māda-, 63; Pahala-, 63, 64; v. Demala-bāgē, Marakkala-bāgē  
 Bāgē-gamvasama, 17, 29  
 Bahar, weight, 47  
 Bali, 31  
 Ballahela, 38  
 Bāmba, fathom, 64, 65  
 Baṅḍāra, Maldivian Government, 57  
 Baṅḍāra-vatu, 41  
 Baṅḍāraya, app., baṅḍāra, lord's demesne, 17, 24, 27, 57  
 Baṅḍāriya, 33  
 Barbosa, Duarte, 53  
 Bat aḍukkuva, cooked rice, 45  
 Batavia, 39, 40, 54, 55  
 Batgama, "rice village", 25; v. Four Batgem  
 Batticaloa, 2, 23, 52; taxation, 57, 58, 59  
 Bazaar, v. Market  
 Becker, H., governor, 45, 53  
 Beja-beji-peta, 31  
 Belala xaro, 48

- Beligal Korale, 23, 24, 26, 34, 36, 38  
 Bentota, 47; -badda, 47  
 Beravā-badda, tomtom beaters department, 47, 48  
 Bertolacci, A., 8, 10, 12, 48, 49, 52  
 Betamā, 49  
 Betel leaves, forty, 7, 20, 25, 33, 34, 35, 46, v.  
 Bulathurulla; nuts, 12, 37; vines, 37, 41, 42, 66  
 Betma, 3, 16  
 Bewys, "proof", 48  
 Bhāga, 17, 44  
 Bhagini, bhāgini, 22  
 Bhaṇḍārāya, 57  
 Bhinna, 22; -gotra sapinḍa, 22; -jātiya, 22  
 Bhinnodara, 22  
 Bhogagāma, 23  
 Bhūpāla, 5  
 Bhūpati, 5  
 Bhuvanaika Bāhu II, king, 21; IV, 12, 35; V, 35; VI, 51; VII, 5, 19, 46, 51, 59  
 Bihini, 22  
 Bim-mila, "soil money, land money", 43, 45  
 Bim-puluṭu, 5, 49, 55, v. Cremation fee, Suḍukāḍḍuppāḍḍam  
 Bim-sovas, 43  
 Bim taram otu, share of crop equal to the sowing extent of the land, 9, 10, 29, 32, 35, 58  
 Bimō vi, 9  
 Binna, app. bini, 21, 22  
 Binnē ārachchi, 21  
 Bini bahinavā, 21; paṅguva, 21, 22; vasam, 21; vivāhaya, 21  
 Bogodavatta, 5  
 Boja-, bojaka pati, 31  
 Bojika-pati, 31  
 Bojiya-pati, 31  
 Bolscho, dessave of Colombo, 39  
 Bomaluwa, bo-tree shrine, 25  
 Boundary stones, 27  
 Boutiques, tax, 49, 56  
 Brhaspati, law book, 6, 17, 43  
 Buddha, chief, 13  
 Buddhadāsa, king, 23  
 Buddhaghosa, 31  
 Bulatgama, 3, 16, 52  
 Bulathurulla, bulatsurulla, 25, 28, 34, 35, 38, 46; definition of 46  
 Burnand, 41, 42  
 Butter tax, 57  
 Buttala, 2, 4, 45
- C**
- Cabeça, "head", 55  
 Cacha=kachchi, q. v., 38, 49, 50  
 Cairns, W. W., 8  
 Canarese, 21  
 Canoemoeldenie, 48  
 Canois Parveny, v. Kaṇu-is paraveni  
 Cardamoms, monopoly, 52  
 Caste dues or taxes, 47, 48, 49, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60; v. Baḍahāla-, Beravā, Koṭṭal-, Radā-badda  
 Castro, D. João de, 19  
 Catifanão, 44  
 "Cattle stables", tax, 57  
 Chakram, coin, 49, 55, 56  
 Chalias, caste, 20, 21, 46, 47, 48, 50  
 Challies, coins, 36, 52  
 Champana, boat, 50  
 Chāṇḍar, caste, 56  
 Chandos, caste, 44, 48  
 Change of holdings, v. Periodical distribution; of officers, yearly, 16, 35; of service, 20  
 Chapa, stamp, 56  
 Chela, cloth, 58, v. Sēlai  
 Chenas, 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 24, 29, 36, 37, 39, 43 ff., 59, 62; claims, 4; Crown, 4, 5, 44, 45; extent where not defined, 5, 8, 36; mutteṭṭuva, 4, 24, 44, 45; not taxed by Kandyan or British Government, 43, 45; supposed abolition of tax by Niśsaṅka Malla, 43, 44; paraveni, 44; private, 4, 45; —, dues or taxation on: British, 45, 46, 62; Dutch, 39, 46; Portuguese, 38, 44; Sinhalese, 37, 43, 44, 45; remission of, 45; varying rates of, 29, 45  
 Chetiuary, xaro de, 48  
 Chetties, 47, 48, 49, 58, 62  
 Chhatisgarh, 15  
 Chicos, 56  
 Chilaw, 8, 38, 46, 52, 53  
 Chingalpat, 15  
 Chittyhamy, 2  
 Chola, 16, 27, 30, 31, 37, 42, 49, 50, 53; conquest, 13, 18, 27, 31, 60  
 Chunambeiro, caste, 47  
 Choya root, Oldenlandia var. Hedyotis umbellata, 57  
 Cinnamon, 11, 19, 20, 41, 45, 47, 52  
 Classification of land, 7 ff.; of tenures, 17 ff  
 Cleghorn, H., 12, 42  
 Cloth, stamping of, 50, 56, v. Chapa, Chela, Sēlai  
 Cochín, 37, 43  
 Coconuts, 11, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42, 43, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57; cutting of branches, 52, 55, 57; dues on, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 54, 56, 57, 61, 65; price of, 42; tax-free, 54, 57; yield, 42  
 Coffee, monopoly, 52  
 Coinage, debasement of, 34, 60  
 Colombo, 34, 40, 41, 45, 46, 49, 52, 55  
 Comedia, 19, 20, 23, 50  
 Committees, 2, 3  
 Communal, 4, 5, 65  
 Commuted grain tax, 34, 63  
 Consent, plantation with, 11, 39, 40, 41, 42; without, 11, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43; v. Occupancy  
 "Coolies", 26, 39, 48  
 Coronation festival, 49  
 Cota, cotta, Tamil kot u, 50, 52  
 Cotton, 45, 56  
 Councils, v. Gam-sabē, Raṭa-sabhāva  
 Cremation fee, 5, 49, 55, v. Bim-puluṭu, Marāla, Pas-dāva, Suḍukāḍḍuppāḍḍam  
 Currency, depreciation of, 41, 60, 61  
 Customs, 49, 50
- D**
- Daka-baka, 31  
 Daka-pati, -peta, 31  
 Dākma, 46, 48  
 Dākum, 30, 34, 36, 38, 46, 47, 48, 56, 57, 59, 60; definition of, 46; -kada, 46  
 Daḷadāgē inscription, 1, 13, 17, 37, 42, 54, 65, 66  
 Daḷadā Mandirāya, 21  
 Daḷadā Sirita, 18, 37, 43, 47, 59  
 Dāl-panam, 48  
 Daḷapat, daḷapata, 7, 21  
 Daḷapatkārāyā, cottar, subtenant, 1, 39  
 Dambadeniya, 50  
 Dambakaduva forest, 5  
 Dambawe Nayaka Unnanse, 49  
 Dambulla inscription, 48  
 Dānakṣetra, 27  
 Dasagama, 3, 28  
 Dasa-kārā, 14, 15, 16, 18  
 Dasun, serfs, 1, 14, 15, 16, 18, 23, 26, 27, 43  
 Davas-ran, "day money" 37, 59  
 Davy, J., 3, 36, 44  
 Death duties, v. Marāla

Decum de amgabade, 47  
 Dedigama, 2, 4, 11, 23, 51; inscription, 51  
 De-kābāli laddan, laduvan, 16, 17, 33, 65, 66  
 De-kābālla, 16, 17  
 De-karalin badu, 27, 31  
 Dekme, 48  
 Delft, tenure of, 56  
 Demaḷa-bāgē, 17  
 Demaladuva sannasa, 6, 27  
 Demala Pattuva, 32, 34  
 Demel-kābālla, 16, 17  
 Demesne, royal, 6, 33, 44, 59  
 Denavaka, 17, 27, 44  
 Deniya, pl. app. deni, 5, 7, 30, 46; definition of, 7  
 De-peta-kara, 31  
 Descent through females, 21, 22  
 Despence villages 24, 40  
 Dēsavāli, 2, 51  
 Dēvāla-gam, 26, 39  
 Dēvālē, temple of a god; villages, v. Dēvāla-gam  
 Deyianne Gampaha, 4  
 Devānampiya Tissa, 6  
 Dharmakīrti, 23  
 Dharmapāla, D. John, 26, 58  
 Disā-lēkammiṭiya, v. Lēkammiṭiya  
 Disāva, provincial governor, 4, 7, 19, 24, 25, 26, 34, 35, 36, 45, 52, 55, 57, 58  
 Disavany, province under a disāva, 2 *passim*  
 "diuana", 47  
 Divanavatta, 47  
 Divela, pl. app. divel, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23, 33, 41, 43, 50, 51, 55, 58, 59, 60, 61, 65; definition of, 16; extents of, 18, 30; v. Jivāl, Jivel  
 Divel-gam, villages held for service or maintenance, 18, 23, 37, 59  
 Diyabedum, "water division", 31  
 Dodampe, 23  
 Dolosdas Korale, 20, 38, 48, 52  
 Dolosvala Disāva, 52  
 Domburg, D. van, governor, 40  
 Dondra, 6, 27, 48  
 Do-pati, 31  
 Doratiyava sannasa, 13, 21, 27, 37  
 Doratiyave family history, 21, 22  
 D'Oyly, Sir John, 2, 5, 9, 11, 13, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 39, 45, 49, 51, 52  
 Dreams (omens), 63  
 Dumbara, 11, 21, 31, 36  
 Dura-panḡuva, -vasam, holding of a durayā, 10, 36  
 Durayā, petty headman, 8, 44  
 Durutu, lunar month (December-January), -kāttiya, festival, 36

## E

East India Company: Dutch, 11, 34, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 49, 55, 57, 58, 61; English, 61  
 "Edictal pillars", 27  
 "Eighteen countries", 49  
 Elephants, 20, 32, 50, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 58; feeding of, 52, 55, 57; tuskers, 32  
 Eppavala inscription, 14, 15  
 Eraur, 57  
 Escheat, 11, 18, 19, 25, 51, 55, 57, 59, v. Maḷapalā, Nilapalā, Purappādu  
 Exemption from tax, 60 v. Chenas, Coconuts, Garden, Otu

## F

Falek, I. M., governor, 42, 52, 57, 58  
 Fanam, coin, 20, 37, 38, 39, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 64; Jaffna, 54, 56, 57  
 "Farm" = kamam, 1  
 Farming villages, 14, 33

Female cattle and dues, 22, 50  
 Fields, 1, 3, 5, 7 *passim*; dry 7, 18, 54; once not permanently allotted, 3; under tanks, 63; yield, 28, 30, 58  
 —, dues or taxation on: British, 32, 33, 61 ff.; Batticaloa, 57; Dutch, 32, 33, 61; Indian, 28; Jaffna, 54, 56, 57; Maldivian, 34; Portuguese, 32; Sinhalese, 30 ff., 34, 35, 36; Trincomalee, 57, 58, 59; v. Añḍē, Otu  
 Fishing industry: communal, 65; dues on, 47, 48, 56, 57, 58; in the Vanni, 10  
 "Five", 2, 15, 24  
 Fletcher, Captain, 28  
 Foral, 5, 20, 48, 49, 51, 53, 54, 55, 56  
 Forbes, J. E., 2, 19  
 Foreigners, 20, 49  
 Foreiro, 60  
 Forest, 5, 8, 44, 55; prohibited, 5, 43; rights claimed in, 5; royal, 5  
 Foro = free, 8; = quit rent, 20, 46, 55, 60, 61  
 Four Batgam, 33  
 Four Korales, 2, 5, 7, 9, 18, 23, 26, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 45, 59  
 Franciscans, 51  
 Freehold, 56

## G

Gabaḍā-gama, -gam, village attached to a royal storehouse, 2, 24, 25, 32, 38, 40, 45; difference between these and other villages, 27; kinds of, 24; slaves in, 24  
 Gabaḍā Nilamē, chief in charge of a royal storehouse, 25  
 Gabaḍāva, royal storehouse, 20, 24, 25, 26; different stores, 24  
 Gabaḍāvē hatara pantiyē rājakāriya, service of the royal storehouse at the four festivals, 37  
 Gabaḍāvē kada, pingo paid to the royal storehouses, 33, 35  
 Gabbala Miyaṇa-ovita, 38  
 Gadaladeniya, 17, 32, 60  
 Gaja Bāhu I, king, 16; II, 27, 52  
 Galagedara, 13  
 Galamburu-kārāya, 14  
 Galapata inscription, 37  
 Gal-atul, forest clumps on the tops of hills, 5  
 Gallat-gama, v. Gamlat-gama  
 Galle, 7, 12, 14, 33, 39, 40, 41, 46, 48, 61; — (Gālu) Korale, 26, 32, 38  
 Gama, pl. app. gam, 1, 57  
 Gāmakabhojaka, 31  
 Gamarāla, 1, 2, 4, 17, 24, 36, 45, 60, 63, 64  
 Gāma vara, 23  
 Gamayā, headman, 17; of the kōralē, 30, 60  
 Gam-bāndima, 63 ff.  
 Gamē vissa, 5  
 Gam-goḍa, 35, 65  
 Gam-koṭuva, 1  
 Gam-laddā, -laddan, 2, 7, 12, 17, 23, 26, 33, 60; definition of 2  
 Gamlat-gama, 26  
 Gammahē, 1, 2, 24  
 Gam-mudala, 35  
 Gam-panḡuru, 34, 35, 36  
 Gam-panḡuva, 1  
 Gam-pāṭṭa, 14, 33  
 Gampola, 35, 45  
 Gam-sabē, 2, 3  
 Gam-val, 1  
 Gamvara, 22, 23  
 Gam-vasama, vasam, holding of the gama-rāla, 1, 2, 4, 7, 16, 17, 23, 31, 36, 60, 63, 64, v. Bāgē, Kāl, Keraval, Kuḍa, Maha, Māruvena, Mul; department, in practice all those not attached to another department, 7, 23, 60; villages, 2, 7

- Gam-vāsiyan pasdenaku, 2, 3, 65, 66  
 Gam-vāsiyō, 1, 65, 66  
 Ganata Pubbiliya, 52  
 Gandahaya, group of ten villages, 3, 23  
 Gannilē, app. gannila, holding of the hereditary village headman or like officer, 1, 2, 24  
 Gānu-binna, 21, 22  
 Gānu-paṅguva, 21, 22  
 Garden, 1, 3, 8 *passim*, v. Ge-vatta, Vatta, Uyana; Dutch policy, 39 ff.; fee for clearing jungle preparatory to making, 44, 57; plantation of, 10, 11, 39 ff.; registration by Dutch, 40  
 ———, dues or taxation on: British 41 ff., 61; Chola, 42; Dutch, 11, 39 ff.; exemption from or reduction of, 37, 42, 60; Jaffna, 54; Maldivian, 43; Portuguese, 37 ff.; principle governing, 42, 43; Sinhalese, 25, 36, 37, 38  
 Gas-kol, gasa-koḷa, 35, 52  
 Gattara, captive, degraded, 47, 48, v. Veligam  
 Gautama, law book, 47  
 Ge-bim, "house lands", 8, 16, 17  
 Ge-kuli, 43, 50  
 Gems, monopoly, 50  
 Ge-vatta, pl. app. ge-vatu, 8, 42, 50, 54; definition of, 8  
 Ge-vatu paṇam, -paṇama, 38, 39, 42  
 Gilimale, 25, 38  
 Goa, 4, 13, 51  
 Goḍa, high land, 18; -badda, 31, 35, 37, 38, 42; -kāḷē, 30; -maḍa, 8, 35; -otu, 45; -valpiṭa, 8  
 Gonneva, 13  
 Gorabada, 38  
 Govi-ṇila, 24  
 Graaff, W. J. van de, governor, 49  
 Grades of fields, 30, 32, 54; taxation of, 32, 54  
 Grain tax or dues paid in grain, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 35, 36, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59 ff., v. Batticaloa, Fields, Jaffna, Mannār, Mēlātsi, Otu, Trincomalee, Vanni; British, 53, 61 ff.; commuted, 34, 35, 63; disappearance of, 28, 59; Dutch 61  
 Grants of land: British, 7, 56, 58, 61; Dutch, 11, 39, 41, 55; Jaffna, 55; Portuguese, 55, 59, 60; Sinhalese, method of, 27  
 Gravet, watch house on district or other boundary, corrupted from kaḷavata through Portuguese garaveto, 50
- H**
- Half share, v. Aṅḍē; acquisition of right to, in land, 10, 11; in garden, 10, 39, 40, 41, 42  
 Handapandunu Korale, 38  
 Hantaane, 5  
 Hārenapoṭa, 63  
 Haṅgaram-badda, 48  
 Haṅgarammu, caste, 44, 48, 57  
 Hariṣpattuva, 9, 21, 36, 47  
 Hāṭapas amuṇu gankārayā, 1, 29  
 Hatthadāṭha II, king, 66  
 Hayley, F. A., 6, 22, 28  
 Headmen, hereditary or quasi-hereditary, 1, 2; five classes of, 2  
 Hegora xaro, 48  
 Hēna, pl. app. hēn, v. Chenas  
 Hēnayā, 65  
 Hēn-kaṇu-gahanavā, 4  
 Heriot, 22, v. Marāḷa  
 Hevadivala, 18  
 Hevagam Korale, 40  
 Hēvānannāhē, 25  
 Hēvāvasam, military department or holding, 2, 7, 60  
 Hewahete, 9  
 Higa-badda, -kāsi, 46  
 Hina khetta, 30  
 Hina Korale, v. Sina Korale  
 Hi-lēkammiṭiya, v. Lēkammiṭiya  
 Hinē, dream, omen, 63  
 Hindu, 3, 28; law books, 28, v. Gautama, Manu, Nārada, Viṣṇu, Smṛti  
 Hiṭi, 2  
 Hiṭihāmi, 2  
 Horse stables, 47  
 Hopiṭigamu, 3  
 Household tax, 50, 53  
 House tax, 47, 50, 53, 54, 59  
 Huna, weight, 13  
 Huṇan, 65, 66  
 Hunuvala, 24  
 Huvandirama, v. Suvandirama
- I**
- Idda-ula, 64  
 Ievers, R. W., 10, 63, 65  
 Ihala Dolos Pattuva, one of the two main divisions of Seven Korales, 30, 35  
 Ihala Nakalagamuva, 60  
 Ihala Piyumgalla, 60  
 Il, lunar month (October-November), 27; -kāṭti, New Oil festival, v. Kāṭti  
 Iluppai, Sinh. mī, q. v., tree, tax on, 53, 54; -pāl, 53  
 Ima dānavā, 4  
 Imhoff, G. W., Baron van, governor, 7, 39, 40, 46, 48  
 Im-patraya, 27  
 Impoverishment of country, 60  
 Inamalava, 36  
 India, Indian, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 14, 15, 18, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 42, 51, 52, 53, 54, 59, 60, 66; v. Tenure  
 Indian corn, 36, 45  
 Indian madder, 57  
 Individual rights, growth of sense of, 60  
 Irīṅgu lēnsuvak, a clothful of Indian corn, 45  
 Is-ran, "head money", 37, 47, 59
- J**
- Jaffna, 10, 18, 29, 30, 34, 37, 42, 43, 45, 46, 49, 50, 52, 53 ff., 57, 59, 63  
 Jagereiro, jagreiro, caste, 24, 44, 48  
 Jak tree, artocarpus integrifolia, 4, 11, 41; dues on, 37, 39, 41, 42, 66  
 Janma-pravēṇi, 12  
 Janmi, Malabar landlord, 43, 51  
 Jātakas, 23; v. Kurudharma, Sāli-kedāra  
 Jetavanārāma, 18  
 Jivāl-karā, 14, 16, 18  
 Jivanavatta, 47  
 Jivel, 14  
 Jivita, 18; -dāna, 18  
 Joint-family, 3, 28, 30  
 Joint responsibility, 3  
 Juncão, 50
- K**
- Kābālla, pl. app. kābāli, 16 ff., 65  
 Kābāli-laddan, -laduvan, 16, 17, 65, 66  
 Kada, pl. app. kat, pingo, 29, 30, 33, 34, 35, 36, 39  
 Kada-malla, 36  
 Kaechchi, rolls of cloth, 57, 58; v. cacha  
 Kaḍappu tirappu, kāḍappuli tirappuli, 8, 44, 47, 48  
 Kaḍavata, pl. app. kaḍavat, 50; v. Gravet  
 Kaddakkulam Pattu, 32, 58  
 Kāḍu, jungle, 35  
 Kadugannava, 5  
 Kahattevela Obada-ella, 32  
 Kaimal, 49, 50

- Kākulam, 7  
 Kāl, "quarter", 64; -gamvasama, 17, 30  
 Kāla, "quarter", 17, 30  
 Kalal geval, 64  
 Kālāḷi fields, 65  
 Kalam, Tamil measure, 53  
 Kalamulla, 47  
 Kalaṇḍa, weight, 27, 34  
 Kaludan koṭanavā, 4  
 Kalutara, 40, 41, 46; -badda, 15  
 Kaluvamodara, 38  
 Kamam, 1, 57; v. Farm  
 Kāmiyan, tenant-officers, 14, 16, 18, 43, 46  
 Kammakāra, 18  
 Kaṇakkan-Kōṭṭiyāram, 53  
 Kaṇakkappillai, 60  
 Kāṇakkāran, 43  
 Kandy, 5, 20, 25, 26, 34, 40, 45, 50, 65; town  
 property of king, 49  
 Kāṇikka, 46  
 Kāṇikkaḍan, Chola land revenue, 53  
 Kāṇikkai, 46  
 Kantalai, 22, 58  
 Kaṇu, 7, 8, 44  
 Kaṇu-is, 8, 44; -paraveṇi, 8, 12, 46, 61  
 Kapu-nilē, holding of the priest of a god, 9  
 Kapuru Vedu Oya inscription, 27, 52  
 Kara, karā, tax, 15, 31  
 Kara, Malayali word, 15  
 Karā, 14, 15, 16  
 Kārā, kārāya, 12, 14, 15, 16, 18, 43  
 Karai, 15, 16  
 Karaikkāran, 15  
 Karaippanku, 15  
 Karaiyar, caste, 58  
 Karaiyīḍu, 3, 15, 34  
 Karal-badda, 13, 31  
 Karalliyadda, 31  
 Karalliyaddē Baṇḍāra, 31  
 Karāvē, caste, 20, 47, 48, 49  
 Karavu-vara, grain tax, 23, 31  
 Kārāya, 16  
 Kārāya, v. Kārā  
 Karāya, 16  
 Kārikā, 15  
 Kāriya-huvandirama, 33  
 Kāriyakarannō, 2, 33  
 Karmmakāra, 18  
 Karu-aṇḍē, 9  
 Karudena paraveṇi, 12  
 Karuva, 12  
 Karuvāḍu paṇam, 47  
 Kārāya, 15  
 Kāsi, "money", v. Higa-, Mura-  
 Kāsu, Jaffna coin, 54  
 Kassapa V, king, 13  
 Kat, v. Kada  
 Kāṭa-sākkiya (kāṭa, piece of stone or metal;  
 sākkiya, testimony), 28  
 Kat-hāl, "pingo rice", 21, 29, 30, 35, 36, 62;  
 when paid, 36  
 Kāti, 44  
 Kāti-aḍa, 43, 44  
 Kāti-aya, 43, 44  
 Kāti-paṇam, 44, 48  
 Kat-mīla, 36, 55  
 Kat-mudala, 36  
 Kat-rājakāriya, v. Kat-hāl  
 Kātta, 64  
 Kaṭṭakāḍuva, 63  
 Kaṭṭakāṇam, 34  
 Kātti, Kāttiya, 35, 36, 47; v. Durutu, II  
 Katti-khetta, 44  
 Kāttiye kada, 36  
 Kaṭupullē, Adigar's messengers, 62  
 Kaṭusara, relating to fine grain cultivation, 43,  
 44  
 Kāvum, 64  
 Kayiya, 64  
 Kelaniya inscription, 12, 32, 37, 42  
 Kendangamuwa, 25; 34  
 Keravaḷa, "half", 17, 30, 35  
 Keraval gamvasama, 17, 29  
 Keta, royal field, 9, 23  
 Ket-aya, 43, 44  
 Ket-vat, 8, 29; -aya, 31  
 Khattiya, 44  
 King's villages, v. Royal villages  
 Kiri-amunā-bā, 13, 65  
 Kiribandpav, hill, 37, 50  
 Kiribat, 64  
 Kirivāl creepers, 64  
 Kiri-var, 23  
 Kiriya, measure of land = 4 amunams, 13, 18,  
 29, 30, 65  
 Kirtīśri, king, 22, 51, 53  
 Knox, Robert, 22, 36, 47, 50, 51, 52, 53  
 Kodagoda, 26  
 Koḍituvakku, giṅgals, portable guns, 7  
 Kohoṇba tree, 65  
 Kol, rod, 54  
 Kol, kola, v. Gas-kol, gasa-kola  
 Kōla-vel aya, 37  
 Kōn tree, 65  
 Koont, 15  
 Koop parveṇi, "purchase paraveṇi", 61  
 Kōralē, app. kōrala, subdivision of a disavany  
 or raṭa, 7, 26, 29, 60  
 Kōrala-gam, villages other than ninda-gam  
 royal and temple villages, 26  
 Kosgoda, 47  
 Kotabova, 29, 45  
 Kota mundiyama, 64  
 Koṭē, 64  
 Koṭikā-badda, 37  
 Koṭṭal-badda, artificers department, 14, 30,  
 47, 56  
 Kotte, 3, 12, 13, 27, 30, 34, 40, 46, 60  
 Kottiyar, 58, cf. 53  
 Koṭuvela, 63  
 Kōviyar, caste, 55  
 Krishna Rao, G., 22  
 Kristnah Pillay, T. G., 22  
 Kāstriya, 44  
 Kuḍa gamvasama, 17, 29  
 Kuḍichillara, 47  
 Kuḍin, 1, 43, 65, 66  
 Kuḍi nikki, -niṅkā, 16  
 Kukulu Korale, 38, 48  
 Kulankāṭṭi, Tamil caste of earth workers, 64  
 Kulappaveṇi, 12  
 Kuli, land measure, 54  
 Kuli maha vara, 37  
 Kumāra Baṇḍāra, 21  
 Kuṁbaha, 64  
 Kuṁbura, pl. kuṁburu, 7 *passim*; v. Field  
 Kurakkan, Eleusina corocana, fine grain sown  
 on chenas, 7, 29, 36, 45, 46, 50  
 Kurudharma Jātaka, 8, 9, 31  
 Kurulu paḷuva, pl.-pāḷu, 63, 64  
 Kuruṇḍu-aya, 52  
 Kurunegala, 20, 21  
 Kurupiya, kurupi, measure of the same con-  
 tents as the laha, 5 *passim*  
 Kusalān, 14  
 Kuruviti Korale, 23, 25, 38, 44  
 Kuttapitiya, 33, 36  
 L  
 Lāchcham, measure, 54  
 Laddā, laddan, laduvan, signification of, 2

- Laha, one-tenth of the pāla, 29 *passim*  
 Lahassa, measure, 54  
 Laka, 15  
 Lak-vidhiya, 23, 29  
 Landraad, 61  
 Land revenue, Chola, v. Kāṇikkāḍan  
 Laṅkādhikāra Lokēnāvan, 21  
 Laṅkātilaka inscription, 12, 35, 49  
 Larin, coin, 18, 20, 26, 38, 39, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 58; v. Ridi  
 Lascarin, militia-man, 7 *passim*; v. Soldiers  
 Lāssa, 54  
 Lat-dākum, 34  
 Lat-himi, 10, 12  
 Lat-paraveṇi, 12  
 Lēkammiṭiya, palm leaf register. The Disā-1. is arranged by departments, the hi-1. by villages, 2, 4, 8, 21, 22, 27, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 47, 52, 60  
 Lēvāya, natural saltern, 50, 52  
 Lewis, J. P., 10, 58  
 Liyannā, "writer", 2  
 Logan, W., 6, 34, 37, 43, 44, 47, 51  
 Loten, J. G., governor, 40
- M**
- Maḍa-badda, 30, 31, 35, 37, 42  
 Maḍakaṇḍa, 64  
 Maḍampe, 26, 37, 38  
 Maḍaran, 32, 34, 35, 39, 59, v. Maḍāran  
 Maḍavala sannasa, 35  
 Mādḍē, 30  
 Maddhima, 30  
 Maḍigē, bullock carriage department, 20  
 Maḍi-huṅgam, dues at the gravets on bullock and similar caravans, 21, 50  
 Madras administration, 56, 61; v. East India Company  
 Madura, Coast of, 53  
 Maḍuvē, regular soldiers, 19  
 Maggona, 44, 47  
 Maggon-badda, 15  
 Māgha, usurper, 60  
 Maha, harvest, 32  
 Mahā ayya, 2  
 Mahā ayyapāda, 2  
 Mahabadda, cinnamon peeling department, 8  
 Mahabate, 44  
 Maha Dēvālē, Vishnu temple in Kandy, 30, 35, 36  
 Maha Gabaḍāva, 24  
 Maha gamvasama, 29  
 Maha Kaḍa-im pota, 29  
 Maha-lē, chiefsecretary, 66  
 Maha naḍappu 52  
 Maha Oya, river, 50  
 Mahāpā, 2  
 Mahāpāda, 2  
 Mahapahamy, 2  
 Mahasen, king, 5  
 Mahavalatenne Disāva, 52  
 Mahāvamsa, 5, 12, 13, 16, 18, 23, 25, 31  
 Maha vara, "great due", 37  
 Mahā Vihāra at Anuradhapura, 5, 13  
 Mahayā, 2  
 Mahē kada, 36  
 Mahinda IV, king, 65  
 Mahinda, priest, 6  
 Maitland, Sir T., governor, 62  
 Majjhima-khetta, 30  
 Malabar, 2, 14, 21, 34, 43, 44, 46, 47, 50, 51, 57  
 Malan, 7  
 Malapalā, 18, 19, 25, 32, 41, 51, 61; definition of, 25; -divel, 19, 41, 61, 62; definition of, 19  
 Malāraya, v. Marāla  
 Malaya, 18  
 Maldives, 14, 23, 29, 34, 43, 52, 57, 59; lease of uninhabited islands, 14; poll-tax, 29; tax on fields, 34; on gardens, 43; v. Vāru, Varuva  
 Malidua, 48; v. Pitagaya, Xaro  
 Malidoewe, v. Malidua  
 Malvattē Vihārē, Kandy, 25, 49  
 Maṇai, "house", 53, 54  
 Manannā, measurer, 2  
 Mānda, 30  
 Mandaat ola, "command ola", 45  
 Maṇḍaran, manderan, v. Maḍaran  
 Maṅ maha vara, 37  
 Manmunai, 57  
 Mannar, 44, 55, 57; pillar inscription, 16, 37; taxation, 57; tenure, 57  
 Manu, law book, 28, 47  
 Manu Vaivasvata, 5, 28, 31  
 Māpā, 2, 13, 27  
 Māpāhāmī, 2  
 Mapote, 44  
 Māppisumbu-Kōṭṭiyāram, 53  
 Marakkala-bāgē, 17  
 Marakkāl, Tamil grain measure, 10, 33  
 Marāla: for adoption, 55; composition of poll-tax, 55; cremation fee, 55; death or succession duties, 21, 22, 34, 51, 53, 55, v.  
 Malāraya  
 Marāla rājakāriya, 53  
 Margosa tree, tax, 54  
 Marikara Pattuva, 32  
 Markets, tax, 49, 56, 57  
 Marumakkattāyam, 21, 51  
 Māruvena, 2, 11, 26, 58; definition of, 11  
 Māruvena gamvasam villages, 2, 4, 16, 17, 24, 36, 45  
 Māsār, 53  
 Mas-ran, "month money", 37, 59  
 Massa = ridi, 52  
 Māssa, 64  
 Masuran, coins, 60  
 Matala, 9, 32, 34, 35, 36, 44  
 Matara, 2, 8, 9, 11, 14, 19, 31, 32, 33, 39, 40, 41, 45, 46, 48, 61  
 Maurya, 6  
 Māvaṭu, port, 23  
 Māyārāṭa, 2  
 Mav-piyangē kula parapura, 12  
 Mayoral, headman (Port. maior), 2, 5, 33, 36, 55, 57  
 Medabedda, 9, 34  
 Megora xaro, 48  
 Mēl-āḍsi, 31  
 Mēlāṭsi, 16, 31, 33, 37, 66; -samdaruvan, 31, 33  
 Mēlvāri, 49  
 Menikkadavara, 23  
 Mercē, "favour, grant", 19, 55  
 Mī tree, 52, 53, 54, 65; v. iluppai  
 Mihintale Tablets, 1, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 18, 30, 36, 42, 43, 46, 50, 52  
 Mila-koṭṭikā, 38, 39, 52  
 Miṇmāni, 47  
 Minum-vī, 18  
 Mirissa, 47  
 Miscellaneous dues, 49 ff  
 Moedal chenassen, 42  
 Mohoṭṭala, headman or chief, 3, 33  
 Molligoda junior, 28  
 Monopolies: areca produce, 52, cardamoms, 52, coffee, 52, gems, 50, pepper, 37, 52, 55, wax, 52; sale of, 52  
 Moors, Ceylon Muslims, 20, 47, 49, 57, 58, 62  
 Moreland, W. H., 6, 51  
 Morotuva, 39

- Morovak Korale, 48, 52  
 Mortgage, 12, 13, 14, 17, 19, 23, 28, 31, 57; v.  
 Karal-badda, Orri, Ukas  
 Mudal, "money", 12, 27; v. At-mudal, Gam-  
 mudala, Moedal chenassen, Mudal paraveṇi  
 Mudal paraveṇi, 12  
 Muḍippu baṇḍinavā, "tie (a cloth) in a knot"  
 with money inside, 64  
 Mudra maḍuva, 50  
 Mudun koṭṭe, 64  
 Mughal empire, 18, 51  
 Muhammadan conquest of India, 28, 59  
 Mūkalāna, mature forest, 5  
 Mukkāḷ, "three quarters", 29  
 Mukkuvar, caste, 21  
 Mula mas āllīma, 65  
 Mulan, 11, 46  
 Mulgaha, 4  
 Mul-gamvasama, 17, 29, 30  
 Mulkāṭe, 4, 5, 45, 65  
 Mul-paṅguva, 17, 30, 36  
 Mulpota, 63  
 Mul-vara, 29  
 Mulu-kada, -kat, 30, 35  
 Mun, 45  
 Muṇḍukiriyal rice, 64  
 Muṅg-āṭi, 8  
 Munnessaram, 23, 24, 34  
 Muṇṇilai-vayal, 58  
 Muṇṇilaikkāran, 58  
 Mūppuṇṇam, 34  
 Mura-kāsi, -ridi, 46  
 Mustard, dues on, 37  
 Muttaḍḍu, 58  
 Mutteṭṭuva, pl. app. mutteṭṭu, 2, 4, 7, 9, 23, 24,  
 25, 26, 32, 33, 38, 44, 45, 57, 58; definition of,  
 23; v. Aṇḍa-m., Chenas, Vidāna-m.  
 Also = Kayiya, 64  
 Mysore, 33
- N**
- Naḍappu, 48, 51, 52  
 Nāḍāṭsi, 31  
 Naḍuvāḷi, 2, 51  
 Nainativu inscription, 54, 59  
 Nākata, 64  
 Nākatrāḷa, 64  
 Nakolagane inscription, 12  
 Nāḷiya, pl. nāli, measure, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36  
 Nandi-vānija vastu, 23  
 Nānumura festival, 36  
 Nārada, law book of, 6, 28, 33  
 Naranbedda inscription, 35  
 Nātha Dēvalē inscription, 60  
 "Native" (Port, natural), 1, 24, 26, 48;  
 objection by, to acquisition of land by  
 strangers, 1, 28, 65  
 Navadun Korale, 24, 38  
 Nayiliya, 9  
 Negama inscription, 37  
 Negombo, 20, 49  
 New rice, 36; v. Alutsāl  
 New Year, 34, 35, 36, 44, 46, 47  
 Nij, nija, 8  
 Nikāya Saṅgraha, 12  
 Nila, 24, 25, 26; v. Gannilē, Govi-nila, Kapu-  
 nilē  
 Nilai, 26  
 Nilakārayā, 11, 19, 23, 24, 25, 26, 32, 58;  
 definition of, 23, 24  
 Nilapalā, 18, 25, 32, 61, 62; definition of, 25  
 Ninda, 8, 23, 26, 39, 44; definition of, 8  
 Ninda-gama, pl. gam, 7, 11, 13, 17, 18, 20, 24,  
 25, 26, 28, 33, 34, 36, 39, 44, 46, 52, 59,  
 62; definition of, 25; services in, 25, 26  
 Ninda-mutteṭṭuva, 23
- "Nine ports", 49  
 Nintam, 8  
 Nīrākulaṁ, 16  
 Niśsaṅka Malla, king, 12, 18, 21, 22, 27, 29, 30,  
 31, 32, 33, 34, 37, 43, 44, 59  
 Nisarū, "unfertile", 30; -kālē, "unfertile  
 jungle", 30  
 Nīti Nighaṇḍuva, law book, 5, 21  
 Nivitigala, 1, 9, 27, 33, 36, 50  
 Niyara, 64  
 Non-service paraveṇi, 41, 61  
 North, Hon. F., governor, 61, 62  
 Nuvarakalaviya, 45, 63  
 Nuvara-laddā, 2
- O**
- Obligation to cultivate, 6, 17, 18  
 Occupancy with permission, 10, 11, 39, 40, 41,  
 42; without permission, 10, 11, 39, 40, 41,  
 42, 43; v. Consent  
 Office gelden, 56, 57  
 Oil, 12, 18, 21, 30, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 54, 55, 59  
 Ola, palm leaf, 11, 21, 26, 29, 31, 45, 48  
 Olāgam, 4  
 Opium, 38, 50  
 Orri, usufructuary mortgage, 13, 57  
 Orri vilakkam, 12  
 Oru-panam, 48  
 Oruvala sannasa, 18, 27  
 Otu, 3, 7, 9, 10, 18, 24, 25, 27, 31, 32, 33, 34,  
 35, 37, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 57, 58, 59, 60,  
 61, 62; definition of, 9; exemption from or  
 reduction of, 32, 37, 42, 60; for protection,  
 33; rates of, 32, 33  
 Otu "de bada", 32  
 Otu-mila, 35  
 Otu-panam, 35  
 Otu-paraveṇi, 7, 12, 32  
 Overbeck, D., governor, 40  
 Overlordship of king, 5, 6, 33; of village pro-  
 prior, 6, 7  
 Ōviṭa, pl. app. ōviṭi, 7, 9, 30, 46; definition of, 7  
 Ōviṭi-paraveṇi, 12  
 Ownership, 6; ancient conception of, 6;  
 difference in, not necessarily indicated by  
 aṇḍē and otu, 9
- P**
- Pādakkāra, 47.  
 Paḍḍam, 55, v. Paṭṭam  
 Pāḍḍam, 14, 15  
 "Paddy Cultivation Customs", 58  
 Paddy, price of, 26  
 Paddy land, 1, 2, 3, 7 *passim*, v. Fields; price  
 of, 34  
 Padimalo, 48  
 Pagoda, coin, 47  
 Pāḷa, quarter of the amunam, 9 *passim*  
 Palavakai, Skt. palavaga, "miscellaneous"  
 54  
 Pāḍdora, 9  
 Pāḷkārayā, cotter, subtenant, 1, 39  
 Pālī, 21, 34  
 Pallē Vāhala Gabaḍāva, 24  
 Palmyra, borassus flabelliformis, dues or tax  
 on, 37, 42, 52, 54, 65; forced sale, 55; v.  
 Talan  
 Pamaṇa, 12  
 Pamaṇiya, 12  
 Pamaṇu, 12  
 Pamaṇu, pamaṇuva, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 20,  
 21, 23, 27, 59; definition of, 13  
 Pamaṇu-gam, 13, 23, 37, 59  
 Pamaṇu-kābālla, 16  
 Pamaṇu-laddan, -laduvan, 17, 23, 33, 65

- Pamunu-parapura, 12, 13  
 Pamunu-pravēṇiya, 12, 13  
 Paṇam, fanam, money, 20 *passim*  
 Paṇam naḍappu, 52  
 Pānāpola, 64  
 Panchayat, 2, 15  
 Paṇḍāram, "Government", 57  
 Paṇḍārapillai, 57, 58  
 Paṇḍikkulam Korale, 45  
 Paṇḍura, paṇḍuru, 27, 30, 37, 38, 42, 46, 59 ;  
 definition of, 30, 46  
 Paṇḍuru-mila, 10, 35, 46 ; definition of, 35  
 Paṅguva, pl. app. paṅgu, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 9, 15, 17,  
 20, 21, 22, 24, 26, 28, 32, 34, 39, 44, 45, 60,  
 63, 64, 65 ; dues or taxes separate for dif-  
 ferent kinds of lands, 28, 39, 45 ; in modern  
 times combined, 28, 39 ; v. Service holdings  
 Paṅgukārayā, 2, 3, 4, 5, 24, 25  
 Paṅguvē-rāja, head of a paṅguva, 17  
 Paṅkkiyā, 20  
 Paṇividakārayā, headman, 24  
 Pannayō, caste, 47  
 Paradēsi, caste, 55, 56  
 Parākrama Bāhu I, king, 54, 59, 60 ; II, 12, 21,  
 35, 37, 50 ; IV, 37, 59, 60 ; VI, 8, 18, 23, 25,  
 27, 35 ; IX, 12, 42  
 Parakuḍi, 1  
 Paramparā, 12  
 Parana Badalagoda, 35  
 Paranagambinna, 21  
 Paranavitana, S., 2, 3, 13, 15, 31, 43  
 Parapura, parapura, 12, 13, 14  
 Paravaṇi, 11, 57 ; -āḍsi, 57  
 Paraveṇi, Port. paravenia, 8, 11, 12, 13, 16, 18,  
 19, 24, 25, 26, 28, 32, 33, 40, 41, 44, 47, 52,  
 57, 61, 62 ; definition of, 11  
 Paraveṇi divel, 19, 33  
 Pardao, Goa coin, 51  
 Pareas = Paraiyar, caste, 48  
 Paresse, Paresse, general, 36, 56  
 Paricāraka, 16, 18  
 Parimin, 48  
 Parivāra janayan, 18  
 Parra, measure, 58  
 Parresseeringh gelt, 56  
 Parveny, v. Paraveṇi  
 Pas-dāva, 49  
 Pasdun Korale, 38, 40, 46  
 Pāsē, 30  
 Passeadores, 49  
 Pata, handful, 36  
 Paṭabānda, 2, 25  
 Paṭabāndi-paṅguva, 2  
 Paṭāo, 55  
 Pāṭṭa, 14, 16, 17, 33  
 Paṭṭala, 47  
 Paṭṭam, 22, v. Paḍḍam  
 Paṭṭam, paṭṭom, 12, 43  
 Paṭirannāhē, 2  
 Paveṇi, 11 ; -gāma, 12, 13  
 Pay by tenant when not serving, 20 ; to tenant  
 when serving, 20  
 Paya = amunam, 34  
 Payments by castes or departments and trades,  
 47 ff, v. Caste dues, Trade  
 Pearl Fishery, 53  
 Penum, 34, 36, 45, 46 ; definition of, 46 ;  
 -kada, 35, 46  
 Pepiliyana, 18, 24, 27, 30, 57  
 Pepola Unnanse, 25  
 Pepper, 37, 38, 41, 46, 52, 55 ; dues or tax, 37,  
 46 ; monopoly, 37, 52, 55 ; tax-free 41  
 Perahāra, Āsala, festival, 36  
 Peralāpoṭa, 63  
 Periodical distribution of land, 3, 4, 15 ff., 34  
 Permission to clear forest, 43, 44  
 Petition of the Sinhalese in 1636, 9, 11, 19, 20,  
 24, 32, 36, 37, 47, 48, 50  
 Peṭṭiya, box, of cotton, 45  
 Pice, coin = tuṭṭuva, 34, 39  
 Piece-of-eight, Spanish, 26  
 Piedā, 38, v. Piyadda  
 Piede, piedi, piedie, 39, v. Piyadi-paṇam  
 Pieydie, 39 ; v. Piyadi-paṇam  
 Pila, verandah, 64  
 Pilamawahanse, image of the Buddha, 25  
 Pillāva, 5  
 Pingo, a pliant piece of wood about 5 feet in  
 length carried on the shoulder, from the two  
 ends of which burdens are hung. So the  
 whole including the burdens, 21, 29, 30, 33,  
 34, 35, 36, 39, 46, 47, 48, 50, 56, 59 ; v. Kada,  
 Kat-hāl  
 Pisamburu-vata, -vatu, 9  
 Pitagawa, 48  
 Pitagaya, 47, 48  
 Piṭa-kālē, 30  
 Piṭi, piṭi-bim, 8, 16, 17  
 Pitigal Korale, 36  
 Pittigay, 48  
 Pitigaays, 48  
 Piyadda, 38  
 Piyadi-paṇam, 38, 39  
 Piyavara, 64  
 Plantains or bananas, 37, 64, 66  
 Planting share, 10, 11, 41, 42  
 Pōḍi, landlord, 58  
 Podu, v. Communal  
 Pol-aya, polaya, 18, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 47, 4  
 definition of, 38, 39 ; -paṇam, 39, 40  
 Polgampola, 26  
 Pollaia, polleye, v. Pol-aya  
 Poll-tax, 29, 46, 47, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59  
 Polvatta, 47, 48 ; v. Veligama  
 Polwatte piediē, 39  
 Potupuran, 25  
 Praveṇi, pravēṇiya, 11, 12, 13 ; v. Paraveṇi  
 Prescription, 11, 46  
 Price of paddy, 26 ; of paddy land, medieval,  
 34  
 Primogeniture, 19  
 Proprietary right, conditions of, 17, 18 : creation  
 of, 17  
 Protection, 33  
 Pūjāvāliya, 12, 16, 23  
 Puran, 7, 25  
 Purappāḍu, 25  
 Puravasama, 36  
 Purchase, 12, 57 ; paraveṇi, 12, 61  
 Purushantaram, 51  
 Puttalam, 20, 34, 42, 47, 48, 50, 52  
 Pyl. L., governor, 54, 55  
 Pyrrard, F., 34

## Q

- Queyroz, F. de, 31, 47, 50, 55, 56  
 Quit rent, 20, 27, 41, 46, 55

## R

- Radā-badda, 47  
 Rad-pamaniya, 16  
 Rāja-bhāga, 16  
 Rājakara, 31  
 Rājakāriya, "king's service", duty or service,  
 20, 21, 29, 35, 39, 53, 63, 65  
 Rājarāja I, Chola king, 53  
 Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu, 53  
 "Rajasantika" = rajasantaka, "belonging to  
 the king", 25  
 Rājasinḥa I, king, 11, 20, 26, 38, 49



- Rambeva inscription, 23, 37  
 Rambukoluva, 32  
 Rambukuvella, 21  
 Ranasinha, W. P., 13  
 Raṭa, "country", a territorial division, 2, 29  
 Raṭa-sabhāva, 3  
 Raṭe people, Vellalas, 25  
 Raṭ-laddā, headman in charge of a raṭa, 2  
 Raṭ-ladu kābālla, 16  
 Ratmahāra, 5, 8, 11, 39, 41, 46, 61; grant of, 11, 39, 41  
 Ratmāsara, 8  
 Ratninda, 9, 23, 32, 61  
 Rayigam Korale, 40  
 Reduction of dues or tax, v. Garden. Otu  
 Reimers, E., 39  
 Renda, 38; de bada, 38  
 Rent as opposed to tax, 6, 63  
 Resumption of grants, 25  
 Revenue divided between king and grantee, 27, 60; v. Gamlat-gama  
 Revenue system: ancient, 29; British, 61 ff.; Dutch, 61; early medieval, 29, 42, 59, and its decay, 59, 60  
 Revision of registers, lack of, 56, 60  
 Ribeiro, J., 11  
 Rheede, H. van, 51  
 Rice, 12, 20, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 50  
 Rice, B. L., 33  
 Ridi or larin, q. v., coin, 18, 25, 26, 35, 36, 49, 52, 60; value of, 26  
 Ridigama, 32  
 Rixdollar, coin, 39, 41, 52, 57, 58  
 Riyana, pl. riyān, cubit, 65  
 Royal rights over land, 5, 6  
 Royal stores, storehouses, 20, 24; v. Gabaḍāva  
 Royal trees, 52  
 Royal villages, 2, 4, 9, 20, 24, 26, 27, 44, 45, 47, 62; v. Gabaḍā-gam, King's villages, Vidānagam  
 Rumpf, I. A., governor, 11  
 Ruvanmala, 9, 44  
 Ruhūṇa, 2  
 Ruhūṇu Maha Kataragam Dēvālē, 29, 32, 45
- S**
- Sabaragamuva, Saffragam, Saffregam, 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 12, 17, 19, 26, 27, 30, 32, 33, 35, 36, 38, 44, 45, 50, 52, 60  
 Saddharmālaṅkāra, 23  
 Saffragam, Saffregam, v. Sabaragamuva  
 Sagama inscription, 35  
 Sahada pravēṇi, 13  
 Sahaja, 13  
 Sāhasa Malla, king, 7, 22, 23  
 Sale, 12, 19, 28; tax on, 49; v. Purchase  
 Sāli-kedāra Jātaka, 44  
 Salt, 20, 38, 50, 52, 57, 58; v. Lēvāya  
 Saman Dēvālē of Sabaragamuva, 8, 18, 34  
 Saṁbhogagāma, 23  
 Sambuddi, 41; -hirē, 41  
 Saṁghabhoga-gāma, 23  
 Samudāyam villages, 15  
 Saṅgarājavata, poem, 51, 53  
 Saṅgarammu, 57, v. Haṅgarammu  
 Saṅvālla, 50  
 Sanhasa, v. Sannasa  
 Sannasa, pl. sannas, 6, 8, 13, 18, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 37, 42, 46, 49, 52; effect of, 13, 28; not necessarily a grant, 28; v. Alienation  
 Saṅnaya, gloss, 8, 9  
 Saptasūryyodgamaṇa Sūtra, 8  
 Sārāmāru, 19, 24, 26  
 Saro, 48  
 Saroe, 48  
 Saroeve dekme, 48  
 Saru, "fertile", 30  
 Saruva, saru, 48, v. Xaro  
 Sarvamāṇiyam, 23  
 Sataḷosā, 66  
 Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, 6  
 Satar maha vara, 37, 42, 65, 66  
 Sāvānumma, 34, 35, 36  
 Sawers, S., 25, 26, 39  
 Sāya (choya) root, 57  
 Schelling, coin, 40  
 Schneider, Captain, 39, 57  
 Schreuder, J., Governor, 40  
 Schurhammer, G., 5, 19, 46; 51  
 Seal, 13, 27  
 Seḍḍivari, 48  
 Seer, measure, 29, 34  
 Sehen, jungle, 43  
 Sehen kaṭusara aya, 43, 44; v. Kaṭusara  
 Sēlai, cloth, 56  
 Serfs, v. Dasun, Slaves  
 Service, abolition of, 61, 62; change of, 20  
 Service coolies, v. Coolies  
 Service holdings: dues, 18 ff.; one man responsible, 20; succession to, 19, 62; v. Classification, Divela Marāla  
 Services, kinds of, 20, 25, 26  
 Sēvā-divala, 18, 27  
 Seven Korales, 2, 3, 9, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 44, 47, 52, 59, 60  
 Sharpe, W. E. T., 24  
 Siam, 18, 24, 29  
 Sicos, 56  
 Siduruvāna, 29  
 Sihin-āṭi, 8  
 Sila kuḍimai, 37  
 Sillara, 56  
 Simons, C. J., governor, 19, 36, 45  
 Sina (Siyane) Korale, 38, 40; v. Hina  
 Siṭi, 2  
 Siṭihāmi, 2  
 Sittaram palata, 45  
 Siṅgam, coin, 54  
 Siṭṭuva, pl. siṭṭu, document on palmyra leaf issued by a chief, 8, 12  
 Siṭṭu, 2  
 Siva, 23  
 Slaves, 18, 21, 24, 38, 49, 57  
 Sluice, 64  
 Soldiers, 7, 19, 20, 24, 50, 53, 61; v. Lascarins, Maḍuvē  
 Sopnē, dream (omen), 63  
 Soragune Dēvālē, 45  
 Spill of tank, 64  
 Śreṣṭhin, 2  
 Stokes, H., 15  
 "Stone money", 53  
 Strandsgeretigheid, 48  
 Stuiver, coin, 38, 39, 41, 52  
 Succession duty, v. Adiyara, Marāla, Purushantaram  
 Sudukāḍḍuppāḍḍam, 49; v. Bim-puḷuṭu, Cremation fee  
 Suicide, 3, 21, 34; v. Paḷi  
 Suka, 50  
 Śulka, 50  
 Sumaṅgala Vilāsini, 31  
 Suṅgam, 50  
 Suṅkam, 50  
 Sutantaram, sutantiram, 33  
 Suvandiram, suvandirama, 31, 33, 34, 35, 51, v. Huvandirama  
 Suvar maha vara, 37  
 Svasthira, 27

Svatantra, 33  
Svatantram, 33

## T

Taḍḍar-pāddam, 14  
Tahansi-kālē, v. Forests, prohibited  
Talaivāri, 55  
Talan, v. Palmyra  
Talear, 55  
Talkoḷa, 64  
Talpe Pattuva, 3  
Tamarind tree, 35, 52, 65  
Tambalagam, 58  
Tamil, 1, 3, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 22, 23, 26  
33, 35, 37, 43, 48, 49, 50, 51, 53 ff., 60, 64,  
65, 66  
Tana = tanahāl, setaria italica, millet, 44  
Taṅakkārar, caste, 56  
Tanea = tānaya, 48  
Tandeleule, 51  
Tangalla, 19, 41, 46  
Taṅgama, half larin, 45  
Tanjore, 15, 53  
Taraivāram, 10  
Taram, 30; v. Grades  
Tavalam, 50  
Tax as opposed to rent, 6, 63  
Taxation or dues : on chenas, q. v.; on fields,  
q. v.; on gardens, q. v.  
Tel-badda, -badu, 23, 30, 37, 39  
Tel-kada, 39  
Tel-mila, 39  
Tel-var, 23, 37  
Temple villages, 16, 17, 18, 20, 26, 34, 39, 44,  
50, 52, 59, 62; v. Dēvāla-gam, Vihāra-gam  
Teṅḍal-kūli, 51  
Teṅḍutal-kūli, 51  
Tennauare (Dondra), 48  
Tenth share, 8, 9, 10, 28, 32, 33, 37, 39, 41, 42,  
46, 50, 51, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 63  
Tenure, ancient Indian, 6, 17, 28  
Tēsavaḷamai, law book, 10, 28, 56  
Third share 9, 10, 32, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42,  
43, 48, 50, 51, 65; corresponds with otu on  
fields, 43; v. Tunen-aṅḍē  
Thomas, F. W., 6  
Three Korales, 5, 17, 26, 29, 52  
Thūpārāma, 65  
Timilar, caste, 58  
Tinnevelly, 14  
Tiṅgalippanam, 37  
Tirvai = otu, 57  
Tis-baṅba, 65  
Tithes, 9, 55, 57  
Tivākaram, dictionary, 3  
Tobacco, 42  
Tōḍḍam, " garden ", 54  
Tolangamuva, 23  
Tombo : Dutch, 5, 7, 34, 38, 39, 41, 42, 61;  
Jaffna, 37, 50, 54; Portuguese, 3, 7, 8, 9, 11,  
14, 16, 17, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31,  
32, 33, 37, 38, 42, 44, 47, 48, 49, 50, 52, 54,  
59, 60  
Tondeleule, 51  
Tooth Relic, 13, 21, 33, 37, 59, 65  
Toppu, 50  
Tōppu, grove, 35  
Tovilkāra, tovilkārayā, 1, 60  
Tractate of the Portugall Indies, 4, 13, 14, 54  
Trade, taxes on, 47, 48, 49, 50, 56, 59, 60  
Travancore, 12, 23, 29, 37, 51, 59  
Trees, 4, 10, 35, 37, 41, 42, 52, 55, 65; dues or  
taxes on, 36 ff., 65, 66; in Jaffna, 54; v.  
Garden  
Trincomalee, 32, 57, 58; taxation, 58, 59  
Tupeti, v. Tuppoṭṭiya

Tuppōṭṭi-panam, 21, 48, 49  
Tuppōṭṭiya, 21, 48, 50  
Tuḍupata, 28  
Tumpāne, 4, 36  
Tunen-aṅḍē, 9, v. Third share  
Tun-havul, 41  
Tun-nakayā kābālla, 16  
Turnour, G., 26, 43, 45  
Tuṭṭuva, pl. tuṭṭu, = pice, coin, 33, 34, 35, 36,  
52, 60, 64  
Two Brothers' Islands, tenure, 56

## U

Udā, king, 66  
Uda Aludeniya, 1  
Uḍa Gabaḍāva, 24  
Udaka-bhāga -bhāgam, 31  
Udapalata, 21, 22  
Udawattekeley, 5  
Udaya I, king, 66; II, 66  
Udugoda Korale, 36  
Udunuvara, 36  
Uduvavala, 21  
Ukas, usufructuary mortgage, 13, 14, 23; -gam,  
13, 23  
Ulaippu, 65  
Ulappuva, 64  
Ūḷiyakkārayā, 25  
Ūḷiyam, 20, 25, 32, 49, 56, 61, 62; -paṅgu, 32  
Ulkuḍi, 1  
Uḷha-nagara, 66  
Uparikara, 31  
Upayāpoṭa, 63  
Ūr-āṭsi, 31  
Ūr-nattam, 35  
Ūsikāndan, fee, 34  
Uta-kubara, 31  
Utāram, 55  
Uttē, 30  
Utu, 31  
Uva, 2, 5, 9, 24, 29, 34, 36, 39, 44, 45  
Ūvē Maharāḷa, 21  
Uyana, uyan, 8  
Uyan-vatta, 24

## V

Vāḍa-paha, 45  
Vāḍa-vasam, 19  
Vāḍiya, 64  
Vagapanaha, 36  
Vāhala kada, 35  
Vaipavamālai, chronicle, 53  
Vaivasvata, v. Manu  
Val, " waste, jungle ", 1, 8  
Vāl, 24  
Vāla, 16  
Valahan, 32  
Valai-panam, 48  
Valallaviti Korale, 38, 40  
Valave, 50  
Valavvē-kada, 33, 35  
Valentyn, F., 2, 19, 36, 38, 39, 40, 42, 45, 48, 51  
Vāl-mila, 27  
Valpiṭa, 8, 35  
Valpiṭa, place, 49  
Vā-meheya, 66  
Vāna, 64  
Vaṅam, " forest ", 2  
Vanāta, 5, 63  
Vandirāo, 51  
Vanni, 10, 17, 30, 33, 43, 56, 57, 63; tenure, 56,  
57, 58  
Vaṅṅiyār, 34, 50, 52, 56, 58, 59  
Vap, lunar month (September-October), 16  
Vāra, 13, 23  
Vārakkūḍi, 10, 34

- Varaku, dry cultivation, 54  
 Vāram, 10, 14, 15, 56  
 Vāru, 29  
 Varuva, 23, 34, 43  
 Vāsala-panam, 50  
 Vasama, vasam, service holding, department,  
     2 *passim*  
 Vat = 1 (vyāpta, 2) otu, 9  
 Vāṭi-tel, 37  
 Vāṭma, 65  
 Vatta, pl. app. vatu, " garden, plantation ",  
     8, 16, 37, 66  
 Vāṭṭi, 18, 43  
 Vāṭṭōru, 27  
 Vatu-badda, -badu, 38, 39, 41, 42, 47  
 Vatakārayā, 25, 39  
 Vāṭuma, vāṭum, 18, 49, 65  
 Vatu-panḍuru, 18, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42  
 Vatu-panḍuva, 29  
 Vatu-rājakāriya, 39  
 Vāv-sar, vāv-sar-nelāya, 65  
 Vavuniya, 63  
 Vechchama, 20  
 Veddas, 22, 57, 58, 62  
 Veditata, 4  
 Vegetables, 44, 50  
 Veher-, veherā-kābālla, 16  
 Vel, 15, 16  
 Vela, 16, 64  
 Velanvita, 5, 45  
 Vela-yut pasdenā, 2  
 Vēli 15  
 Veligamgattara, 47 ; Korale, 32, 38, 48, 52 ;  
     Polvatta, 47  
 Velitota, 8, 44  
 Velivita sannasa, 8  
 Veliyān, -vayal, 58  
 Vellalas, caste, 25, 36, 55, 56, 58  
 Vellasa, 2, 4, 16, 17, 24, 29, 34, 36, 39, 45  
 Velmilla inscription, 27, 31  
 Velpalla, 36  
 Verunpāṭṭam, 43  
 Vevelketiya inscription, 3  
 Vi-badda, 33, 50, 51, 53  
 Vichō, 20  
 Vidāna-gam, 24, 25, 36 ; -mutteṭṭuva, 23, 58  
 Vidānē, 2, 23, 25, 33 ; of the kōralē, 26  
 Vidiye Baṇḍāra, 26  
 Vidyodaya, periodical, 8, 25, 27, 30, 34  
 Vihāra, vihārē, temple of the Buddha, 5  
     *passim*  
 Vihāra-gam, 16, 26 ; v. Temple villages
- Vijaya, king, 7  
 Vijaya Bāhu I, king, 12, 25  
 Vijaya Śrī-pāya, 21  
 Vikrama Bāhu of Kandy, king, 51  
 Vikramasiṅha Mudaliyar, 26  
 Vikrama Soḷa vaḷanāḍu, 53  
 Vil, 7, 30  
 Vilbava Dēvālē, 9  
 Vil-haḍu, 7  
 Vil koṭan, 7  
 Villages : classes of, 1 extent of early medieval,  
     1 ; founding of new, 63 ff. ; rents, 33, v. also  
     Renda ; servants, 1, 55  
 Viruti, 51  
 Vishnu, 27  
 " Visits of the year ", 56  
 Viṣṇu Smṛti, law book, 6, 17, 28, 33  
 Vitarannā, 2  
 Viyala, pl. viyal, 7, 13, 37, 65  
 Viyamakkāra, weavers, 47  
 Vṛti, 9, 51
- W**
- " Walking the gardens and fields ", 29  
 Waste, 1, 3, 44 ; v. Forest, Ratmahāra, Val  
 Water rate, 31  
 Wattabadea, 38, 39  
 Wattebadde, 40  
 Wattebadde, 39, 40  
 Wax, dues in, 57, 58, 62 ; monopoly, 52  
 " Wedakarayo " = vāḍakārayō, 25  
 Wells, 37, 42, 54, 66  
 Wellesley Manuscripts, 42, 46, 48, 49, 52  
 Wickremasinghe, D. M., 15  
 Wood's Report, 10, 33, 41, 46  
 Women exempt from dues, 22, 50, 51  
 Wright, H., 5, 45  
 Wynaad, 42
- X**
- Xaro, 48 ; v. Chetuary, Saro, Saruva  
 Xerafim, coin, 57
- Y**
- Yakavala, 48, 52  
 Yala, harvest, 32  
 Yāla = 20 amunams, 21  
 Yānkaṇḍa, 64  
 Yāpā, 2  
 Yāpāhāmī, 2  
 Yatinuvara, 36  
 Yield of coconuts, 42 ; of fields, 28, 30, 32, 58
- Z**
- Zwaardecroon, H., 54 ff



