

1970

Journal of the
CEYLON BRANCH
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

New Series, Volume XIV
(125th Anniversary issue)

*The purpose of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries into the
History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences and
Social Conditions of the present and former inhabitants
of the Island of Ceylon, and connected cultures.*

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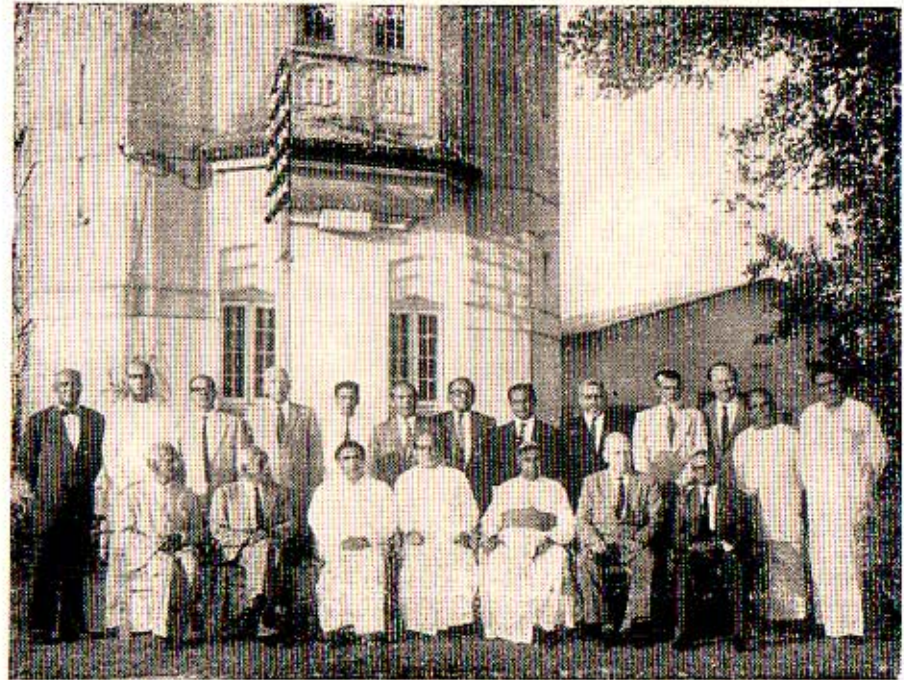
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THE COUNCIL OF THE SOCIETY 1970



Seated—Left to Right—Drs. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, S. Paranavitana (Ex-Presidents), Dr. C. E. Godakumbura (President), His Excellency Mr. William Gopallawa (Patron), Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Drs. R. L. Brohier and G. C. Mendis (Ex-Presidents). Standing—Left to Right—Messrs. G. M. de S. Wijeysekera (Librarian), D. T. Devendra (Vice-President), K. M. W. Kuruppu (Jt. Hony. Secretary), Al. Hajj A. H. M. Ismail (Hony. Treasurer), Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya (Member of the Council), Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam (Hony. Secretary), S. C. Fernando (Vice-President), W. B. Marcus Fernando, J. T. Rutnam, M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Th. W. Hoffmann, Dr. G. P. Malalasekera and Mr. N. P. Wijeyeratne (Members of the Council).

The 125th Anniversary of The Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)

February, the 7th 1970 must be regarded in the cultural annals of our Island as an important landmark in the cultural progress of our Island, for it was the hundred and twenty fifth anniversary of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, the second oldest Society in Asia. The Society was founded on 7th February, 1845, to institute and promote inquiries into the History, Religions, Languages, Literature, Arts, Sciences and the Social Conditions of the Island of Ceylon and connected cultures.

The forerunner of the Society was an institution known as "The Ceylon Literary and Agricultural Society," which owed its origin to the scientific interest in the Botany of Ceylon inspired by a Scotsman and zealous botanist, Mr. Alexander Moon, who selected the site and formed the nucleus of the now world famous Royal Botanic Gardens at Peradeniya.

The story of the Society's first one hundred years has already been told by Professor S. A. Pakeman, a historian of repute. It appeared in the Society's Journal for 1950, which inaugurated a New Series in connection with the event. The time is now opportune not only to review the next quarter century's progress, but also, to draw attention to certain facts of the Society's activities not touched upon by Professor Pakeman.

The Society was originally known as the Asiatic Society of Ceylon and was inaugurated under the patronage of the Governor, Lieutenant-General Sir Colin Campbell. The first President was the Honourable Mr. Justice Stark, and the first Honorary Secretary was Mr. William Knighton, and the first General Meeting of the Society was held on 1st May, 1845. By letter dated from London February 11, 1846, the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland intimated to Mr. William Knighton that by the unanimous vote of a Special General Meeting, held on 7th February, 1846 the Asiatic Society of Ceylon had been admitted a Branch of that Society, under the designation of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. As the result of the application of the Branch for this honour, presumably, the parent Society's Regulations were amended to allow the inclusion as Branch Societies, of Literary and Scientific Societies established in Asia, and this led to the like inclusion of the Literary Societies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Mr. Knighton conveyed the good news of the inauguration to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in Calcutta. That Society extended to the institution in Ceylon, its warmest greetings, for it sent a complete set of its researches and another of its journals, with the promise of the gift of the latter as it is published.

The first Presidential Address emphasized the aims of the newly founded Society and the topics of study and research incumbent on the members: the History, Religion, Literature, Arts and Social Conditions, Geology and Mineralogy, Climate and Metereology, Botany and Zoology, a truly comprehensive and vital survey.

The Society had thirty-four (34) members on its first roll. In the first number of the Journal, we see among others the following articles: On Buddhism, General Observations on the translated Ceylonese Literature; In reference to the Roman and Sinhalese Alphabets; On the ravages of the Coconut Beetle; On the state of crime in Ceylon; Account of some ancient coins, Remarks on the collection of statistical information in Ceylon—altogether 106 pages of very informative reading from some of the most advanced thinkers of the day in that century.

An unique Index of the first eleven volumes, comprising the first forty-one numbers of the Journal and covering the period 1845-1890 (the latter year being that of the setting up of the Archaeological Survey with Mr. H. C. P. Bell as its Head) was compiled by Mr. J. F. W. Gore, and printed in 1895. The Society honoured Mr. Gore by making him a Life Member. A selection from this Index enables one to see how, while Buddhism occupied the attention of contributors, other fields of study also figured prominently in the Journal, which soon came to be a storehouse of many varied branches of the country's culture.

These first forty-five years also saw Ceylon's indigenous scholars taking the place of westerners who had earlier dominated the cultural scene. Thus, it is that the Society truly came to fulfil its destiny, namely, to open wide the doors of knowledge and also to welcome freely its own savants. This may be more graphically brought home by a few references to topics: Notes on Geology; List of Mamalia; A description of New Species and Varieties of Mammals; Catalogue of Ceylon Birds; On Reptiles; Ornithology; Molluscs and Zoophytes (all by a Doctor of Medicine, E. F. Kelaart)—so reminiscent of the late Surgeon, R. L. Spittel's studies or those of Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala's which transcended the bounds of their own specialized academic fields in their University days; Brand Marks of Cattle (James de Alwis); Mira Kantiri—Festival of the Muhammedans (A. T. Shams-ud-din); Marriage Customs of the Moors of Ceylon (Ahamadu Bawa); Medical History in Ceylon (Dr. J. L. Vanderstraaten); Remarks of P. Ramanathan on a paper on Tirruketisvaram by W. J. S. Boake. A brief analysis shows that the Society justified its aims in presenting the variegated scenes of cultural life wholly unaffected by bias towards any particular ethnic or religious group in this Island. Zoology and Botany figured prominently in the early years of the Journal and antiquarian subjects, such as History, Numismatics, Epigraphy with its parent Archaeology, rather less. With the passage of years, the position was reversed, antiquarian subjects quietly pushing themselves to the forefront. This may

have been due to the circumstance that Mr. H. C. P. Bell bestrode the Society as a colossus—he was the Honorary Secretary-cum-Editor for 34 years, indeed a unique record. But a more patent reason was the fact that new organisations were becoming evident in the pursuit of what we call science, and these were issuing their own journals.

But to digress. George Turnour's researches led to the identification of Asoka. This Emperor's inscriptions were being deciphered by James Prinsep of the Calcutta Mint, to whom the author of these grand and momentous legends in history had been a puzzle until Turnour cleared it for him. It was, on the other hand, not smooth sailing for Turnour's identification, for the great Sanskrit Professor H. H. Wilson, read a paper in 1849 (after the death of both Turnour and Prinsep) before the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, where his view was set out in great detail that the two names were not conclusively proven. Twenty-four years after that, Mudaliyar Louis de Zoysa read a paper before our Society, where he adduced further evidence from Ceylon sources to confirm Turnour's proposition.

Professor Pakeman has made some reference to the Jubilee Celebrations in 1895. They were very enthusiastically conducted by the members according to the account extracted from the Times of Ceylon of 22.12.1895, published in the Journal for that year. "A sketch of the early history of the Society," by the Bishop of Colombo also appears in that Journal. His Lordship reminded members of the days, when demise of the Society seemed imminent not merely because it had no residence of its own—just as today, in its 125th year—but also because of the seeming indifference of the members. "It declined in fact so rapidly," commented the Bishop, "and remained obscure so long, that a generation had again time to rise, to which its services were unknown, and who really thought that the Colombo National Museum had been created by the Governor Sir William Gregory, whose statue stands on the premises." The General Meeting of 1879, though scarcely more than a dozen members attended it, saw a revival and at this point the student of the Society's history finds himself in the presence of a force which is still at work, and the Society has since continued to be an active force up to the present time. Instead of being a Society of European Christian visitors, interested as visitors, in an Island to which they did not belong, it gradually became a Society of studious people separated by many distinctions of race and association, but also keenly interested in whatever belongs to Ceylon, whether bound to it as the scene of duty or by the still stronger ties of fatherland. However, greater interest and keener participation in the activities and in the fulfilment of the aims of the Society by its members and the general public, particularly the students of the Universities of Ceylon, are necessary for strengthening and making more evident the existence and activities of the Society. An analysis of the quality of membership reveals the regrettable fact that some of our brilliant administrators,

University Dons and high professional people have not given a thought to the Society by enrolment.

To the Society's credit lies some valuable publications. To mention some of the most arresting titles of the special issues of the Journal, one calls to mind a book on history (although in translation) by the Portuguese annalists Barros and de Couto, a Pali text contributing to the Island's history and known as the Extended or Cambodian Mahavamsa; The Papanca Sudani; Majjhimanikaya Commentary; Aluvihara Series; A Collection of Sinhalese Folk Poetry—the first of the Society's publications in an indigenous script and language; Sinhalese Glossary by Geiger. The most comprehensive account so far, in English of the History of Kotte, collected research papers on Maldivian Linguistic Studies by Geiger; the relations between the Island and China in the ancient times; a penetrating discussion of Land Tenure in Ceylon. The Society also has in its possession, the manuscript translation by Pieter Brohier into English of the well known work by Rev. Phillipus Baldaeus, Minister of the Word of God in Ceylon 1672 on "A True and Exact Description of the Great Island of Ceylon". It was released to the Editor of the Ceylon Historical Journal who published it as a monograph in 1960 in Volume VII Nos. 1-4.

The Diary of John D'Oyly with its journal of events closing the final kingdom of Ceylon was another special issue from the Society. A monograph by Sir Paul Pieris on Kiravali Pattuva, 1614, No. 100 (Vol. XXXVI pt. IV, 1945); a full account of the Danish contacts with Ceylon with Admiral Ove Giedde as its leader No. 102 (Vol. XXXVIII pt. 11, 1946) and recently in 1964 a special volume IX Part 1 New Series from our first Burgher President Dr. R. L. Brohier, setting out a chronological catalogue of the Letters and Reports on Ceylon Affairs (1795-1800) as collected from the Madras (Egmore) Record Office and chronologically catalogued.

The "Historical Topography of Ancient and Mediaeval Ceylon" by C. W. Nicholas, published as a Special Number in 1959, Volume VI New Series rapidly sold out and through the generosity of the Asia Foundation, which donated a sum of Rs. 4,000/-, a re-issue of a thousand copies (with an additional Index) was made possible in 1963. The Sinhalese translation of Nicholas's work offered by a member is under scrutiny with a view to publication. It will then be the second of the Society's publications in Sinhalese. The Journal for 1968 carried the first ever Sinhalese research article on behalf of the Society.

One of the major projects initiated by the Society is that of the Sinhalese Etymological Dictionary, about which a comprehensive account appeared from the pen of its Editor, Mr. Julius de Lanerolle, in the Centenary Number of the Journal. The work on the Etymological Dictionary, commenced under the auspices of the Society and six English and five Sinhalese parts were issued before the task was transferred to the University of Ceylon. It is also a pleasure to be able to

record that the Society was the sponsor of an academic work by Dr. D. C. Gunawardena on "Genera et Species Plantarum Zeylaniae—The Flowering Plants of Ceylon—An Etymological and Historical Study", in 1968, which, at the instance of the Society, was financed by the Asia Foundation by a donation of Rs. 8,000/-. This was a topic upon which in the distant years, the Society had published learned papers but had yielded place to others engaged in specialised studies. But the proudest moments of the Society come to mind when one realises that the new knowledge published in the Society's Journals during the past 125 years has not only been the main but also the most dependable source from which publications, whether local or foreign dealing with Ceylon's history, culture or natural history, derive their material; hardly any academic writing on a historical subject can be done without citing some authority in the Society's Journal. The extent to which the research work published in the Society's Journals has been quoted in foreign textbooks and journals, is ample testimony of its value, and will stand comparison with the world's foremost journals of this category. Consequently, it is a pride to know that the journals are much in demand by all research scholars.

It was not only the Society which mellowed so graciously into its 125th year. Mention must be specifically made of its members of rich vintage, whose longevity in membership annals is, perhaps, unrivalled in any learned Society elsewhere. Foremost among these members stands the name of Sir Paul Pieris, whose tenure of membership exceeded three score years by one. The next name is that of the eminent Surgeon Dr. R. L. Spittel, who had remained a member for fifty years until death removed him last year, and Muhandiram D. S. C. Umagiliya, who maintained his loyal connection with the Society from 1920 until his demise in 1969. And now to speak of the living, our oldest member is Mr. E. W. Kannangara, who joined us in 1916. Mr. Leonard S. Woolf, the world famous author, was elected a member in 1907, though, upon leaving the Island, he did not continue to be one. Mr. S. C. Fernando, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society who was much in correspondence with him brought this to the notice of Mr. Woolf shortly before his death. About Sir Paul Pieris, there is one fact which needs special mention. This is the circumstance, that several members of his family, led by his gracious widow, proudly remain our members.

After this galaxy is a group of stars of the second magnitude with an unbroken length of about forty years of steady membership. There is no record of any special celebration of the Society's 75th Anniversary, nor even of the Centenary. That the Centenary Year was known and its significance understood is very apparent from a letter by Lady Hilda Pieris, widow of the late Sir Paul Pieris, written under date 2nd April 1946 offering Rs. 3,000/- in memory of her uncle The Honourable Sir S. C. Obeyesekere, long a member of our Society. It was her desire that it be utilised for the award of a Medal to a member who has done

the most in every three years, at the Council's discretion, towards the furtherance of the Society's aims and merits special recognition. Seven awards have been made so far.

In 1948, Ceylon became independent and of the effect of this proud achievement was envisaged by Lord Soulbury, our first Governor-General, at the Annual General Meeting of 28th March 1949 when he said, "It is of paramount importance to the new Ceylon that has come into being, that a learned Society such as this should flourish. By its means, Ceylon will be assisted in the work of re-discovering and reviving the foundation of her culture, her art and literature and history."

Alas! something stood in the way of material progress. The Society has never had a home of its own. Both Sir William Gregory and his advisors were not slow to appreciate that a Society such as this should be closely linked with the Museum. Consequently, from the time the Museum was established in 1873, an Oriental Library, now called the Museum Library, occupied part of the building and the Library of the Society, which contained 815 volumes at that time, was housed in an adjoining room. The Meetings of the Society were originally by statutory claims, if not by long established custom, held in the Museum building. The close liaison maintained between the respective controlling bodies of the Museum and the Society's Library, helped considerably to minister to the culture and instruction of the students on this country's history, and served as an indispensable factor of evolution in knowledge. This close co-operation had opened up a new era of Library work in spite of many disappointments arising from lukewarmness of the authorities and the general public.

The Society's collection of books and manuscripts formed the nucleus of the Colombo National Museum. In fact the officers of the latter institution have published many of their more important discoveries in the Society's journals as will be seen by reference to its two indices of 1845 and 1946 to the catalogue of research work by officers of the National Museum of Ceylon from 1925-1960 published by the Museum's Department in *Spolia Zeylanica* Vol. 29 Pt. 1 and the Bibliography of Ceylon compiled by Dr. Edith W. Ware and published by the University of Miami Press, Florida, U.S.A. in 1962.

Certain signs indicated that an effort was made about 3 decades ago to vest control and responsibility of the Society's Library in the Museum authorities. The Society was therefore obliged to find itself a home other than the Museum. Its Library, a noble collection of books on Ceylon's culture, was then moved from place to place and at one stage reposed at the Training College premises at Thurstan Road and from 1957 at the University of Ceylon, Thurstan Road, through the courtesy of Sir Nicholas Attygalle, the then Vice-Chancellor. Last year, the Society was obliged, in order to accommodate the need for space by the University to move into a room on the first floor

of the old Grandstand Building of the University of Ceylon, Colombo at Reid Avenue, through the kind courtesy of its Vice-Chancellor.

The Library contains a large collection of books on Ceylon. These comprise a very valuable section dealing with Voyage & Travels, Indian and Eastern Culture in General; Archaeology, Geology, Anthropology, Ethnology, Natural History etc. The Society was in 1964 able with the generous grant of Rs. 2,000/- made by the Asia Foundation to purchase and add to the Library the valuable collection of manuscripts and writings of Charles Ambrose Lorensz made by Mr. Guy O. Grenier. It also receives in exchange for its Journal, publications of other learned Societies from all parts of the world. It has a reading room and a lending section for the convenience of research students, and is open throughout the week from 10.30 a.m. to 6 p.m. except on Poya and post-Poya days and Public Holidays.

The Society's income was so reduced, that for a time only a part-time clerk could be employed but, mercifully, Parliament came to the rescue with a generous grant of Rs. 6,000/- in recognition of the important part it has played in the cultural development of the country. The obtaining of this grant was mainly due to the untiring efforts of the President of the Society, Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, who was then Honorary Secretary. A word of thanks is also due to Mr. E. A. Nugawela, the then Minister of Education, who appreciated the difficult situation in which the Society was placed and came to its rescue by promptly recommending the grant, and providing accommodation for the Society's Library in 2 spacious rooms at the present Thurstan College premises. It should also be remembered that it was Dr. Godakumbura, who realising the deteriorating conditions of the valuable books, saved the Library by commencing the task of re-binding and re-conditioning the damaged books.

If one peruses the quantity of contributions during the first hundred years, it has to be laid to the credit of the following members, arranged in alphabetical order and confined to those occupying the largest space in the many Journals: H. C. P. Bell, H. W. Codrington, F. H. de Vos, F. & J. P. Lewis and Paul E. Pieris. Of the contributors who have untiringly given of their research in the Journal, two names are in the van: S. Paranavitana and P. E. P. Deraniyagala. Quantitatively, no less than otherwise, their papers outweigh those of the others. Two others deserving special mention because they held the promise of many years of scholarship, had death not removed one fairly prematurely, and the other had not left our shores to settle elsewhere. They were C. W. Nicholas and R. Raven-Hart, respectively. Mr. Ian Goonetilleke of the University of Ceylon Peradeniya, published in 1970, a comprehensive "Bibliography of Ceylon", which is a systematic guide to the literature on the land, people, history and culture, published in western languages from the 16th century to the present day, largely

including the cultural field covered by the Society. The Society had also re-issued some of its earlier Journals.

In the first forty-two years of existence the Journal maintained an evenly balanced output of papers pertaining to each of its objects. Subsequently, History occupied a pre-eminent position as this was readily understood by the lay reader, whereas scientific papers were not, although their discoveries were not infrequently of international importance.

Some research workers preferred to publish their detailed accounts elsewhere, but contributed a precis of their work for publication in the Journal. Among such authors were R. Virchow on the Veddhas (1887) and C. F. and P. B. Sarasin on their two years of scientific work in Ceylon. The other scholars who were to accomplish much in their respective fields and whose work attracted attention abroad were A. Haly, the first Director of the Colombo Museum, Hugh Nevill, E. F. Kelaart, W. V. Legge, E. L. Layard and W. Ferguson, who dealt with the Fauna of Ceylon, especially the Mollusca, Fishes, Amphibia, Reptilia, Birds and Mammals. Gygax and Dixon contributed papers on Ceylon's Geology and L. Ludovici on Sinhalese Pastimes and Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala on Pre-historic Stone Artifacts and Fossil Shivalik Vertebrates.

The Humans of Ceylon and whence and when they originated remained an enigma although pre-historic stone artifacts were discovered by the Sarasins—their work was followed up by others, chief of whom were E. J. Wayland, C. Hartley and Parsons, but they were unaware of the type of humans that manufactured them. It was in 1935 that an important breakthrough in this barrier occurred, when fossil Shivalik vertebrates were discovered by Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala and with them were certain stone implements. The ages of these extinct animals enabled an approximate dating of the artifacts and the changes undergone by the landscape. The discovery by Dr. Deraniyagala that land vertebrates had existed in Ceylon during the Miocene is also of importance for it was during this epoch that ape-like creatures showed pronounced human characters as fossils from other countries such as Africa testify.

The earliest mineralized fossils of a human to be recorded from India or Burma was the specimen discovered in Ceylon by Dr. Deraniyagala and together with a primitive stone age race described in the Society's Journal. These papers evoked much attention abroad that the British Museum of Natural History borrowed the skeletal material of the latter race and published a monograph of it in 1965, while various books on Anthropology published in England, U.S.A., India and elsewhere refer to this discovery.

A series of papers on the living and fossil elephants of Ceylon and their association with man by Dr. Deraniyagala, also received similar

attention abroad by foreign authors and a recommendation that some of the swamps of the Mahaweli river be declared a sanctuary for them is now receiving attention.

Gaps in other spheres of knowledge were also filled in by research that appeared in the Journal. Some of them are: A critique of the long prevalent theory that all the frescoes of humans at Sigiriya were truncate at the waist. The discovery of numerous full length figures in a grotto near the main rock was published in 1948. The first overall interpretation of Sinhala drawing, painting, engraving and sculpture and gradation of Sinhala art into a series of periods was also published in 1955. The weapons and armour and the combative sports of the Sinhalese which had sunk into oblivion were described in a series of papers in 1937, 1942 and 1944.

The first tangible evidence revealing Ceylon's contact with ancient Egypt was published in connection with the archaeological objects dug up at Kantarodi and referred to in 1919 and 1921. Stone sarcophagi supporting this view were figured from Ceylon in 1957.

The Society did not celebrate the Centenary as it did its Jubilee because of the prevailing war conditions. But it began issuing a New Series of the Journal in 1950 after completing 107 numbers of the Old Series. This new number was explosive in that Dr. S. Paranavitana propounded a radical interpretation of the place of Sigiriya and its King. The same scholar's thesis on "Ceylon and Malaysia" was published in our Journal. Dr. Paranavitana has not set out in the Journal his claim to what is now called 'interlinear' writing.

The Centenary year was not the crest of the wave for the Journal. It continued to maintain its high standards. The Society's Journal contains papers, illustrations, notes and letters submitted to or discussed before the Society and approved by it as well as the proceedings of the Meetings of the Council and of the Society. The chief contributors are members and occasionally non-members of international repute have been requested to contribute articles on subjects coming within the Society's aims.

38 volumes of the Old Series comprising 107 numbers, and 12 numbers of the New Series, comprising 19 numbers, have been published up to the year ending 1968.

The Journal now appears only once a year. This is because there are now allied learned Societies and four Universities from which issue publications enriching that knowledge sought by this Society 125 years ago. This circumstance, largely, though not wholly, eliminates certain topics from the Society's purview. The Epigraphia Zeylanica, Spolia Zeylanica, the University of Ceylon Review, the Ceylon Historical Journal, the Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies, and

more of their kind are illuminating our cultural scene with great brilliance.

The new knowledge published in the Society's Journals during the past 125 years has not only been the main but also the most dependable source from which publications whether local or foreign, that deal with Ceylon's culture and natural history, derive their material. Consequently, it is a pride to know that the Journals are much in demand by all research workers, as will be seen from the following American and British publications:

- (1) Osborn's Proboscidae Vol. II (American Museum of Natural History Publication).
- (2) Cowper Reed's Geology of the British Empire;
- (3) Bryce Ryan's Caste in Modern Ceylon;
- (4) Malcolm Smith's Fauna of British India (Reptilia) published by the Secretary of State for the Colonies;

Today, the total membership stands at 545. Of these 6 are Foreign, Honorary and 180 are Life Members. Members comprise the categories of Ordinary Members (Resident and Non-Resident) Honorary Members and Life Members. Resident Members have to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 10/- and a sum of Rs. 20/- as subscription in advance for the current year. Non-Resident Members have to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 10/- and a sum of Rs. 10/- as subscription in advance for the current year.

The Society has a long line of distinguished scholars as its Presidents and from the beginning the Patron has always been the Governor of the Island, and the Governor-General has continued this practice. The Council, which consists of the President, Ex Presidents, 3 Vice-Presidents, 2 Honorary Secretaries, Honorary Treasurer and 12 Ordinary Members elected at the Annual General Meeting, manages the affairs of the Society.

The Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society stands proudly as a monument to the indefatigable zeal of devoted men and women who have given of their best. Nevertheless, the fact of its longevity and the successful resistance to tribulations have only been incidental and should not be taken as proof of its ability to continue in the same way. No longer in a fast changing world should it be taken that its bedrock is voluntary service, with too many distractions of the day, the days of voluntary service are assuredly numbered.

For a century and a quarter the Society and its belongings have been in a gypsy caravan. Professor Pakeman has already mentioned the names of the worthy institutions and activities which the Society proudly claims as its off-spring. That the Society to the direct inspiration of which are due the state institutions of the National Museums,

the Registrar-General's and the Meteorological Departments, has now nowhere to lay its venerable head.

How long are those who love this land going to accept this position? At various times, the question of finding a home has been mooted, but to little effect. An appeal to the Minister of Lands for the allocation for a small piece of land in a suitable locality in Colombo to construct a building for the Society was fruitless. Subsequently, the Society has been advised by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs that separate accommodation would be provided for the Society's Library in the proposed new building to be constructed at Reid Avenue to house the National Archives. As to when these plans will materialise, it is not yet known. And yet in this land, only the other day, an eminent physician gifted a house in the best residential area of the capital city to the newly instituted College of Physicians! Generosity is not wanting in our Society. This, when our economy has improved so much, is a most opportune time for the wealthy to turn towards our venerable Society, especially because by its very nature it cannot go on a fund raising campaign to the community at large. A permanent residence is vital to the future progress and will fix the Society more firmly to the roots of an assured life.

(I am indebted to Mr. D. T. Devendra, Dr. R. L. Brohier, Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala and the Rt. Reverend Dr. Edmund Peiris for material supplied for the preparation of this paper.)

P. R. SITTAMPALAM
Honorary Secretary.

**The 125th Anniversary meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society
(Ceylon Branch) held on 7th February 1970 at the University of
Ceylon, New Arts Theatre, Colombo. Introductory
Speech by Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President.**

Your Excellency, Rev. Sirs, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am very happy this evening, on this day when the Society is a century and a quarter years old, we have our Patron, His Excellency the Governor-General, with us. We are glad that amidst innumerable engagements His Excellency has to keep in these days, he has found time to be present with us and grace this occasion. Unlike the British Colonial Governors of ancient days, His Excellency has to be present at many public functions today. I am also happy that unlike in 1945, when we were a 100 years but we could not celebrate the Centenary, we have been able to meet on this 125th birthday. The Centenary was marked only five years later, by the issue of a Centenary Volume of our journal.

We are also delighted that we have with us a distinguished archaeologist and writer, Mrs. J. B. Priestley, who publishes her works under the name of Jacquetta Hawkes. Mrs. Priestley read archaeology at the University of Cambridge, and she was the first to follow the full course of the new discipline at that University. Subsequently, she took part in excavations in several countries, including Palestine, British Isles, France and Ireland. Collaborating with Sir Leonard Woolley she wrote in 1963 Vol. I of the *History of Mankind*, and in the same year appeared *The World of the Past*, a history of archaeological discoveries from various parts of the world in the own words of those who made and interpreted them, with her own introductions.

Mrs. Priestley has done much to make the subject of archaeology popular and evoke a public interest in it. During the nineteen-fifties one often saw her contributions to British newspapers on matters of archaeological interest. Once I inquired from a colleague of mine at the University of London who this Jacquetta Hawkes was who frequently wrote on archaeological monuments and other topics, and it was then that I was introduced to her works, including her book, *A Land*. I believe there are some in this audience who had the opportunity of reading this book. I found a copy recently in the shelves of the Colombo Public Library, the only book of Jacquetta Hawkes there. In this book she has utilized the findings of geology and archaeology to examine the past and present, nature, man and art in Britain. Much of what is brought out in *A Land* concerning the British Isles, may well be applied to our own Island. *A Land* is a volume which appeals not only to archaeo-

logists. It should be found instructive to our politicians, administrators, town and country planners, colonizing officers and a host of others. It would tell some truths to those engaged in the wasteful devastation of forests, the tropical jungle, bringing about in its wake disastrous floods, the thoughtless felling of trees, causing a shortage of timber, and making builders of houses and makers of furniture to look for other material. Her remarks on bricks and concrete are very appropriate for Ceylon. She dwells on how the local brick with variety has given place to the mass produced stereotyped brick, and this in turn to concrete. In Ceylon we see even archaeological monuments originally built of local bricks being covered up and built over with unsightly slabs of concrete. *A Land* is a book of utmost human interest. The author includes herself also in the narrative, speaking of the bright dancing eyes of her remembered childhood.

Out of other works of Mrs. Priestley, I should mention *Man and the Sun*, published in 1962. She deals here with scientific facts as well as religious myths, keeping human interest foremost. I have referred briefly to Mrs. Priestley's writings in view of the subject of her paper this evening, "Science and Humanity in Archaeology." Archaeology has been one of the most interesting of humanistic studies. Science has been utilized in the service of archaeology in different fields. Recently an effort has been made, and is being made, to make archaeology an exact science, bringing in too much statistics, etc. Some are misled by the slogan that in an scientific age pride of place should be given to science, and they forget man—human beings—who must be served by science. Science should be only the servant—the hand-maiden of not only archaeology, but of all human pursuits. All our efforts should be directed to the proper study, and the understanding of ourselves. In this context Mrs. Priestley's paper will be very useful to us in Ceylon, as the human aspect in archaeology is beginning to be neglected in Ceylon. Mrs. Priestley has recently contributed an article on this subject to the journal *Antiquity*, and I hope some of us will have the opportunity to study that too after we have heard this archaeologist and writer today. I trust that our Society will be able to continue its part in the promotion of humanistic studies in Ceylon and will be able to have with us many more scholars of the repute of Mrs. Priestley.

Science and Humanity in Archaeology

A talk given by Mrs. Jacquetta Hawkes (Mrs. J. B. Priestley) at the 125th anniversary meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch) at the University of Ceylon, New Arts Theatre, Colombo on 7th February 1970

This is a time when so many vast problems confront us that it is hard indeed to decide which are the most important. Yet setting aside those fundamental threats of too much life, or too much death, there is one on the profoundest cultural level that seems to me all-important. And since I feel historical thinking has at least a modest part to play in framing the right answers, this must be a suitable subject to discuss with you this evening. That I should be addressing the Ceylon Royal Asiatic Society on this happy occasion of its 125th anniversary still fills me with astonishment. But since I am here and it is a great occasion, let me choose a great subject. This is, to put it roughly: are we to become more human or less human?

Archaeology and human palaeontology are still recovering the story of our emergence from an animal past: are we at the same time taking the crucial first steps towards an insect-like future. When we were shown into our most agreeable rooms at Kandy we were told that there were many ants nesting above the ceiling, but that they were quite harmless ants. We were not to be afraid. Of course, we were not afraid. But there were a great many ants and on one occasion my husband awoke thinking he had some nervous trouble, but it proved only to be a score of ants running on his face.

Social Machine

There were a few hundred more under his pillow. However, I am afraid I am becoming frivolous. The point is that we found ourselves often watching these insects and their busy doings—their food quest, their lines of communication, mass meetings and all their ceaseless activity. If we were afraid of them at all it was an illustration of man's possible fate. So busy, so well organised so selfless and efficient—giving their all to the smooth running of the social machine.

Now I am sure it is not necessary in addressing such a thoughtful audience as this one to go into the kind of dangers I am wishing to evoke. In this computer world, man is already being cut down, pushed and shaped to fit the demands of the great technological machine. When computers take over, statistics become more important than you or the man in the street.

Now it is time that I went on from this general fear which you must all be aware of even although the Technological Dragon has probably not gone so far in terrorizing this happy island as it has in Western Europe or America—I must go on to my more particular subject of archaeology's rôle in these events. How the subject might be among the defenders of our humanity and also how they might betray it.

In order to do so I want to recall for you an occasion I attended only a few days before I left England this last December. The setting was the fine house in Carlton House Terrace where our Royal Society has recently moved its premises. Taking part there were a number of archaeological humanists some of whom I believe have good friends among you—Sir Mortimer Wheeler, Sir Max Mallowan, Prof. Piggott, Dr. Glyn Daniel and many others whose interests have sometimes coincided with those of your Society. But there were also present numbers of natural scientists including such notable physicists as Prof. Libby and Lord Blackett. Probably you are beginning to guess the kind of occasion it was. A symposium called together to discuss the subject of Scientific Aids to Archaeology. It was the first time that there had even been a point meeting under the auspices of our leading scholarly organisation, the British Academy, and our leading organisation of the natural sciences, the Royal Society itself. The main reason for its being called was in fact to discuss the difficulties and uncertainties that have been turning up in that otherwise most valuable of all the scientific aids to history: Carbon 14 dating. Now this was a most healthy meeting.

Historical Evidence

There was an honest give and take between humanists and scientists. Indeed, the proceedings opened with Dr. Edwards, the British Museum Egyptologist, firmly pointing out that historical evidence had proved beyond doubt that the geiger counter boys of Carbon 14 were getting wrong results for the 3rd millennium B.C. The scientists saw that this had to be accepted, and possible causes of variation in radio activity were discussed. It seems it may be due to changes in the earth's magnetic field. So there we were with scraps of rope from pharaoh's funeral barge, hieroglyphic inscriptions and the earth's magnetic field, all brought together and contributing to the common understanding of scientists-scholars.

Another paper described a subject where scientific technique has served history to perfection. That is in the mineralogical analysis of Mycenaean pottery which has answered several questions about inter-relationships of people in the Greek Bronze Age. All this was excellent, and I am describing the symposium in order to show how much I appreciate what scientific technique can do in helping an archaeologist to reconstruct our past. But unfortunately it isn't all so

simple or so safe to suggest the dangers. I will quote another particular instance. I know that women are always said to be too much concerned with the particular—though that may only be because of our better sense of reality. Anyway, the particular which first seriously alarmed me was a book published some two years ago by the Cambridge University Press. This volume, which I am using only as an extreme example of a general tendency, was an account of an excavation in Cyrenaica. An exceptionally huge cave had been occupied for something like 100,000 years. The excavators made no attempt to open up the habitation as a whole, but sank a pit in one quite small area. The shaft, of course, narrowed as it went down through the many metres of cave earth and human rubbish, so that by the deepest and oldest layers it was no more than a narrow shaft. The pit produced vast numbers of flints and animal bones and shells—the remains of the palaeolithic hunters' meals. The earliest occupation at the bottom, however, did not yield much because the sample was so small. If anything, then one would say that more time could with advantage have been spent on the dig—for the site is undoubtedly an important one.

Excavation

The excavation merited a substantial report, but what it got was quite out of proportion. It looked like a case of scientific megalomania. To begin with, although it received a generous subsidy, the volume was priced at the prohibitive figure, £12. More extravagant, in a sense, it had taken ten whole years to produce. It not only monopolised ten years of the research life of an important specialist, but he was able to command the services of a number of students over the same length of time. I need hardly add that there was a wad of appendices by experts of various kinds.

The main cause of this wasteful expense of time and money was that the material was published in its entirety, without selection. It therefore covered tens of thousands of flints, including all the waste pieces, and tens of thousands of animal bones. It contained several hundred statistical tables, graphs, diagrams and three immense folding tables in which these myriad stones and bones were duly entered. The whole £12 worth was a statistician's sweet dream, and I think it would be fair to say—a humanist's nightmare.

Now, there are several things that have to be said about this (in my view) gravely misjudged effort. The first is that the valuable specialist time and the actual money lavished on it were correspondingly lost elsewhere, and I am sure I need not tell you that archaeology is chronically short of funds and even of highly qualified individuals. I am quite sure that even if it was worth making all these total analyses they should not have been published in book form. I am also quite sure that in so far as the majority of the statistical tables and dia-

grams meant anything besides being an accumulation of meaningless facts, what they meant could have been stated in a few short sentences. In another handsome volume I have seen three quarters of a page given to a very ugly diagram which merely showed that the pottery did not vary significantly in the three levels of a habitation site. This kind of thing is a terribly give-away. It shows that some archaeologists will stop at nothing to make their subject look 'scientific' to claim for it some of the present prestige of the natural sciences. And that leads on to what is perhaps the most essential of the comments that has to be made on this type of publication. It is that archaeological and scientific evidence have absolute differences. The results of correctly conducted scientific experiment are within their own field, universally true. They can become part of a body of accumulated fact that can be drawn upon by scientists like money in a bank. But because man's mind and imagination are something different from the physical world, everything that he does tends to the individual and particular. The statistics in those tables are affected by all kinds of unique factors; they do not become part of a universal currency.

Finally, among these comments it is obvious that if this type of presentation of excavation and research wins all the prestige, then inevitably there will be a tendency to ignore those aspects of humanity that cannot be measured, counted, put into tabular form. When I think of this approach, I seem to see those lines of ants marching across our walls.

Now, it might seem that scientific aids must be wholly good if they are kept in their proper place as the handmaids of history. So they are in theory, but I think I must point out that in practice there is the usual need to offset gains against losses. Since those innocent days when I was a student at Cambridge, and pollen analysis, the first of the scientific aids, was just coming along and I thought how romantic to be able to reconstruct whole forests from a scrap of peat in the tip of a bronze spearhead. Since those days you know how vast a battery of complex techniques and machines has been brought in from the neutron magnetometer for detecting features below ground to methods even more subtle than Carbon 14 analysis for giving dates or finding geographical sources. These methods and machines are both fascinating and exacting. They need special training. If you become devoted to them most of your time and attention will be devoured by them. Moreover they attract certain types of minds and repel others.

Recruits

Different types of recruits are in fact being drawn into archaeology and they are not usually humanists. Moreover preferment may be offered to those who put up the biggest scientific façade and of course

if what I would dare call a pseudo-scientist gets an important post he will gather his like round him and the humanists will go to the wall. I am being alarmist exasperating a little but it is true that we can't have gains without losses, and that we must be alert to keep the gains for HISTORY well above the losses.

I will end by turning for a moment to Ceylon's place in all this. From what I have seen and heard during our very interesting time in this historic as well as lovely island. I dare say that you are very far from being overburdened with scientific aids or methods. I expect that there are a number of people struggling to establish a firmer scientific basis for studies here who will wish me to hell or its equivalent for talking in this way. I speak in far too much ignorance of the work going on to deserve much attention, but I got the impression at the few excavations I saw that there is need for an established pottery sequence. I expect, too, that your prehistorians would be glad of more Carbon 14 dates or any other dating aids they can lay their hands on.

All the same, fashions do spread very fast so that I hope you are all prepared to resist the onset of pseudo-science upon your studies or even the extravagant use of scientific aids to the point when losses begin to exceed gains.

Naked Ape

We all know that man has something of the naked ape in him, to use the eye-catching title of Desmond Morris's best-seller, but it is our truly human qualities that matter more. Archaeology is that unique thing, a scientifically equipped subject devoted to one of the greatest of the humanities: History. Clio is our Muse and Clio will be betrayed unless we regard men as individuals moved by mind and feeling and history as a story of unique events. We must pay more attention, and not less, to those things in human life and culture that are not amenable to measurement and statistical analysis. Otherwise archaeology, which has done so much to deepen our understanding of the marvellous achievements of the past, bringing us superb works of art and craft and whole lost civilisations, will contribute to that great threat of dehumanisation. Down with the Naked Ape approach, I say.

So may I end by coupling my congratulations to the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon on its 125th birthday with an invocation to Clio our noble Muse.

His Excellency the Governor-General-called upon Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala to propose a vote of thanks to the lecturer.

Dr. Deraniyagala commenced by thanking His Excellency for honouring with his presence what to the Society was a very important occasion. He next stated that it was not often that our Society had the privilege of hearing so famous a personage as the evening's lecturer

Mrs. J. B. Priestley, and that members should be grateful to the Society's indefatigable Hony. Jt. Secy. Mr. P. R. Sittampalam for his strenuous work in persuading her to lecture that evening, particularly as she had come to Ceylon in quest of a restful holiday. It was a long interval to 1970 from 1919 when he sat in statu pupillari in the biochemistry class of Dr. Frederick Gowland Hopkins, the lecturer's father, one of the two pioneers in the field of vitamins, a subject which at that time was unknown to many in the scientific world. His brilliant researches were to be rewarded with a knighthood and in 1937 he was also elected to the Presidentship of the Cambridge Philosophical Society of which Dr. Deraniyagala was himself a Fellow. The keen research brain of Sir Frederick had been inherited by his daughter Jacquetta, the evening's distinguished lecturer, who had acquired international fame for her work in the field of archaeology, by her lucid interpretation of the progress of this science in her talks on the B.B.C. and through her numerous books, the most famous of which is that classic, *The Land* to which reference has already been made, by the President.

On behalf of all assembled that evening Dr. Deraniyagala proposed a very hearty vote of thanks to Mrs. Priestley for her kindness in interrupting her holiday for this occasion, and for her absorbingly interesting and informative talk on what would appear to be a very abstruse subject which she had rendered so interesting to her audience by her able presentation.

Some Affinities between Sinhalese and Maldivian

M. W. S. DE SILVA (University of York).

(Based on a Lecture before the Society on July 11, 1969.)

It is an undisputed fact that the Maldivian people are ethnically and linguistically related to the Sinhalese. In spite of the total conversion of the Maldivian population to Islam during the twelfth century, many characteristics of para-religious beliefs and attitudes of the Sinhalese people are still in vogue among the Maldivians: beliefs in spirits, resorting to white magic and various aspects of occultism distinguish the Maldivian Muslims from the Muslims further in the west. Features common to fishing communities in general have reduced the religious austerities incumbent upon the adherents of both Buddhism and Islam in these two communities. The most marked affinities on which specific statements can be made pertain to the languages spoken by the two communities.

H. C. P. Bell, who is the best authority on the Maldives Islands, said in 1940:¹

'At this day it is not open to doubt that the whole archipelago including *Maliku* (Minicoy) now grouped with the Lakkadives.... was occupied, either directly from Ceylon, or, alternatively, about the same time as the B.C. immigration into that Island, by people of Aryan stock and language. This supposition is supported greatly by the close kinship between the Maldivian and Sinhalese languages. 'Gradually, from continuous contact and intercourse with natives of the West Coast of India—chiefly Malabar "Moplahs" (*Māpil-las*)—the influx of Arabs and other aliens, and the occasional importation of African slaves, many characteristics of the original type have been considerably modified. Very markedly is this the case in the Northern Atolls, which have been necessarily more exposed to foreign influence than those lying South. Muslim predominance, enhanced steadily by regular trade and commerce in the course of three or four centuries at least, culminated in the overthrow of Buddhism, the ruling religion of the Group, and the conversion of the Islanders to Islam in mid-twelfth century (A.H. 548: A.C. 1153-4).'

On the Maldivian language (henceforth, Divehi), Bell has the following observations to make:

'The language spoken by the Maldives Islanders (*M. Divehi bas*) is substantially the same through the far-flung Group.....though

1. H. C. P. BELL, *The Maldives Islands: monograph on the history, archaeology and epigraphy*, Colombo, Ceylon Government Press, 1940.

dialectal variations of the Male standard naturally occur—particularly in the Southern Atolls, which have been less affected by foreign intercourse.

'A very large proportion of the Maldivian vocabulary consists either (a) of pure Sinhalese words, modified by vowel changes and (owing to Arabic influence) the adoption of the dento-labial consonant "f" for the labial "p" or (b) of derivatives from roots common to both languages. Trade, and other intercourse with alien races, have added (c) a considerable number of words of foreign origin, chiefly Hindustani.'

These statements of Bell explain the mixture that produced the race and language which we refer to as Maldivian. In spite of old identities and similarities, languages which get established in geographically distinct areas, subject to different types of extraneous linguistic contacts, develop to become mutually unintelligible languages. No better example to illustrate this fact about linguistic evolution can be found than modern Sinhalese and modern Divehi, for old identities are clearly demonstrable in this case. In order to illustrate the linguistic distance between Sinhalese and Divehi today, I give below a segment of a conversation in Divehi between an enquirer and a fisherman which I recorded in May 1969. Sinhalese and English translations follow. No native Sinhalese speaker will understand the Sinhalese-like Aryan characteristics in the Divehi text until he compares it with its Sinhalese translation and ponders over it on the prior assumption that they are related. (I use a tentative phonemic transcription in the Divehi text and the standard system of transliteration in the Sinhalese translation with the exception that long vowels are indicated by double letters.)

The Divehi Text

- Q: mahaś gos ūlee iru, emme uñdaguu kamakaś dimaa vanni kon kame?
- A: mahaś gos ūlee iru, emme uñdaguu kamakaś aḷugañdumenaś vanii, en dati irugai en nihifigen a ūlee.
- Q: en hifan ūlenii kihine?
- A: eki got gotaś ūlenii, eñgee too? labba, eegai onna gotakii, fum-maalaigen, baḍitaḷaigen keruvala taḷaa iru annaane. ane? gotaś, ginadañḍi assaigen funaś dau jahaagen ūlee iru annaane. e den aḷugañdumenaś mahaś diyumugai emme dativegen ūlee irakii.
- Q: en firihamaya libijjeyyaa mas baanaś undagule? nuuta?
- A: labba, eduvas varu vaane gotakii, en uñdagulun libee iru mas varaś faseehain beeve. ehen viimaa ehaa minnet aḷugañdumen kuranii en atulan.
- Q: en libijjeyyaa abaduves mas beeneeta hama rañgalaś?
- A: labba, e dati koś ehen uñdagulun en libuniimaa vaa gotakii kañḍugai tibeena maa rañgalu dahi mahe?

D. vaane = S. vanne, mod. S. venne 'what will happen is'
D. tibeene = S. tibenne, mod. S. tivenne 'there is, will be'

6. From the point of view of the lexis, notice,

D. mah-/mas	S. mas-/mah-/mas	'fish'
D. gos,	S. gos	'having, gone'
D. iru,	S. vara	'when'
D. emme,	S. *ek ma, lokuma	'most'
D. kam-,	S. kam-	'thing, event'
D. kon,	S. koy	'which'
D. va-,	S. va-	'to be'
D. en,	S. än	'bait'
D. kihine,	S. keseeda	'how'
D. eñgee,	S. äñgee	'feel'
D. ane?,	S. anek	'the other'
D. lib-,	S. lab-	'to obtain'
D. mas baanaś,	S. mas baanna	'to catch fish'
D. nuu	S. nuu	'no'
D. duvas,	S. davas	'day'
D. ehen,	S. esee	'thus'
D. viimaa,	S. vunaama	'when happened'
D. kur-,	S. kar-	'to do'
D. atulan,	S. allanna	'to catch'
D. koś,	S. koṭa	'having done'
D. libuniimaa,	S. läbunaama	'when obtained'

Although a reasonable amount has been written on the ethnic, cultural and linguistic relationship between the Sinhalese and the Maldivian people, no conclusive evidence has yet been presented for deciding upon the date of the first Aryan settlement in the Maldivian Islands. Writing in 1619, Pyrard reports that the Maldivian people hold that the

'Maldives began to be inhabited about 400 years ago (circa A.D. 1200), and that the first who came and peopled them were the Cingalles of the island of Ceylon, which is not far distant.'²

When one considers the reports on the amount of trade and traffic in the Indian Ocean as early as the pre-Christian times, it is certainly hard to believe that a group of some 2,000 islands, extending over some 400 mile north to south, was not colonized until the twelfth century A.D.

Geiger said in 1902,³

'There remains a sufficient number of words to show clearly the character of the Maldivian language. It is merely a dialect, and not even a very ancient dialect, of Sinhalese.....it appears that the Maldivian Islands were occupied by Sinhalese people, but hardly at an earlier period than about eight or nine centuries ago.'

2. Quoted by A. GRAY in his 'The Maldivian Islands: with a vocabulary taken from Francois Pyrard de Laval, 1602-1607', *JRAS (GB & I)* 1878, NS Vol. 10, pp. 173-209.

3. W. GEIGER, 'Etymological Vocabulary of the Maldivian Language' *JRAS (GB & I)*, 1902, pp. 909-938.

In this opinion, too, the Aryan element in Divehi does not go back beyond the tenth century A.D. at the most. This statement of Geiger is not different from his earlier statement of made in *Maldivische Studien I (mit einer Tafel)* written in 1900.⁴ He says in 1910 with reference to Maldivian writing,

'As regards the Maldivians, it would follow that they did not borrow their writing from the Sinhalese until the ninth or tenth century; or that, if they brought their writing with them, they did not settle in the Archipelago before this time.'

While suggesting that,

'the fact can scarcely be disputed that, at a period of time still unknown to us, the Maldives were colonized from Ceylon, or, as also may be possible, were colonized at the same time as Ceylon, by Aryan immigrants who came over from the Continent of India,'

he accepts the former hypothesis as more probable 'on a study of the character of the Maldivian language,'

Bell is the only writer (except perhaps Gray)⁵ who does not reject outright the supposition that the earliest Aryan colonization of the Maldives might well have been synchronic with that of Ceylon itself, that is, some four or five centuries before Christ. That the Maldives have throughout been an independent state rather than a colony of Ceylon is maintained by Bell, when he draws our attention to

'the total silence regarding these Islands in the *Mahavamsa* and all other Sinhalese chronicles.'

and says,

'there is the further important evidence deducible from the classical writer Ammianus Marcellinus of the fourth century that in the account of the Embassy to the Emperor Julian (A.C. 362) the "*Divi*" or Maldivian Islanders (M. *Divehi mihun*) were carefully differentiated, even then from the "*Serendivi*" or Ceylonese.'

Contrary to Geiger, etc., I am myself inclined to believe that the first Aryan colonization of the Maldives was as old as the first Aryan colonization of Ceylon, and that there were many further Aryan migrations—most of them from Ceylon itself—during the subsequent centuries. It may well be that the biggest exodus of Ceylonized Aryans to the Maldives took place in and around the twelfth century A.D.

4. Geiger's work was published as Vol. xxvii, Extra Number of *J(CB)RAS* 1919, edited by H. C. P. Bell and translated by Mrs. J. C. Willis. I quote from this Number.

5. Gray, op.cit.; 'I find no mention in Pyrard of any other race who may have yielded to Sinhalese conquerors, and if the Sinhalese were the first colonists, they were probably there as far back as the Christian Era, when Ceylon was a powerful monarchy.'

Such a supposition might be the explanation for the bulk of grammatical criteria in Divehi which resembles the grammar of the Sinhalese language between the tenth and twelfth centuries. The early writing system in the Maldives, known as *Divehi akuru*, is closely linked with the Sinhalese script of that period. As it has been suggested that there was political unrest especially in Rohana during the reign of Niśsaṅkamalla (and even earlier in the Polonnaruva period), that there was mass migration into known lands where peace prevailed is not difficult to accept. However, to say that the Aryan element in Divehi started as late as the tenth or the twelfth century is not acceptable.

There are many criteria in Divehi which resemble the pre-eighth century characteristics of Sinhalese. The Sinhalese dative case suffix *-at* which is a development from the older post position *hataya* was in vogue by the eighth century. The dative case ending *-as* in Divehi is nothing but Sinhalese *-at*, for there is a regular phonological correspondence between Sinhalese *t* and Divehi *ś*. (e.g., S. *raṭ*, D. *raś* 'country'; S. *maṭa*, D. *maśas* 'to me'; S. *koṭ*, D. *koś* 'having done').

The fourth century A.D. is an interesting landmark in the evolution of the Sinhalese language, for two important phonological changes had been crystalized by that time: one is the umlaut and the other is the coalescence of the dental and retroflex nasals. The dental and retroflex laterals took longer to coalesce, and clear coalescence of *l* and *ḷ* can only be seen in the eighth century. The development of the umlaut *e* to *ā* is also an eighth century phenomenon. Divehi does not make a distinction between dental and retroflex nasals, and shows the umlaut phenomenon. These features in Divehi may then be relatable to fourth century developments in Sinhalese. Divehi, however, has not developed *ā* for *e*, and the *l*, *ḷ* distinction is maintained. Thus, from the point of view of the umlaut development and the coalescence of retroflex and dental sounds, Divehi certainly shows pre-eighth century characteristics of Sinhalese, probably going as far back as the fourth century.

A more interesting characteristic of the Divehi language is the wide-spread presence of the emphatic particle *akii*, the equivalent of modern literary Sinhalese *vanaahii*. The only recorded occurrence of *akii* in Sinhalese known to us in the the *Helatuvaa* literature where, we are told, were found such sentences as 'rahado vadaanakii aavaṭaṭhi nami', "the word 'rahado' is a name for a well." The *Helatuvaa* literature belongs to several centuries prior to the beginning of the Christian Era. The retention in Divehi of the form *akii* which was virtually non-existent in Sinhalese from the earliest inscriptions on, makes one posit an Aryan Prakrit element in Divehi as far back as the pre-Christian times. Notice also the Middle Indic subjunctive ending *-eyya*, which is now used in Divehi in the conditional sense as in *libijjeyya* 'if obtained,' *vaare hutṭiyyaa* 'if the rain stops' etc. This affix was never used in Sinhalese.

The evidence I have given so far for the antiquity of Divehi is from modern Divehi; one has not made a detailed study of early inscriptions in Divehi in order to ascertain the antiquity of the language. One is hopeful of finding more features like *-akii* and *-eyyaa* in such early documents. The presence, in the same stratum of the language, of features which are traceable to the various strata of Sinhalese as well as to pre-Sinhalese strata of Indo-Aryan supports the hypothesis that the first Aryanization of the Maldives was synchronic with the first Aryanization of Ceylon and that there were numerous migrations from Ceylon ever since the fourth century (if not before), culminating in a very large scale exodus of Sinhalese people to these islands during the tenth and twelfth centuries.

The legendary anecdotes in the *Mahavamsa* talk of a *Mahilaadi-īpaka*, on which island landed a band of women who were sent out from India along with the Vijayan party that went to Ceylon. This anecdote in the *Mahavamsa* might well be reminiscent of a migration of Aryans to the Maldives simultaneously with the Aryan migration to Ceylon. That the early Arabic name for the Maldives was Mahaladipa, and that the name of the Republic is still written in Arabic as *Mahaldibu* must not be lost sight of.

Arabic Gravestone from Trincomalee Dockyard

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About two years ago Mr. W. P. Simon of the Civil Engineer's Department, Trincomalee Dockyard, informed me that a peculiarly inscribed stone had come to light when the Works Service premises were being cleared of undergrowth. When I visited the spot I found not one but two inscribed slabs. Of these one is in very good condition. It is the subject of this paper. The other is in very poor condition, and practically nothing could be made out in its defaced and weathered state, at least as far as an amateur like me sees it.

At the time of writing the slabs are in the recently opened Archaeological Museum, Trincomalee. In passing, one might say that the Dockyard contains, besides the well known Fort Ostenburg (Dutch), other relics of interest to the antiquarian. Among these are not only artifacts but also buildings.

Whilst trying to trace the history of the finding of the slabs I was contacted by Mr. S. H. Amir Khan of the Dockyard Electrical Engineer's Department who assured me that he was the person who had found the slabs and transported them to the Works Service premises. That was in February 1939, when he was engaged in laying a cable to a pump which was being installed by one of the two wells in Nicholson's Cove. This Cove is a narrow and sheltered inlet near the entrance to the Inner Harbour of Trincomalee. The wells, though marked on the map, could not be identified by Mr. Khan and me, such concealment they have from the rank jungle growth at the site. Save for a few fishermen whose huts border the waterline, the whole area is covered by forest.

According to Mr. Khan his labourers had found the slab under a tree and drawn his attention to it. Perhaps he himself, being a Muslim, came to be interested in it both for itself as for the fact that a shrine to a bygone saint of his faith exists within the Dockyard known by the popular name, "Kalladi Appah's Shrine." He had the slab brought to the notice of his departmental chief and through him to the Civil Engineer. This officer undertook to have the stone photographed and have it deciphered by the antiquarian authorities in Cairo.

How far the proposed action proceeded one cannot say. Mr. Khan himself forgot all about the stone, with the passage of time, not to speak of his preoccupation with other tasks. In 1958 the Royal Navy

handed their Trincomalee base to the Ceylon Government, and thus ten years later the slab came to be re-discovered. Mr. Khan is a happy man when he tells us that the then Civil Engineer came to be very interested in inscribed stones. As a result, a gravestone (probably early British); a stone bearing the date "A : 1676" and presumably referring to Fort Ostenburg, and the second slab with the weathered face already mentioned, have since come into notice. Mr. Khan was very surprised that my own search in the undergrowth brought to light this second stone. He assures me that he discovered and transported only one from the Cove.

The inscribed slab I here describe appears to be of a variety of quartz. In shape it is very nearly a square: 19 ins. long, 16 ins. broad, 2 1/4 ins. thick, in its present condition. The characters are in sunk relief. Six horizontal lines, with the remains of a seventh, can be made out. These are flanked by two vertical columns, also inscribed. On the whole the engraving is very finely done, in quite high relief and virtually undamaged, save for a slightly chipped off corner. To even my untutored eye, the script seemed Semitic, most probably Arabic. In my quest of someone who can help in its decipherment, I turned to my father who had once served in the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon and is an honoured member of our Society. Through him, a photo copy was sent to the Chief Epigraphist of the Indian Archaeological Survey, Dr. G. S. Gai, Ph.D. Dr. Gai was so good as to refer the matter to Dr. Z. A. Desai, Superintending Epigraphist for Arabic & Persian Inscriptions. Dr. Desai has solved my enigma when he provided a complete and illuminating reading of the inscription, its text, transcript and translation. These are here reproduced. Dr. Desai does not advert to the script and the language as such, as they were not required from him by us. But Dr. Gai, in his covering letter to my father has mentioned "the Arabic inscription sent by you." Thus it would be proper to accept that here we are dealing with Arabic.

In the light of this find arise some interesting matters. After receiving the reading I re-examined the other (weathered) slab. It has made me revise my earlier belief that it was of little account, for now I have come to accept that it, too, is a gravestone like the other, better preserved one. Although here there seem (to my vision) only one or two characters which can be made out, the rectangular depressions which form the "bed" from which the inscribed letters rise in relief (as in the better preserved slab) are clear enough. They are also similarly positioned for two of the horizontal and half of each of the two vertical writing spaces remain. It is unfortunate that this stone is damaged, only being half intact. To judge from the area, 9 1/2 ins. x 19 1/2 ins., of uninscribed surface below the inscribed, the slab seems to have been rectangular, 22 ins. x 19 1/2 ins., in its present state, as opposed to the very nearly square shape of the other.

An intriguing question would arise if these two slabs, which clearly are gravestones, had been from Nicholson's Cove, for that would necessitate a re-examination of the Ceylon-Arab relations during this period of history. The gravestones could only have come from a Muslim graveyard and for such a piece of ground to be set apart there should have been a sizable resident community of the Muslim faith in the area. There are, as far as I know, many Muslim shrines in Trincomalee, apart from the subject of this paper; and a re-examination of relations with this farflung community of traders and travellers is, to my mind, indicated to the historian.

Encouraged by the reading of Dr. Desai, I was led into finding out more about the remains connected with Islam in our bygone years. But I could discover only three published notices. The first of these was about 150 years ago. It was a discussion in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland (vol. I, two articles numbered xxxii) of a Cufic inscription from Ceylon. (Dr. C. E. Godakumbura mentions the find spot as Jawatta in Colombo. See this Journal for 1969, p. 6.) This stone bears Colombo Museum registered number 24.57.140.20. Like the inscription I am here presenting, this was also an epitaph. The Rev. Samuel Lee, Professor of Arabic then in the University of Cambridge, read in it a prayer to Allah in His Mercy on behalf of Khālid Ibn Abu Bakāya (or Takāya or Nakāya), the deceased. The date on which the epitaph was indited is given as the fifth of the month of Rejeb, Hejira Year 337 (A.C. mid-10th cent.). This is the first ever notice of an Arabic inscription from Ceylon. Its special point of interest is that it is a little past a century after (probably) the earliest allusion to Ceylon by any west-Asian author (viz. Tabari, born A.C. 838—according to Tennent, *Ceylon*, I, p. 571, footnote 2). The same author proposed that the origin of the Muslim (Arab) pilgrimages to Sri Pada could be ascribed to the early part of the 10th cent., (about 50 years before our Cufic inscription was indited) as the Muslim saint Imaum Abu Abd Allah who was the first to make known the way “from India to the mountain of Serendib” died in Hejira Year 331 (op. cit. 579).

The second inscription I have read of is a short legend (fragmentary) on the rock surface at Bhagava Lena about 100 ft. below Sri Pada. Numbered 378 (Ceylon Journal of Science, sec. G, vol. ii, pp. 20, 21), its reading is “Muhammad, May God bless him, (the father of) Man.....” Mr. G. Yazdani of the Indian Epigraphical Division ascribed it to about the same period as Nissanka Malla, an inscription of whom, together with a likeness of him as a bowing pilgrim, virtually is juxtaposed to the legend.

My third and last inscription is particularly intriguing. It was found on the west coast. Numbered 29 in the Archaeological Survey Annual Report for 1956 (p. 12), the description goes: “Slab inscription at the entrance to an ancient dagaba at Pomparippu on Mariccakatti

Road (F/15/23).” Dr. W. S. Karunaratne who has made this note has also queried its composition in the next entry as “Undeciphered Early Arabic.” In a personal letter dated 25.2.70, however, he reviewed his opinion. “I scrutinized the Inscription you refer to (Reg. No. 2354). The script being Arabic is also doubtful.”

Finally, it would appear that few Arabic inscriptions have been found or commented on in Ceylon as locally discovered. From this point of view the gravestone and its inscription here presented should be considered among evidence gathering slowly and surely of early contact of the Island with west Asia. I, for one, would welcome any further light that can be shed on the present inscription by those competent to do it. I hope, too, that it will lead to further discoveries in the same field.

Postscript—After I had submitted this article to the editor, I came to know of two other Arabic inscribed slabs, now in the Colombo Museum. By registered numbers they are:—

- 24.57.138.20 — being the one mentioned by Archaeological Commissioner E. R. Ayrton in his report for 1912-1913, at page 8 and also plate XVI, as having been originally found in the island of Puliyantivu and removed to the South Bar of Mannar; the inscription praises God and Mohamed upon whom and family blessings and protection are solicited.
- 24.63.1.56 — brought to the Colombo Museum in May 1963 after having been taken over a few days earlier from the Trincomalee Kachcheri. This slab, too, had been found in the Dockyard and had been commented upon in an article (Mohamed Sameer Bin Hajie Ismail Effendi: “Archaeological Evidence of Early Arabs in Ceylon”) in the Souvenir published by the Moors' Islamic Cultural Home (“The First Twenty One Years,” Colombo, 1965). The full text, edited by Dr. S. A. Imam, Ph.D., of the University of Ceylon, together with a facsimile of the inscription, is given in this publication. This slab, too, is a memorial erected over the grave of “the respected Quazi, the martyr, Afifuddin” and is dated “Saturday nineteenth of the month of Safar.....year six hundred after Hijra.”

I quote the circumstances relating to the finding of this slab as they have a bearing on the subject of this article. “The Government Agent, Trincomalee, informed me that the stone was unearthed during the war by workmen while excavating for laying water pipes at a spot between Östenburg Point No. 1 and Chappel Hill. This may have been the burial place of Muslims, for the stone is a tombstone over the grave of a Quazi.”

In the accompanying map I have indicated the spots mentioned in the quotation above, along with the wells by which the slab which forms the subject of this article was found. It will be noticed that the wells are situated approximately half-way between Ostenburg Point and Chapel Hill; and, knowing the lay of the land, I have no doubt that the findspots were identical. It thus seems more than likely that Nicholson's Cove was the site of a Muslim burial ground of importance for over a century.

(a) Right Side:

[الله لا إله إلا هو الحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات و

(b) Left Side:

[بما شَاء وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حوطهما وهو العلي العظيم

(c) Centre:

« [كل من عليها فان و يبقى وجه ربك ذو الجلال

(١) والاكرام هذا قبر المدة الطاهره

(٢) الغفيمة المرحومة لولاد الامير بدر الدين

(٣) حين بن على الحليم تغمد صا الله بمغفرته

(٤) واسكنها جبو حته جنة توابت الى حجة الله تعالى

(a) Right Side:

[الله لا] له الا هو المحي القيوم لا تأخذه سنة ولا نوم له ما في السموات و

(b) Left Side:

[ما شاء] وسع كرسيه السموات والارض ولا يؤده حوطهما وهو العلي العظيم

(c) Centre:

« [كل من عليها فان] و يبقى وحده ربك دوا [الحلال

« والاكرام هذا قبر الحرة الطاهرة

« الغنيمة الموصلة لولا دالا ميربد الدين

« حين بن على الحلبى تغمد صا الله بمغفرته

« واسكنها حبو حنة جنة تو ميت الى حنة الله تعالى

« يوم الاثنين سابع مترد القدر سنة تسع عشرين

« [وشعمايد من الحمد] لتؤيد عليه السلام [العلاء

* [وسبعها]

Transcript (Fragmentary)

(a-b) Throne verse. (*Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255, with middle portion missing).

(c) (1) [Kullu man 'alaihā fāninwwa Yabqā wajhu rabbika] dhu' l-jalāli.

(2) wa' l-ikrām. Hādhā qabru' l-hurrati' ṭ-ṭāhirat-

(3) i' l-'afifati' l-marḥūma aulādi' l-amīr Badri' d-Dīn (i.e. Badru' d-Dīn).

(4) Ḥusain bin 'Alī al-Ḥalabī taghammadahāllāhu bi-maghfiratihi

(5) wa-askanahā biḥubūḥati Jannah. Tuwaffiyat ilā raḥmati'llāhi ta'ālā.

(6) yauma' l-athnaini sābi'-'ashara Dhu' l-Qa'da sanata tis-'ishrīna.

(7) wa[sab' or tis'-] mi'yata mina' l-Hijrati'n-na [bawīyya 'alaihi' s-salām (?)] wa' Ṣ-Salāt.

Translation

(a-b) Throne verse (*Qur'ān*, Chapter II, verse 255).

(c) (1-2) *Qur'ān*, Chapter LV, verse 26. This is the grave of the noble (lit. free), the pious

(3) (and) the chaste lady who has been received into Allāh's mercy, daughter of the Amīr (i.e. chief) Badru' d-Dīn.

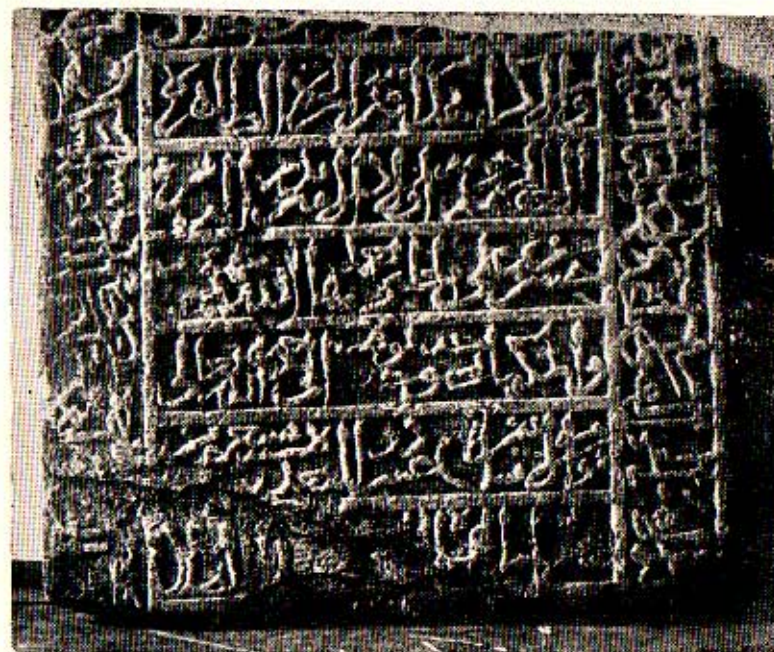
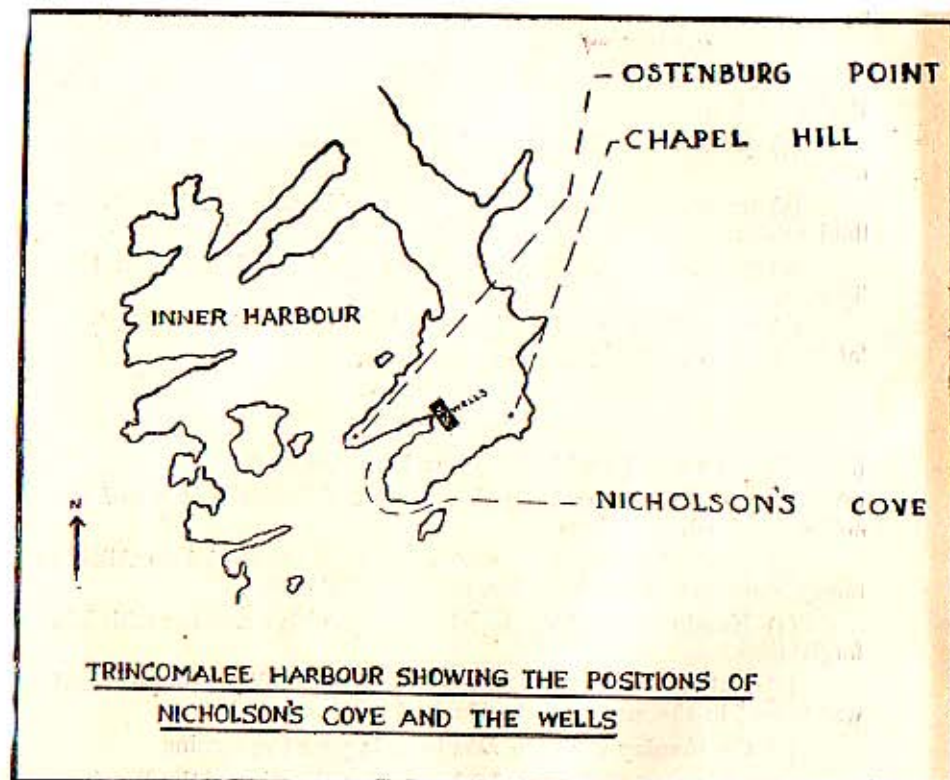
(4) Ḥusain, son of 'Alī al-Ḥalabī, may Allāh cover her with His forgiveness

(5) and grant her abode in the centre of Paradise. She (died and was taken) in the mercy of the Exalted Allāh

(6) On Monday the 17th *Dhu'l-Qa'da* year twentynine

(7) and seven or nine hundred from the Migration of the Prophet, may (Allāh's) salutation and blessing be upon him.

Note: The portion of the text containing the word indicating the third digit of the year is almost completely scraped off. The word can be either *sab'-mi'ya*—seven hundred or *tis'-mi'ya*—nine hundred. The date will therefore be 17 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 729 (12 September 1329) or 17 *Dhu'l-Qa'da* 929 (27 September 1523). While in the absence of any other palaeographical specimens from Ceylon, it is not possible to say which of the two dates is preferable on palaeographical grounds, the earlier may be the correct date. A carefully prepared rubbing may enable definite decipherment of the word.



Samantabhadra and Sudhanakumāra

NANDASENA MUDIYANSE, M.A., Ph.D.



Samantabhadra



Sudhanakumāra

*(Nevill Collection—Courtesy
British Museum London).*

In this paper I wish to deal with two bronze sculptures belonging to the Nevill Collection in the British Museum. These remain unidentified up to the present day and are deposited in the Asiatic Saloon, Department of Oriental Antiquities, British Museum, London.

I

The first of these is a standing figure of a deity (Regd. No. 1898-7-2-141). It has not been published in any work known to me and has been labelled 'Bodhisattva from Ceylon, Nevill Collection.' It is 6 inches in height and the maximum width is $2\frac{2}{3}$ inches (from hand to hand). It was called a 'Bodhisattva' probably on the ground that it resembles other sculptures of Mahāyāna deities which have been already identified. I propose to identify this figure as a representation of Samantabhadra.

The deity stands in *sāma-pada-bhaṅga* pose and is bare of clothing above the waist. The drapery consists of a garment which is normally found in other Bodhisattva figures. It is a cloth with tassels on either side. From the belt hangs down a girdle and the folds of the dress are clear. The head-dress is of an elaborate type made up in stages. Extending up to the shoulders are the long ear-lobes. Ear-ornaments of a considerably heavy type are worn and made so as to rest on the shoulders. The right hand shows *vitarka mudrā* while the left shows a variety of *kaṭaka-hasta*. There are no indications of an effigy of a Dhyāni Buddha on the head-dress.

Samantabhadra is a Bodhisattva of the Mahāyāna pantheon. Samantabhadra means 'Universal Goodness.' The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* of Abhayākara-gupta gives three lists¹ of Bodhisattvas among which the first is headed by Samantabhadra. He is therefore the leader of the sixteen Bodhisattvas enumerated in that list. His name is very often mentioned in this work and images conforming to his description are found in abundance in Tibet and China. His spiritual sire is the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana and when represented, he either stands or sits in different attitudes. His colour may be yellow, golden or blue.

Alice Getty says² that the attitude of his hand is either *vitarka mudrā* or *vara mudrā*, but preferably the former, an attitude of imparting spiritual knowledge. He is said to impart supreme knowledge—hence in Chinese and Japanese sculptures he is shown as carrying a scroll symbolising his divine wisdom.³ Some of the older schools of Northern Buddhism such as Nin-ma-pa consider Samantabhadra⁴ to be the Primordial Buddha, or Ādibuddha. In Vajrayāna, the Ādibuddha is regarded as the highest deity of the Buddhist pantheon,

the originator even of the five Dhyāni Buddhas. At Caṇḍi Mēṇḍut and Barabudur, he is depicted⁵ as one of the Aṣṭamahābodhisattvas and as the leader of the Dhyāni Buddhas, respectively.

Vajrayānists developed the theory of the highest god Vajradhara as the Ādibuddha. In course of time a cult associated with this concept branched off into many sects, each holding different views regarding the specific forms which that deity should take. One among the Dhyāni Buddhas was considered as the Ādibuddha by some, whereas others held him to be Vajrasattva or Vajrapāṇi or Samantabhadra.

Among the Ādibuddhas, only Samantabhadra displays the *vitarka mudrā*, i.e. explanation of subtle points of doctrine. The deity as depicted in our sculpture is in the attitude of discussion. His eyes are open and his deportment and facial expression are suggestive of addressing an individual or a group of listeners. Furthermore, this figure bears a striking resemblance⁶ to that of Saman in one of the cave temples at Dambulla. As such, it would be seen that there is sufficient ground for our identification, although we do not rule out the possibility of other interpretations. Samantabhadra was held in high esteem by the Vajrayānists who had a considerable following in Ceylon, particularly about the closing phase of the Anurādhapura period. As this sculpture could be regarded as one executed by these Tāntric Buddhists, it is reasonable to suggest the 10-11th centuries A.D., as its probable date.

A deity named Saman (P. Sumana) is mentioned⁷ in the *Mahāvamsa* in the narrative of events connected with the visit of Gautama Buddha to Ceylon. The first reference to him is as "the prince of devas, Mahāsumana of the Sumanakūṭa mountain." Sumanakūṭa is Adam's Peak and this name is also spelt⁸ as Samantakūṭa in the *Cūlavamsa*. (God) Sumana-deva is again mentioned in the same chronicle in connection with the installation of one of his images in the reign of Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269 A.D.). The dignitary named Devapatirāja, "betook himself to Gampola and fashioned a magnificent image of Sumana-deva, furnished with all the fair bodily signs and decked it out with ornaments of gold and jewels. But after that he wished to visit the Samantakūṭa. He took the image of the god (Sumana) along with him in festive procession . . . set up in the court-

1. B. Bhattacharya, *Indian Buddhist Iconography*, (I.B.I.), Calcutta, 1958 p. 82. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, ed. B. Bhattacharya, (N.S.P.), G.O.S. No. 109, Baroda, 1949, p. 46, p. 50, p. 67.

2. A Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism* (G.N.B.), Tokyo, 1962 reprint, p. 47.

3. Ibid, Pl. XXXIV, Fig. 6.

4. Ibid, pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

The name of this sect is also spelt as Rñin-ma-pa.

5. *Paranavitana Felicitation Volume*, Colombo, 1965, p. 259 and the footnotes 14 and 15.

6. S. Paranavitana, *God of Adam's Peak*, (G.A.P.), Ascona, Switzerland, 1958, fig. 6.

7. *Mahāvamsa*, trsl. W. Geiger, Colombo, 1950 reprint, Ch. I, v. 33.

8. *Cūlavamsa*, trsl. W. Geiger, Colombo, 1953 reprint, Ch. 60, v. 64.

yard of the *cetiya* of the sacred Footprint, the image of the god.⁹ The statement of the *Cūlavamsa* is corroborated by the *Pūjāvaliya*, a contemporary Sinhalese work of this period.¹⁰

Saman, Sumana and Saman-Boksāl (Boksāl) are names which are used with reference to this deity. He is regarded as one of the four guardian deities¹¹ of Ceylon and as one who is ready to help those in distress. In present day Ceylon, the cult of this deity is in living form, the principal seat being at Ratnapura in the Sabaragamuwa Province, in close proximity to his abode Samanoḷa (Adam's Peak). It may not be irrelevant if the suggestion is made that the name Saman-Boksāl is an equivalent of Samantabhadra. Boksāl may be compared¹² with the Sanskrit word *bhogaśālin*. There is reason for such a suggestion because Samantabhadra is associated with the wish-conferring jewel, universal prosperity and also happiness. According to available records, it is about the 14th century that the epithet 'Saman Boksāl' began to be used in connection with Sumana-deva. Samantabhadra (S. Saman-bahaduru or Saman-baduru) is used as an epithet of Gautama Buddha also.

Saman Boksāl is associated with the Adam's Peak, a sacred hill. In China, the abode of Samantabhadra is a sacred hill of similar character,¹³ the Omi (Wo-mei-shan) in the province of Si-ch'wen. In both countries the deity is believed to ride on an elephant. If we summarise the arguments adduced above there is justification for regarding Samantabhadra (who was introduced to Ceylon in his Tāntric character, most probably by the Vajrayānists) as identical with Mahāsumana or Sumanadeva of the Theravāda Buddhists. When the Vajrayānists introduced him to Ceylon, it is very likely that he was readily accepted by the Sinhalese people¹⁴ who found many features common to both. With the decline of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Ceylon, the foreign character of Samantabhadra could have been forgotten in course of time and the deity continued to receive homage from his devotees in the name of Saman Boksāl. The last named epithet is reminiscent of the Mahāyānist colouring which one of the oldest deities known to the ancient chronicler had to undergo about the close of the Anurādhapura period.

References to this deity are fairly numerous in the literary works of Ceylon and epigraphical records. *Samantakūta-vaṇṇanā* is a Pāli poem of about the 13th century having, as its main theme, the descrip-

tion of Adam's Peak, the story of Buddha's life and particularly the legends of his visits to Ceylon. God Sumana is mentioned in connection with the request to the Buddha to place the footprint on the summit of the hill. The epithet Saman Boksāl occurs in the *Nikāya Saṃgraha*¹⁵ (14th C.), *Haṃsa Sandēsa* (15th C.), Gaḍalādeniya slab inscription of 1513 A.D. and *Vandan-kavi-pota* (18th C.). Other works (to be mentioned presently) refer to him either as Sumana or Saman, the former being the Pāli equivalent of the latter which is Sinhalese. *Pūjāvaliya* refers to him as Saman-devi-rajjuruvan of Samanoḷa. The reference¹⁶ is in connection with the legendary visits of Gautama Buddha to Ceylon. Epigraphical records such as Alavaḷa Amuṇa (14th C.), and Laṅkātilaka Sinhalese rock inscription (14th C.) refer to images of this deity¹⁷ executed at Laṅkātilaka temple near Kandy. *Pārakumbā-sirita* (15th C.) records a dialogue between two persons,¹⁸ one of whom had been a pilgrim to Adam's Peak. In this instance the prediction is reported to have been made by Sumana-suriṇḍu that when 2500 years had lapsed (from the passing away of the Buddha), Parākramabāhu (VI, the then reigning monarch) would be re-born as a mighty king. *Sālahiṇi Sandēsa* (15th C.) presents¹⁹ in poetic terms the beauty of Adam's Peak which enshrines the Footprint of the Sage and which is being adored by Saman-sura-rada in the company of his divine damsels with (handfuls of) *Madārā* and *Parasatu* flowers.

The purpose of the *Sāvul Sandēsa* (16th C.) is to beseech God Sumana to protect the king, his court, army and the Buddhist Church. For the eulogy of Sumana-suriṇḍu fifteen stanzas were set apart, wherein his beauty, might and glory become the theme. In most of these descriptions the writer had followed carefully the compositions of such poets as had preceded him. In this poem, mention is also made of the consort²⁰ of this deity (bisō-deviyan) as well as his son (kumara-deviṇḍu). Suran=iṇḍu (God-king) is the epithet used with reference to Sumana-deva. Another deity named Sapu-suriṇḍu is also mentioned in association with the three above named. These gods are called either *sura* or *deva*, both terms meaning 'celestial being.'

Rājāvaliya (18th C.), a historical narrative, speaks of the visits of the Buddha to Ceylon and the part played by Sumana-deva on those occasions.²¹ *Vadan-kavi-pota* (18th C.), mentions Saman

9. Ibid, Ch. 86, v. 18-30.
10. *Pūjāvaliya*, ed. B. Saddhatissa, Colombo, 1953, p. 745.
11. *Nikāya Saṃgraha*, (Nks.), ed. P. Ariyaratna, 1951, p. 29.
12. *G.A.P.*, p. 38.
13. L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, Cambridge, 1914, p. 349.
14. Alice Getty, (*G.N.B.*, p. xxxii) speaks of the process in which the demons of the native religion of Tibet were admitted to the newly established school of Yogacarya about the year 747 A.D.
15. *Nks.*, p. 29.
16. *Haṃsa Sandēsa*, ed. P. D. A. Weerasuriya, Colombo, 1936, v. 198. *E.Z.*, Vol. IV, p. 23. *Vadan-kavi-Pota*, v. 71.
17. *Pūjāvaliya*, p. 704, p. 706, p. 707.
18. *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, pp. 4-14, 24-45 etc.
19. *Pārakumbā Sirita*, ed. Sri Charles de Silva, Colombo, 1954, v. 116.
20. *Sālahiṇi Sandēsa*, ed. R. Sri Dharmarama, Colombo, 1922, v. 25.
21. *Sāvul Sandēsa*, ed. Wijayawardhana & Weerasekera, Colombo, 1929. The *N.S.P.*, (p. 85) names his consort as Dharmavajrā.

Boksāl as one of the gods of Ceylon who is ever ready to confer boons and the like on mankind.²² *Saman Sirita* or *Saman Devi Varuṇa*, is a Sinhalese poem of 290 stanzas eulogizing this deity.²³ It narrates the story of the Buddha's visits to Ceylon. At Kelaniya, the god is said to have requested the Buddha to visit Adam's Peak and place his Footprint there. The poet makes use of this occasion to enter upon a vivid description of Sabaragamuwa, its scenic beauty, the mountains, forests, denizens and caves. There is also a description of an image fashioned in the likeness of this deity in the reign of Parākramabāhu of Dambadeniya by a monk named Silavaṁsa of Sabaragamu-vehera. This is followed by a description of a procession to the sacred hill in accompaniment with the image and also the return-journey to Sabaragamu-vehera where the image was finally placed in a pavilion built for the purpose. The poem mentions several kings who made endowments for the upkeep of this shrine and also (a minister named) Alagakkōnāra (Alahakkōn) who wielded power in the 14th century. Towards the close of the poem, a king named Vira Pārakumbāhu and his son named Pārakumbāhu are said to have made donations for the maintenance of the shrine of God Saman. This deity is said to have been held in high esteem by the monarchs of Ceylon as he conferred every boon that was asked of him. The poet himself appears to have been a fervent devotee of this god, since he uses language which is rich in poetic imagery and expressive of his deep feelings of devotion. Judging from internal evidence and style of the language, it may be assumed that it is a work of the early Kandy period.

II

The second figure which is being dealt with here has been labelled 'Seated figure from Ceylon.' It bears the Registration No. 1898-7-2-144. It is 3½ inches in height and 2½ inches wide (from knee to knee).

In his monograph *Bronzes of Ceylon, chiefly in the Colombo Museum* Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy illustrated²⁴ this figure as Fig. No. 181 and called it 'Praying Devatā.' From the reproduction of the plate given in that work it is not possible to gain much information as it is shown therein as a much smaller figure, the details being almost obscure. When the writer noticed the same sculpture at the British Museum, he was at once struck by the similarities it had with others of a Mahāyānist character.

The deity sits cross-legged (Dhyānāsana or Vajraparyāṅkāsaṇa). It is a meditative pose, the two legs being firmly locked with both soles apparent. Both hands of the deity are clasped against the chest

in *añjali mudrā* (i.e. also called the *Sarvarājendra mudrā* or *Sampul-āñjali*). Above the waist, deities are normally shown as bare of clothing but in this instance a jacket of an elaborate type is shown. The head-dress, conical in shape, is a typical *jaṭā-makuṭa*. Eyes are half-closed as in meditative pose.

Ananda Coomaraswamy called this figure 'Praying Devatā' but our investigations have led us to the conjecture that it is a representation of Sudhanakumāra. The *Sādhnamālā*, in describing the Khasarpaṇa aspect of Avalokiteśvara says²⁵ that the latter is normally accompanied by Tārā, Sudhanakumāra, Bhṛkuṭi and Hayagrīva and sits in either *lalita* or *ardhaparyāṅka* attitude. In describing Sudhanakumāra the text states, "*Sudhanakumāraśca kṛtāñjaliḥ putāḥ kanakāva-bhāsīdyutiḥ kumārārūpadhārī vāmakakṣavinyastaḥ pustakāḥ sakalālaṅkāravān . . . Ete sarva eva svanāyākānanaḥ preritadṛṣṭayo yathāśobham avasthītāścintanīyāḥ*" (Sudhanakumāra has his hands joined (*añjali*), is resplendent like gold and has the appearance of a prince. He carries the book under his left arm pit and is decked in all ornaments . . . All these deities should be meditated on as disposed in a befitting and artistic manner, with their eyes directed towards the face of the principal deity). The book under the left arm-pit is not very clear, but the indication is that there is some object placed thereunder. Otherwise the icon shows remarkable agreement with the *sādhana* given above.

Images of Sudhanakumāra are not very numerous. Among the sculptures²⁶ in bas-relief at Buduruvēgala, Avalokiteśvara is accompanied by Tārā on the left and (probably by) Sudhanakumāra on the right. Bhattacharya refers to a sculpture²⁷ of Mañjuśrī discovered at Bara in the district of Birbhum in Bengal, with Yamāntaka and (probably) Sudhanakumāra as attendants. The sculpture at Buduruvēgala is a representation of a standing figure, but it is of a date much earlier to the *Sādhnamālā*. The icon at the British Museum is datable to about the 10th century A.D., the period when Mahāyānism was a living force in Ceylon. Although many of the finer details of the figure are now obliterated by the passage of time, it is a very fine example of Ceylonese workmanship of a deity whose likenesses (as have been identified) are not known in profusion.

22. *Vadan-kavi-Pota*, v. 71.

23. Ceylon National Museums Manuscript Series, Vol. IX, (Ethnology, Vol. 4, ed. P. E. P. Deraniyagala), *Deva Varnanā Kāvya*, 1960, pp. 51-77.

24. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *Bronzes of Ceylon, chiefly in the Colombo Museum*, Colombo, 1914, p. 21 & Fig. 181.

25. *I.B.I.*, p. 129.

Sādhnamālā, ed. B. Bhattacharya, Baroda, 1925, pp. 39-41.

26. N. Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1967, fig. No. 11.

27. *I.B.I.*, pp. 117-118.

Three Unpublished Mahāyāna Bronzes from Ceylon in the British Museum

NANDASENA MUDIYANSE, M.A., Ph.D.

(with three plates)

There are a number of bronzes of a Mahāyāna character in the British Museum, forming part of the Hugh Nevill collection. Some of these have been published, but there are a few which, as far as I am aware, have not been illustrated elsewhere. The purpose of this paper is to deal with two bronzes of Avalokiteśvara and one of Jambhala (Kuvera).

The two bronzes of Avalokiteśvara [which form part of the subject of this paper] have been assigned the Registered Numbers 1898-7-1-135 and 1898-7-1-136. The first is 5 1/10 inches in height and its maximum width taken at the base is 3 1/2 inches. The deity sits in *mahārājāṭilā*, the left hand resting on the *āsana* while the right holds a lotus flower in bloom. The left leg hangs down, but the right is bent and is placed on the seat. The head-dress is elaborate and contains an effigy of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha. The *yajñopavīta* is shown as having been carried over the left shoulder [of the deity].

The second bronze is of lesser proportions. It measures 3 4/5 inches in height. Maximum width (taken at upper rim of base) is 2 1/4 inches. The posture is *mahārājāṭilā* as in our first example. The left hand is placed on the seat while the right holds an unbloomed lotus. An effigy of the Dhyāni Buddha Amitābha is on the head-dress. The *Yajñopavīta* is also shown. Both bronzes being almost similar in most respects, there is no difficulty in identifying them as representations of Avalokiteśvara. As the Nevill collection was formed entirely in Ceylon, there is very likelihood of these sculptures being examples of Ceylonese workmanship. Both of them may belong to the period 8-10th Centuries A.C., the period when Mahāyānism was a living force in Ceylon.

Avalokiteśvara was known and worshipped in Ceylon from very early times.¹ In the Sanskrit rock inscription² at Tiriya of about the 7th Century A.D., it is recorded that the *stūpa* at that spot was the abode of Avalokiteśvara. The epithets "Mahāmuni" and "Bimbadhara" have been used in this epigraph in eulogising him. In course of time he finds mention in Ceylon chronicles by the epithet "Nātha." Even in present day Ceylon, fanes devoted to Nātha's worship alone are

not uncommon. One such place is the *dēvāle* at Vēgiri (in the Kandy District, Central Province), where two charming images (of either clay or stucco) of himself and his consort are preserved in the innermost cell. Fairly numerous are also the references³ to the deity occurring in Ceylon epigraphs and classical Sinhalese works.

A bronze sculpture of Jambhala (Kuvera) is also available at the British Museum. It is marked 1898-7-2-150 and forms part of the Nevill Collection. It appears to bear many resemblances to the figure of Jambhala of the Osmund de Silva Collection.⁴ The posture is *lalita* and the seat is a *padmāsana*. It is 2 1/2 inches in height and the maximum width is 1 3/4 inches. In my monograph on Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon, I have referred to two bronzes of Kuvera, one from the Boston Museum and the other belonging to the Osmund de Silva Collection. This icon is the third one of its kind to be illustrated, not taking into consideration⁵ the sculpture in stone at Nālanda Geḍigē. Much has been stated⁶ about Jambhala (Kuvera) and his place in ancient Ceylon as a deity who was honoured and worshipped. In this sculpture, he is shown pot-bellied (Kalasodara), holding a purse in his right hand. The fine workmanship of the Boston Museum example is not present here, but on stylistic grounds there is reason to conclude that it was executed about the 10th century A.D.

It may not be out of place here to add some remarks about the position held by Kuvera in ancient Ceylon. In Ceylonese writings he is usually referred to as Kuvera. He is named as *Siṃhaladvīpe Jambhala* and *Siṃhaladvīpe Jambhala-Bhaṭṭaraka* in two Nepalese manuscripts (written in Bengali script of the 11th Century A.D.) now in Cambridge.⁷ This is the only instance, known to me, where this deity has been given that epithet in connection with his position in Ceylon. The *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūlavamsa* as well as the classical Sinhalese works normally refer to him as Vessavaṇa or Kuvera, but instances are also forthcoming where other epithets were used. The *Kōkila Sandēśa* (15th C.) refers⁸ to him as *Diniṇḍu* (P. Dhaninda) and as *Uttaradipati* (Sk. P. Uttarādhipati). *Parevi Sandēśa* and *Girā*

3. N. Mudiyanse, *Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon*, Colombo, 1967, pp. 12-15.

4. Ibid. Fig. No. 31.

5. Ibid. pp. 70-71.

A standing figure of Kuvera (height 2.8 inches) with an attendant on either side has been discovered at Mādirigiriya. It is now preserved at the Anurādhapura Museum (Registered Number G. 129). At the northern *vāhalkaḍa* of the Dakkhina, Thūpa, Anurādhapura on one of the stelae can be seen a bas-relief representation of Kuvera. There is a crouching figure at the deity's feet, holding a pot from which coins issue.

6. J.C.B.R.A.S., Centenary Vol. 1950, pp. 142-144.

7. A. Foucher, *Etude sur L'Iconographie Bouddhique du l'inde*, Paris, 1900, pp. 193 and 209.

8. *Kōkila Sandēśa*, ed. W. F. Gunawardhana, Colombo, 1924, v. 159.

1. C. J. Sc., Sec. G., Vol. II, pp. 35-71.

2. E.Z. IV, pp. 151-160 and 312-319.

Sandēśa (both of the 15th C.) call him⁹ Dinisuru (Sk. Dhaneśvara). The *Ruvanmala* (15th C.) gives a list of ten other names besides Kuvera and Vesamuṇi, which are said to be synonymous. In addition, the same text provides synonymous names for his abode, his city, his retinue and his treasures.

In the chronicles *Mahāvamsa* and *Cūlavamsa*, there are several references to Kuvera or his city Alakā (P. Ālakamandā). Paṇḍukābhaya (437-367 B.C.) caused to be erected¹⁰ the Banyan Tree Shrine of Vaiśravaṇa (P. Vessavaṇa, Sinh. Vesamuṇi) near the western gate of Anurādhapura. Duṭṭhagāmaṇī (161-137 B.C.) had a gem¹¹ pavilion set up in the middle of the Lohapāsāda (Brazen Palace) fashioned in the manner of Vessavaṇa's chariot (which served as a car for the women). Buddhādāsa (341-370 A.D.) who reigned at Anurādhapura has been compared¹² with Vessavaṇa in the act of protecting his city, Ālakamandā. Kassapa I (479-497 A.D.) built¹³ a palace at Sigiri, worthy to behold, like another Ālakamandā and dwelt there like (the god) Kuvera. Parākramabāhu I (1153-1186 A.D.) had speedily furnished¹⁴ the gate court of the Temple of the Tooth like to the town Alakā and had a priceless jewel hollowed out and fitted with sweet smelling powder. For Vijayabāhu II (1186-1187 A.D.) the city of Polonnaru¹⁵ was like Alakā for Kubera. In a discourse delivered to his sons and nephew, Parākramabāhu II (1234-1269 A.D.) is reported¹⁶ to have said, "I have gathered treasures . . . even as the God Kubera gathered together his nine treasures, the shell and the rest." These references to Kuvera (Kubera or Vessavaṇa) in the chronicle, attest to the high esteem with which he had been held in ancient Ceylon.

Some other instances may also be quoted from classical Sinhalese works wherein Kuvera appears as the god of riches and his city Alakā extolled as the most prosperous. *Siyabaslakara* (10th C.) mentions¹⁷ Kuvera as a great god and one of the four protectors of the world. *Budugunālamkāra* (15th C.) makes an allusion¹⁸ that the city Vesāli was comparable to the Ālakamandā of Kuvera. In poetical terminology Toṭagamuvē Śrī Rāhula alludes¹⁹ to Jayavardhanapura (Kōtte) as excelling in riches the city of Uturudigīndu (i.e. Kuvera). In the Pali work *Rasavāhinī* (13th C.) it is²⁰ said that like the god Kuvera,

kings reward friends with riches and extend punishment to foes. In the same work it is also said that kings conduct themselves on earth as if they were created out of divinities such as Kuvera.

In present day Ceylon, Vesamuṇi has become almost a household word among the Sinhalese folk, mostly in connection with the *Bali* and *Tovil* rituals. Being the king of *yakkhas* (demons), he is often invoked to counteract the evil influences exerted by his subjects (*yakku*) over human beings who are said to be "possessed."

Among the Buddhists as well as the Hindus, Vaiśravaṇa is regarded as one of the Dikpālas (Guardians of the Quarters) or Lokapālas (Protectors of the World). From the references given in the *Mahāvamsa*, it can be assumed that this deity was one who was held in esteem in Northern India at the time of the formation of the early Aryan settlements in Ceylon. Sculptures answering to his description have been found in most countries to which Buddhism had been introduced. As we have seen above, there is reason to conclude that in Ceylon he was honoured and worshipped from very early times. This is a process which has continued unabated up to the present day.

9. *Parevi Sandēśa*, ed. Wijayawardhana, 1925, v. 34.

Givā Sandēśa, ed. P. Ariyaratna, Colombo, 1934, v. 11.

10. *Mahāvamsa*, (trsl.), W. Geiger, Colombo, 1950 reprint, Ch. 10. v. 89.

11. *Ibid*, Ch. 27. v. 29.

12. *Cūlavamsa*, (trsl.), W. Geiger, Colombo, 1953 reprint, Ch. 37. v. 106.

13. *Ibid*, Ch. 39. v. 5.

14. *Ibid*, Ch. 74. v. 207.

15. *Ibid*, Ch. 80. v. 5.

16. *Ibid*, Ch. 87. v. 31.

17. *Siyabaslakara*, ed. H. Dhamminda, Colombo, 1948, v. 314.

18. *Budugunālamkāra*, ed. Dhamminda Thera, 1923, v. 80.

19. *Sālahini Sandēśa*, ed. R. Sri Dharmarama, 1922, v. 14.

20. *Rasavāhinī*, ed. Saranatisa Thera, Colombo, 1913, II, p. 45.



Fig. 1

Avalokitesvara—British Museum, London
(Nevill Collection)

Regd. No. 1898-7-1-135
(Courtesy—British Museum)



Fig. 2

Avalokiteśvara—British Museum, London
(Nevill Collection)
Regd. No. 1898-7-1-136
(Courtesy—British Museum)



Fig. 3

Jambhala (Kuvera)—British
Museum, London
(Nevill Collection)
Regd. No. 1898-7-2-150
(Courtesy—British Museum)

Brahma and Indra with the Buddha

D. T. DEVENDRA

Brahma and Indra have now ceased to hold their once prominent positions in the Indian pantheon. They have suffered descent not only in the land of their origin but in others as well which have been influenced by ancient Vedic culture and its derivatives. Brahma is still regarded with veneration in some regions of India, especially in the north. Indra, on the contrary, has virtually ceased to be meaningful in everyday life. Once linked with Vajrapāṇi and Śakra, this ancient god's memory is recalled, by some scholars, in the rites of submerged religions, as John Still graphically describes them in his "Jungle Tide." Both Brahma and Śakra (Indra in Buddhist garb) appear more as titles of a kind than as specific entities in Buddhism which holds that there is more than a single personage answering to the name.

Once, in the Buddha story, these two gods had their relative places when attending on the Buddha. This is best known from the Saṅkisa event. Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne, writing in the Notes and Queries of this Journal on a representation of the event on the north wall of the Polonnaruwa Northern Temple (now Tivaṅka-piḷimagē, then Deṃala-maha-sēya) opined that the earliest mention of the story was in the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*.¹ Evidently he was thinking of a Pali source, for Archaeological Commissioner H. C. P. Bell in discussing the mural had already pointed out that possibly the earliest notice was in the *Aśokāvadāna*, a Sanskrit work.²

The *Aśokāvadāna* was translated into Chinese during the Western Tsin dynasty.³ The much later *Dhammapada ṭhakathā* is traditionally ascribed to the fifth century exegete Buddhaghosa. There are some critics who do not endorse the tradition. Burlingame, one such, while not rejecting the author's name, tended to place him as one of the name who flourished in the thirteenth century.⁴ If pictorial representation of the Saṅkisa story can be admitted as a valid, or at least contributory, piece of evidence in regard to settling this difference of opinion, then it can easily be shown that the story has been current as far back at least the first century B.C. It appears earliest in sculpture in

1. Pt. viii, No. 6 (Dec. 1916), pp. cxxxiv-v.

2. Archaeological Survey of Ceylon Annual Report for 1909, p. 41.

3. Kao Kuan-ju in *Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*, II, p. 198f.

4. G. P. Malalasekera, *The Pali Literature of Ceylon*, p. 95f. and D. E. Hettiaratchi, JCBRAS. XXXII (No. 86), p. 359.

Bhārhut and later on in Mathurā, Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, Amarāvati and possibly too at Gummadidurru.⁵

In both the literary versions the Buddha is described as descending the middle section of a triple stairway which Indra had thrown down from Mt. Sineru to Saṅkisa city. On the right hand of the Buddha (descending with face outward) the section of the stairway was for the many celestial attendants. The left stairway was for Brahma. In both the accounts the parasol bearer was Brahma.

In the fragmentary mural extant in the representation at Polonnaruwa the bearer of the parasol stands on the right of the Buddha. If that can decide the identity of the attendant god, then Brahma was positioned on the right. Dr. Hewavitarne, however, thought that it was Brahma who is shown on the left. His argument was that a lotus is clearly in the hand of the god on this side (the rest of the figure being damaged beyond any other identification) and that in ancient Indian art Brahma is always shown with a lotus, so that the emblem sufficiently proves Brahma's identity. One is not able to concede this ground. But from other representations, and not necessarily in India, it does seem that neither lotus nor parasol can be used as decisive in identifying the figure of Brahma.

Brahma, as noted above, has been placed on the Buddha's left (in the Saṅkisa scene) in both the Sanskrit and the Pali versions where Indra was not an attendant at the descent. And yet in the earliest Indian art representations Brahma, as far as he can be identified beyond reasonable doubt, is found given the more dignified place on the Buddha's right. It is, however, Indra who can be precisely identified in the earliest examples of art, and he appears on the left. Ever after, he continued to be placed thus, but only in the land where the story originated, India. Elsewhere there appear changes.

It is to be noted that the identifying of Indra, unlike that of Brahma, poses no problem. In the earliest known examples it is very clear from the special shape of his head dress, a high truncated conical "hat." In these early examples comparable to those in which Indra is so shown, the identifying of Brahma rests on two surmises. One is of him as the figure on the Buddha's right when the correctly recognized Indra is on the left. The other is the same figure holding a vessel (jar, goblet or decanter) in one hand;⁶ it is not known whether the object can be admitted as an attribute of Brahma. These figures are interpreted from other early scenes than that of Saṅkisa. In Pāla art of much later times Brahma appears very recognizably as the four-

faced god (only three being possible to be presented).⁷ Indra shows, too, about this time a different head dress, an ornate and elongated crown of a kind.

Why was Brahma thus positioned with the Buddha more favourably than Indra? It seems to provide the clue to his survival over the other god and that is the Brahma cult was prevailing whilst the memory (if any) of Indra was surviving only in traditions. In the Saṅkisa story Indra has no place as attendant. In Indian art where he was brought in as attendant he was always on the Buddha's left.

There was, in India, only a single exception to this arrangement, though it was not in art. The exception is a notable one. It is in the travel account of Hsüan-tsang in which is a living tableau (if one may so describe it) of the two gods relative to the Buddha. The Chinese traveller has described the scene of a religious disputation between the representative of the Mahāyāna and of the Theravāda in Nālandā. The debate was under the patronage of king Śilāditya of Magadha. A golden Buddha statue was being taken to the venue in procession. Śilāditya, garbed to represent Indra, was on its right. Kumāra, a tributary king dressed as Brahma, was on its left.⁸ These respective positions, it should be noticed, were contrary to those of the two gods in Pāla art of which Nālandā was a notable centre. It should be noticed, too, that in this mime Brahma occupied the place, the left, given him in the Sanskrit and the Pali versions of the Saṅkisa story.

Although the positions of the two gods remained unchanging in the art of India the force of that tradition was not felt outside. In this respect it differed from the unchanging places reserved in the Buddhist hagiarchy to the Buddha's right-hand and left-hand disciple-attendants, Śāriputta and Moggallāna respectively. In Pagan (Burma, 12th cent.), for instance, there is a fine Saṅkisa scene wherein four-faced Brahma is on the Buddha's left.⁹ In Dvaravati and Sukhodaya (Thailand, 6th-14th cents.), too, there are similar instances.¹⁰

For reasons it is not possible precisely to discover, variations in presenting this particular scene are to be noticed in trans-Indian art. It was not always the same god, for instance, who bore the parasol, or fly-whisk. Forms appear to have been fixed, if at all they were, only in regard to a few of the barest essentials. It was likely that the heavy hand of tradition was not laid on the artist. It was also possible that the trans-Indian artist felt he need not defer to the sentiments that were undoubtedly accumulating in the land which was being overwhelmed by ideas of Hinduism.

5. Cf. respectively Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, figs. 32b & 71; A. H. Longhurst, *Archaeological Survey of India Memoir* 54, pl. XIId; Benjamin Rowland, *The Art and Architecture of India* (1953 impression), fig. 71b.

6. Dhanit Yupho, *Brahma with four faces* (Dept. of Fine Arts, Bangkok, B.E. 2510) figs. 12 & 14 (both from Gandhara).

7. Ibid. figs. 17, 18.

8. J. Barthelemy Saint-Hilaire, *Hiouen-Thsang in India*, trsl. Laura Ensor (Susil Gupta India Ltd., 1952), p. 32.

9. *Presence du bouddhisme* (dir. René de Berval, publ. "France-Asie," Saigon, 1959), pl. IX.

10. Dhanit Yupho, op.cit. fig. 1. Also A. B. Griswold, *Towards a History of Sukhodaya art* (publ. ibid., 1967), fig. 42a.

HUGH NEVILL (1848-1897)

Sinhalese Folklore

Edited by K. D. SOMADASA

This instalment of *Sinhalese Folklore* verses, translations and notes, was found in a paper manuscript of Mr. Hugh Nevill, now in the British Museum, (Or. 6616 F, folios 161-200). For verses 1-34, see the Taprobanian, Vol. III Part III, June 1888, p. 64-72; and for verses 35-59, see Vol. III Part IV, August 1888, p. 92-96 (Proof copy in the British Museum). This instalment is published with the kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

No. 60

Kande gasē salmilalē girā pātī
Gedara genāt uge suratal itā dāḍī
Annākāra sora baḷalek karapu haḍī
Māmaṇḍī giravā kūduvet nāti

Translation

The young parrot on the salmilala tree on the hill,
Very great the petting of him when brought to the house,
Lawlessly a thieving cat has done the crime,
Oh uncle! the parrot is not in the cage.

Notes

This verse has no particular feature, but represents an accident that must often befall pet birds, whose untidy cages are seldom in good order.

* * *

No. 61

Rāgan kiya kiyā dorakaḍaṭa ena liyē
Aragan kiya kiyā bittara dunnu liyē
Riḍī panan getabōkara dunnu liyē
Amā maha nivan dākappaṇa kikiliyē

Translation

Oh woman coming to the door, repeating a tune!
Oh woman who gave eggs repeating "take!"
Oh woman who gave increase of silver coin to the house!
Oh hen! may you see ambrosial great Nirvāna.

Notes

This is a catch verse, the listener being led to believe it refers to a woman, until the last line shows that a hen was intended. The word rāgan, a tune, is really Tamil, and is used as a catch-word to match aragan, "take", and convey the idea of a hen's cackle.

* * *

No. 62

Maya māmē maya māmē bolannē
Boru kiyanta dān mage diva nonāmennē
Boru kiyānā aya koyi lovada yannē
Ibbek sagavvak iguluni bolannē.

Translation

My uncle! my uncle, eh!
To tell a lie my tongue will not now bend,
Those who tell lies, to what world do they go!
A tortoise flew six gavvas, eh!

Notes

This verse satirises very truly the reckless lying of many who profess the loudest to speak the truth. The pronoun "bolannē", is literally, oh you! but conveys merely the sense of an exclamation to attract attention.

* * *

No. 63

Upamā varala upamā varala upadesē
Upamāvakin daḷadā karaṇḍu horu gatē
Nopamā basak kīvā ādda kaṭamātē
Notemā piṭak isalū hākda talapatē.

Translation

The false hair, the false hair, the trick!
By fraud thieves got the tooth relic casket.
When a hasty word is said is it chattering!
Without wetting a side can the palm leaf be held over the head

Notes

I cannot recollect the story told to me as to the theft of the casket, except that it was concealed in the thief's false hair. The leaves of the Talipat palm are used to keep off rain, as umbrellas. Kaṭamātē is a colloquial term for chatter of an idle kind.

No. 64

Kurulu tuḍā-nō
Dāta de nānō
Lamayā ōkē
Sāpa budi nānē.

Translation

With beak of birds,
On two sides two Nānō!
The child in the lap,
Is sleeping well, Nānō!

Notes

This is a little cradle song which seems great nonsense, but is probably of extreme antiquity, and mythological origin. The nānō would now mean the mother's sisters-in-law, but the first line has no sense. It probably alludes to the guardian goddesses, with bird heads, of an early cult, who watched on either side the mother and child. Nānō is so far fetched, that it is probably also a survival of their name, twisted to "sisters-in-law".

* * *

No. 65

Ahasaṭa yaṇṭa iniman baṇḍinavā duṭin
Mahamera ugulaṇṭa vāl adinavā duṭin
Mūdaṭa uḍin ēdaṇḍu adinavā duṭin
Yakaḍa kaṇṭa taru hodi tananavā duṭin.

Translation

I saw a ladder tied to go to the sky,
I saw a vine pulled to root up Mahamera,
I saw a log bridge stretched across the sea,
I saw star-broth made to eat iron.

Notes

An iniman is a ladder of sticks, ini. An ēdaṇḍu is a bridge formed by a single log laid across the stream. The whole is said to have formed a celebrated dream or vision.

* * *

No. 66

Bola pissō bola pissō mā kī dē asāpiyō
Māussā koḷa mallak nelāpiyō
Rā vissak piṭa pallaṭa elāpiyō
Liya vissaha veyi etakoṭa balāpiyō.

Translation

Here fool, here fool, hear what I say!
Pluck ye a bag of nettle leaves,
Hang ye it twenty nights on your back!
Then see ye, there may be trust in woman.

Notes

This verse is locally often quoted, and truthfully. The mā-ussā is a stinging-nettle of a particularly painful kind, found among the hills of Ceylon.

* * *

No. 67

Ayiyandī ayiyandī nuṁba kotanin genā viyē
Saka baṁba tala vaka mudunen genā viyē
Sat davasak toṁbu nāvit pamā viyē
Attanagalla gala piṭa paṇḍuru mā-viyē.

Translation

Elder brother, elder brother, whence have you brought the rice?
From the top of the Saka and Baṁba worlds was the rice brought,
For seven days without sprouting the rice delayed,
On the rock Attanagalla is a bunch of mā rice.

Notes

This alludes to a legend that "large" rice or mā-vī springs of itself on Attanagalla, the rock sacred to the martyr king Saṅghabōdhi. The verse is sung if the peasants are impatient, at the paddy not germinating quickly, when soaked before sowing.

* * *

No. 68

Vatta pahala vatu pallen genā muvē
Kāṭṭa payaṭa pāgāgena kápū muvē
Pol damalā tel damalā ivū muvē
Divya lōka sāpa viṇḍapan kehel muvē.

Translation

Oh cabbage of plantain tree, brought from bottom of garden!
Oh cabbage shred trampling down the knife with the foot!
Oh cabbage cooked adding coconut, adding oil!
Enjoy bliss in the celestial world, plantain cabbage.

Notes

The joke of this consists in puzzling the hearer, who mistakes "muva" for "deer", until the last line explains it to be the muva or cabbage at the end of a bunch of plantains. This is cut up for curry, the cook usually holding the handle of the knife under his foot, while he shreds the cabbage on the blade.

* * *

We now come to three rhymes addressed to Sorabora tank, near the ancient Vadda capital of Bintenne.

No. 69

Sorabora vāvē gāṭa niṭulē lāgi kokkū
Ridi nātuva rattaranen tuḍa lattū
Kavani nātuva kayi-oliyal babalattū
Sorabora vāvē diya piṭa pīnati kokkū.

Translation

At Sorabora tank egrets rest on gāṭa-niṭula trees,
Their beaks are of gold, having no silver,
Having no muslin, they are bright in cambric,
At Sorabora tank egrets swim on the water.

* * *

No. 70

Sorabora vāvē nā niṭulē lāgi kokkū
Pilī nātuva sudu oliyal āṇḍagattū
Ridi nātuva rattaranen tuḍulattū
Sorabora vāvē pān piṭa pīnati kokkū.

Translation

At Sorabora tank, after bathing, the egrets perch on niṭula
trees,
Having no clothes they wore white head-cloths,
Having no silver, their beaks were of gold,
At Sorabora tank the egrets swim on the water.

* * *

No. 71

Sorabora vāvē soṇḍa soṇḍa ōlu paṇḍuru āti
Ēvā nelannāṭa soṇḍa soṇḍa liyō yatī
Kalu karamin sudukaramin bat uyatī
Olu hālē bat kannāṭa mālu nātī.

Translation

At Sorabora tank good good lily clumps there are,
To gather those good good women go,
Making black, making white, they cook the rice,
To eat the rice of the lily seeds there is no curry.

Notes

Here the plumes of the white egrets are compared to fine cambric cloths, and their yellow beaks to gold. The poet is wrong in saying that they swim, as they only wade. The seeds of the white water lily are collected and cooked like rice into a sort of porridge.

* * *

No. 72

Noyek pū pāpū
Tāna tāna goḍa gasāpū
Ē dāka puppapū
Ayaṭa ṭikakut nedī kāpū.

Translation

Many cakes were shown
Here and there were heaped,
To others who saw those, with puffed cheeks,
Without giving even a little were eaten.

Notes

This verse is repeated when children watch the cooking of cakes expectantly, and wish to remind the cook to be liberal. The word pup-papu is "puffed", and refers to the way in which a greedy child will puff up his cheeks in expectation of a dainty.

* * *

No. 73

Maḍakali makali maya muva gadan dēnu denā
Ranakali walalu ata lāgena maldaminā
Man ena kalaṭa kisi aḍuvak nokalaminā
Konakala galaṭa yan api ada navātānā.

Translation

Maḍakali makali maya muva gadan dēnu denā
Golden love! putting bangles on arm, garlanding flowers,
When I am coming doing nothing insufficiently,
Let us go at Konakala rock today to stay.

Notes

The first line cannot be translated as it stands in the song. It is very likely to be a corruption of some old invocation, to which the other three lines form a tag. Manakali would be "dear love", *kal*, being old colloquial for "woman", but here used as an endearment, as we use "dear", "love", etc.

* * *

No. 74

Vatta vaṭaṭa wāl vāraṭiya
Nāṭṭa mulāṭa titta kāṭiya
Geḍiya pitin korala kāṭiya
Lābēda tiyaṃbarā geḍiya.

Translation

Around the garden a vine tangle,
At end of stalk a bitter bit,
All over the fruit roughness much,
Can I have a cucumber fruit?

Notes

The tiyaṃbarā is a coarse rough cucumber, that grows on a straggling vine. Vāraṭiya, a tangle, is a noteworthy word, and the play on kāṭiya is quaint.

* * *

No. 75

Ala kola miyana kola tum̃ba kola batala kola
Kara kola tōra kola lī kola aṇuga kola
Labu kola puhul kola mā kola daṃbala kola
Mē kola kaṇṭa lunu nāti akusalaka bala.

Translation

Yam leaves, fern leaves, tum̃ba leaves, sweet potato leaves,
Kara leaves, tōra leaves, lī leaves, aṇuga leaves,
Gourd leaves, melon leaves, lentil leaves, daṃbala leaves,
To eat these leaves there is no salt—Behold the demerit!

Notes

This is a string of names of leaves that can be eaten in emergency, but even for these there was no salt! Anuṅga, for modern aṇuga, the *Hoya viridis*, a creeper with clusters of beautiful green flowers, is rather curious.

No. 76

Puttalamē siṭiyayi kumbalāvā
Pannampitiye nuga gaha yaṭaṭa āvā
Ohoṛi poṭaṭa pānalā kalpanāvā
Daharāhiyē dīpu maye kumbalāvā.

Translation

The kumbalāvā which was in Puttalam,
Came beneath the banyan tree at Pannanpitiya,
I think it has jumped into the dress fold,
Oh my kumbalāvā given back by the drab!

Notes

This is said to refer to a fish trader, who brought dried kumbalāvā fish from Puttalam for sale, and detected a woman stealing one of his dried kumbalāvā fish, which she popped into the ohoṛi-poṭa, or loose fold of her dress, crossing from shoulder to waist. The abusive expression daharāhi, like this dress, is a Kandian speciality. I translate it "drab", it is a contemptuous expression of a vague kind for a despised woman of loose morals.

No. 77

Jalli janguṭu jalli jalā
Jallipinā gennālā
Tōra kolē dawaṭālā
Toku kāṭiyak annālā
Rāya rāya kumana rāya
Koṭa kitulen bāna rāya
Ōvān ṭikak bī balāya
Tope appā pal horāya
Yanṭa yaman Baṇḍālā
Tora kolē dawaṭālā.

Translation

Jalli janguṭu jalli jalā
Bringing Jallipinā
Wrapped in a tōra leaf,
Thumping many thumps
Toddy, toddy, what sort of toddy,
Toddy drawn from the short sugar-palm,
Having drunk a little of that, and seen,
Your father is a scoundrel,
Let us go Banda
Wrapped in a tōra leaf.

Notes

This is a tissue of disconnected nonsense, but from the peculiar metre and swing, it is very likely to be a parody on an old invocation of some god. The *tōra* leaf is a very pinnate foliage of a cassia, and of course only a drunkard or mad man would suppose it could be used as a wrapper. *Ōvān* is a quaint form for *ōvāyin*, "from those". *Palhorā* denotes an exceptionally bad thief. If it is a survival of an invocation, *jalli janguṭu jalli jalā*, and *Rāya rāya kumana rāya* are the key lines to its origin, and indeed the song seems arranged upon them, taking *rā*, toddy for *rāya*, a king or *rāja*.

* * *

No. 78

Pālu pilē vāli kelalā tiyennā
Pālu liūdē pān kelalā tiyennā
Lōlu gahē mal pipilā tiyennā
Kapurū Baṇḍāra enavā penennā

Translation

In the old porch sand has been played with,
At the old well water has been played with,
On the lōlu tree flowers have blossomed,
Kapurū Baṇḍāra is seen coming!

Notes

It is difficult to say whether Kapurū Baṇḍāra is the demi-god of that name, coming to frighten the idle children, or a village notable.

* * *

No. 79

Nācchirē ātikala dōniyandā
Māttaren kitulē paya tiyandā
Sūttaren goṭuvē kaṭa tiyandā
Nācchirē narakayi dōniyandā.

Translation

The daughter adopted by the Nacchiri
Secretly climbs the sugar-palm,
Trickishly she puts her mouth to the toddy-pail,
Bad is the Nacchiri's daughter.

Notes

Nacchiri is a title for wives of Mohammedans. Of course a Mahommedan's daughter stealing toddy, would be even worse than a Sinhalese girl doing so—which itself is unheard of.

No. 80

Aliyā nan aliya
Paliyā nan paliyā
Kankoti deka naliyā
Vāten piṭaṭa chī gariyā.

Translation

Elephant is elephant,
Paliyā is paliyā,
Flapping two ears
Be off beyond fence, bullock!

Notes

This is a child's version of the charms to stop the charge of an elephant. A Paliyā is a man of very low caste. The child I fancy is here supposed to repeat the elephant charm to drive cattle out of the garden—but it is uncommon to address an elephant as "bullock", with the idea that it will impress him with the charm-mutterer's contempt and power.

* * *

The two following describe the villager's admiration for the peacocks, once so common.

No. 81

Egoda velen ena moṇḍarā subāvā
Ēkā piṭē gini mal tārakāvā
Ambarā pil-valla bima gāva gāva
Moṇḍarā noveyi deyyani dēvatāva.

Translation

The beauty of the peacock crossing from the field beyond!
Above it is a fire-spark star!
Its twisting train trailing trailing on the ground,
It is not a peacock, god! it is a Dēvatā!

* * *

No. 82

(The Sinhalese verse is not available)

Translation

The beauty of the peacock feeding on Badulla plain!
Looking looking round about is the way he feeds,
Its twisting train trailing, trailing, on the ground,
It is not a peacock, god! it is a Devata!

Notes

The Sinhalese speak of the train "twisting", where we should say "spreading". The fire star is its crest.

* * *

No. 83

Milla gahē pāla tānuvā pārattu
Pālaṭa yaṇṭa mama viṇḍinā alayaṭṭu
Pālaṭa giyaṭ bima vātena ulapaṭṭu
Pālaṭa peneyi maha mudē rāla taṭṭu.

Translation

In the milla tree a watch-hut was made well,
To go to the watch-hut I suffer dilemma,
If I went to the watch-hut and fell to earth and was spiked?
From the watch-hut are seen the waves of the great sea.

* * *

No. 84

Nāndat māt oya ossē yana kaḷaṭa
Āt rāla avit pānnayi ape issaraṭa
Vaṭapiṭa bālimi gasakut nāta paninnaṭa
Piṭapaṭa gasā pānnemi nāndage piṭaṭa

Translation

While mother-in-law and I were going along stream,
An elephant herd came and rushed in front of us,
I looked round a tree to spring up, there was not,
With piṭapaṭa I sprang on mother-in-law's neck.

Notes

Piṭapaṭa is a mimetic sound, as we say flip-flap, bang-bang, etc. (meaning loin cloth). Ossē is a curious word, only met with in the vernacular.

* * *

No. 85

Kukulā sēma tuppoṭṭiya inēyā
Madumala sēma uramālē isēyā
Hin-daṁbala tada vēvāla atēyā
Punchi-Rāla Haṅguranketa murēyā.

Translation

Like a cock with his waist cloth,
Like a convolvulus his head cloth,
A strong hindaṁbala cane in his hand,
Punchi-Rāla is on guard at Haṅguranketa.

Notes

This would seem to allude to a Sinhalese dressed up as a Kandian, for the first time, when guard at Haṅguranketa palace. The verse seems to laugh at the airs do such persons.

* * *

No. 86

Mal mālē karalāgana somipullā
Dān kāle ivasum bāri nūmba pallā
Pan dahasakaṭa māda tibunat uḍa ellā
Ran āvudē novidida vidinā gullā.

Translation

Weaving on neck the full-blown flower garland,
Can you not endure the present times
Though it should be hung aloft amongst five thousand,
Will the boring worm not pierce the sacred weapon.

* * *

No. 87

Āttu tamayi api balamuva bolannē
Kitul tamayi api kotaninda dennē
Raṭen gamen vaṭ kitulak ṇodennē
Āttu nisāmayi ape pana nahinnē.

Translation

Elephants indeed we look after-you!
Sugar palms indeed whence can we give?
From village and country alike no sugar-palms are given,
On account of the elephants our life is lost.

No. 88

Il uṇḍuvak masa durutu masēya
Rā duṭu sinē vāduma nātēyā
Evvā kāmen aṇḍa dabarēyā
Appallen kanavāma penēyā.

Translation

In the months of Il, Uñduvak, Durutu*
A dream seen at night has no result—
There'll be a row if those are eaten!
Eating out of the pot is seen!

Notes

This begins as if a serious verse, and then breaks off as if a boy was seen stealing some food from the pot. Añḍa-dabara, a noisy quarrel, exactly answers to our "row", and is equally slang.

*November, December, January.

* * *

No. 89

Ira deyiyo ira mañḍalē babalannē
Saṇḍa deyiyo saṇḍa mañḍalē babalannē
Balu deyiyo lipbokkē peralennē
Nari deyiyo vel gānē āvidinnē.

Translation

The sun god shines in the sun's orb,
The moon god shines in the moon's orb,
The dog god rolls in the hearthplace,
The jackal god rambles over many fields.

Notes

This is a sly laugh at the multiplicity of quaint gods revered by others. There is probably a survival of ridicule of an antagonistic religion in the customary joke of speaking of gods and jackals, as gods.

* * *

No. 90

Ira pāyā ira mudunē giravu giyā
Saṇḍa pāyā saṇḍa mudunē sāvo giyā
Mala pipilā mala mudunē baṁburu giyā
Gamaṭa ruwayi Rammāṇikā dīga giyā.

Translation

The sun shone, at sun zenith, the parrots went,
The moon shone, at moon zenith, the hares went,
The flower bloomed, above the flower, the bees went,
The village is beautiful, Rammāṇikā being married away.

Notes

The parrot is connected with the sun myths, and the hare with moon myths. The singer presumably has been slighted by the maiden Rammāṇikā, since he finds the village beautiful when she has gone.

No. 91

Sarabara basaṭa gala yaṭa kara kavaṭa
Tana kavanavaṭa harakaṭa balanavaṭa
Naravara basaṭa karabana asanavaṭa
Pana yana kalaṭa para paṇa yana kavaṭa.

Translation

At a noisy speech below the rock making joking,
For grazing grass tending the ox,
To a king's word submissively listening,
When life is going, if another's life is going it is joking.

Notes

The feature of this verse is the use only of the simple vowel "a" and the double rhyme with ṭa. It is merely a "tour de force" of the scholar.

* * *

No. 92

Kōṭṭē kalālē
Kisillē
Data māda gan.

Translation

Kōṭṭē is ruined,
No hope!
Take the Tooth midwards.

Notes

This is said to have been spoken in a dream to king Vimāla Dharma, or as others say to his minister, and in consequence the Tooth Relic was removed to Māda Maha Nuvara just before the Portuguese surprised and sacked the city. The dream was interpreted as above, and māda was taken to be Māda Maha Nuvara, or the "Great inland city". The apparent sense of the dream or vision, in ordinary language is:

Pillow in mat,
Under the armpit,
Brush the teeth.

No. 93

Pas kandē ala ātuvāmayi Rālē
Ala kāvot mō kāvāmayi Rālē
Mō kannē ala kālāvada Rālē
Ala kāvot mō kāvāmayi Rālē.

Translation

In the earth hill there are yams, Rāla!
If the yams are eaten the mother is eaten, Rāla!
Eating the mother are yams eaten, Rāla!
If the yams are eaten the mother is eaten, Rāla.

Notes

This however is only an apparent sense, and the verse by a play on words really convey a serious Buddhist doctrine.

There is desire (āla) in the Five Skandha,
If desire is consumed, moksha (mō) is gained,
Gaining mōksha, is not desire consumed?
If desire is consumed, mōsha is gained.

There is another variety of this as follows—

* * *

No. 94

Pasgamana kandē ala āta rālē
É kande ala udurā damavu kālē
Ala kālā mō kannē kavara kālē
Mō kannē ala nāti ayamayi rālē.

Translation

At Pasgamana hill there are yams, Master!
The yams rooted on that hill, throw into jungle,
Having eaten yams at what time is the mother eaten?
Those who eat the mother are they who have no yams, Master?

In the other sense this gives:

In the five skandhas is desire, Rāla!
Rooting out desire in those skandhas throw it away!
Having consumed desire at what time is moksha gained?
They gain moksha who have no desire, Rāla!

* * *

No. 95

Asan sakiya api giya raṭa vijjāvā
Saṇḍa pānē medēri gas atagāvā
Ema pānē pol gahakāṭa baḍagāvā
Asan sakiya medēri kiribat kāvā.

Translation

Hear friend! the description of the land we went to!
By moon-light we pulled the millet plants,
By the same light we swarmed up the coconut tree,
Hear friend! we ate milky-rice millet.

Notes

This seems to be a satire on villagers who go off as if to travel, but really to steal and be idle.

No. 96

Haṅguranketa nuvara pāluyi kiyannan
Ātun ahun kuḍa kūnan baṇḍinnan
Duppat senaṅga kūnama yaṭa aṇḍannan
Ukut unā niyamayi kalu aṇḍinnan.

Translation

Haṅguranketa city is desolate, they say,
Elephants, horses, umbrellas, litters, are tied,
Sad folk weep beneath the litter,
For the decease the wearing of black is ordered.

Notes

This is evidently a lament over the funeral cortege of king Vijaya Raja Sinha of Haṅguranketa, at A.D. 1747.

* * *

No. 97

Amunu damunu geḍi
Kāppetī mora geḍi
Ganinne olu geḍi
Giliṇḍa puluvani.

Translation

Mango, daṁba fruit,
Croton, mora fruit,
Priests, skulls
I can swallow.

This is a mocking verse, very insulting to a priest's bald pate, as olu geḍi is a very rude name for a head. The other fruits are good, but croton berries, like priests, pates, cannot be swallowed. Notice amunu, damunu, where we use aṁba, daṁba, now.

No. 98

Kaṇḍan dirālayi kaṇḍa-raṁba pipennē
 Bima iri talālayi bimmal pipennē
 Dasa masa pirīlayi mavvaru vadannē
 Esevu mavaṭa āyi topi miga kiyanṇē

Translation

When logs rot, the fungi sprout,
 When the soil cracks, toadstools sprout,
 When ten months are finished, mothers bring forth,
 Such a mother why do you abuse.

Notes

Notice kaṇḍaraṁba for the fungi that grow sideways from logs, and bimmal for toadstools. Also miga kiya, to abuse, literally to utter abuse.

(Verses 99 and 100 are not in the manuscript.)

* * *

No. 101

Kaḷē ganan kal iranān geviccī
 Āla niyarē yana-koṭa paya lehiccī
 Ammaṭa bayē āṅga lē mas siṇḍiccī
 Notalan amme atalā-ṭika biṇḍiccī.

Translation

The pot's fated length of time is finished,
 Whilst going along the stream's dam the foot slipped,
 From fear of mother the blood in the body's flesh has dried,
 Don't beat mother, a little potlet is broken.

Notes

The word iranān, fate, is a colloquial word only. Lehicci, past participle from liha, lisa, to slip, is a quaint form. The girl changes the kaḷa, or large pot, into an atala or small pot, when confessing.

* * *

No. 102

Uḍavattē miris kaḍannan
 Palle vattē kaha uḍurannan
 Kollō allanṭa Billō ennan
 Kūn-Kūn.

Translation

In the upper garden picking chillies,
 In the lower garden rooting up turmeric,
 To catch the boys the Billō are coming—
 Kūn-kūn.

Notes.

The Billō are our Bogies.

* * *

No. 103

Gon gōni piṭin
 Bāta katu piṭin
 Manamāla soṇḍin
 Yanavāda itin.

Translation

The ox with its pack,
 The rice with its husk,
 If the bridegroom's good
 Then are you going?

Notes

There is a play on an idiomatic use of piṭin which gives the sense quoted, though at first one would understand "the ox on its pack", "the rice on its husk", which is nonsense.

* * *

No. 104

Anna anē ara liyadda
 Menna metana mē liyadda
 Kuṁburāṭa loku Mahaliyadda
 Gamē tamayi Doraliyadda.

Translation

Lo there, alas! that bed!
 Lo! here! this bed!
 Bigger than a field is Mahaliyadda,
 A village itself is Doraliyadda.

Notes

This is a play on the word liyadda, a bed or parcel of a rice fields kuṁbura. But strangely two villages have got the name, Maha-liyadda, or Great-bed, and Dora-liyadda, or Door-bed, and the verse laugh, at the inconsistency.

No. 105

Anna atana ara talē
Menna metana mē talē
Dunnāṭa loku italē
Gamē tamayi Mātālē.

Translation

Lo there! there—on that plain,
Lo here! here—on this plain,
The arrow is bigger than the bow,
A village itself is Mātālē.

Notes

This is a play on talē; it is impossible to translate exactly *menna-metana*, but they convey a sense of "lo here", "in this place".

* * *

No. 106

Ukku-Rāla kasi kabalā
Velē gahē polos horā
Mal-baliyē kāvun horā
Haṇḍapānē gānu horā.

Translation

Ukku-Rāla an itchy lean fellow
Of the soft-jak tree's young fruit a thief
Of the planet-offering's cakes a thief
By moonlight of woman a thief.

* * *

No. 107

Takkaṭa tarikīṭa tālē
Talagaha yaṭa gon gālē
Balanṭa yan Kavū-Rālē
Tope ammage avatālē.

Translation

Takkaṭa tarikīṭa's tune,
The cattle crowd under the talipat tree,
Let us go and see, Kavū-Rālē,
Your mother's ghost.

No. 108

Dennaṭa kaṇṭa ivuvā vāni manāvak
Dennaṭa kaṇṭa maḍivāṭa kalpanāvak
Pādura mādaṭa vivuvā vāni raṭāvak
Oluva kahanavaṭa denavada panāvak.

Translation

It seems a manāva is cooked for two to eat,
The thought is its insufficient for two to eat,
It is as if a maze were woven in midst of a mat,
Do you give me a comb as my head's itching.

Notes

Here the raṭāva referred to is a pattern of a maze, woven often on mats, etc., as a small ornament. The manāva is about a pint.

* * *

No. 109

Kaṇṭa tiyeyi?	Aṭu dekalu.
Bonta tiyeyi?	Lin dekalū.
Rāla hoṇḍeyi?	Kaha malalū.
Vanse hoṇḍeyi?	Sama palalū.
Yanṭamadō?	Ehenam mokadē.

Translation

Is there food?	It's said "two barns".
Is there drink?	It's said "two wells".
Is the man good?	It's said "a gold flower".
Is the family good?	It's said "moderate".
Should I go?	Yes indeed why not!

Notes

This is the enquiry by a girl as to her proposed husband's qualification for that post.

* * *

No. 110

Kandaka siṭinā valahāḍi bakki
Miyāṭa aṇḍanā baḷal mālakki
Kelintā obinā Demala udākki
Arinta bārimaya gānu mālakki.

Translation

On a hill stays a big she-bear,
For the mouse cries the soft cat,
For the play is fitting the Demala timbrel,
One cannot discard a tender woman!

* * *

No. 111

Vendaruve liyō veṇḍaru pidāliiyō
Doragamuve liyō dorāṭa duvanniyō
Ambola liyō aba āṭa ṭukkiyō
Uḍa Dumbara liyō ranen valliyyō.

Translation

Vendaruva women are little butter pats,
Doragamuva women are runners to the door,
Ambola women are mites like a mustard seed,
Uḍa Dumbara women are golden Ladies.

Notes

In this verse ṭukkiyo is only known to me as Kandian slang for a mite of a woman. Can it be connected with Tamil ṭukku, a load that can be lifted?

* * *

No. 112

Tigalo velē ismattē
Karuvala gaha diya tattē
Tampalā vatte ayinē kāṇḍāttē.

Translation

At upper end of Tigalo field
On an ebony tree, thirsting for water,
Near Tampala garden is the hornbill.

Notes

There is a saying that the hornbill is always suffering from thirst, and the cries of this bird, which often precede rain, are interpreted into clamour for water. Notice diya tattē, ismattē, ayinē, all essentially colloquial words.

No. 113

Maṭa unu takatariyē ane mage kuṁburāṭa diya nāttē
Maṭa unu takatariyē ane mage mivā horu gattē
Maṭa unu takatariyē ane mage baḍu horu gattē
Maṭa unu takatariyē ane mage gāni Asgiriye.

Translation

The folly that happened to me, alas! in my field there's no water.
The folly that happened to me, alas! thieves have taken my buffalo.
The folly that happened to me, alas! thieves have taken my goods.
The folly that happened to me, alas! my wife is at Asgiriya.

Notes

There is evidently an allusion to the luring away or abduction of the wife by some powerful person, at Asgiriya, whose name it was not politic to mention.

* * *

No. 114

Okkoma api dān yanakoṭa duṭuvada āt rāla golla
Ekkama atwāl bāṇḍagana basimin gal mulla
Dākkama nāta vaṭunot āṭa kābalit nuṁba palla
Takkāṭa taka domi kundan ātekut vala dāmu ālla.

Translation

As we were all going now did you see the herd of elephants?
Together linking our hands in a chain descending by the rock
If we fell, you, not a bit of bone even would be seen,
Takkāṭa taka domi kundan! precipice that buried an elephant.

Notes

It would seem that this song was repeated to keep up the courage of some adventurous climbers; the sound of the elephant's fall is well suggested by "Takkāṭa taka domi kundan", or, the rolling, the first thump of the fall below, and the dull thud of the rebounding carcass.

* * *

No. 115

Egoḍa gedara aṇḍurayi Kiri ammā
Megōḍa gedara aṇḍurayi Kiri ammā
Seppuva aragana saṇḍun vaḍammā
Maṭat puteku denavada Kiriammā.

Translation

The house on that side grows dark, Kiriammā,
The house on this side grows dark, Kiriammā,
Taking the casket apply sandal,
To me do you give a son, Kiriammā.

Notes

Kiriammā is an obsolete goddess, allied to Giri-Dēvi, and must not be confused with Kiriammā, grandmother. I have several hymns in her honour.

* * *

No. 116

Dāta balāpan dāta vaḷalu balāpan
Depaya balāpan depaya gigiri balāpan
Piṭi-passaṭa bāṇḍi konḍe piyūm balāpan
Tālbayen yana radavige omari balāpan.

Translation

Look at her two hands, look at the bangles on her two hands,
Look at her two feet, look at the rattles on her two feet,
Look at the flowers in her hair knotted at the back,
Look at the pride of the swaggering washer-woman.

Notes

There is constant friction between the washers and their masters, as the former are very often very wealthy, and seem them unable to resist infringing the privileges of their employers, by aping their jewels, etc.

No. 117

Atta soṇḍayi tada vāssata isalaṇḍa
Pitta soṇḍayi tada varamadu aṁbaranda
Gobē soṇḍayi dasa dharmē liyavanda
Me mala soṇḍayi Budu magulaṭa geneyanda.

Translation

The leaf is good to hold over head in heavy rain,
The stalk is good for twisting strong nooses,
The heart is good for writing the ten Dharma,
This flower is good to carry at Budu's feast.

Notes

The allusion is to the uses of the talipat palm.

No. 118

Aluta bāṇḍapu gal vāṭa piṭa iṇṭa epā
Gōru madē paya tadakara gaman epā
Anun kiyana bas sitakaṭa ganda epā
Raṭaka yatata maṭa nokiyā yanda epā.

Translation

Don't stand on a newly built stone dyke,
Don't walk stamping the foot in thick mud,
Don't keep in mind words said by others,
If you go abroad, don't go without telling me.

* * *

No. 119

Goraka miris baḍu paṭavā kaḍisāran
Gonuge karē mini bāṇḍalā sinhāran
Magata gosin nokaran āravāran
Seṭṭi liyē yannan Kottiyāran.

Translation

Load as goods goraka and chillies quickly,
On the bull's neck tie bells that tinkle,
Going on the road, make no proud quarrel,
Oh Seṭṭi lady I go to Kottiyāra.

* * *

No. 120

Temalā redda hāliyē obana koṭa
Ravalā pānapu maha inikunā geṭa
Geyi hitiya kollō bayin panapu doṭṭa
Kapalā demu Koṭaṁbe Halu Pēḍiyaṭa.

Translation

When thrusting the wet cloth into her jar,
A great body louse sprang frowning into the house,
The boys who were in the house in fear sprang out of doors,
Having slain I give (it) to Halu Pēḍiya of Kotaṁbē.

Notes

This name shows that the recipient of the slaughtered monster was a washerman. Notice the colloquial idiom "pānapi doṭṭa", sprang out of doors.

No. 121

Kande gosin api Kāvē kohila dalu
Gamata āvit api kāvē bulat dalu
Keliyāta sināvaṭa api āndē kacci saḷu
Ātek marāpulu uḍarata Bolaṇḍa Kalu.

Translation

Going to the hill we ate kohila shoots,
Coming to the village we ate tender betel leaves
For fun at play we wore kachchi cloths,
Bolaṇḍa Kalu of Uḍarata is said to have killed an elephant.

Notes

Kachchi cloths are a coarse cloth of native manufacture.

* * *

No. 122

Kengallē āttannē ātinnī
Hakkeṭuvā gala pāmula vāticci
Isa siṭa depatulāta gōmura isicci
Dān āṇḍanne moṭada kal kiṭṭu vecci.

Translation

The cow elephant of the Kengalle family
Fell down at the foot of the Hakkeṭu rock,
From its head to its two feet white marks had formed,
Why are you now crying, the time has approached.

* * *

No. 123

Nuṁba malli maṭa sivupada nokiyanna
Gana vāllē gos avuvē nosiṭinna
Rāvaṭillē vaga māgen ahapanna
Liṇḍa pallē Sinha rāja vaṭunā vānna.

Translation

You, younger brother, don't tell me quatrains,
Going to thick sand don't stay in the sun,
Questioning me as if in mockery,
Is like the king lion that fell in the well.

Notes

This refers to a story. A certain lion was king of a forest, and he used to roar so terribly that numbers of beasts would die of fright merely on hearing him. He would then eat one or two, and the others

were wasted. The beasts then waited upon him, and offered to surrender one a day as food, if he would spare the rest. He consented. One day it fell to hare's turn. Purposely delaying until the lion was angry, the hare presented himself. The lion angrily asked why he was so late, and what was the good of so small a beast. He then humbly stated that as he and four other hares were coming to be eaten, a strange lion met them, and though told their business, ate four, and sent this one to challenge the rival king. The lion fell into the snare, and hastened off with the hare to fight his enemy. The hare showed him a well, and said that the rival king lived there. Peeping down, he mistook the reflection of his own face for the enemy, and roared with rage; the well echoed up the roar, and taking it for a reply to this challenge, he sprang into it, and was drowned.

* * *

No. 124

Tan diri diri tān diri mīyāta balalāta ediri
Tan diri diri tān diri kukulāta sivalā ediri
Tan diri diri tān diri nāṇḍāta yēli ediri
Tan diri diri tān diri gāṇiṭa minihā ediri.

Translation

Tan diri diri tān diri the cat's against the rat,
Tan diri diri tān diri the jackal's against the cock,
Tan diri diri tān diri the daughter-in-law's against her mother-in-law,
Tan diri diri tān diri the husband's against the wife.

* * *

No. 125

Māmaṇḍi man vāḍak karaṇavā
Gala uḍa patane habak adinavā
Davasāta miyan dahak maraṇavā
É kusalin man matu Budu venavā.

Translation

Uncle I am doing a work,
In the glade above the rock I am laying a snare,
Daily a thousand rats I am killing!
From that merit hereafter I shall be Budu.

Notes

This of course is sarcastic; it conveys, I think, a hint that people who sin the most, claim the loudest to be religious; and is not merely a mockery of Buddhism.

No. 126

Kuḍamässā kavādada nidimata vennē
 Alivassā kavādada nānā innē
 Mīmässā kavada ron noganinnē
 Ape akkā kavādada avidin yannē.

Translation

When is the little fish gone to sleep?
 When is the elephant calf bathing?
 When does the bee not collect pollen?
 When will our elder sister who has come go away?

Notes

This verse expresses annoyance at an unduly protracted visit, and has no other object.

* * *

No. 127

Pol attak piṭa kapuṭek iṇḍagana aṇḍanā aṇḍanā
 Vela diga pahalata sivalek duvanā duvanā
 Oya diga pahalata diya ballek duvanā duvanā.
 Silvat mahageṭa Beravā paddek talanā talanā.

Translation

A crow sitting on a coconut leaf, cawing, cawing,
 Along and below the field a jackal, running, running.
 Along and below the stream an otter, running, running,
 A Drummer chap, the pious woman, beating, beating.

* * *

128

Pātarata hoṇḍayi pol āti Mīgamuva
 Denuvara soṇḍayi gaṅga asa Kalugamuva
 Surikaduva nam piyasaki Vendaruva
 Yahangala penenu Vādi-raṭa Ginnoruva.

Translation

In the low country coconut-bearing Mīgamuva is good,
 In Denuvara Kalugamuva on the river bank is good,
 Surikaduva is a hamlet of Vendaruva,
 From Yahangala is seen Ginnoru in the Vādi land.

Notes

The third line is obscure to me, as I do not know the Vendaruva named in it. This and 127 are merely strung together for the sound, not the sense.

No. 129

Alutnuvara dēvalē mī rukulā
 Gampala-velē vala maddē kaṭu iṃbulā
 Gāṭaṃbe toṭē nitarama padinā aṅgulā
 Kaṭugastoṭa gala piṭa innayi kiṃbulā.

Translation

Alutnuvara temple is a hollow mī tree,
 In the midst of Gampala-vela field is a cotton tree,
 At the Gāṭaṃba ferry the canoe is constantly paddled,
 On a rock at Kaṭugastoṭa lies a crocodile.

* * *

No. 130

Gaṅga gaṅgak nāta Māvāli gaṅga vāgē
 Helata helak nāta Galpaḍi hela vāgē
 Velaṭa velak nata Sorabora vela vāgē
 Rataṭa raṭak nata Dumbara raṭa vāgē.

Translation

Of rivers there is no river like Māvāli river,
 Of hills there is no hill like Galpaḍi hill,
 Of fields there is no field like Sorabora field,
 Of districts there is no district like Dumbara district.

Notes

Evidently the song of a proud mountaineer of beautiful Dumbara. At the edge of this district, straight below the lofty range of the Galpaḍi hill, lies the winding river, and the glittering tank and fields of Sorabora—as beautiful a sight as eye could wish.

* * *

No. 131

Egoḍa gedara pilagāvaṭa vāniccī
 Megōḍa gedara pilagāvaṭa peniccī
 Alaṅkāra mā sulaṅgaṭa vāniccī
 Bolan nāne uddaṇḍu mala pipiccī

Translation

At the house on that side it waved at the porch end,
 At the house on this side it was seen at the porch end,
 In the great beauty it waved in the breeze,
 Ho you! sister-in-law the sugar-cane has bloomed into flower.

Notes

This verse records the admiration excited by the plumes of a sugar-cane. This is not a free-flowering plant in Ceylon; the flowers resemble those of a pampas-grass. The "pila" of a house is a sort of verandah, or long porch. The expression *alaṅkāra mā* may be correctly taken as I have translated it, but at first sight one might take it for "beautiful great breeze", illustrating the obscurity of these rhymes.

* * *

No. 132

Ātā leḍin kivvayi Vanni Pattuvē
Kiyā arinṭat bāri raṭa gama kulappuvē
Ātā usaṭa dun paṇḍurut nogattuvē
Āta rāka deṇṭa devi satara kaṭṭuve.

Translation

It is said the elephant is sick in Vanni Pattu,
The report can't be confirmed owing to troubles in the land and
village,
Though presents as high as the elephant were given they are not
taken,
May the four gods protect the elephant!

Notes

Apparently a favourite elephant was away in Wannu Pattu when the country was in confusion, and no veterinary man could be persuaded to attend it.

* * *

No. 133

Uḍa bāluvat uḍa sevanak nāta ammē
Bima bāluvat bima sevanak nāta ammē
Nāsiyakugen kisi piṇṭak nāta ammē
Apa āralā nuṁba val vādunada ammē.

Translation

If I look up, there is no shade above, Mother!
If I look down, there is no shade on the ground, Mother!
From any relation there is no help, Mother!
Leaving us, have you departed, Mother!

Notes

This is the lament of an orphan over the mother's death; *val vādunā*, literally "to enter the forest", is a recognised method of avoiding the word "die".

No. 134

Koskandavala liyō maha paṭunu kāriyō
Velē unnu ibbaṭa inna nāriyō
Gedara genāt pilikannē daḍōriyō
Ibbage mālu kāvada dahadurāviyō.

Translation

Koskandavala women are great revenue-folk,
The tortoise in the field they would not let go,
Taking to the house, in the verandah—daḍōriyo!
Did the ten Durāva women eat tortoise flesh?

Notes

The Sinhalese consider the tortoise unfit for food, and are much shocked when low caste people kill and eat it. The expression "daḍō-riyō" is equivalent to "down you go, whack", and is a mimetic word meaning that it was wantonly thrown down with violence—making the thump or sound, reproduced in daḍō. The Durāvas are usually spoken of as ten clans; they draw toddy in Ceylon.

* * *

No. 135

Boruvak noveyi koḍi bāndā nuṁba palla
Keruvat vāḍa soṇḍayi sunu saha sudu vālla
Māruvat bāri ehi nobalā nuṁbapalla
Paruvat dahas aṭaṭa nāyaka Alagalla.

Translation

It is no lie, a flag is tied—you!
If done with lime and white sand the work is good,
Though you die, you can't be without looking there, you!
Of eight thousand mountains the chief is Alagalla.

Notes

This apparently records some festival when a flag was displayed on the sharp peak of Alagalla, a conspicuous Kandian landmark.

* * *

No. 136

Us us kurakkan gollē
Kapā giyemi vāṭa mullē
Lanuva vāṭicceyi mage bellē
Itin kosemada rākenne darugollē.

Translation

Tall, tall, kurakkan bunch,
Cutting I went to the foot of the fence,
A rope fell on my neck,
How then can my children be nourished!

Notes

This is supposed to be the lament of a field rat, caught in a noose, when returning with an ear of kurakkan millet for its young. It correctly shows the tender compassion which Sinhalese villagers often show to the lower animals. Golla is here a bunch, but it is a lax or slang use. It is also applied to several persons in a group, as if the second person plural and a pronoun.

* * *

No. 137

Tagē isaṭa tel dunnē kavda aḍā
Magē isaṭa tel dunnē pol geḍiyā
Tagē kaṭaṭa kiri dunnē kavda aḍā
Magē kaṭaṭa kiri dunnē tana-puḍuvā
Tagē baḍaṭa bat dunnē kavda aḍā
Magē baḍaṭa bat dunnē viḡeḍiyā
Tagē inaṭa redi dunnē kavda aḍā
Magē inaṭa redi dunnē kapu geḍiya.

Translation

For thy head, who was it gave the oil,
For my head, the coconut gave the oil.
For thy mouth, who was it gave the milk,
For my mouth, the breast gave the milk.
For thy belly, who was it gave the rice,
For my belly, the rice grain gave me the rice.
For thy waist, who was it gave the cloth,
For my waist, the cotton pod gave the cloth.

Notes

This rhyme has two more lines, referring to a very necessary and natural act of which Europeans consider it indelicate to talk.

* * *

No. 138

Hāḍē bala balā pāre yana kalāṭa
Kuḍē allagana eyi radavat laṅgaṭa
Vāḍē soṇḍa lesaṭa koralā arinnaṭa
Aḍē mehe varen mēkaṭa aninnaṭa.

Translation

Looking, looking, at his dress, as he goes along the road,
Holding an umbrella he goes even to the washer—
To send him off doing the work in good fashion
Ho! come here—to punch this fellow.

Notes

A verse ridiculing the conceited affection of a fop, who even used an umbrella when going to see his washer; an umbrella is carried by the villager as a sign of importance, rather than for use.

* * *

No. 139

Vālada vārakāda nuṁba geniyana peṭṭiyē
Kirida dikirida nuṁba geniyana peṭṭiyē
Harida naharīda maṁba kiyana vittiyē
Harakaṭa aṇḍa gaṣaṭi Galagedara paṭṭiyē.

Translation

Soft or hard jak-fruit are you taking in the basket,
Milk or curd are you taking in the basket
Is it right? is it not right? the matter I told—
They call to the ox at Galagedara fold.

Notes

This reads like the refrain to the verses Longfellow has translated, "Dead rides Sir Morton of Vogelstein".

* * *

No. 140

Pasaṅgillē geḍi pasak bāṇḍiyan
Dasaṅgillē niyapotu vāgiriyan
Hora mara ugure geḍiyak bāṇḍiyan
Deviyani diviyagē oluva pāliyan.

Translation

May five boils form on your five fingers!
May the nails scale off your ten fingers!
May a boil form in your thieving murderous throat!
Oh god, split the leopard's skull!

Notes

This is a curse, on the leopard that has killed some one's cattle; but it is contrived so that until the last line, the listener expects to hear a neighbour's name.

No. 141

Keliyak kelaveyi ada heṭa
Kabara goyek eyi gedaraṭa
Eliyak aragan hanikaṭa
Pūḍāllek ennā kakulaṭa.

Translation

Sport will be played today, tomorrow,
A spotted iguana comes into the house—
A light bring—quickly—
A leech is coming on the leg!

* * *

No. 142

Ōsili-sili pādi attē
Nagā vāṭuni maḍa rittē.

Translation

On the branch the swing swung,
Little sister fell in the sticky mud!

* * *

No. 143

Pittu geḍiya piṭin detot babā naṭaññan
Talapahāliya piṭin detot oruva paḍiññan
Roṭi geḍiya piṭin detot taliya gasaññan.

Translation

If a whole pittu cake is given, baby will dance,
If a pot full of porridge is given, the boat he will row,
If a whole griddle-cake is given, a tune he will beat.

* * *

No. 144

Pāta raṭa ṣiṭan api āve kurundaṭa
Kōlan bō nisā bāri Udarata inṭa
Mukulu sināven mā desa balannaṭa
Nāḍan hiraṇanē pol gānavā heṭa.

Translation

From the low country we came for cinnamon,
As the mockery is too great, we can't stay in the highlands,
Looking at me with puckered snigger—
Weep not, scraper, tomorrow you scrape coconuts!

Notes

The song of a cinnamon trader, subjected to the insolence of the Kandians, and rejoicing that he is returning to a land where there are coconuts.

Sinhalese Festivals

Their symbolism, origins and proceedings*

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Last year I addressed you on the history of archaeology in Ceylon. In that talk I considered the study of the visible remains of man's activities. This year I propose to speak about some of the festivities of people who lived in this Island in former times, particularly about their ceremonial actions, and examine why they did them, and also find out what has remained out of their rites and festivals.

In fact this is a branch of archaeology and an important branch. One definition of archaeology is, "the scientific study of the life and culture of ancient people." Some might call it anthropology. What we call it matters very little. I wish to deal with some of the activities of our ancestors who lived in this country, and examine the motives for these actions. I do not intend to describe the rite or festivals I am dealing with. My audience would already know them, or have read of them. Some interesting and informative articles on the subject have already been printed in this Society's Journal, and many constantly appear in our daily papers and local periodicals.

Festivals take an important place in the life of a nation. Most public holidays are connected with festivals or ceremonies. We observe holidays, we celebrate festivals, but very often we neither know their significance nor anything about their origin. Man by habit follows customs and practices long after their meaning and purpose are forgotten and buried with the past. This state of affairs is not peculiar to any one country, nation or community, nor is it a feature of the present age. The position is the same everywhere and among all people, and it was so in all ages. In older civilisations also when remoter events were lost to memory the people of later times carried on customary practices their purpose forgotten, which had originated in far more ancient times. Men automatically follow traditions without the least inquiry as to their justification.

When the origins and purposes of a rite or festival are forgotten, very often new interpretations are invented by way of explanation, and fictitious stories arise around them. Sometimes different events or incidents are transferred to a totally unconnected festival, with a view to explain it. Festivals belonging to older religions are taken over by new ones in a different guise, making the same an event connected with the new faith. With the possibility of changes of this sort and the transmutation of primitive cults into modern patterns in mind, let us examine some of the festivals of the Sinhalese.

*Presidential address delivered on 28.11.1969.

POSON:

Poson has in recent years become the foremost national festival of the Sinhalese, and the event is considered to be of cardinal importance in the history of Buddhism in the Island. The full-moon of Poson, that is the third lunar month of the Sinhalese year, which falls in May or June, is also now chosen as the time to honour the memory of Mahinda Thera, the missionary of Buddhism to the Sinhalese Kingdom of Anuradhapura. The period during the full-moon of Poson was indeed an occasion of festivity in early Sinhalese times, even before the introduction of Buddhism. It was, however, a different kind of festival that was held during the astrarism of Jetthamūla. It is true that Mahinda is recorded to have arrived in the island during a Poson festival, but ceremonies in honour of Mahinda were formerly held at quite a different time of the year.

A Thera or an Arhat will be remembered on the anniversary of his death or parinibbāna, and meritorious deeds in his name would be carried out on that date. Now the date of Mahāthera Mahinda's parinibbāna was the eighth day of the month of Vap (October-November). We read at *Mahāvamsa*, ch XX, v. 33:

assayujassa māsassa sukkhapakkh' atthame dine
parinibbāyi ten' etaṃ dinaṃ tannāmakam ahu.

"Mahāmahinda therā passed into nibbāna on the eighth day of the bright half of the month of Assayuja. Therefore this day received his name." Assayuja is a Pali name for the Sinhalese month of Vap.

Sinhalese kings of later times celebrated festivities in honour of Mahinda on the eighth day of the bright half of Vap. We have in the *Mahāvamsa* (ch. XXXVII, vv. 66-91) a vivid account of one of these festivals. The passage begins as follows:—

Therassātha Mahindassa Samanindassa Sūnuno
sutvāna manujindo so pavattim sabbam ādito
pasīditvā guṇe tassa rājā dīpappasāḍake
issaro vata dīpassa thero iti vicintiya
paṭibimbam suvaṇṇassa katvā tannāmanissitam
pubbakattikamāsassa pubbakakkhe tu sattame
dine netvā Cetiyambatale therambasamūṇite
tatraṭṭhame nivāsetvā.....

It is said that when King Sirimeghavanna, that is, King Kitsirimevan who ruled from A.D. 555-573, heard the history of the Thera Mahinda he had a life-size statue of the Thera made of gold and on the seventh day of the bright half of the month preceeding Kattika, that is, the month of Assayuja, brought it to the Ambatthala-cetiya. On the eighth day it was left there. If you turn to Geiger's translation of Vol. I of the *Cūlavamsa*, you will find that the name of the month, Pubbakattika, has been left out. Students are thus unable to find out at

what time of the year the Mahinda festival was held. This is a good example for those who take Geiger's translation of the chronicle as infallible. This is also an important point so far as studies of Sinhala and Buddhist festivals are concerned.

The description of the Mahinda festival in the reign of King Kitsirimevan enables us to have an idea as to how this event was celebrated at other times. As already stated, a life-size statue of the Thera was made. It is probable that it was gilt; it could not have been made of pure gold. A day before the anniversary of the Thera's death it was taken from Anuradhapura to Ambatthala, a spot connected with the visit of the saint. The statue was then left at Ambatthala on the eighth day, that is, the anniversary of the parinibbāna of the Thera, which was a *poṣa* day, for the devotees to pay their homage. It was on the ninth day that the dwellers of the City including the members of the royal inner apartments (*orodha*) went to Ambatthala. All the bhikkhus of the island are said to have gathered there. It was a time of amnesty. Offenders were freed from prison, and they too joined the crowds that went to Mihintale. There was a great alms-giving, not only for human beings, but for all living beings which included birds and beasts as well. The King impersonated God Sakka, that is Indra of the Rig Veda, and as Sakka went to meet the Buddha, so did the King go to the statue of the Maha Thera. The street from Anuradhapura to Mihintale was decorated, in the same manner as the road from Vesālī to Sāvattthi was done in the days of the Buddha. Gifts were given to the poor, wayfarers and beggars, and the fourfold necessities were provided for the bhikkhus. Thereafter the statue was taken in procession from Mihintale to Anuradhapura, even as the Buddha was conducted to Vesālī. The statue of the Thera was then kept at the vihāra by the name of Sotthiyākara and, after great festivities, brought to the Mahā-vihāra and left for three months at the court of the Bodhi tree. From there the image was brought to a beautiful shelter which was built near the Royal Palace in the inner city.

Images of others who accompanied Mahinda to Ceylon were also made and kept in the same building. It is said that King Kitsirimevan ordered that the procedure of the festival should be followed every year.

Now this account shows very clearly that ceremonies and festivities in honour of Mahinda were held in ancient days not in Poson, but in the month of Vap. The Poson festival was older and it was entirely something different. Poson began to be associated with Mahinda Thera and the preaching of Buddhism in the Sinhala Kingdom only in very recent times.

Rain-making festival

Poson full-moon time marked the season for a festival coming down from pre-Buddhist times, but it was of quite a different type. That was an ancient rain-making rite and a festival of fertility.

Poson is the Sinhalese name of the lunar month called *Jeṭṭha* in Pali (Sanskrit: *Jyaiṣṭha*). This is the third lunar month of the year which begins in the month of Bak, called *Caitra* in Sanskrit. In ancient times a New Year may have begun with the month of Bak, originally with the full moon and later with the new moon. In earlier times a lunar month began with the full moon and not with the new moon as it is now. The full-moon of the third month coincided with the asterisms of *Jeṭṭha* and *Mūla*, *Deṭa-nākata* and *Mūla-nākata*¹ in Sinhalese. Thus the month was also called *Jeṭṭhamūla*, from the name of the two asterisms. The festival held at this season was called Poson in Sinhalese, and the month also took the same name.

Attempts have been made to get at the derivation of the word 'Poson'. Sinhalese scholars have derived the word from a possible Sanskrit from *prasūna*, and interpreted it to mean the flowering season. They depend on an example in the *Sidatsaṅgarā*² quoted to illustrate the use of the future tense.³ The *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* of Monier-Williams⁴ gives the meanings, 'a flower', 'blossom', 'fruit' for the word when used as a noun. In other contexts the word 'Poson' may mean 'flowering', when used as an adjective. However, May-June is not the flowering season in the Anuradhapura area. We have thus to look elsewhere for the derivation of Poson when used as the name of a month.

At *Mahāvamsa*, ch. 25, v. 51, the Pali word *Pajjota-nagara*, to which we will refer later on, is translated into Sinhalese by D.G.S. Abhayaratna,⁵ one of the well-known translators of the Chronicle, as *Posona-nagara*. Evidently this translator had some older authority for the word. It will be shown later on that a reading 'Posona-nagara' for 'Pajjota-nagara' exists in some MSS of the *Mahāvamsa Commentary*.

This asterism of the *Jeṭṭhamūla* was a public holiday in ancient times, and on this day all the people, the nobility and the populace, got into festive array and engaged themselves in merry making. At this festival water-sports took the most prominent place. According to the Chronicle, the *Mahāvamsa*,⁶ it was definitely a water-festival that was held in the month of *Jeṭṭhamūla*. Water sports involved a fertility cult. In most ancient civilisations, during fertility rites, a certain amount of laxity in sex relations was permitted. The *Jeṭṭhamūla* festival was apparently a local counterpart of the ancient Roman festival of Saturn,

1. *Jeṭṭhamūlamāsa-puṇṇamāyāṃ nakkhattaṃ ghosāpetvā, Vamsatthappa-kāsini*, Commentary on *Mhv*, Ch XIV, v. 1.

2. Dharmārāma, *Sidatsaṅgarā-sanne*, Satyasamuccaya Press, 1931, p. 141.

3. e uleḷā posonvāsi vāsnē, (ē) utsavayehi prasūnavarṣū-karannēyi, *Sidatsaṅgarā-purātana-sannaya*, ed. Robert Batuwantudawe, Colombo, 1915, p. 36.

4. New Edition, Oxford, 1899.

5. Colombo, 1922, p. 96.

6. Ch. XIV, vv. 1-2; ch. XXV, vv. 50-51.



Plate I Parjanya Sculpture at the present Isurumuni-vihāra, Anuradhapura.

the Saturnalia held in December and observed as a time of unrestrained mirthful pleasures. Very likely Poson time was also a similar season among the ancient Sinhalas, who were essentially an agricultural people, and sought to placate the deities of rain and fertility. Since rains harbinger fertile fields and good crops the proper rites due to the God of Rain had to be performed in due season.

PARJANYA

The Rain God propitiated at the Jetthamūla asterism was the Vedic God of the Rain-Cloud, Parjanya,⁷ called Pajjunna in Pali and Podona or Posana in Sinhalese. In the Veda Parjanya is often identified with Indra.⁸ In the Buddhist Pali literature he is Pajjunna and the commentary to the *Maccajātaka* explains the word thus: "Pajjunna is the rain-cloud," and adds, "by calling on Pajjunna one addresses the God of Rain who has got his name from the rain-bearing clouds."⁹ The word *Podon* occurs in a tenth century inscription of Kassapa V (cir. A.D. 908-918),¹⁰ and we have also cited the form *Poson*.

The sculpture of the Man and Horse on the Tisāvāva bund, at the site now called Isurumuniya, has been identified by Senerat Paranavitana as that of Parjanya and Agni.¹¹ I have dealt elsewhere¹² with the arguments of two who disagreed with this identification and I propose to deal at length with the subject later on at a subsequent date should the need arise. This is only incidental, since I had thought of speaking on this present subject at this annual meeting before contrary views were expressed.¹³ I am only concerned with the festivals here, and not with the sculpture.

We come back to the Jetthamūla festival. The month of Poson marks the end of a rainy season in the Anuradhapura area, and these being the *yala* rains with the driest season ahead of them, the people held the water festival when the tanks were full as a thanksgiving to Parjanya for the rains they have had.¹⁴

When a season was passing away, particularly a period which had been beneficial to them, primitive people were doubtful whether that season would come back, unless they acted in a manner that would please the unseen powers, namely the gods, that brought about these

7. *Rig-veda*, Book V, hymn 83.

8. See Monier-Williams, s.v.

9. *Maccajātaka*, Jātaka verse no. 75.

10. Abhayagiri slab-inscription of Kassapa V, E, I, pp. 45-49.

11. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XVI, part 3, Ascona, 1953.

12. "Monday Sun", October 6, 1969; *Sunday Sun*, October 19, 1969. See also article "Poson; Festival of Fertility", *Friday Sun*, May 30, 1969.

13. At the Second International Conference Seminar on Asian Archaeology, Colombo, August, 22-25, 1969.

14. See Paranavitana, S., in the *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon*, 1959, Vol. I part 1, p. 137. See also note 120 at the end.

gifts. Therefore the Rain-God had to be honoured and propitiated so that he may not completely abandon the cultivator and his fields. It may be that they thought that the God of the Rain-Cloud had been somewhat neglected, the cultivator and his family being too engrossed in their own pursuits of tilling the ground, sewing the grain and reaping it, that the God was going away. Let him not leave them for good! They desired to appease the Rain-God so that he may return to them with the cycle of seasons. The gods of fertility are always pleased at the sight of behaviour which leads to their purpose, namely the increase of the human race together with the abundance of crops and increase of cattle and other live-stock, and they would hardly approve too much moral restraint particularly in matters of sex.

One who has spent Poson days at Anuradhapura over a period of years knows that the spirit of revelry still exists there during the season in spite of the change of significance of the Poson celebrations today, and civic authorities have often found it difficult to deal adequately with the numerous persons who are bent on the continuance of the time honoured phallic cults. It is not suggested that the tradition has come down unbroken from the pre-Buddhist days. Nevertheless the spirit is still there. Centuries have not changed human nature.

Arrival of Mahinda Thera

The festival of the Rain-God Parjanya, held in the year about 250 B.C. according to the present reckoning, coincided with the arrival of the teachers of Buddhism sent by the Maurya Emperor Aśoka. It is probable that the missionaries from Jambudvīpa purposely chose the days when people were gathering to the capital so that there may be a large and representative audience, and the message may consequently be quickly spread about the whole land.

We may cite the relevant portion of the *Mahāvamsa*¹⁵ which speaks of the water-festival. The *Mahāvamsa* says:—

Devānampiyatisso so rājā salilakīlitaṃ
datvā nagaravāsīnaṃ migavaṃ kīlitaṃ agā
Cattāḷisaṣaṣsehi narehi parivārīto
dhāvanto padasā yeva agamā Missakam nagam.

The Commentary further explains *datvā* ti Jetṭhamūlamāsapūṇamāyaṃ nakkhattaṃ ghosāpetvā salilakīlāchanam karoṭhā ti nagaravāsīnaṃ taṃ salilakīlaṃ datvā ti attho; *dhāvanto padasā yevā* ti nagaramhā nikkhamitvā padasā yeva dhāvanto.¹⁶ The whole passage may be rendered, "That King Devanampiyatissa on the full moon of the month of Jetṭhamūla announced the festival, arranged the

ceremony of water-sports for the dwellers of the city, set forth to enjoy the pleasures of the chase. Attended by forty thousand of his men he ran on foot to the Missaka mountain."

The 'dwellers of the city', in this context would also include the great assembly of people who had gathered there during the festive season. The hasty journey to the mountain, 'running on foot', might itself have had a ceremonial significance. The *Jānakīharana*¹⁷ of the Sinhalese poet of royal birth, Kumāradāsa, records a tradition that the King intent on protecting the world makes use of and resorts to the plough or the army (*daṇḍa*) wealth (*draviṇa*) and the mountain (*durga*).

King Devānampiyatissa at the very beginning of his reign, according to the Chronicle,¹⁸ obtained the miraculous gift of three bamboo stems at the foot of the Chāta mountain, which is now identified as the Dambulla Rock.¹⁹ Ancient people of all notions considered high places, such as tops of mountains to be sacred, and as fit places for the performance of their festive rituals. Where there were no natural hills, artificial ones were raised up. The charming plateau of Ambatthala on the Missaka mountain would have been considered an excellent site which nature had provided for rites of fertility, and would have been chosen as a spot worthy of the gods, and to imitate them in their celestial abodes.

Ancient capitals had sacred hills associated with them. The holy high place connected with the capital of Anuradhapura was Mihintale. The Sanskrit name of the rocky hill was Mahendragiri, the Rock of the Great Indra. We have already stated that Parjanya, the God of Rain, was an aspect of Indra, the Vedic God who splits asunder the clouds and produces rain. Being a mighty God, Indra was also known as Mahendra, the Great Indra. It is very likely that the same name was later on and after the association of the hill with the visit of the Thera Mahinda, changed into the Pali form *Mahindagiri* (or-*pabbata*), the derivation suiting the historical event as well.

Thus in pre-Buddhist times, some rite in honour of Indra may have been carried out on the upper plateau. It is very likely that King Tissa, after the hunting expedition, left his retinue at the foot of the hill, or on the lower plateau, and ascended to the top of the plateau to perform a ritual connected with fertility. The Chronicle says that the King went up alone following the stag.²⁰ On the plateau a virgin may have been awaiting the king's arrival. The Thera may have addressed the King after the ritual, or he may have interrupted him before he performed it.

17. Ed. Paranavitana and Godakumbura, Colombo, 1967, canto X, 40.

18. *Mhv*, ch. XI, v. 10.

19. Senarat Paranavitana in the *Vesak Number*, Buddhist Era, 2513 (A.D. 1969), published by the Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Ceylon.

20. *Mhv*, ch. XIV, v. 5.

15. *Mhv*, ch. XIV, vv. 1-2.

16. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, P.T.S. ed. 1935, Vol. II, p. 329.

After the establishment of the *bodhi* at Anuradhapura, the power of rain-making was attributed to this sacred object, but the cult of Parjanya, the Rain-God, was carried on. Before we dwell on the Sacred Tree, let us examine recorded instances of the Parjanya worship.

Duṭṭugāmuṇu

Towards the end of Prince Duṭṭugāmuṇu's victorious campaign against the foreign invader, the usurper Elara, he celebrated a Posa festival.

We read in the *Mahāvamsa*²¹

Tato Anurādhapuram āgacchanto mahipati
khandhavāram nivesesi parato Kāsapabbatam
Māsamhi Jetṭhamūlamhi talākam tattha kāriya
jalam kilī, tahiṃ gāmo Pajjotanaravhayo.

The reading for 'Pajjotanaraga', is Posonanagara in the text of the *Mahāvamsa* as given to accompany the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, printed in the Sinhalese character.²² The commentary further adds, "*Parato Kāsapabbatan ti Kāsapabbatassa parato parasmim kāsapabbatapāde ti attho; talākan ti Pajjotanāmikam vāpiṃ* (with 'gāmaṃ' as v.l.).²³

The import of the passage, taking the commentary also into consideration, is "the King, that is Duṭṭugāmuṇu, as he approached Anuradhapura pitched his camp at the foot of the Kāsa mountain. When he had made a tank there (by the name of Pajjotavāpi), in the month of Jetṭhamūla, he held the water-festival. 'The Village founded there was called the Pajjota-nagara.'²⁴ The Sinhalese translator, Abhayaratna,²⁴ has 'Posonanagara,' and evidently he has followed the reading in the *Mahāvamsa-tīkā*, earlier edition, or a similar text.

Duṭṭugāmuṇu had captured Vijitapura, and Mahela-nagara and he was advancing toward Anuradhapura when the rains set in. It was no time for battle, and the warrior prince had to pass the rainy season in camp with his forces. He took advantage of the situation and the season; and built a tank in honour of the Rain God where he carried out ceremonial water-sports. A village was founded there and it too was named after the God of the Rain Cloud, Parjanya.

Epigraphical Evidence

The mention of the Parjanya rite undertaken by Duṭṭugāmuṇu was only incidental. The *Mahāvamsa* and other Chronicles are written

as either histories of the Buddhist church, and favours of Sinhalese sovereigns to Buddhism are recorded therein. We cannot thus expect to find in these accounts of non-Buddhist ceremonies performed by Sinhalese rulers. We have, however, evidence that the Parjanya rites were celebrated by a king of the tenth century. In the Anuradhapura slab-inscription of Kassapa V (cir. A.D. 908-918) we read:—"Podon-avulu-Puluṇḍāviluyen ket-kam sulab-koṭ²⁵

Although Wickremasinghe²⁶ who first edited and translated this inscription took them as the names of the two tanks,²⁷ Paranavitana interprets the phrase as, "having increased the cultivation of fields by carrying out sacred rites in honour of Parjanya and Agni."²⁸ I have no hesitation in accepting this interpretation, particularly after I studied the mention of this Parjanya festival carried out by Duṭṭhagāmaṇi. The readings of the *Mahāvamsa* commentary, and the traditional Sinhalese translation of the passage of the *Mahāvamsa* which records this ceremony give further support to Paranavitana's interpretation. We have not been able to trace further mention of Parjanya rites carried out by the Sinhalese people. Indra was, however, honoured in other forms.

The King and Rain-making

Life in early society depended entirely on rains. Water was essential for sustenance of life, whether the people were agricultural or pastoral. The King of a people or ruler of a community was expected to be responsible for rain in due season. If rains failed it was the King who was blamed. The King in order to maintain his position and power had to convince his subjects that he had the ability to produce rain. Therefore the rulers of men assumed to possess various supernatural means of bringing down rain, even miraculously. Some of these objects of rain-making were either relics, trees or animals. We learn from the *Vessantara-jātaka*²⁹ that the King Sivi of Jejuttara, ruler of the Sivis, owned a white elephant which was endowed with the powers of producing rain. This was the most valuable possession of the whole state. According to the story the citizens were unconcerned and did not interfere when the King opened out his treasury and made gifts to the citizens, but matters took a very different turn when he gave the Rain-making elephant to the Brahmin beggars from Kalinga. The subjects demanded that their King should abdicate. The reason for this was that the people lost their most precious possession, namely, their rain maker, without whom they thought that their whole existence was in

21. *Mhv*, ch. XXV, vv. 50-51.

22. Ed. Batuwantudawe and Nanissara, Colombo, 1895.

23. *Vamsatthapāhāsini*, P.T.S., ed. 1955, Vol. II, p. 480.

24. Posonmashi ē (Pradyota nam) vāva karavā ehi jala-kriḍā kelēya; ē sthā-nayē-dī kalāvū nagaraya Posona-nagara nam viya, *Mahāvamsaya*, translation by D. H. S. Abhayaratna, final proofs being approved by Simon de Silva, Colombo, 1922, p. 96.

25. *EZ*, Vol. I, p. 46, line 8.

26. Don Martino de Silva Wickremasinghe.

27. *Op. cit.* p. 51.

28. *Artibus Asiae*, Vol. XVI, pp. 167-190.

29. *Vessantara-jātaka*, Pali: *Jātakatṭha-kathā*, Hewavitarne Series, Vol. VII Colombo, 1930, Sinhalese: *Jātaka-pota*.

jeopardy. In the same story we read how the people of the country of Kalinga, when during a drought they had no rains and consequently could not grow their crops nor maintain their cattle, appealed to their King to bring down rains. The King undertook a fast, but he was not successful in his efforts to produce rain because he had no object by the aid of which he could create the miracle. The King, therefore sent his Brahmins to King Vessantara of Jejjuttara, son of King Sivi, to fetch this white-elephant.

The Sinhalese Kings

We have already seen that pre-Buddhist Sinhalese kings carried out Parjanya rites in order to produce rain and that the custom continued after the introduction of Buddhism also. Along with Buddhism objects believed to be capable of producing rain were brought to the country. The first of these was the branch of the sacred Bodhi-tree. Not only did the Mauryan Emperor Asoka convert the Sinhalese King Tissa to the Buddhist faith, but he also made Tissa a follower of the rites he himself performed. In ancient India and countries which were under the Indian influence there were two ideals of kingship; one of Pabbata-rāja and the other of Bodhi-rāja. It is evident that the pre-Buddhist Sinhalese kings of early Anuradhapura associated themselves with the mountain of Mihintale. After Mahinda's visit and Saṅghamittā's subsequent arrival, the Sinhalese king's chief interest centered around the Bodhi-tree.

We need not here digress to repeat the story leading to bringing to Anuradhapura of the branch of the Bodhi-tree. I may only refer you to the narrative in the *Mahāvamsa*,³⁰ and the *Mahābodhivamsa*.³¹ The Maurya Emperor Asoka himself had gone personally to the Bodhi-tree.³² The establishing of the Sacred Bodhi at Anuradhapura became very significant in Sinhalese Kingship. In the Sinhala Kingdom, the Bodhi became the main centre of ritual, at least until the arrival of the Sacred Tooth Relic about six centuries later. Thereafter the two sacred objects belonged to rival institutions and the Mahāvihāra which had the Bodhi-tree almost always was accorded precedence. That division of the island where the Bodhi was planted was called the Pihiti-raṭṭha which really means, "The country where the Bodhi is established (Pali: *bodhi-paṭiṭṭhita-raṭṭha*)."

30. *Mhv*, ch. XVII, vv. 47-52, chs. XVIII & XIX.

31. *Dumindāgamana-kathā*, Pali; *Mahābodhivamsa*, P.T.S. ed. p. 18; Sinhalese: ed. B. Kīrtiārī Dhammaratana, 2nd. ed. Weligama, 1933, pp. 194-218.

32. Rock inscription of Girnar, *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, Inscriptions of Asoka, ed. Hultzsch, London, 1925, text p. 14, translation p. 15. Devānampriyo Priyadasirājā dasavarṣābhisito ayāyi sambodhip, "When King Devānampriya Priyadasin had been anointed ten years, he went to the Sambodhi." Also *Divyavadāna*, ed. Cowell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 393, "Kunālavadāna." Sculptural representation of Asoka's visit to the Bodhi tree on the eastern gateway of stūpa I at Sanchi.



Plate II. Tisā-vāṇa water taken in procession to the Mahābodhi, 1949.

We may examine the rites connected with the Bodhi-tree. It was no doubt a religious object, but at the same time taken to be an object which possessed the power of producing rain, and hence also possessing powers of fertility. Even to this day people of Anuradhapura and the surrounding districts believe that the Sacred Bodhi-tree can bring down rain, and when the dry season is prolonged and rains are delayed, water is taken from the Tisā-vāva in procession and poured at the roots of the Bodhi and sprinkled at it, and by this they expect the rains to come down. Villagers also come to the Bō-tree and having made due observances, pray for a male child,³³ thus continuing the original fertility image.

When we consider the history of the Bodhi-tree, we notice that from the very beginning of its recorded story it was attended to by females. Whatever explanations may be offered the facts are such. Emperor Asoka had it sent to Ceylon accompanied by the Thera Saṅghamittā and eleven bhikkhūṇīs, making a total of twelve.³⁴ Along with the large retinue that was sent to attend on the Bodhi-tree, Asoka also sent four royal maidens to pour water on the tree during the festivals that took place at the port.³⁵ The Bodhi-tree was sprinkled with water by virgins of the Kṣatriya, Veśya and Brāhmaṇa clans.³⁶ (We come to the retinue of various trades or castes later on.) At Anuradhapura the duty of attending on the Bodhi-tree fell to the nuns, the order which was founded in Ceylon by Therī Saṅghamittā. The Sinhalese King, Tissa, also appointed four Kṣatriya princesses to sprinkle water on the Bodhi, and they lived in the Royal Palace. *The Siṃhala-Bodhivaṃśaya* makes the following definite statement: "Saying that four royal virgins should pour water on the Bodhi-tree with golden and silver pitchers, the king decked them with every kind of ornament and appointed them to the offices of Perahārabisō. All four of these royal virgins entered the King's palace with great splendour.³⁷ The position of the Perahāra-bisō maidens was somewhat like that of the Vestal Virgins in ancient Rome. It was the duty of the King to guard these Perahāra-bisō virgins. We have instances where Sinhalese kings had to give up the throne because they failed in this duty.³⁸

33. A verse sung by rural pilgrim folk is heard as follows:

"gedara siṭan pēvi pēvi Tisāvāvaṭa eṇṭayi
Tisāvāvē ratu-nelumē bad damāna kaṇṭayi
e-tān siṭan pēvi pēvi uḍamaḷuvaṭa eṇṭayi
Uḍamaḷuvē Bō-rajunē pirimi-putek deṇṭayi"

34. *Mhv*, ch. XIX, v. 5.

35. *Siṃhala-bodhi-vaṃśaya*, op.cit. Weligama, 1933, p. 202: *perahāra-bisōvarun satara denaku*.

36. *Ibid.* p. 203.

37. *Ibid.* p. 215.

38. Coranāga (62-50 B.C.) and Khuddapāṇḍita (A.D. 441-456).

The Bodhi-tree festival instituted by King Devānampiyatissa was continued by other kings. Problems, however, arose when the ceremonies were modified. One duty which the Sinhalese kings found very difficult, was the care of the Perahāra-bisō maidens. They had to be given accommodation in the palace and had to be looked after. This was a heavy burden on the king. Perhaps, the queens may have complained that the *Perahāra-bisōvaru* were too much of a responsibility to them also! King Dhātusena (A.D. 459-477) overcame the difficulty by replacing the four live young girls with bronze figures. We read in the *Mahāvamsa*³⁹ that this king ordered a bathing festival for the Bodhi-tree as was done by King Devānampiyatissa. He set up there sixteen bath maidens of bronze. From some recently read inscriptions, we learn that King Dhātusena took this step of setting up bronze figures of maidens for the purpose of pouring water on the holy tree with some mechanical device, because he found it difficult to undertake the responsibility of looking after real live virgins!

From the establishment of the Bodhi until the twelfth year (of King Dhātusena), kings of Ceylon carried out the festival of the Bodhi-tree. The text of the *Mahāvamsa* as we have it is:

Mahābodhipatitṭhānā oraṃ Lamkāya bhūmipā
yāva dvādasamaṃ vassaṃ bodhipūjaṃ akārayuṃ.⁴⁰

It has been now found that the correct reading is *bodhirajjaṃ* and not *bodhipūjaṃ*.⁴¹ We would then have that the kings of Ceylon ruled as Bodhirājas from the establishment of the Bodhi-tree until the twelfth year of Dhātusena. Dhātusena gave up being a Bodhirāja and preferred to be a Pabbata-rāja.

From an inscription of the tenth century we note that bhikkhuṇīs also performed the duty of pouring water on the Bodhi-tree. We are not certain whether the institution of a *perahārabisō* had been given up by that time. A stone pillar inscription from Maha Kalattewa⁴² records a decree of amnesty granted to a certain village which had been set apart for the supplying of the necessities of life to the nuns who daily sprinkled water on the Great Bodhi-tree of the Mahāvihāra. These bhikkhuṇīs were from a nunnery called 'Nal-aram'. We do not know where this nunnery was, but it can be safely assumed that it was not far away from the Sacred Bodhi, and may have been only a walking distance from it. We note from the inscription under reference that the bhikkhuṇīs who poured water on the Great Bodhi-tree were held in the

39. *Mhv*, ch. XXXVIII, vv. 55-56.

40. *Ibid.* v. 57. This verse has been wrongly translated by Geiger. See Sinhalese Translation by Śrī Sumaṅgala and Batuwantudawe, Colombo, 1931, p. 10.

41. Reading by Paranavitana from interlinear inscriptions.

42. "Pillar-inscription from Mahakalattava," *EZ*, Vol. V. art. 31. pp. 334 ff.

highest esteem and respect because they are spoken of as: *mehenī-vat hāmbuvan*, 'the bhikkhuṇī ladies'.⁴³ 'Vat-hāmbu' is the feminine of 'Vat-himi' (Sanskrit: *Vastu-svāmi*), a term of very high honour.

Castes and trades accompanied the Bodhi-tree

The narrative in the Sinhalese chronicle of the Bodhi-tree⁴⁴ makes it very clear that festivals connected with the Sacred Tree were held in the Kingdom of Asoka. It was to ensure the continuance of these practices that Asoka despatched eight families of each trade or caste, along with the Bodhi-tree. When they came to the Sinhalese Kingdom King Tissa accepted them and in order that rites pertaining to the Bodhi-tree may be efficiently performed, chiefs were appointed for each trade or caste. Hocart⁴⁵ has convincingly stated that the Hindu caste system grew around the Vedic sacrifice. This would have begun with Rājāsūya sacrifice. We find in Buddhist Ceylon the caste system has begun with the Bodhi festival. This also explains why the Sinhalese caste system is different from the Hindu system. Although both originated in India, they were based on different ceremonies. The brief account (at the beginning of chapter XIX) of the *Mahāvamsa* does not give a full picture of the Bodhi rites and how the various castes took part in it. The *Bodhivamsaya* account is far more vivid, and one can easily see the roots of a caste system being laid in the Sinhala land with the institution of the Bodhi festivals. While the Hindu caste system is based on the Vedic sacrifice, the Sinhalese system is organised to carry on a primitive rite which has taken a Buddhist garb. The offices given to the persons of royal rank and the duties of each caste in respect of the Bodhi-tree are enumerated in the *Bodhivamsaya*.⁴⁶ The position of persons carrying out each duty must have depended on the importance attached to the particular task performed, as it was in respect of rites connected with other religions. The custom of appointing a chief from each trade persisted even during Kandyan times, and was continued till recent years. This is a fruitful field of study for a sociologist working on Sinhalese society.

Tooth Relic

Five centuries after the planting of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura, a Tooth Relic of Buddha was brought to that capital from the country of Kāliṅga in the reign of King Kitsirimevan (A.D. 303-331). The prince and princess who brought it to Ceylon evidently knew that this Holy Relic was believed to possess the power of rain-making. It is significant that these custodians of the Relic took shelter in the Meghagiri-vihāra (vihāra of the Rain-Cloud Rock) at the site

43. *Ibid.* lines 313-315.

44. *Sinhala-Bodhivamsaya* (Sbv).

45. Hocart, A.M., *Les Castes*, Paris, 1938.

46. *Sbv*. pp. 213-215.

of the Parjanya sculpture. The Mahāvihāra which already possessed the Bodhi-tree evidently took no interest in the Tooth Relic. It was the rival institution, the Abhayagiri, which took charge of the new holy object. Fa Hien, the Chinese Buddhist traveller, describes the annual festival of the Tooth Relic which was held at Anuradhapura.⁴⁷ The Tooth of the Buddha was brought out in the middle of the third month. If the Buddhist year began with Vesak (May-June), the third month would have been Āsaḷa (July-August), in the dry season at Anuradhapura. The Sacred Tooth was taken to the Abhayagiri-vihāra to a hall of the Buddha there. The festival of the Tooth Relic was also instituted for the purpose of obtaining rains. The *Daḷadāsirita*,⁴⁸ a Sinhalese text containing temple regulations pertaining to the Tooth Relic, lays down that ceremonial worship of the Tooth Relic should be carried out annually and that when rain does not fall also the Tooth Relic ceremonies should be performed.⁴⁹

During the period of the Anuradhapura Kingdom, the Bodhi was the important object in Sinhalese kingship, but from the Polonnaruwa period the cult of the Tooth Relic gains importance. The Bō-tree could not be taken to the new capital, whereas the Tooth Relic was removed. This sacred object was endowed with the powers of making rain, and a belief developed among the Sinhalese people that he who possessed this relic had the rightful and legitimate claim to the Sinhalese throne. The belief persisted in the Kandyan times, although the people might have forgotten the reason for the belief. Even the British in the nineteenth century took advantage of this belief. They themselves honoured the Daḷadā, and held the festival.⁵⁰

The chronicles⁵¹ give accounts of some Daḷadā festivals held during various reigns, and we need not repeat them here. *Queyroz* notices a Daḷadā perahera of the 16th century. In the 18th century the annual Tooth Relic festival was incorporated with the 'Āsaḷa Perahāra' held in honour of the gods, and it will be convenient to deal with the two subjects together.

Perahāra

The Āsaḷa Perahāra is an event which takes place annually, to this day in various temples of the Island, the best known is its culmination now in Kandy in the month after Āsaḷa (June-July), that is, Nikini (August-September), although yet called the Āsaḷa Perahāra. In most local temples the perahāra takes place in Āsaḷa itself, but others delay it. We shall try to find the reason for this later on. Our first attempt should be an enquiry into the origin, meaning and significance of the perahāra, and other ceremonies connected with it, particularly the 'water-cutting' (*diya-kāpuma*) which takes place at the end of the perahāras of the temples of gods. Various writers have taken up this study, they have described the ceremonies, collected legends regarding the rites, and expressed their own opinions. Charles Pridham in his *Ceylon*⁵² says, "The literal significance of the word Peraherra is a procession,The true history of the Peraherra is lost in the maze of antiquity, but the reveller in fiction is never at a loss".⁵³ The writer then proceeds to relate fictitious and legendary tales concerning the festival of Perahara, and concludes, "The natives are very unwilling to enter into conversation respecting the details of this ceremony, and say that there are many mysteries connected with it that they cannot reveal."⁵⁴

There are indeed many mysteries hidden in the Perahāra festival. It was not only that the Sinhalese were unwilling to reveal these secrets, but in the first half of the nineteenth century, when they spoke to Pridham and other writers, such as Davy⁵⁵ and Forbes⁵⁶ before him, they themselves did not understand the significance of the practices they carried out through tradition. Fiction will not help us to discover and understand what the Perahāra is. We must conduct our enquiry otherwise, relying on positive historical evidence.

The month of Āsaḷa (June-July) marks the peak of the annual drought when all reservoirs of water, such as tanks, and other means of irrigation are dried up, particularly in such parts of our island as where the Indo-Aryan civilisation was first established among the Sinhalese. Whether connected with the cults of the gods, or the worship of the Buddha, the Āsaḷa festivals were rain-making ceremonies. The Poson festival was meant to propitiate the God of Rain who had already gifted the rains, while the Āsaḷa festivals was for invoking the gods to bring about rain. These were ceremonial rites which the Sinhalese had

47. *A Record of Buddhist Kingdoms*, translated by James Legge, Oxford, 1886, ch. XXXVIII, pp. 105-107.

48. *Daḷadāsirita*, finally written in the 14th century A.D. at Kurunegala, but contains earlier material. Ed. E. S. Rajasekhara, Colombo, 1930, p. 59, nos. 29 and 30.

49. Hocart, A.M., *The Temple of the Tooth in Kandy* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon) Vol. IV, London, 1931, ch. VI, (see page 37, rules 29 and 30).

50. See Valigalle's *Dāthāgotrapradīpaya*. Also Pridham, Vol. I, pp. 325-327.

51. The *Pūjāvali* makes special mention of the tooth relic festival instituted by King Parākramabāhu II, (A.D. 1236-1270). See n. 79.

52. Charles Pridham, *An Historical, Political and Statistical Account of Ceylon and its Dependancies*, two volumes, London, 1849.

53. Ibid. Vol. I, pp. 328-329.

54. Ibid. p. 333.

55. John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*.....London, 1821.

56. Major Forbes, *Eleven Years in Ceylon*, two volumes, London, 1840.

brought with them from their original homeland beyond North-Western India. Some of them had acquired a Buddhistic garb, either in India itself, or in Ceylon; after the Sinhalese accepted the Buddhist religion and traditions.

Rigveda

In the *Rigveda* Indra was the champion of the Indo-Aryans. Not only did he help them against their foes, the Dasyus on earth, in the heavens he released the life-giving waters, for them. Vṛitra, the demon had obstructed the clouds and closed up the orifice of the waters. Ahi, the serpent, along with Vṛitra, had encompassed the rivers. The Panis, a group of fiendish demons, had taken away their cows. Indra released the waters and set the cows free.

"Enclosed by demons, guarded by a serpent,
The waters stood like cows by Paṇi captured,
The water's orifice that was obstructed,
When Vṛitra he had smitten, Indra opened."⁵⁷

We hear of Indra again:

"Who slew the serpent, freed the seven rivers,
Who drove the cattle out of Vala's cavern,
Who fire between two rocks has generated,
A conquerer in fights: he, men, is Indra."⁵⁸

Sympathetic Magic

Primitive man had faith in sympathetic magic, and he practised it to ward off evil and bring about good. He believed that by imitating the actions of others, particularly of great and powerful persons, the very same results could be obtained again. If they were events in heaven, similar results could be produced on earth. Thus by re-enacting the deeds of gods, done in the world beyond for the benefit of mankind, the same effect, even on a smaller scale, could be attained here. The clouds were obstructed, Indra marched against Vṛitra with his hosts, struck the waters, killed Ahi, and released the streams. Here on earth at the time of drought, when the clouds do not pour out water, the drama is acted. Homage is first paid to Indra. The water-increaser, the King, and his retinue go in procession, and after carrying out the ordained rites, the priests strike the water and bring pots of water for ritual purposes. This is the perahāra and the *diya-kūpuma* of any temple. And it is done to produce rain.

57. *Rigveda*, I, 32, 11.

58. Ibid. II, 12, 3. (Vala: a demon, brother of Vṛitra and conquered by Indra).

Kings likened to Indra

Rulers of certain clans in India considered themselves to be the representatives on earth of Indra in heavens with his thirty-two ministers. For example, the Licchavis of Visālā, thirty-two in number, were compared to Indra and his assembly in the Tāvatisa deva world. The Buddha himself is said to have pointed out to this oligarchy as examples of Indra and his retinue on earth.⁵⁹ It was one of the daily duties of some kings to show themselves as Indra before the Royal assembly. In a document⁶⁰ which details the daily routine of King Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu of Dambadeniya, (=Parākramabāhu II A.D. 1236-1270), it is said that every morning the King manifested the likeness or imitated Indra before the assembly and displayed his royal splendour.⁶¹ This text, the *Kaṇḍavuru-sirita* says, "Seven and half *pāya* (three hours) after dawn, His Majesty sits in state on the throne, with all the paraphernalia of Royalty, and with his musicians in attendance, showing the likeness of the King of the Gods." The *Hamsasandēśaya*⁶² of the fifteenth century A.D. likens the King walking on the white cloth, the foot-spread, coming to the royal assembly, to Indra walking on the waves of the Heavenly River. The *Girāsandēśaya*,⁶³ a poem written a few decades later in the same reign, says that the King seated in the royal assembly, resembles Indra in his heavenly court. The well-known Sinhalese poem, the *Guttilaya*,⁶⁴ says that at the festival time in Ujjainī the citizens were imitating the hosts of gods who celebrated their victory over the Asuras. Reading the whole passage symbolically one gets the impression that the poet was describing what he had seen in the City of Kotte. Among the high-sounding epithets of the kings of Kandy, we have, "like Śakra who subdued the Asuras, sitting on the precious throne of the magnificent and prosperous City of Senkaḍagala."⁶⁵

59. *Budugunālaṃkāraya* of Vidagama Thera (15th century, A.D.), ed. Kiriālle Nāṇavimala Thera, Colombo, 1944, v. 75.

Saṅgini topa puhudun
nuduṭuven saga suriṇḍun
balavayi tela radun
Budun vadahaḷa bāvin seta dun.

60. *Kaṇḍavurusirita*, in D. B. Jayatilaka's *Sāhitya-lipi*. Colombo, 1940, pp. 63-66.

61.āsthānē simhāsanārūḍhava vāḍahiṇḍa rājapratāpayen devendralilā dakvā, *ibid.* p. 65.

62. Ed. C. E. Godakumbura, Colombo, 1953, v. 48, lines 5-6.

63. Ed. Paṇḍāsāra-Vimaladhamma, Colombo, 1933, v. 39.

64. Ed. Robert Batuwantudawe, several prints, v. 128.

65. *Pridham*, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 339. See also *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 99, v. 52, v. 65.

Indra's Symbol, Kapa

We thus see that the imitation of Indra for the stability of the throne was an age-long custom among the Sinhalese kings. Indra's actions were also imitated for the sake of fertility and prosperity. Originally the water-producing festival in Āśaḥ was held in honour of Indra, and to imitate his act of releasing the waters. In early days, Indra was the most prominent god of the Aryans. Just as everywhere else, important and distinguished persons are replaced by others and their places taken by those of very little significance, Indra's position was usurped by lesser gods of no importance. In their worldly affairs people think that what one person can do, another also could. In the same manner people thought what Indra could do others also may perform. But the great are not easily forgotten. Thus in the rain-making festival of Perahāra Indra's symbol, the *kapa*⁶⁶ (pole or stick) persisted. It continues to be honoured before the beginning of Āśaḥ Perahāra of various temples to this day. The planting of the *kapa*, the symbol of Indra, at the shrine of another god before the start of the Perahāra signifies that Indra himself takes up his residence there at the abode of the local deity. For three days after the planting of the *kapa*, the priest of the local god carries the insignia of their deity round the stick. This practice demonstrates the local deity paying his homage to Indra, even as a provincial ruler pays his respects to an imperial king visiting his domain, or a greater chief visiting a lesser one. At the height of the procession the king, accompanied by his ministers, officers, leading citizens, and the pretty ladies of the kingdom joined the Perahāra, himself riding in his golden chariot drawn by eight white horses. This is in imitation of Indra going about in procession in heaven, in his heavenly chariot, Vaijayanta, accompanied by hosts of gods and goddesses. The elephants accompanying the Perahāra represent the clouds, and the drums and music, the noise of thunder and the water.

The 'water-cutting' (*diya-kāpuma*) at the end of the Perahāra is the most important event in the series. It is the dramatization of the slaying of the serpent (Ahi) by striking waters with Indra's weapon, the thunderbolt, and releasing the waters for the benefit of mankind.

At Kandy after the *diya-kāpuma*, the high official who had been in charge of the main section of the Perahāra, namely the procession of the Tooth Relic with overall charge of all the sections (as will be detailed below) receives the water. It would be the fitting place now to enquire into the origin of the title of this officer, namely the *Diya-vaḍana-nilamē*, which is usually abridged as *Diya-nilamē*. In the title

Diya-vaḍana-nilamē, the last member, *nilamē*, was the Sinhalese word used in Kandyan times for a minister. *Diya* means water and *vaḍana* means increasing, so the whole compound means, "water increasing minister. This is the chief custodian of the Tooth Relic and the Temple of the Tooth. During the perahāra season, he settles the auspicious day and time for the Daḷadā-perahāra, which is known as the Māligāva-perahāra⁶⁷ in the popular parlance today. The custodians of the dēvālya-temples, the Basnāyaka-chiefs, follow him. Thus the *Diya-vaḍana-nilamē* is the most important personage in the conducting of the perahāra ceremonies.

The Minister for Rain-making

What is this office of *Diya-vaḍana-nilamē*? Some pronounce the word as 'Diva-nilamē' and offers various explanations and meanings such as 'the Chief of the Island.' I take it as a variant pronunciation of *Diya-nilamē* and do not attempt to translate the word. One wonders whether any thought has been given to the meaning and significance of this title. A proper understanding of the title is very important for the discovery of what lies hidden in the festival of Perahāra which culminates with the ceremony of 'water-cuttings'. The current explanation of the title of *Diya-vaḍana-nilamē* is that the holder of this office supplied the King with water for all purposes, and the same minister was entrusted with the custody of the Sacred Tooth when it was taken to Kandy. I am inclined to think that this explanation is made on the analogy of *Salu-vaḍana-nilamē*, the officer in charge of the king's garments, (Lord Chamberlain), and it does not set out a true historical significance. The officer in charge of the king's bath was *ulpāṅgē-rāla*, and other officers also supplied the king with water.

If at Kandy, the minister who supplied the king with water was given charge of the Tooth Relic, who then was in charge of the Sacred Object at other capitals? And why was this particular minister chosen? This is a matter which deserves investigation. I have not been able to trace the title *Diya-vaḍana-nilamē* in old Sinhalese documents.⁶⁸ I wonder whether even those chiefs who have held the high office of 'the custodian of the Sacred Relic' have given thought to the meaning of the title which goes with that position!

67. 'Māligāva,' abbreviation of 'Daḷadā Māligāva,' the Palace of the Tooth, as distinct from the 'dēvālaya,' the temples of the gods.

68. The oldest literary reference to the title I can trace is in the *Dunuwila-haṭane*, a poem composed in Kandy about A.D. 1810, v. 25. Sevyasri Press, 4th ed. 1910; Bāmbavimān'ev diṣi Daḷadā-mādurata Diya-vaḍana-nilame-da sobanā.

66. We have the following in the *Mahābhārata*:
Bhagavān pūjyate cātra yaṣṭirūpena Vāsavaḥ, "Vāsava (Indra) should be honoured at this (festival) in the form of a stick (yaṣṭirūpena)."

I have already pointed out that the Sinhalese compound word *Diya-vaḍana-nīlamē* literally means 'the water increasing minister',⁶⁹ that is, the 'Rain-increaser' or 'Rain-producer'. The meaning is very suggestive when we consider, as has been already stated earlier, the popular belief prevailing among the Sinhalese Buddhists that the Sacred Tooth Relic of the Buddha has the power to bring down rain. Thus it is very probable even before Kandyan times, the Sacred Tooth must have been in the charge of a minister who was responsible for the increase of rains, which was the function of the king himself. We have no earlier record pertaining to the Sinhalese Kingdom of a title of office with the duty of rain-making attached to it. Ministers with such functions assigned to them, however, appear to have functioned in countries in North India. The title *Diyavaḍana-nīlamē* suggests that it is the counterpart of the Minister Vassakāra, 'the Rain-maker,' in Magadha during the days of the Buddha. In the *Mahāparinibbāna-sutta*⁷⁰ of the *Dīgha-nikāya* a very important place is given to a Brāhmaṇa called Vassakāra, speaking of him as: Vassakāro Brāhmaṇo Magadhamahāmatto,⁷¹ the brāhmaṇa Vassakāra, the Great Minister of the Magadhas. The name Vassakāra has been taken as a proper name by European translators. The Sinhalese *sanne* translation⁷² also takes Vassakāra similarly, and translates *Vassakāra nam brāhmaṇayā*. It was this Vassakāra Brāhmaṇa who was chosen by King Ajātasattu to be sent on an important mission to the Buddha. I would not take the word Vassakāra not as a proper name, but as a term to denote a function, namely, that of Rain-making, which was the foremost duty attached to kingship. Thus the *Diyavaḍana-nīlamē* was the minister who was responsible to see that the people had rain in due season to sow their fields and cultivate their crops, and that was the reason why this particular minister was entrusted with the custodianship of the instrument of Rain-making of the Buddhist kings of Ceylon.

We have said that the perahāra rituals of the gods and the Tooth Relic festivals were both meant for the purpose of obtaining rain, but the manner of propitiating the gods and the way of paying homage to the Tooth Relic were different. These two kinds of festivals were held separately, and they were amalgamated at Kandy only in about 1775, at a time when their meaning and purpose had been forgotten.

69. *diya*, Pali: *daka*—Skt. *udaka*, *vaḍana*—Skt. *vardhana*, Root: *vr̥dh* "to increase".

70. *Bhāṇavāra* I, para. 2.

71. Edition in Roman character by Childers.

72. *Mahāparinirvāṇa-sūtraya*, ed. Iṇḍuruvē Paññānanda, A.D. 1887, p.2.

Merry making

At the Perahāra rituals of the gods, there was some merry making reminiscent of a fertility cult, as was observed in connection with the Poson festival. An idea regarding the nature of a *sānakeliya* in later days can be gathered from the account in the *Guttīlaya* referred to.⁷³ We learn from writers⁷⁴ who have witnessed the perahara in their times of the Sinhalese kings, that even noble ladies, who no doubt spent the rest of the year in the strict seclusion of their homes—came out in their full splendour and took part in the perahāra even as the males did.⁷⁵ On the final days of the perahara, the King also went in the procession. The word *Randōli* may be derived from *rājakula* through *radkol*, and in the *Randōli*-perahāra, the royalty also had their place.⁷⁶ The carrying of the *Randōli* may also signify that the chief queen herself took part in the procession. *Randōli* is a queen of royal status, hence the palanquin in which she rode must have got its name.

The Perahāra was also the occasion when the king could display his authority to the people, and each chief to his colleagues and to those who were below him. Writers have stated that the kings made use of the perahara time to test the loyalty of the ministers.⁷⁷ When the king himself could not be present, he was represented by a highly placed minister or someone even higher. King Parākramabāhu II of Dambadeniya had the shrine of Upulvan at Devinuvara⁷⁸ repaired, and had the Āśala-pūjā carried out there regularly every year.⁷⁹ The king himself may have been present at this festival or he may have been represented by Patirāja Deva. We come to Upulvan later on.

73. Verses 116–129.

74. (i) Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of Ceylon*....., Glasgow, MCMXI, p. 127.

(ii) John Davy, *An Account of the Interior of Ceylon*....., London, 1821, p. 173.

75. After the introduction of the Daḷadāperahāra this behaviour evidently changed. The "Perraherra" in 1817 which Davy described (op. cit. pp. 170–177) is a Daḷadāperahāra. This evidently is the perahāra conducted by John Doyle, whose praises are sung by the Sinhalese poet Valigala in his *Dāthāgotrapradīpaya*.

76. See Paranavitana, S., *Journal of the Oriental Studies Society for 1965*, Colombo, 1968, pp. 1–4.

77. Pridham, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 331.

78. Paranavitana, S., *Shrine of Upulvan at Devinuvara* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. VI), Oxford, 1953.

79. *Pūjāvalīya*, ch. 34, ed. Mābōpitiyē Medhaṅkara Thera, Colombo, 1932, p. 37. *Mhv*, ch. LXXX, vv. 85–89.

Today along with the Daḷadā-temple, four dēvālaya temples, namely, Nātha-dēvālē, Maha-dēvālē, Kataragam-dēvālē, and Pattini-dēvālē, take part in the perahāra. The Nātha-dēvālē is the oldest known fane in Kandy. Here Nātha stands for Avaloliteśvara-Nātha, the Bodhisattva of the Mahāyāna Buddhists who was worshipped in Ceylon also.⁸⁰ He is mentioned in the fourteenth century Rock-inscription at Sagama.⁸¹ So far as the records go this was before Kandy or Senkadagala became the capital of even a provincial ruler. Maha-dēvālē, is an abbreviation of Maha-Vishnu-dēvālē. The Kataragam-dēvālē is the temple of the God of Kataragama now, and in Kandyan times identified with Mahasen or Kārttikeya, the God of War, and according to some Indian authorities patron saint of thieves and robbers.⁸² Pattini, as the stories relating to her origin say, is the revengeful goddess of contagious diseases, being the deified Kannakī, spouse of Kōvalan.⁸³

In the time of King Rājasimha II of Kandy (A.D. 1635-1687) the chief temple which stood in the premises of the present Mahavishnu-dēvālē was the Alutnuvara-dēvālē, but now the god of Alutnuvara has been relegated to a side, and the main fane in the enclosure is dedicated to Maha-vishnu. The history of the god of Alutnuvara is as follows:

The Vedic God Varuṇa, also a god who controls the rainy skies and the streaming waters, and next in importance to Indra only, was worshipped at Devinuvara under the name of Upulvan.⁸⁴ A statue of either this god or the God of the Bow at Devinuvara under the name of Upulvan or a God who belongs to his family, was transported to Alutnuvara⁸⁵ in the Kegalle District during the reign of Parākra-

mabāhu II. Whether it was Upulvan himself, or the God of the Bow, that is Rāma, who had been brought to the new abode, he was known as Alutnuvara-deviyō. In or before the reign of King Rājasimha II, this statue was transported to Kandy, and even in the capital the God was honoured under the name of Alutnuvara-deviyō. As stated earlier, his temple was in the same premises as where the Maha-dēvālē now is, and he had become the most important deity at Kandy, evidently as he was more feared than the benign Nātha.

Robert Knox

Robert Knox, the British captive of King Rājasimha II has set out a first hand account of the 'perahar' (perahāra) which takes place in the City of Cande (Kandy). He adds that the Perahar takes place in divers other cities and towns of the land also.⁸⁶

Here is an account of the Perahāra of Kandy as described by Knox, beginning from the planting of the *kapa*. "The Priest bringeth forth a painted stick, about which strings of Flowers are hanged, and so it is wrapped in branched Silk, some part covered, and some not; before which the people bow down and worship; each one presenting his with an Offering according to his free will." After receiving the free will offerings from the people, the priest takes the painted stick on his shoulder, having a cloth tied about his mouth to keep his breath from defiling this pure piece of wood, and gets upon an elephant, all covered with white cloth, and rides in triumph through the streets of the City.

The procession is arranged in this manner. At the head of the Perahāra are forty or fifty elephants with brass bells hanging on each side of them. Then follow men dressed like giants, drummers, trumpeters, pipers, dancers, and women of such castes as are necessary for the service of the temple—such as potters and washermen—each group in separate companies. After all these the priests (*kappwō*) of the Alutnuvara-dēvālē mounted on an elephant, and with the painted stick (*kapa*) on his shoulders with his mouth covered as described above. Another priest sits behind the first one holding an umbrella. Within a yard after the priest of the Alutnuvara-deviyo on each side of him follow two other elephants mounted with the priests of the Kataragama and the Pattini dēvālayas respectively.

It is not stated by Knox that the priests of the Kataragama and the Pattini dēvālayas carried the *kapa* sticks. They appear to have been only attendants of the priests of the Alutnuvara-deviyō who carried the insignia of Indra. We have earlier said who the Alutnuvara-deviyō was, and how his place was usurped by Vishṇu later on.

86. See Robert Knox, op. cit. note 75 pp. 125 ff.

80. Paranavitana, S., "Mahayanism of Ceylon", *CJS*, Vol. II, Sec. G. cf. Geiger, W., *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, ed., Heinz Bechert. Wiesbaden, 1960, sec. 159. All this is based on Geiger's translation of *Mhv.*, ch. 99, 42. see nt. 89.

81. Dated in the ninth year of Bhuvanekabāhu V (A.D. 1357-1374). *EZ*. Vol. IV, art. 38, pp. 296 ff.

82. See Godakumbura, C.E., *Times of Ceylon Weekender*, July 21, 1969.

83. See *Pālaṅga-hālla*, *Pattini-hālla*, etc., and Pertold, O., "Die Ceylonische Göttin Pattini", in *Archiv Orientalni*, Jg. 13, Nr. 3-4. That the Perahāra in honour of goddess Pattini had been celebrated in Ceylon is witnessed by the lines: Vesak masaṭa pūjā āragannē, Asaḷamasata perahāra āragannē, *Pattini-hālla*, v. 217.

84. *Shrine of Upulvan* (see note 78), ch. IV.

85. See (1) Bell, H.C.P., *Report on the Kegalla District*, Colombo, 1892, p. 125. (2) *Ranunuparalaya*, Kandy, 1925.

(3) Godakumbura, C. E., "Alutnuvara-dēvālaya karavimā", in *Sāhityaya*, 1964, pt. 4.

(4) Godakumbura, C.E., *Jānakīharana*, Sinhalese ed. Colombo, 1969 p. 322.

The King and Ladies

Knox says that after the attendants thousands of ladies and gentlemen "arrayed in the bravest manner their ability can afford, and go hand in hand three in a row."⁸⁷ Last of all went the commanders sent by the King to supervise the ceremonies. The writer adds: "Formerly the King himself in person used to ride on horseback with all his train before him in this solemnity, but now he delights not in these Shows."⁸⁸

It is very clear from Knox's account that during the period he was in Kandy, the perahāra in the capital was only a festival of Alutnuvara-deviyō. We saw that a festival in honour of Upulvan had been held yearly at Devinuvara. When this god or one connected with him, was brought to Alutnuvara, the perahāra was held there, and when the god was transported to Kandy, his festival was celebrated at the capital. The priests of the Kataragama God and of the Goddess Pattini had only a place as attendants of the God of Alutnuvara, which signified that this god (that is Alutnuvara-deviyō) held a superior position in Kandy. The priests of the Bodhisattva God Nātha did not take part in the procession. During the time of Knox, the Tooth Relic festival may have been held separately unless it had been in abeyance due to Rājasimha's lack of faith in the Buddhist religion. As for God Nātha, the Buddhists of Ceylon during that time evidently knew more about the gods of the country, and they perhaps did not permit this Bodhisattva God to take a second place to Alutnuvara-deviyō or be mixed up with a god, one of whose aspects encouraged misdeeds, and a cruel goddess bent on revenge on the wickedness of the world towards her.

God Nātha, however, appears to have been made to join the perahāra before long, for we read in the *Mahāvamsa* that during the time of King Kīrti-Śrī-Rājasimha (A.D. 1747-1780) the festival was in honour of such gods as Nātha and Uppalavanna.⁸⁹ The chapter ninety-nine of the *Mahāvamsa* says that the king went in both the Daḷadā procession and the Perahāra of the dēvālayas.⁹⁰ This account may refer to the early period of his reign before the amalgamation of the Daḷadā-perahāra and the dēvālaya processions, or it may also be possible

that the author of this part of the *Mahāvamsa*, Tibbaṭuvāvē Buddha-rakkhita Thera, using the stereotyped medium of Pali, was not quite accurate in his narrative. In the year A.D. 1775, King Kīrti-Śrī-Rājasimha ordered the Tooth Relic to be brought out at the perahāra in order to placate the leading bhikkhus from Siam who had come to Kandy to carry out the higher ordination (*upāsampadā*) ceremony.⁹¹

A popular Sinhalese quatrain,⁹² speaks of King Rājādhirājasimha (A.D. 1780-1798) going in the Āsala-perahāra, as partaking in heavenly sports. It was indeed the Āsala-festival in which Indra took part in heaven. Davy gives a lengthy descriptive account of the Perahāra.⁹³ Concerning the time of the festival, Davy emphatically states, "The Perahēra,that which was observed with the greatest pomp and parade, was always kept in the month of July, when it was called Eysala-keliye, or the play of July. It was commenced on the day of the new moon in this month, in commemoration, according to some, of the birth of the God Vishnu, which is supposed to have happened on that day, and was concluded on the day following the night that the moon was full."⁹⁴

From this account it is also seen that some have at the time attempted to connect the whole ceremony with Vishnu, that is Mahavishnu who had taken the place of Alutnuvara-deviyō. Davy's order of the perahāra, except for small details, is very much like what it is today. He says that the end of five days an important part of the perahāra commenced, that is the Randoely-beyma (*Randōli-bāma*). Describing this part of the procession he adds, "In the evening, the palanqueens followed the elephants bearing the arms of the gods, but by night they preceded them. They were attended not only by the women of the temple, but likewise by ladies of the court and by the young wives and daughters of the chiefs, dressed in royal apparel, presented to them by the king. The King who before was a spectator merely of the ceremony, now took an active part in it, and during the five days that the Randoely-beyma lasted, regularly joined the evening procession, in his golden chariot drawn by eight horses."⁹⁵ It is doubtful whether Davy saw the last king of Kandy going as described along with the procession. If the king did not go in a chariot, he must have ridden a horse like King Rājasimha II. In A.D. 1815, after the cession of the Kandyan kingdom to the British, Ehelepola adigar is said to have designed to ride a white horse in the perahāra.⁹⁶ Perhaps the erstwhile Mahadigar desired to show himself as the king in the eyes of the populace.

87. Op. cit. p. 127.

88. Ibid.

89. See *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 99, v. 42-65, Geiger's translation of v. 42 does not agree with the text, as the Nātha. The text being:

pubbalaṅkindabhūpalā loke maṅgalasammatam
nāthauppalavannādevapūjāpurassaram.....

the translation should be, "Having given precedence to the festivals of gods such as Nātha and Uppalavanna which were considered as lucky by the people in the days of the former kings of Laṅkā". See "The God Nātha" added as Appendix II.

90. *Mhv*, 99, 52, 65. In both instances, the king's progress in the perahāra is compared to that of Indra in heaven. See also Aśvaghoṣa's *Buddhacarita*, III, 12; VIII, 73 and his *Saundarananda*, IV, 46.

91. Davy, op. cit. p. 172, Pridham. Op. cit., Vol. I, p. 330.

92. Āsala-masa diṭṭimi yanavā dev-keliyē. The full verse is found in *Purāṇa-jōḍu-sivupada-pota*, — 'Kavipota.' Samayavardhana Press, Colombo, 1934, verse, no. 15.

93. Davy, op. cit. pp. 170-174.

94. Ibid. p. 170.

95. Ibid. pp. 172-173.

96. D'Oyly, *Diary*.

Diyakāpuma

In Davy's time,⁹⁷ and even later in the time of Forbes,⁹⁸ the "Water-cutting" ceremony of Kandy perahāra had been performed at the Gannoruwa ferry of the Mahavāli-gaṅga. Pridham⁹⁹ says that it was done at the ancient ferry near the bridge of Peradeniya. Since Forbes apparently gives an eye-witness-account, I prefer to cite it: "The arms and other relics of the gods were carried either on elephants or on palanquins; and on the last night, the casket containing the Dalada, borne by an elephant, accompanied the procession to limits of the town, and rested at the Gedige vihāre, near the tombs of the kings, whilst the remainder of the procession passed on to the Mahawelli-ganga at Ganorooa, three miles from Kandy. There the four Kapuralls of the temples of Vishnu, Nata, Kataragama, and Patini embarked on the river in ornamented canoes, and awaited the first dawn of day, then drawing a circle in the water with their golden swords, they filled pitchers of holy water from within the magic ring, and the procession returned to the City."¹⁰⁰

Forbes too makes the time of the Perahāra the month of Āśāḥ. He says, "the Peraherra (The Procession), commenced with the new moon, and continued until the full moon in July"¹⁰¹ There have been separate exhibitions of the Daḷadā in Kandy during Forbes's days. One such was on the 28th of May 1828, which Forbes has mentioned.¹⁰² A full account of the Daḷadā Perahāra as it was conducted in the nineteenth century is given in a manuscript found in the library of Bowala Potgul-vihāraya, Gampola. Unfortunately the date appears illegible, but it could be calculated with the aid of an Ephemeris.¹⁰³

Pridham¹⁰⁴ says that the Perahāra at his time was in August, but when Knox wrote it was in June,¹⁰⁵ and when Davy wrote in July, and adds, "and like all other eastern festivals, from the imperfection of the native astronomy, it traverses through all the months of the year." This inference of Pridham is wrong. Unlike the Muslim lunar year, the Hindu lunar year is regulated by intercalation and leap years, so that the lunar months fall closely together with the solar ones. We have to look for other reasons to explain the shifting of the dates. Some say that it is to allow time for the provincial dēvalayas to finish their festivals, so that the officials, retainers and craftsmen from such temples may be able to take part in the Perahāra at Kandy. This may

97. Ibid. p. 173.

98. Forbes, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 317.

99. Pridham, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 332.

100. Forbes, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 317.

101. Ibid. p. 316.

102. Ibid. Vol. II, p. 221.

103. Published in the *Svarṇajayanti Saṃgrahaya* of Śrīpūṣpadāna Society, Kandy, B.E. 2501, pp. 55-57.

104. Pridham, Vol. I, p. 331.

105. Knox says, "June or July", op. cit. p. 125.

not be the main reason. It may also be that it was found prudent to fix the end of the perahāra and the 'Water-cutting' just before the rains, so that the rains came just after the end of the rain-making ritual. Otherwise, if rains delayed, the ceremonies would have been deemed unsuccessful.

Today for most visitors the main interest of the Kandy Perahāra is the appearance of the dancers in *ves* dress. It should be mentioned that these dancers had no part in the perahāra before 1919. They were only introduced when the Perahāra was re-started after the Sinhalese-Muslim disturbances of 1915. This introduction of the new feature shows how little the controllers of the Perahāra know about the significance of the ceremony. The *ves* dancers belong entirely to different ritual namely, the Kohāmbā-kankāriya.¹⁰⁶

The Feast of Lights¹⁰⁷ and the Feast of New Rice

The new year began in early times with the full moon of the month of Kārttika, which is called *Il* in Sinhalese and falls in about November. There was among the Sinhalese a reckoning of the Parinibbāna from the full moon of the month of *Il*.¹⁰⁸ The full moon of *Il* was celebrated by lighting lamps round dagobas, lamps were lit in rows, on tops of poles and on pandals. Descriptions of this festival are given by Knox, Davy and Pridham.¹⁰⁹

I shall pass over the Alut-sāl-maṅgalaya, 'the festival of New Rice,'¹¹⁰ to the Alut-avurudda, 'the New Year.'¹¹¹

New Year

Some comment on the New Year is necessary. Today the Sinhalese New Year begins from the moving of the Sun from the Zodiacal sign of Pisces to Aries. The year thus is a solar one. There is however a custom connected with the moon relating to the new year, that is to see the

106. See Godakumbura, C. E., *Kohāmbā-kankāriya*, Colombo, 1963, p. xviii.

107. At the present time the Buddhists of Ceylon have made Vesak, the anniversary of the birth of the Buddha the time for lighting up. In Burma lights are lit at the Kārttika full moon.

108. Paranavitana, S., "The Buddhist Era in Ceylon", *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVIII, nos. 3 & 4, July-October, 1960, p. 144; It also should be noted that in the *Divyāvadāna*, the nakṣatras begin with Kṛittikā, (Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna), ed. Cowell and Neil, Cambridge, 1886, p. 646.

109. Knox, op. cit., p. 128, Davy, op. cit., p. 174, Pridham, op. cit. Vol. I, pp. 335-336.

110. Davy, pp. 174-175, Pridham, Vol. I, p. 336, Davy, pp. 168-169, Forbes, Vol. I, pp. 315-316.

111. Knox, p. 129, Pridham, Vol. I, pp. 334-335, Davy, p. 168.

moon for the new year. The new year which is now observed does not fall with a new moon, but in older times, it was a lunar year, and began with the month of Caitra, and hence it was called Caitrādi.¹¹² Sanskrit 'Caitra,' or Pali 'Citta,' is the Sinhalese month of Bak. The new moon of Bak may fall after the first day of Aries, that is the 13th of April or before. The astrologers therefore fix a time for seeing the moon either in the old year or in the New Year. Sometimes they fix two days, one for the new year and one for the old so that they may be safe. The reckoning of the New Year from the zodiacal movements of the Sun appears to be recent.¹¹³

Robert Knox's statements¹¹⁴ relating to the new year are rather confusing. At part B, chapter X, of his *Historical Relations*, in his account of 'the Astronomy of the Sinhalese' Knox says that the Sinhalese reckon their time from the Sakavarṣa (Knox: Saccawarsi), and that they begin the year on the 28th or 27th of March and sometimes, but very seldom, on the 29th. It is evident that Knox was speaking according to the old calendar as his stay in Ceylon was from A.D. 1659-1681. Consulting Svāmi Kannupillai's *Almanac* we find that A.D. 1681 was Śaka 1603 and March 27 was Mīna 29 (Sunday), March 28 was Mīna 30 (Monday) and March 29 was Meṣa 1 (Tuesday). Thus we see that the New Year was taken from the movement (*Saṅkrānti*) of the sun from Pisces to Aries. Immediately after that came the dates of the new year Knox, however, begins the names of the Sinhalese months from Vesak (Knox: Wasachmaha), which shows that he had the Buddhist new year too in mind.

We also notice from Knox's account of the king's Revenues in part 2 chapter IV, that the ceremony which was held at the *Saṅkrānti* was that of washing and anointing the king's head. This is what is known among the Sinhalese as *Is-sōdana-avuruḍḍa*, and until late up to a few decades ago it fell at least a week after the new year which was dated by the *Saṅkrānti*. Again speaking of the 'Worship and Festivals of the Sinhalese' at part 3, chapter IV, Knox says that the new-year's Tide is in March without giving any dates, and the people went on pilgrimage either to worship at the Bō-tree at Anuradhapura or at the Buddha's foot-mark at Adam's Peak. It is possible that the new year began before the *Saṅkrānti*.

112. "The first civil day of the Caitrādi year is the day after the new-moon conjunction which occurs next after the entrance of the Sun into Mīna, and it now falls from about March 13 to about April 11", *Encyclopaedia Britannica* s. v. 'Calendar'.

113. See Godakumbura, C. E., "Sinhala Lita", in *Adhyāpana Saṅgarāva*, 2, 20, January, 1966, pp. 39-45.

114. *Historical Relations*, Glasgow ed., p. 177, p. 75, p. 129.

When we came to the nineteenth century we find that the new year begins with the *Saṅkrānti*, and the 'washing of the head' has taken the fifth place out of the six important duties for the new year (Davy¹¹⁵). Forbes¹¹⁶ and Pridham¹¹⁷ confirm Davy's account. What we notice is that the Caitrādi new year and the ceremonies which were held at the *Meṣa-saṅkrānti* (movement of the sun to the zodiacal sign of Aries) have been mixed together in later centuries.

I do not intend to describe the numerous observances connected with the New Year. My intention is only to examine the reason for the meaning of some of the customary observances. Between the Old Year and the New Year falls a period during which no profitable work is done, not even food cooked, called *Nonāgatē*, in Sinhalese. The lunar month which precedes Caitra is known in Sinhalese as the *Mādin-dina* meaning the day or days in between the months. It would appear that originally this was not the name of a month, but was the period which fell between the last month of the old year and the first month of the new year. Later the name must have been applied to the last month of the year, which was the most likely possibility. The period of *Nonāgatē* thus would have been the length of time that could not be counted for either year. The extra days of the solar year, over the lunar year are taken to be unlucky, and in the leap year, the thirteenth month, that is the extra one is known as the *mala-māsa* in Sanskrit and no festival is held in the month.¹¹⁸ Although we have forgotten the reason, it is possible that the observance of this inauspicious period goes back to some ancient custom connected with the calendar.

The Nānu-mura-maṅgallaya which was held in the New Year appears to be an act of purification. During the time of the Kandyan kings, the medicinal juice from plants was prepared in thousands of pots at the Nātha-dēvālē. It is interesting to note that this took place in the temple of the Bodhisattva god, and not in either the Maha-dēvālē or the Kataragama-dēvālē. It may have been the continuance of an old custom. Powers of healing are attributed to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Nātha.

At Kandy, after a new king was elected, he chose his name at the Nātha-dēvālē. All kings of Laṅkā were considered Bodhisattvas. We read in a tenth century inscription:¹¹⁹ Sirilak-hi no bosat-hu no raj-vanhayi Sāhā-kula kot Savāniya-muni-raj-hu (viyāraṇ) lad...Bud bāti Kāt-usabna-visin...

115. Davy op. cit. pp. 168-170.

116. Forbes, op. cit. Vol. I, ch. XIV, pp. 315-316.

117. Pridham, op. cit. Vol. I, p. 342-343.

118. *Kauṭilya-Arthaśāstra*.

119. 'Jetavanārama', slab-inscription (no. 2), taken to be of Mahinda IV by Wickremasinghe, (EZ, Vol. I, p. 237, lines 51-52). The Inscription is in the Abhayagiri complex, and now it is known to be of Mahinda V:

"...by the Kṣatriya lords devoted to the Buddha, who (of yore) have received the assurance (made by) the omniscient Lord of Sages, the pinnacle of the Śākya race, that none but the Bodhisattas would become kings of prosperous Laṅkā.....".—So we find at important occasions, notwithstanding ancient historic loyalties, the Bodhisattva God Nātha takes precedence over Indra, the Hero God.

We thus see that our early festivals were connected with rain-making and the increase of water.¹²⁰ The Gods of Rain, Indrā and Parjanya continued to be honoured even though with the introduction of other faiths new gods had taken precedence.

120. SEE COULBORN, RUSHTON, *The Origin of Civilized Societies*, Princeton, New Jersey, 1959, ch. 5 "The New Religion", pp. 129-130: "Each religion arose as a means of enabling the people of its society to survive. Later and increasingly, it became a means of directing the society's energies towards particular ends thought important and advantageous by its leaders. But we shall not be concerned here with those later events. Our enquiry begins logically with what has already been settled about the primary civilized societies, their special need for water. Fortunately, it is possible to show clearly, even conclusively, for most of the societies at their origin that religion was vitally concerned with the need for water. Water was, of course, the essential means of the societies' survival...."

Ibid. p. 134: "...after the god had done his part—and he might need to be cajoled or compelled to do it—it was for men to get busy and make the most profitable and safest use of the water which they had received."

APPENDIX I

A poetic account of a festival from *Guttillaya*, verses 116-129.

116 - 119: The multitude of pleasure seeking people of that City, having applied scented saffron and sandalwood paste on their bodies and wearing pearl necklaces are constantly engaged in sports to their hearts' content. They have spread the place with pure white sand, hoisted beautiful golden flags, planted banana bushes at their doorways, and placed painted full pots. Women and sportive men, in order to partake of liquor, have filled thousands of eating-houses with eatables of various tastes. They have decorated the streets of the City, putting pandals with gold work on either side, showing their lustre like unto the rising sun.

120: The citizens walk about playfully, wearing different kinds of masks, singing pleasing and sweet songs, and keeping their steps to the tunes, and thus winning the minds of the people.

121: The dancers who perform here and there have surpassed the style of the performances of divine maidens, and thus captivated the minds and the eyes of all who see them. They have shot the flowery darts of Ananga, the God of Love.

122: Some dance, intoxicated with liquor, their bodies whirling, with cups full of toddy in their hands, showing in their eyes the redness of the lotus-petal, and not knowing what they do.

123: Constantly the women who are decked in manifold ornaments, sport in the City wearing sweet-smelling flowers in their hair, and camphor garlands on their breasts.

124: Countless dancing women, appearing like goddesses, unhesitatingly enter unto the midst of assemblies, and perform joyfully. Who will be able to leave that scene after once witnessing it?

125: In various places women singing pleasant songs and ditties, as if pouring nectar in the ear, dispel the sorrows of those who hear them.

126: Even the minds of the celibates are disturbed when they see the dances of the women of that city who surpass the heavenly damsels in their beauty which they display.

127: All the dwellers of that city having gathered together, constantly dance and play surpassing the sports of the Gods. When will there be anything like it?

128 - 129: The citizens joyfully sport thus, taking whatever guise they desire, as they do in the festivities carried out by the heavenly hosts, when they had defeated the Titans; and in their plays accompanied by songs they give delight to all the eyes that watch them, and dispel the sorrows in their hearts.

APPENDIX II

The God Nātha

Professor Wilhelm Geiger, at para. 159 of *Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times*, Wiesbaden, 1960, says the following of Nātha, now worshipped in a temple opposite the Daḷadā Māligāva in Kandy. "The boundary between popular and official religion cannot always be fixed with certainty. I mention the worship of two deities, *Uppalavanna-deva* 'the Lotus-hued god' and *Nātha*, 'the Lord,' which according to my opinion was originally of popular character, but has been admitted into the most solemn Buddhist cult. (Cf. S. PARANAVITANA, Mahayanism in Ceylon, Ceyl. Journ. of Science Sect. G, II, p. 35 sq., 66 sq., 52 sq.)" This statement implies that Nātha was worshipped as a popular divinity before he was "admitted into the most solemn Buddhist Cult." Beyond his own opinion, no evidence whatever is adduced by the critic for the existence at any time of the worship of a popular deity named Nātha outside the pale of Buddhism.

In the course of the same paragraph, at p. 171, Geiger has stated: "Nātha 'Lord' is now a name for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, but it is doubtful whether, as PARANAVITANA assumes, this was already the case in the thirteenth century." As this is a criticism of Paranavitana's article "Mahayanism in Ceylon", the time of the writing of that article must be understood by the word 'now'. It is not true to say, as Geiger does, that 'Nātha' is now a name for the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara, and that Avalokiteśvara is unknown to Ceylon Buddhism now. And there cannot be a name for an unknown deity. Geiger's words also imply that Paranavitana has without reason assumed a state of things which exists now to have also existed in the thirteenth century.

Paranavitana has not assumed anything with regard to Nātha in the paper under reference. What Paranavitana has done is to state facts and to draw legitimate inferences therefrom. If anything has been assumed about Nātha, that, as we shall see later, has been done by Geiger. He confesses that he holds certain beliefs about Nātha against which facts appear to be of no avail.

Paranavitana begins his investigation into the identity of Nātha by pointing out at the tendency among the devotees of that god to regard him to be the same as Maitreya. He also points out that this tendency is not justifiable by quoting a number of references in inscriptions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in which Nātha and Maitreya are named as two different personages. He draws particular attention to the reference in the Laṅkātilaka inscription to Lokeśvara Nātha and Maitri Bodhisattva. The reference in the Asgiri-vihāre inscription of the reign of the last king of Kandy (early 19th century) to two images of Lokeśvara Nātha and Maitri Nātha, as well as the reference in the Vēgiriya Dēvālē inscription to the god of that shrine (who is still Nātha) as Lokeśvara Nātha are also quoted. From these

it became evident that though the epithet Nātha is attached sometimes to the name of Maitreya when the title Bodhisattva is not used, he is never called Nātha alone. The god who is now called Nātha without any other name, is called Lokeśvara Nātha. Lokeśvara, it has been pointed out is one of the best known appellations of Avalokiteśvara. Hence it follows that Nātha is the same as Avalokiteśvara. This conclusion gains further support from the *Tisara-sandēsa* which gives evidence that in the fourteenth century Nātha was associated in the Doravaka temple with Tārā-bisō. Tārā, it is well known, is regarded by Mahāyanists as the spouse of Avalokiteśvara.

Having pointed out that Lokeśvara is well known appellation of Avalokiteśvara, Paranavitana did not think it necessary to point out references in which the epithet Nātha is applied to Avalokiteśvara. It may, however, be necessary now to state that the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* (circa, 7th century) refers to Avalokiteśvara with the epithet of Nātha in the following verse:

Taṃ cāvalokitam Nātham kṛpavyākulacāriṇam
Viraumyārttaravaṃ bhītaḥ sa mām rakṣatu pāpinam. (II, 51)

"I also cry out, being frightened, with piteous clamour, to that Avalokiteśvara Nātha who goes about, being agitated with compassion. May he protect me, the sinner." Thus, there is conclusive evidence indicating that 'Nātha' was an epithet of Lokeśvara i.e. Avalokiteśvara, among Sinhalese Buddhists in the middle of the fourteenth century. Mahāyāna influences are not known to have come from abroad in the fourteenth century. Evidence had been adduced for the prevalence of Mahayanism, including the worship of Avalokiteśvara, in the later Anuradhapura period. Therefore, it is reasonable to infer that the conditions which prevailed with regard to this matter in the fourteenth century were not new developments, but those that had come down from the past when there is mention of Nātha referring to the thirteenth century. It is justifiable, therefore, to conclude (not assume) that Lokeśvara Nātha was the personage mentioned.

Nātha, as it is used at present, is an abbreviation of an appellation of Avalokiteśvara. Hence, it cannot be taken as the name of a god who has been identified with Avalokiteśvara. The reason for Geiger to state that Paranavitana has made an assumption about Nātha with reference to the thirteenth century is obvious. Paranavitana has stated at p. 57 of the paper under reference, that 'Nātha' is also mentioned in the 87th chapter, v. 3 of the *Mahāvamsa* and has given the correct reading of the verse of which a corrupt reading has been adopted by Professor Geiger. The correct reading of the first half of the verse in question, as given in two of the manuscripts utilised by Geiger in his edition, and in the edition of the text by Sumaṅgala and Batuvantudave is: *Nātha-Metteyya-devādidevānaṃ ca mahiddhinaṃ*. Geiger has read *devāti* for *devādi* and translated the line as "the protectors Metteyya and other

miracle working highest Deities." Nātha has found no place in this translation. '*Devātideva*' which Geiger has translated as 'highest deities' means 'God surpassing gods'. It is used only for the Buddha as it is indeed in the reference given by Geiger as footnote 1 at p. 177, of *Cūlavamsa* translation pt. II. The epithet, which is nowhere found in the plural, is used in Sinhalese and Pali literature, for the Buddha only. It is nowhere applied to a Bodhisattva. The correct translation of the line should therefore be: "the gods of great might, beginning with the gods Nātha and Metteyya."

In the work referred to above, Geiger has recognised Nātha's right to be treated as a separate individual, but not as a Bodhisattva. He says: "It is true that in 87.3 Nātha is mentioned side by side with Metteyya, but they are both not called Bodhisattas but 'High Devas' (*devātideva*), apparently because Nātha could not lay claim to the title of Bodhisatta, for still in the eighteenth century in 100.248 the remarkable distinction is made between the Bodhisattva Metteyya and the Deva Nātha." In 87.3, it is not only Nātha but also Metteyya, that is called a Deva. If the reason is, as Geiger had stated that Nātha could not lay claim to the title of Bodhisattva, the same argument must also apply to Metteyya. If on the other hand, Metteyya has been called a Deva in spite of his being a Bodhisattva, there is no objection to Nātha also being taken as a Bodhisattva. In fact in the verse from the *Vadankavipota* which Paranavitana has quoted in his paper, Nātha is eulogised as "having, during a period of many aeons of time-cycles made up his determination to become a Buddha and received prophesies from other Buddhas that he would realise his aim (received *vivarana* = P. *vyākaraṇa*). He is therefore a Bodhisattva, but in the very same verse he is called a Dei-*raja* (= *Devarāja*). Thus there is nothing incompatible in a Bodhisattva being a Deva. For Bodhisattvas are not a genus or species. A Bodhisattva might be a man, or an animal, or a denizen of heaven, i.e. a god.

With regard to the reference 100.24, Geiger appears to be of the view that Nātha is called a Deva while Metteyya is called a Bodhisattva because Nātha had not been admitted to the ranks of Bodhisattvas even in the time of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha. But Paranavitana has pointed out that Nātha in the fourteenth century was called Lokeśvara Nātha, i.e., Avalokiteśvara, whose status of Bodhisattva is well known, and there are numerous references to his becoming a Buddha in the future. Therefore, the reference in the time of Kīrti Śrī is due to the original character of Nātha being forgotten in the time of Kīrti Śrī Rājasimha rather than to the reason given by Geiger. It may be also added that Geiger was clinging doggedly to the error of taking *devātideva* to be the correct reading at *Mhv.* 87, 3.

Geiger claims that the reference to Bodhisattva Metteyya as *Lokanātha* in *Mhv.* 52, 47 has enabled him to arrive at the root of the conception of the god Nātha. "Originally," says Geiger, "*nātha* or *lokanātha* was an attribute of Metteyya, and afterwards it became, as happens so often in the history of religion, the name of a separate god who, of course, was closely connected with the Bodhisatta Metteyya." Geiger in this pronouncement of his, has not given an indication of the exact date he intends by the word 'originally.' If it refers to the time at which that part of the *Mahāvamsa* containing the passage quoted was written, i.e. in the twelfth century, reference may be made to the painting of Lokanātha of the Hospital in Simhaladvīpa (Simhaladvīpe Arogyaśālā-Lokanātha) in a manuscript from Nepal in the Bengali script of the eleventh century now preserved in Cambridge. Paranavitana has referred to this Avalokiteśvara image from Ceylon in his paper (p. 51) to which Geiger has made reference. But the great scholar is at times apt to ignore things which go against his beliefs. The painting depicts a well-known aspect of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara of whom a beautiful stone image found at Malabar is given in plate XX d of Bhattacharya's *Buddhist Iconography*. Lokanātha is the distinctive name of one of the aspects of Avalokiteśvara and not an attributive epithet as it is of Metteyya in *Mhv.* 52, 47.

The position that can be gathered from Mahāyāna works like the *Bodhicaryāvatāra* is that *Nātha* (Lord or Protector) and *Lokanātha* were at first applied to any Buddha or Bodhisattva or used in referring to them, but later, became distinctive of Avalokiteśvara or Lokeśvara Bodhisattva.

Having gone, as he claims, to the root of the conception of the God Nātha, Geiger has confessed his dis-belief in the result of his own investigation. For he has stated: "Nevertheless I believe that the worship of Nātha originally was part of the popular religion. Nātha was a guardian deity of Ceylon, similar to Uppalavanna, ..." Beliefs are generally held with no evidence to support them or against all evidence, Geiger's belief in this matter, is not different. There is no evidence for the existence of a god named Nātha before the introduction of the Cult of Avalokiteśvara by the Mahāyānists.

When the rooth chapter of the *Mahāvamsa* was written, the origin of Nātha had been forgotten by the people and his name being coupled together with Uppalavanna in the mention of offerings to god Nātha was due to the proximity of the temples of the two gods in Kandy. At, p. 211, Geiger has further stated, "but even now (in the fourteenth century) the chief Bodhisattva of the Mahāyānists, Avalokiteśvara, is nowhere mentioned by name in the chronicle nor the identification of the

god Nātha with him perfected." The *Mahāvamsa* is the chronicle of the Mahāvihāra sect, who did not recognise Avalokiteśvara as a Bodhisattva. The name of this Bodhisattva being not mentioned in the *Mahāvamsa* is no evidence to establish that his worship was unknown in Ceylon. Parana-vitana has elsewhere (*B.C. Law Volume*, part II Poona, 1946) pointed out references to him in the literature and epigraphy of Ceylon.

The chapters of the *Mahāvamsa* referring to the period after Parākramabāhu V (A.D. 1302–1326) are very scrappy and have no mention of many important events relating to the history of Buddhism. For instance, there is no mention in the chronicle of monks coming from Burma receiving the *upasampadā* in Ceylon and establishing the Sīṃhalasaṅgha in their country about which we learn from Burmese sources. It has also no mention of the part played by Sinhalese Mahātheras in the establishment of Theravāda Buddhism in Siam and Cambodia about which information has been revealed by the researches of French savants.

Geiger's words that the identification of Nātha with Avalokiteśvara was not perfected is not correct for, as it has been pointed out already, it is not a case of identification, but of one of the names of Avalokiteśvara in an abbreviated form being preserved together with the cult of the Bodhisattva.

Vote of Thanks proposed by Mr. Nissanka Wijeyeratne

It is both my pleasure and privilege to be called upon to propose the Vote of Thanks this evening on the Presidential address. The pleasure is due to the fact that Dr. Godakumbura is a distinguished son of my home district to which he has brought credit and renown by his academic achievements. I consider it a privilege because the thanks I offer to the learned lecturer are for a most fascinating talk, marked by an impressive scholarship, on our festivals.

An awareness of what has gone before is helpful for man's future journey. For in as much as the future is the extension of the present so is the present the continuation of the past. Knowledge and understanding of the ages that preceded ours, their characteristic features and their meaning, are therefore to be welcomed. At a time when the scientists and, in fact, almost all mankind looks forward with enthusiasm to the revelation of the origins of the Universe, it is not inappropriate if some measure of attention is paid to the origin and history of mankind in relation to the Earth. But the study of man and his society embraces all human activities and hence all fields of man's life must necessarily come within the scope of human scholarship.

It has been one of the happier features of British administration that wherever it was established it encouraged the studies of the habits and customs of the people whom it was called upon to govern, and it is in this context that we remember with gratitude the initiative taken by the British authorities to establish the Royal Asiatic Society through which, not only administrators but even distinguished scholars, both local and foreign, were afforded an opportunity to participate in the common adventure of understanding our past. This country and its people therefore owe a deep debt of gratitude to the Society, which for the last hundred years has given a lead in the study of our people and made so valuable a contribution of which we—its members—can be justly proud.

It was, I believe, John Still who percipiently looked forward to the day when local scholars immersed in their own cultural heritage, would undertake an examination of the evidence of our past. Over half a century ago, a distinguished administrator, judge and scholar,

Sir Paul Pieris broke new ground in his historic decision in the Wallahagoda Devale case when he drew attention to the psychological background that inspired the actions of those he was called upon to judge. He realised, with sensitive understanding, the meaningful association of the traditions and customs of people with their daily religious practices and pointed out the persistence of attitudes that derived from a time when man, with beautiful innocence assumed, that once upon a time the Gods themselves walked upon this Earth.

The analysis of the psychology of a people and how it affects their ideas and inspires their creative talents has been clearly shown by a long line of distinguished scholars since then. Many of you here, perhaps, recall how Dr. Senerat Paranavithana once held an audience spell bound when he showed through brilliant analysis how the concepts of the people entered their literature and how they finally found expression in the famous statue at Polonnaruwa where a regal personage holds in his rock hewn hands "the Yoke of Responsibility"—so different from "the Yoke of Submission" with which those conversant with Roman history are familiar.

Thus to review therefore as well as to search is the mark of true scholarship and we are deeply obliged for the sweep as well as the depth of Dr. Godakumbure's handling of his theme and for his observations. The critical approach he has brought to bear on the subject matter of his studies has not only enabled him to throw fresh light but also to point out where eminent foreign scholars like Geiger have erred. He has also, no doubt, corrected our own imperfect knowledge. I, for one, had always believed that the principal among our ancient festivals were the Alutsal, Awrudu, Esala and Kartikeya Mangalayas. I now realise that even perhaps more ancient and important has been the Poson festival, the origins of which are lost in the mists of antiquity and come down to us from even pre-Buddhist times.

The fields through which Dr. Godakumbure took us are of abiding interest. Harvest celebrations, propitiation of Rain-Gods, ancient rites connected with Sun worship testify to man's endeavours by sympathetic magic to move the forces of nature. In Europe for example the rites of the Stonehenge or the symbolic associations of the Mistletoe and even of common games such as "hop-sotch" or "Conkers" or the dancing around the Maypole were inspired by such aspirations. More often than not man has lost the knowledge of the simple origins of ancient practices but we are thankful whenever the illuminating truth behind them is revealed. Many of the things we do today have their beginnings in earlier events and experiences that left indelible impressions and quite often give rise to new traditions or customs.

In this connection there comes to mind the rather salacious story related by, I think, Prince Otto Von Bismark. On a visit to the Imperial Russian Court he noticed one winter afternoon, from the window of his room, the parading of a platoon of unusually well built and handsome

guards. His curious inquiry as to the reason for it inspired a search into the records of the Palace only to reveal that it derived from a rather unusual practice originated over a century earlier to enable the Tzarina Catherine the Great, each day, to make selection of the most personable soldier with whom she could while away the long, lonely and sultry evening.

Dr. Godakumbure made reference, in the course of his learned talk, to the rather critical approach that over zealous officialdom displayed in more recent years towards the indulgence in phallic rites by some visitors to a sacred city during the Poson season leading, in consequence, to their forcible exclusion. I might confess, since this responsibility was mine, that if only I had, at that time, been privileged to have listened to Dr. Godakumbure's observations, I might have desisted from interfering with the religious rites of a rather small but nevertheless virile section of my countrymen! But may I, in passing and for my part, be permitted to inquire from the learned President, whether it was the critical observations of the Scholar or the indulgence of a devotee that enabled him to know what transpired in the sylvan glades of Anuradhapura?

Dr. Godakumbure has made a rich and interesting contribution this evening and I have therefore no doubt whatsoever when I say in conclusion that I voice the sentiments of each and everyone of you present in expressing to him our grateful thanks for the illuminating talk he delivered and for the contribution he has made towards our understanding of our festivals and of our past. It is our earnest hope that he may be long spared to continue, along with other distinguished scholars, research in the fields of studies to which he is dedicated.

OBITUARY

Mr. Lyn de Fonseka

Mr. Lyn de Fonseka was educated at St. Joseph's College, Colombo, and joined the Library Staff of the Colombo Museum in 1926, as an Assistant Librarian. Being an avid reader with an unusually tenacious memory, it was not long before readers realized that he was able to produce most of the books that they needed without unnecessary delay entailed in searching for them. The Senior Assistant was well versed in books on ancient Ceylon, but Mr. de Fonseka soon became the authority on the literature of the various other categories and it was his aid that scientists generally sought.

With the outbreak of World War II, the Colombo Museum was converted into Military Headquarters and its valuable collections evacuated to various outstations. Although, the bulk of the library was left in its old quarters, in charge of the Senior Assistant Librarian Mr. Jayasinghe, a part of it was shifted to the Museum's Head Office in the bill station of Pelmadulla and it was Mr. de Fonseka who saw to its maintenance there. Lack of adequate food and the amenities available to the ordinary Colombo citizen were only a few of the hardships that the skeleton staff that were not taken up for war emergency work in Colombo, had to face, until the Colombo Museum Building was released by the military upon the cessation of the war.

The process of bringing back and housing the books in Colombo was a trying business which Mr. de Fonseka conducted very efficiently at a time when packing materials and transport were difficult to come by. In due course, Mr. de Fonseka became Librarian in 1958.

His encyclopaedic knowledge of the literature of Ceylon both scientific as well as historical, soon attracted attention, with the result that nearly every reader went to him for assistance and rarely applied to the Assistant Librarians. Although this entailed an enormous amount of work, Mr. de Fonseka always complied with cheerful politeness.

These heavy exertions, however, took toll, and he was ill for many months. He resumed work immediately he was well enough and only retired in 1966 after attaining to the age limit fixed by Government.

His work outside the Colombo Museum is also noteworthy. With his interest in books and the history of Ceylon it was only natural that Mr. de Fonseka was a key figure of the Royal Asiatic Society in Ceylon. He was Assistant Secretary of the Society for 3 years and published an up to date Centenary Index of papers and journals from 1845 to 1945, published by the Society which is the only one now available.

He contributed a series of articles on the Bibliography of Ceylon to the Government Information Bulletin—*Ceylon Today*, and Dr. Edith Ware's "A Bibliography of Ceylon" published by the University of Miami Press, Coral Gables, Florida, in 1962 under the sponsorship of Dr. Henry Field, owes much to him.

A less known aspect of Mr. de Fonseka was his sporting activities. He played cricket for the Department and served as Honorary Secretary, when at the present writer's proposal, the Ceylon Government Services Sports Society formed a Boxing Section and conducted several meets to which the Government Departments brought their A and B teams from all parts of the Island.

The competitors included nearly all the National Champions and since the meets extended over two and often three days, the duties of the Hon. Secretary were as onerous as those of the Hon. Secretary of the Amateur Boxing Association of Ceylon. He also played a prominent part in organising the Department's Annual Social.

Mr. de Fonseka was an excellent Museum Officer, devoted to his work and popular with everyone. Scholars not only of Ceylon but in other countries will greatly deplore the early demise of one to whom they were greatly indebted, for, instead of merely producing a book on demand, he often referred them to literature that was unknown to them, which contained valuable information regarding matters upon which they were conducting their researches.

Few men in Ceylon were better read than he, nor possessed a keener mind and a better memory, yet with all his scholarship, he was most unassuming with it all, and more generous to share his knowledge.

Ceylon has lost one of its finest scholars, a man who asked for nothing for himself, and, knowing much, was an example with his unassuming modesty.

P. E. P. DERANIYAGALA.

OBITUARY

Sir Nicholas Attygalle

The Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, remembers with gratitude Sir Nicholas Attygalle, for it was he who provided accommodation for the Society's Library in a large room on the Ground Floor of the Main Building of the University of Ceylon, Colombo, at Thurstan Road, and also arranged for the Society to be allowed to use the New Arts Theatre free of charge for its public lectures and meetings. Earlier, the Society's Library was housed at the Training College premises at Thurstan Road in rooms which were far from satisfactory, with the roof leaking, thereby endangering the safety of the valuable books, which were the proud possession of the Society, and when an appeal was made to Sir Nicholas Attygalle, the then Vice-Chancellor of the University, he readily appreciated the difficult situation in which the Society was placed, and arranged for the above accommodation to be granted promptly. This generous gesture to help preserve for posterity, one of the most valuable cultural assets of the nation, could never be forgotten. The successive Vice-Chancellors have continued to give the Society the same facilities.

Sir Nicholas was enrolled a Member of the Society in 1953. He served as a Member of the Council of the Society from 1955 to 1958 and from 1964 to 1969, and as a Vice-President of the Society from 1959 to 1963. His time was too full to give the Council his regular presence, but he did not hesitate to give it his mature advice whenever it was sought.

His services to the profession, the country and his religion are inestimable and well known and need no repetition here. Sir Nicholas had many interests apart from his academic career, he played a leading role in many social, religious and political spheres. It may be said of him metaphorically, that beneath a rough exterior was a heart of gold, pulsating with the milk of human kindness. He practised his profession which he adorned with distinction for nearly 50 years, with courage, enterprise and devotion, giving the same dedicated attention to both rich and poor alike. He was also the President of the Senate.

He was elected Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon three times in succession—a rare achievement indeed. As Vice-Chancellor, in his wonderfully efficient and forthright way, he maintained discipline in the campus and his stewardship as Vice-Chancellor at the University of Ceylon, Peradeniya, earned him many secret admirers, even among students. It was during this period that he earned the sobriquet, "The Iron Vice-Chancellor". It was after he had left the University that his worth began to be realised more and more.

His death, on 28th March, 1970, was mourned by all Ceylon.

P. R. SITTAMPALAM.

Presidents

(Contd. from the Journal, New Series, Vol. I, p. 191, year 1950)

1952	P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
1956	S. Paranavitana.
1959	His Lordship the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I.
1962	R. L. Brohier.
1965	G. C. Mendis.
1967	N. D. Wijesekera.
1970	C. E. Godakumbura.

FURTHER OFFICE BEARERS

(Contd. from the Journal, Vol. XXVI, No. 70, p. 240, year 1917)

Patrons

1918-1925	H.E. Sir William Henry Manning.
1926-1927	H.E. Sir Hugh Clifford
1928-1930	H.E. Sir Herbert Stanley.
1931-	H.E. Sir Graeme Thomson.
1934-1937	H.E. Sir Reginald Stubbs.
1938-1944	H.E. Sir Andrew Caldecott.
1945-1949	H.E. Sir Henry Moore.
1949-1953	H.E. The Rt. Hon. Viscount Soulbury.
1954-1962	H.E. Sir Oliver Goonetilleke.
1963-1970	H.E. Mr. William Gopallawa.

Vice-Patrons

1913-1919	The Hon. R.E. Stubbs.
1919-1920	The Rt. Rev. Dr. E. A. Copleston, D.D.
1920-1921	The Hon. Sir Graeme Thomson.
1922-1923	The Hon. Mr. B. Horsburgh.
1923-	The Hon. Mr. Cecil Clementi.
1945-1948	Hon. Sir John Howard.

Vice-Presidents

1917-1918	C. Hartley and The Rt. Rev. Dr. R. S. Copleston.
1919-1920	P. E. Pieris and The Hon. Sir Anton Bertram.
1920-1921	The Hon. Sir Anton Bertram.
1920-1921	Joseph Pearson, R. G. Anthonisz.
1922-	Joseph Pearson, P. E. Pieris.
1923-	Joseph Pearson, R. G. Anthonisz, P. E. Pieris.
1924-	Joseph Pearson, P. E. Pieris.
1925-	P. E. Pieris, H. W. Codrington.
1926-	P. E. Pieris, Hon. H. W. Codrington, Hon. D. B. Jayatillake.
1927-	Hon. D. B. Jayatillake, R. G. Anthonisz.
1928-	Hon. D. B. Jayatillake, P. E. Pieris.
1929-	P. E. Pieris, Joseph Pearson.
1930-	P. E. Pieris, Joseph Pearson, A. Nell.
1931-	A. Nell, P. E. Pieris, Joseph Pearson.
1932-	P. E. Pieris, Joseph Pearson, A. Nell, W. A. de Silva.
1933-	W. A. de Silva, A. Nell, Joseph Pearson.
1934-	Hon. Sir Baron Jayatillake, W. A. de Silva, C. H. Collins.
1935-	C. H. Collins, W. A. de Silva, Hon. Sir Baron Jayatillake.
	Hon. Mr. C. W. W. Kannangara.
1936-	C. H. Collins, S. C. Paul, Hon. C. W. W. Kannangara.
1937-	S. C. Paul, Hon. C. W. W. Kannangara, C. H. Collins.
1938-	Prof. R. Marrs, Hon. C. W. W. Kannangara, S. C. Paul.
1940-1941	A. Nell, S. C. Paul, E. W. Perera, C. H. Collins.
1942-1943	E. W. Perera, A. Nell, C. H. Collins.

- 1944- A. Nell, D. N. Wadia, P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
 1945-1946 P. E. P. Deraniyagala, S. Paranavitana, Prof. S. A. Pakeman.
 1947-1948 P. E. P. Deraniyagala, S. Paranavitana, Prof. S. A. Pakeman.
 1949-1951 Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*, P. E. P. Deraniyagala, R. L. Brohier.
 1952- R. L. Brohier, S. Paranavitana, Sir Kanthiah Vaithianathan.
 1953-1954 S. Paranavitana, Sir K. Vaithianathan, Mudaliyar P. D. Ratnatunga.
 1955-1956 S. Paranavitana, Sir K. Vaithianathan, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*
 1957- Sir K. Vaithianathan, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*, C. W. Nicholas.
 1958- Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*, G. C. Mendis, C. W. Nicholas.
 1959- G. C. Mendis, C. W. Nicholas, Sir Nicholas Attygalle.
 1960- G. C. Mendis, R. L. Brohier, Sir Nicholas Attygalle.
 1961- R. L. Brohier, Sir Nicholas Attygalle, N. D. Wijesekera.
 1962- Sir Nicholas Attygalle, N. D. Wijesekera, C. B. P. Perera.
 1963-1964 N. D. Wijesekera, C. B. P. Perera, C. E. Godakumbura.
 1965- C. E. Godakumbura, C. B. P. Perera, Hon. Justice H. W. Tambiah.
 1966-1968 Hon. Justice H. W. Tambiah, W. J. F. La Brooy, D. T. Devendra.
 1969-70 W. J. F. La Brooy, D. T. Devendra, S. C. Fernando.

Honorary Secretaries

- 1918-1919 C. H. Collins, Gerard A. Joseph.
 1920- H. W. Codrington, Gerard A. Joseph.
 1921-1922 C. H. Collins, Gerard A. Joseph.
 1923- C. H. Collins, Lionel de Fonseka.
 1924- C. H. Collins, A. N. Weinman.
 1925- A. N. Weinman, H. W. Codrington.
 1926-1929 C. H. Collins, A. N. Weinman.
 1930- C. H. Collins, A. N. Weinman, G. P. Malalasekera, Edmund Reimers.
 1931- A. N. Weinman, G. P. Malalasekera, Edmund Reimers, C. H. Collins, L. J. B. Turner.
 1932- Prof. W. Geiger (by invitation), C. H. Collins, A. N. Weinman.
 1933- C. H. Collins, A. N. Weinman, Edmund Reimers.
 1934- A. N. Weinman, E. Reimers, P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
 1935-1938 A. N. Weinman, P. E. P. Deraniyagala.
 1939- E. Reimers, A. N. Weinman.
 1940-1941 A. N. Weinman, E. Reimers, K. Vaithianathan.
 1942-1943 K. Vaithianathan.
 1944- P. E. Pieris, E. W. Kannangara.
 1945-1948 P. E. Pieris, H. H. Basnayake.
 1949-1951 Sir K. Vaithianathan, C. E. Godakumbura.
 1952-1953 C. E. Godakumbura, H. A. J. Hulugalle.
 1954- A. R. Tampoe, K. O. Koelmeyer, Lyn de Fonseka.
 1955-1957 A. R. Tampoe, Mrs. Esmee Rankine.
 1959-1960 A. R. Tampoe, K. O. Koelmeyer.
 1961- A. R. Tampoe, P. R. Sittampalam.
 1962- P. R. Sittampalam, K. M. W. Kuruppu.
 1963- P. R. Sittampalam, K. M. W. Kuruppu, D. T. Devendra.
 1964-1970 P. R. Sittampalam, K. M. W. Kuruppu.

Honorary Treasurers

- 1908-1921 Gerard A. Joseph.
 1922- Gerard A. Joseph, C. H. Collins.
 1923- C. H. Collins, Lionel de Fonseka.
 1924- C. H. Collins.
 1925-1939 A. N. Weinman.
 1940-1941 K. Vaithianathan, G. C. Mendis.
 1942- G. C. Mendis.
 1944-1948 E. W. Kannangara.
 1948-1970 Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail.

Office-Bearers 1970*Patron*

His Excellency Mr. William Gopallawa, *M.B.E.*, Governor-General.

President

Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, *M.A.*, *Ph.D.*, *D.Litt.* (London).

Ex-Presidents

1. Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, *D.Sc.*, *M.A.*, *A.M.*, *F.C.P.S.*, *F.Z.S.*
2. Dr. S. Paranavitana, *C.B.E.*, *D.Litt.*, *Ph.D.*
3. His Lordship The Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*, *D.D.*, *B.A.*, Bishop of Chilaw.
4. Dr. R. L. Brohier, *O.B.E.*, *F.R.I.C.S.*, *F.R.G.S.*, *D.Litt.*
5. Dr. G. C. Mendis, *D.Litt.*, *B.A.*, *Ph.D.* (London).

Vice-Presidents

1. Mr. W. J. F. LaBrooy, *B.A.*
2. Mr. D. T. Devendra, *B.A.*
3. Mr. S. C. Fernando, *B.A.* (Oxon.), *M.B.E.*

Members of the Council

1. Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, *O.B.E.*, *D.Litt.*, *Ph.D.* (London).
2. Mr. S. A. Wijayatilake, *B.A.* (London).
3. Prof. K. W. Goonewardena, *B.A.*, *Ph.D.*
4. Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, *J.P.U.M.*
5. Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, *M.A.*, *Ph.D.* (London).
6. Mr. W. B. Marcus Fernando, *M.A.* (London).
7. Mr. D. G. Dayaratne, *B.A.* (Hons.), (London).
8. Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi, *B.A.*, *Ph.D.* (London), *M.A.*, *Ph.D.* (Calcutta).
9. Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema, *B.Sc.* (London), *Ph.D.* (Cantab), *M.I.Biol.*, *F.L.S.*
10. Mr. N. P. Wijeyeratne, *C.A.S.*
11. Mr. J. T. Rutnam.
12. Mr. Th. W. Hoffmann, *M.Sc. Agri.* (Zurich).

Jt. Hony. Secretaries

1. Mr. P. R. Sittampalam
2. Mr. K. M. W. Kuruppu.

Hony. Treasurer

1. Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail, *J.P.U.M.*, *M.A.* (Cantab.), *B.A.*, *LL.B.* (London).

Annual Report for 1969

Meetings and Papers.—Three Council Meetings were held during the year 1969. The 124th Annual General Meeting was held on 28th November 1969. The Presidential lecture was delivered by Dr. C. E. Godakumbura on "Sinhalese Festivals."

Lectures.—Three lectures were delivered:

The first lecture was by Professor K. de B. Codrington on "Some Aspects of Archaeology in India and Ceylon" on 29th January 1969; the second by Dr. K. Indrapala on "Early Tamil Settlements in Ceylon" on 3rd May 1969 and the third by Dr. M. W. Sugathapala de Silva on "Some Affinities between Sinhalese and Maldivians" on 11th July 1969.

We thank the University authorities for allowing us the use of their New Arts Theatre, free of charge, for our Lectures and Meetings.

Membership.—21 New Members were admitted during the year. The Society had at the end of 1969 on its roll 572 Members. Of these 6 were Honorary Members, 184 Life Members (Resident and Non-Resident), 357 Ordinary Resident Members, and 25 Ordinary Non-Resident Members.

It is with sorrow that the Society record the deaths in 1969, of the following Members: Sir Arunachalam Mahadeva, Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Dr. R. L. Spittel, Mr. K. Amaratunga, Mrs. Somawathie Meegama and Major T. F. Jayawardena.

The following ordinary members were transferred as Life Members from 1970: Lieutenant Commander S. Devendra, Dr. A. V. Suraweera, Messrs. A. Dassanayake, W. B. Marcus Fernando, Th. W. Hoffmann, H. R. Premaratne and P. E. Weeraman.

Life Members.—The following ordinary members were transferred as Life Members of the Society under Rule 36 of the Constitution and Rules:—

Messrs. F. A. Abeywickrema, F. R. C. Schrader and C. S. de S. Seneviratne.

Mr. S. C. Fernando, was elected as a Vice-President in place of Dr. H. W. Tambiah, *Q.C.*, who had resigned.

Professors D. E. Hettiarachchi, B. A. Abeywickrema and Messrs. N. P. Wijeyeratne, J. T. Rutnam and Th. W. Hoffmann were elected Members of the Council in place of Ven'ble M. Gunasiri Thero, Sir Nicholas Attygalle, Messrs. S. C. Fernando, M. F. S. Goonetilleke, and C. P. B. Perera, respectively.

Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu were re-elected Joint Honorary Secretaries, and Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail was re-elected Honorary Treasurer.

Messrs. Pope & Co., Chartered Accountants were re-elected Auditors.

The Office-Bearers of the Society for the ensuing year were the following:—

Patron:

His Excellency Mr. William Gopallawa, Governor-General.

President:

Dr. C. E. Godakumbura,

Ex-Presidents:

Drs. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, S. Paranavitana, His Lordship the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Pieris, *O.M.I.*, Drs. R. L. Brohier and G. C. Mendis.

Vice-Presidents:

Messrs. W. J. F. La Brooy, D. T. Devendra and S. C. Fernando.

Members of the Council:

Dr. G. P. Malalasekera, Mr. S. A. Wijayatilake, Prof. K. W. Goonewardena, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. W. B. Marcus Fernando, Mr. D. G. Dayaratne, Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi, Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema, Messrs. N. P. Wijeyeratne, J. T. Rutnam and Th. W. Hoffmann.

Joint Honorary Secretaries:

Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu.

Honorary Treasurer:

Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail.

Govt. Grant.—A sum of Rs. 6,000/- was received from the Government by way of Grant for the financial year 1969/70.

Land for Library and Hall.—A deputation consisting of Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President, Drs. S. Paranavitana, P. E. P. Deraniyagala and the Joint Honorary Secretaries interviewed the Land Commissioner on 18th June 1969 and explained to him the Society's urgent need of a piece of land in the vicinity of the University of Ceylon, Colombo, for the construction of a building to accommodate the Society's library, and a Hall for the Society's Public Meetings. The Land Commissioner appreciated the difficult situation in which the Society was placed, and stated that as land was available in the MacCarthy Road area, he would place the request of the Society before his Minister and the Cabinet Sub-Committee and advise us of their decision in due course. It was subsequently informed that because of the change in plans of the Government as regards allocation of land for such purposes, our request could not be granted.

The Society's library was moved in May 1969 to the First Floor of the old Grandstand Building (present quarters) in Reid Avenue, Colombo, from the University Building, Thurstan Road, the University authorities requiring that room.

Library.—Eleven books were added to the library by purchase, 41 Miscellaneous Journals and Periodicals were received as donations from local and foreign institutions and individuals and 164 Journals and Periodicals in exchange for the Society's Journal. (A list of all such purchases and donations is published annually in the Society's Journal.)

Publications.—Journal Vol. XIII (New Series) for 1969 was published in May 1970. Journal Vol. XIV (New Series) for 1970 is now with the printers.

Library Books.—Several members who borrow books from the Society's library do not all return the books within the time specified in Rules 43-48, and this has caused inconvenience to others. Members are requested to abide by the Rules.

P. R. Sittampalam,
K. M. W. Kuruppu,
Joint Honorary Secretaries.

Colombo, 15th December 1970.

Honorary Treasurer's Report for 1969

The Balance Sheet for the year ended 31st December 1969 discloses an excess of expenditure over Income of Rs. 3,544.36.

The Bank Balances were:

	Rs.	cts.
1. State Bank of India	1,593.	92
2. Ceylon Savings Bank	3,702.	03
3. Chalmers Oriental Text Fund	3,497.	47
4. Society Medal Fund	2,855.	83
5. Chinese Records Translation Fund	5,193.	04

Receipts last year by way of Annual Subscription amounted to Rs. 2,127.10.

	Rs.	cts.
Arrears of Subscription recovered amounted to	680.	00
Entrance fees	220.	00
Life Membership fees	420.	00
Sale of Journals	1,282.	80

A sum of Rs. 5,713.53 was expended on purchase of books and printing of the Journal. A sum of Rs. 9,317.35 is due as arrears of subscriptions for 1969 and earlier.

Attention must be invited to the remissness of a large number of members in the payment of their subscriptions.

Action has been taken by writing to the defaulting members on several occasions requesting payment of the arrears.

Efforts to recover the arrears of subscriptions are being continued. Defaulting members are not allowed the use of the library, and the Journals of the Society are also not made available to them until they have paid their subscriptions.

Members are reminded that from 1967 the annual subscription of the Society has been increased from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- for Resident Members and from Rs. 7/50 to Rs. 10/- for Non-Resident Members.

The Society would be greatly obliged if members would pay their annual subscriptions regularly and promptly and thus avoid the need for unnecessary expenditure on postage and reminders.

(Sgd.) A. H. M. Ismail,
Honorary Treasurer.

Colombo, 15th December 1970.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Balance Sheet as at

Accumulated Fund:	Rs.	cts.
As at 31st December, 1968 ..		22,992.67
Less Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year ..	3,544.36	
Income Tax paid during the year	93.00	3,637.36
		<hr/>
		19,355.31
Specific Funds:		
Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund ..	3,497.47	
Chinese Records Translation Fund ..	5,193.04	
Society Medal Fund	2,855.83	11,546.34
		<hr/>
		30,901.65

(CEYLON BRANCH)

31st December, 1969

Fixed Assets:	Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
As at 31st December, 1968		4,953.29
Add Purchased during the year		110.00
		<hr/>
		5,063.29
Less Depreciation		256.07
		<hr/>
		4,807.22
Current Assets:		
As per Schedule I	16,177.19	
Less Provisions & Current Liabilities		
As per Schedule II	1,629.10	14,548.09
	<hr/>	
Assets Representing Specific Funds		
As per Schedule III	11,546.34
		<hr/>
		30,901.65

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1969. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion, subject to our report of even date, the above Balance Sheet correctly exhibits the position as at 31st December, 1969, according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the financial books.

[illegible]

Colombo, 22nd November, 1970.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (Ceylon Branch)

CURRENT ASSETS

SCHEDULE '1'

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
Arrears of Subscription for 1969 and earlier			9,317	35
Department of Cultural Affairs ..			1,500	00
Cash and Bank Balances				
State Bank of India	1,593	92		
Ceylon Savings Bank	3,702	03		
Cash in hand	60	51		
Stamps	3	38	5,359	84
Total as shown in Balance Sheet ..			16,177	19

PROVISIONS & CURRENT LIABILITIES

SCHEDULE '2'

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
Provisions				
Messrs. Pope & Co.			300	00
Current Liabilities				
Subscription Paid in Advance ..	61	50		
Commission on Journal Sales Accrued	62	95		
Sale of Journals—Vol. VI Sp. No.	1,099	65		
Sale of Extended Mahawansa ..	105	00	1,329	10
Total as shown in Balance Sheet ..			1,629	10

ASSETS REPRESENTING SPECIFIC FUNDS

SCHEDULE '3'

	Rs.	cts.
Ceylon Savings Bank Account No: 133495		
Balance as at 31.12.1969		
(Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund)	3,497	47
Ceylon Savings Bank Account No: 141850		
Balance as at 31.12.1969		
(Chinese Records Translation Fund)	5,193	04
Ceylon Savings Bank Account No: 226282		
Balance as at 31.12.1969		
(Society Medal Fund) ..	2,855	83
Total as shown in Balance Sheet ..	11,546	34

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (Ceylon Branch)

GENERAL EXPENSES

SCHEDULE '4'

	Rs.	cts.
Salaries	5,705	00
Bicycle Allowance	60	00
Printing and Stationery	389	45
Bonus to Peon	15	00
Audit Fees and Expenses	321	60
Postages	251	07
Sundry Expenses	27	20
Lectures and Meetings	692	38
Bank Charges	10	85
Commission on Sale of Journals	200	83
Arrears of Subscription Written Off	5,490	00
Expenses in connection with shifting of office ..	106	00
Repairs to Furniture	67	50
Total as shown in Income and Expenditure Account..	13,336	88

GOVERNMENT ACCOUNT

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
Purchase of Books ..	621	50	Government	
Printing of Journals ..	5,092	03	Grant ..	6,000
Excess of Income				
over Expenditure ..	286	47		
	6,000	00		6,000

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Income and Expenditure Account for

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
General Expenses				
As per Schedule			13,336.88	
Other Expenses				
Depreciation	256.07			
Difference between Subscription Account and list written off ..	53.85		309.92	
			<u>13,646.80</u>	

(CEYLON BRANCH)

the Year ended 31st December, 1969

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
Annual Subscription	7,766.83			
Entrance Fees	220.00			
Life Membership Subscription ..	420.00		8,406.83	
Other Income				
Sale of Journals	1,284.02			
Interest on Savings Bank	125.12			
Government Account	286.47		1,695.61	
Excess of Expenditure over Income			3,544.36	
			<u>13,646.80</u>	

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
Cash and Bank Balances on 1st January, 1969:				
State Bank of India	3,981.61			
Ceylon Savings Bank	3,576.91			
Cash in Hand	34.61			
Stamps in Hand	3.65		7,596.78	
General Account:				
Life Members	420.00			
Arrears of Subscription	680.00			
Current Subscription	2,127.10			
Entrance Fees	220.00			
Fees paid in Advance	61.50			
Sale of Journals	1,282.80			
Interest on Ceylon Savings Bank	125.12			
Sale of Extended Mahawansa	105.00			
Sale of Journals Vol. VI Sp. No.	52.50			
Government Grant	6,000.00			
Repayment of Staff Loan	1,000.00			
Postage etc. Received	1.40		12,075.42	

Rs. 19,672.20

(CEYLON BRANCH)

year ended 31st December, 1969

	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
General Account:				
Salaries	5,705.00			
Audit Fees and Expenses	321.60			
Printing and Stationery	389.45			
Lectures and Meetings	692.38			
Postage	251.47			
Bank Charges	11.85			
Bonus to Peon	15.00			
Bicycle Allowance	60.00			
Expenses in connection with shifting of office	106.00			
Repairs to Furniture	67.50			
Commission on Sale of Journals	137.88			
Sundry Expenses	27.20			
Income Tax	93.00			
Refund of Subscription	10.50			
Staff Loans	600.00		8,488.83	
Government Account:				
Purchase of Books	621.50			
Printing of Journals	5,092.03		5,713.53	

Purchase of Book Rack for the Library 110.00

Cash and Bank Balances on 31st December, 1969:

State Bank of India	1,593.92			
Ceylon Savings Bank	3,702.03			
Cash in Hand	60.51			
Stamps in Hand	3.38		5,359.84	

Rs. 19,672.20

Abstract of Proceedings

**Minutes of the 124th Annual General Meeting held on Friday
28th November 1969 at the New Arts Theatre, University
of Ceylon, Colombo.**

Present.—Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President of the Society, presided. A large gathering of members and visitors were present.

Vote of Condolence.—The President proposed a vote of condolence on the death of the following members of the Society during the years 1968 and 1969: Ven'ble Mirisse Gunasiri Maha Thera, Mr. C. B. P. Perera, Dr. R. L. Spittel, Dr. C. W. W. Kannangara, Sir Arunachalam Mahadeva, Major T. F. Jayawardena, Mrs. Somawathie Meegama and Mudaliyar K. S. de Silva. The President mentioned that Dr. R. L. Spittel was one of our oldest members having joined in 1919. The vote of condolence was passed in the usual manner.

BUSINESS

Minutes.—The President called upon Mr. P. R. Sittampalam, the Honorary Secretary, to read the Minutes of the 123rd Annual General Meeting, held on 29th November 1968, and the Annual Report of the Society for 1968, which had been earlier circulated among the members.

The President proposed the adoption of the Minutes which was seconded by Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty. The Minutes were adopted unanimously.

Mr. D. T. Devendra proposed the adoption of the Annual Report of the Society for 1968, which was seconded by Mr. D. R. Wickremaratne. The Annual Report was adopted unanimously.

Audited Statement of Accounts and the Hony. Treasurer's Report for 1968.—The President proposed and Mr. W. B. Marcus Fernando seconded the adoption of the Statement of Accounts and the Honorary Treasurer's Report, which had been earlier circulated among the members. The Statement of Accounts and the Honorary Treasurer's Report were adopted unanimously.

Donations.—The Honorary Secretary announced the names of the donors from whom donation of books have been received during the year under review.

Acquisitions.—The Honorary Secretary tabled a list of books which had been purchased during the year under review and announced that the list of books donated to the Society and acquired by the Society were available at the Society's library for perusal by the members.

Announcement of New Members.—The Honorary Secretary announced the names of 33 new members who had been admitted since the last Annual General Meeting up to 31st December 1968.

Election of Office-Bearers.—The President then read out the names of the Office-Bearers who had been nominated by the Council for election for the ensuing year 1969/70.

The following nominations by the Council were unanimously accepted.

Vice-President:

Mr. S. C. Fernando was elected Vice-President in place of Dr. H. W. Tambiah, *Q.C.* who had resigned. Proposed by the President and seconded by Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty.

Members of the Council:

Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi, Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema, Mr. N. P. Wijeyeratne, Mr. J. T. Rutnam and Mr. T. W. Hoffmann respectively in place of Mr. S. C. Fernando, Mr. C. B. P. Perera, Sir Nicholas Attygalle, Mr. M. F. S. Goonetilleke and Ven. Mirisse Gunasiri Maha Thera, who had retired.

Mr. D. G. Dayaratne and Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty were re-elected members of the Council. Proposed by the President and seconded by Mr. D. R. Wickremaratne.

Honorary Secretaries:

Mr. P. R. Sittampalam and Mr. K. M. W. Kuruppu were re-elected Joint Honorary Secretaries. Proposed by the President and seconded by Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi.

Honorary Treasurer:

Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail was re-elected Honorary Treasurer. Proposed by the President and seconded by Mr. D. D. Ranasinghe.

Auditors:

Messrs. Pope & Co., Chartered Accountants, were re-appointed Auditors for the ensuing year. Proposed by the President and seconded by Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail.

After the election of the above office-bearers, the President read out the full list of office-bearers for the year 1969/70.

The President expressed the Society's thanks for the services rendered by the Joint Honorary Secretaries, who had arranged six lectures for the year, which were very useful to the members and the public.

The President announced that the 125th Anniversary of the Society will be on the 7th February 1970 and requested the co-operation of the members to celebrate the occasion suitably.

Lecture.—Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President, then delivered his Presidential Address on "Sinhalese Festivals."

Mr. N. P. Wijeyeratne proposed a vote of thanks.

The President in winding up the proceedings thanked the members and guests for their presence. The Meeting was then declared closed.

COUNCIL MEETINGS

Summary of the Proceedings.

(Emergency Meeting)

Date & Venue.—19th January, 1970, at 5.15 p.m. at the Society's Library.

Present.—Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President, in the Chair, and the following members: Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, *O.M.I.*, Dr. R. L. Brohier, Mr. D. T. Devendra, Mr. S. C. Fernando, Mr. M. St.

S. Casie Chetty, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. W. B. Marcus Fernando, Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi, Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema, Mr. N. P. Wijeyeratne, Mr. J. T. Rutnam, Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail (Hon. Treasurer), Mr. P. R. Sittampalam and Mr. K. M. W. Kuruppu (Joint Honorary Secretaries).

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Meeting held on 30th October 1969 were duly confirmed, as corrected.

Business arising out of the Minutes.—Mr. S. C. Fernando, Vice-President, was empowered to interview any relevant Minister of the Government regarding the editing of past Government Agent's Diaries.

New Members.—10 New Members were duly elected.

Donations.—Journal of the Shivaji University Vol. 1 & 2 (donated by the Shivaji University, Kolhapur); 'Vidyodaya'—Journal of Arts Science and Letters—Vol. II No. 1 (donated by the Librarian, Vidyodaya University of Ceylon); Seanza Lectures (donated by the Central Bank of Ceylon).

125th Anniversary.—The Council decided to celebrate the Anniversary by holding a Public Meeting on the evening of 7th February 1970, with H.E. The Governor-General, Mr. William Gopallawa (Patron), presiding. Miss Jacquetta Hawkes (Mrs. J. B. Priestley is to deliver a public lecture on 'Science and Humanity in Archaeology.' An article on the work done by the Society during the past 125 years is to be submitted to the newspapers for publication on the 7th February, 1970. A similar paper is to be read at the Meeting.

Book Review.—The 'Janakiharana' (with the author Dr. Godakumbura's Sinhalese Translation) was referred to Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya for review.

Journal.—Approved the printing of 800 copies of Vol. XIII (1969).

General.—Agreed to a request from International Orientalists, Canberra, for notice in our Journal of the forthcoming 20th International Congress of Orientalists.

ORDINARY MEETINGS

Date & Venue.—1st July 1970, at 5.15 p.m. at the Society's Library.

Present.—Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President in the Chair, and the following members: Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Drs. G. C. Mendis, R. L. Brohier, Messrs. W. J. F. LaBrooy, D. T. Devendra, S. C. Fernando, M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Messrs. W. B. Marcus Fernando, D. G. Dayaratne, Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi, Messrs. J. T. Rutnam, T. W. Hoffman, P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu (Joint Honorary Secretaries).

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Emergency Meeting of 19th January were confirmed.

New Members.—12 New Members were elected.

Donations.—Ceylon In Our Times 1894-1969 (donated by Elephant House); Tourist Literature on Ceylon (donated by Mr. P. T. Perera); The Gospel of Buddha, Panorama of Indian Paintings (donated by the Information Service of India); A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, Vol. I Part 13 and the same, Part 13 (donated by the Editor-in-Chief, University of Ceylon, Colombo) A Bodhisattva Figure from Giridara, Ceylon (donated by Dr. N. Mudiyanse); Indian Handicrafts (donated by the Indian High Commissioner); The Work of Comrade Kim Il Sung (donated by Consul General, the Republic of N. Korea); The Journal of the Siam Society Vol. LVI Part II, Vol. LVII Part I, Vol. LVIII Part I and Towards a History of Sukhodaya Art (donated by Mr. A. B. Griswold); framed copy of the Group Photograph on 125th Anniversary (donated by Mr. P. R. Sittampalam); Shri Hari Sambhava Mahakavyam (donated by Mr. V. K. Vallabhacharaya).

Purchases.—Artibus Asiae Vol. 31 Nos. 2, 3 and 4.

Book Review.—The review of Mr. Douglas Ranasinghe's 'Kotte that was' was referred to Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I.; of 'Prakrutha Prakasha' to Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi and Dr. C. E. Godakumbura's 'The Kotavehera at Dedigama' to Dr. R. A. L. H. Gunawardena.

Exchange.—The exchange of with the Brunei Museum Journal was approved.

Society's Medal.—A Sub-Committee constituting the Past Presidents (with Hony. Secretaries) was appointed to consider and recommend the award.

Other Matters.—Council resolved that the President, Dr. G. C. Mendis, Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Dr. R. L. Brohier, Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi (with Hony. Secretary) should meet the Hon'ble Minister of Cultural Affairs in connection with a piece of land to be obtained for the Library.

The Hony. Secretary was requested to write a short sketch of the late Sir Nicholas Attygalle and Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala that of the late Mr. Lyn de Fonseka as Obituary Notices in the Journal.

Council approved the payment of the printer's bill for Rs. 4,274/50. Mr. D. T. Devendra's suggestion that the Council should elect Mr. Luciano Maranzi as Honorary Member of the Society was deferred.

The Salary of Miss S. Z. Amath, Asst. Librarian was increased by Rs. 20/- per month, with effect from 1.7.70.

Messrs. F. A. Abeywickrema, F. R. C. Schrader and C. S. de S. Seneviratne were transferred to the list of Life Members of the Society under rule 36 of the Constitution and Rules.

Date and Venue.—Sunday 27th September 1970 at 5.15 p.m. at the Society's Library, Colombo 7.

Present.—Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, the President, in the Chair and the following members: Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Dr. R. L. Brohier, Messrs. D. T. Devendra, S. C. Fernando, M. St. S. Casie Chetty, D. G. Dayaratne, Prof. K. W. Goonewardena, Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu (Joint Hony. Secretaries).

Minutes and Business arising therefrom.

Members.—4 new members were elected. Under the relevant Rule the following Ordinary Members were transferred as Life Members, as from 1970: Mr. H. R. Premaratne, Mr. A. Dassanayake, Lieutenant Commander S. Devendra, Mr. P. E. Weeraman, Mr. W. B. Marcus Fernando, Dr. A. V. Suraweera and Mr. T. W. Hoffmann.

Donations.—Ceylon History from Asgiriya Manuscripts and Asgiriya Manuscripts (donor: Mr. Mendis Rohanadeera); Catalogue of Sinhala Ola leaf Manuscripts and Collections of Photographs of German Indologists, by Dr. H. Bechert (donor: the Fed. German Embassy); India 1968 and 1969 and India People (donor: the Indian High Commission in Ceylon); Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology, 1926 (donor: Mr. D. T. Devendra); Journal of Arts, Science and Letters, Vol. II No. 2 (donor: Vidyodaya University); Ethnology and Anthropology, Part I (donor: the Director of National Museums, Ceylon); and Inscriptions of Ceylon, Vol. I (donor: the Archaeological Commissioner, Ceylon).

The Committee in charge of purchasing book was empowered to look into donations and remove the books that are not essential for the library.

An *ad hoc* Committee consisting of the available ex-Presidents was set up to decide on the award of the Society's Medal for the years 1966 to 1968.

A sub-committee consisting of Messrs. S. C. Fernando, D. T. Devendra, Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail and the two Secretaries was appointed to go into the celebration of the 125th Annual General Meeting.

Journal.—The estimate Rs. 4,500/- for printing 800 copies of Journal Vol. XIV (New Series) 1970 was accepted. Mr. D. T. Devendra was appointed to the printing committee in place of Mr. S. A. Wijayatilleke.

Council decided to increase the salary of office peon by Rs. 10/- per month with effect from 1.10.1970.

With regard to the loss of Ferguson's Ceylon Directory 1875, lent to Dr. M. W. Roberts, the Secretary was requested to advertise in the local newspapers for its purchase. If it is found not available, the Secretary was requested to find out the cost of getting photostat copies of the one available in the Museum Library, and report back to Council.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE PERIOD 1.10.68 TO 30.9.69

America

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| American Oriental Society | .. | Journal—Vol. 87 No. 4; Vol. 88 Nos. 1 and 2. |
| California Academy of Sciences | .. | Occasional Papers—Nos. 65-67 and 69-70; Proceedings—Vol. 30 Nos. 18 and 19; Vol. 32 Nos. 19 & 20; Vol. 35 Nos. 19 & 20; Vol. 36 Nos. 1-9. |
| Smithsonian Institute | .. | Miscellaneous Collections—Vol. 152 No. 3, Vol. 153 Nos. 2-5; Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology Vols. 6-10; Annual Progress Report 1968; Smithsonian Year Book 1968. |
| Johns Hopkins University | .. | American Journal of Philology, Vol. 89 Nos. 3-4; Vol. 90 No. 1. |

Australia

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| Royal Society of New South Wales | .. | Journal and Proceedings, Vol. 100 parts 2, 3, and 4. |
| Royal Geographical Society of Australia | .. | Proceedings, 1966-67; Vol. 68. |

Ceylon

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| Commissioner of Prisons and Probation Services | .. | Administration Report, 1967-68. |
| Department of Commerce | .. | Ceylon Trade Journal—Vol. 33 Nos. 10-12; Vol 34 Nos. 1-4; Ceylon Export Directory, 1968. |
| Department of Census and Statistics | .. | Census of Population, 1963; Statistical Abstract of Ceylon, 1966. |
| Engineering Association of Ceylon | .. | Transactions for 1968, Vol. I & II; for 1969, Vol. I. |
| Government Archivist | .. | Catalogue of books 1965 (English) Administration Report of the Acting Director, National Archives, 1967-68. |
| Director National Museums | .. | Administration Report for 1965-66 & 1966-67. |

Czechoslovakia

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| Czechoslovakia Oriental Institute | .. | Vol. 36, Nos. 2-4 and Vol. 37, No. 1. |
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Denmark

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| Det Kongelige Danske Videnskaberne Selskab | .. | Historik Filologiske Meddelelser, Bind 42 fasc. 5; Bind 43 fasc. 1-4; Bind 44 fasc. 1. |
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England

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|---|----|---|
| Eastern World | .. | Vol. 22 Nos. 7-12, Vol. 23 Nos. 1-4. |
| Imperial Chemical Industries | .. | Endeavour, Vol. 27 No. 102; Vol. 28 Nos. 103-104. |
| India Office Library | .. | Report for the year ended 31st March 1966 and 1967. |
| John Rylands Library | .. | Bulletin, Vol. 51 Nos. 1 & 2. |
| Royal Asiatic Society (Great Britain and Ireland) | .. | Journal, 1968, parts 1-2. |
| Royal Anthropological Institute | .. | Proceedings for 1968. |

- Royal Commonwealth Society .. Journal, Vol. II Nos. 4-6 Vol. 12 Nos. 1-3.
 Royal Geographical Society .. Journal, Vol. 134 parts 3 & 4; Vol. 135 part I.
 School of Oriental and African Studies .. Bulletin, Vol. 31 part 3; Vol. 32 part I.
- France**
 Societe Asiatique, Paris .. Journal, Tome CCLV fasc. 1-4; Tome CCLVI fasc. I.
- Germany**
 Baessler-Archiv Beitrage Zur Volkerkunde, Berlin .. Neue Folge, Band VXI Heft 1 & 2 (1968).
- Holland**
 Koninklijke Voor Taal Land—En Volkenkunde .. Bijdragen, Deel 124 Nos. 2-4; Deel 125 Nos. 1-2.
 Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Afd letterkunde Kern Institute Mededelingen, Deel 32 Nos. 1-4.
 Rijkssherbarium Leiden .. Blumea, Vol. 16 Nos. 1 and 2 and Index to Vol. 15.
- Hungary**
 Magyar Tudomanyos Akademia .. Acta Orientalia, Tomus 21 fasc. 2 and 3. Tomus 22 fasc. 1 & 2.
- India**
 Asiatic Society Bengal .. Journal Vol. 8 Nos. 1-4; Vol. 9 No. I; Vol. 10; Year Book for 1967.
 Indo-Asian Culture .. Vol. 17 Nos. 3 & 4; Vol. 18 Nos. 1 & 2.
 Maha Bodhi Society .. The Maha Bodhi—Vol. 76. Nos. 10-12; Vol. 77 Nos. 1-8.
 Mysore Economic Review .. Vol. 53 Nos. 9-12, Vol. 54 Nos. 1-7.
 Oriental Institute Baroda .. Journal, Vol. 18 Nos. 1-3.
 Soil and Water Conservation of India .. Journal, Vol. 16 Nos. 1-4; Vol. 17 Nos. 1-2.
- Italy**
 Instituto Italiano Per Il Medio Ed. East & West Vol. 17 Nos. 3-4; New Series
 Extreme Oriente .. Vol. 18 Nos. 1-2.
 Historical Institute S.J., Archivum ..
 Historicum Societates. .. Anno—37 Fasc. 73 & 74.
- Rumania**
 Studia Universitatum Victor Babes ..
 Et. Bolyai .. Series 1968 & 1969.
- Sarawak**
 Sarawak Museum .. Journal Vol. 15 Nos. 30-31.
- UNESCO** .. Indian Science Abstracts—Vol. 3 Nos. 10-12; Vol. 4 Nos. 1-6; Vol. 5 No. I.
- Vietnam**
 L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme Orient .. Bulletin, Tome 55 (1969) Publications
 Vols. 63 and 65.
 De la Societe Des Etudes Indochinoises .. Bulletin, Tome 43 Nos. 2-4; Tome 44 No. I.

PUBLICATIONS ADDED TO THE LIBRARY DONATIONS 1.10.68 TO 30.9.69.

- Trustees, The Board of .. Vadi Devarsuri's Pramana-Naya-Tattvalokalamkara.
 Cooray, R. G. .. Ecogeographic Analysis of a Climate.
 Dhananjay Keer .. Veer Savarkar.
 University of Ceylon, Colombo .. A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language, Vol. I Part 1-2.
 Gunasena, M. D. & Co., Ltd. .. Port of Colombo—Official Handbook 1968.
 Information Service of India .. India 1968 (A reference Annual); An Autobiography; The Mind of Mahatma Gandhi; Gandhi wields the Weapon of Moral Power; Satyagraha; Satyagraha in South Africa; The Thought of Mahatma Gandhi; Village Swaraj; In search of the Supreme Vol. I, II & III; Selections from Gandhi; India of my Dreams; The Educational Philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi; Kasturba; My Religion; Towards Non-violent Socialism; All Men are Brothers; Bapu and Children; The Story of my Life; To Students; Letters to Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel; Key to Health; Women; My Childhood with Gandhi; The Way to Communal Harmony; True Education; From the Early Phase Vol. I; Folder of Paintings and Sculptures on Mahatma Gandhi.
- Navaratnam, C. S. .. Koneswaram.
 Paranavitana, S. .. A Proposed Decipherment of the Indus Script.
- Sinnatamby, J. R. .. Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography.
 Tambiah, H. W. .. Sinhala laws and Customs; Pre-Aryan Customary laws; Proceedings of the first International of Tamil Studies. Kuala Lumpur 1968.
- Vidyodaya University of Ceylon .. Vidyodaya—Journal of Arts, Sciences & Letters Vol. I Nos. 1 & 2.

PURCHASED 1.10.68 TO 30.9.69

- Artibus Asiae .. Vol. 29 No. 4; Vol. 30 Nos. 2, 3 and 4; Vol. 31 No. I.
 Ferguson's Ceylon Directory .. 1969.
 Jeffries, Sir Charles .. Sir Oliver E. Goonetilleke—A biography.
 Liyanagamage, A. .. The Decline of Polonnaruwa and the Rise of Dambadeniya.
 Ministry of Education & Cultural Affairs .. Education in Ceylon—Centenary Volume Parts 1, 2 & 3.
 Sannasgala, P. B. .. History of Sinhalese Literature.
 Sasanaratana Thero, Ven M. .. Mulamadhyamika Karikawa.
 Sanskruti (Sinhalese) .. Vol. 13 Nos. 2-4; Vol. 14 Nos. 1-4; Vol. 15 Nos. 1-3; Vol. 16 No. I.
 Vimalananda, Dr. T. .. Parani Lankava ha Silalipi (Ancient Ceylon and Inscriptions).
 Udarata Mahakeralla (Rebellion of 1818. Its secret Documents and Despatches parts 2 & 3).

HONORARY MEMBERS

- Burkitt, Dr. Miles C., Merton House, Gloucestershire, England.
 Law, B. C., M.A. LL.B., Ph.D., D.Litt., 43, Kailas Bose Street, Calcutta 6, India.
 Nilakanta Sastri, Prof. K. A., M.A., Nilesvar Edward Elliott Road, Madras 4, India.
 Smith, Professor Helmer, Kummelnas Batvarv, Saltsjo Sweden.
 Turner, Professor Sir Ralph, M.C., M.A., Litt: D., F.B.A., Haverbrack, Bishops Stratford Hertfordshire, England.
 Wadia, Dr. D. N., M.A., B.Sc., F.R.S., 10, King Georges' Avenue, New Delhi, India.

LIFE MEMBERS

- N.B. The year of election follows the name; the second date is that of Life Membership.
- Abeyaratna, B. K., (1953), 166A, Kottawa Road, Pengiriwatta, Mirihana, Nugegoda. (1966).
 Abeyasekera, E. E. C., (1949), 10-41st Lane, Colombo 6. (1968).
 Abeyasekera, R., (1947), "Nandana", Asgiriya, Kandy. (1965).
 Abeyasinghe, Dr. T. B. H., (1964), Lecturer, University of Ceylon, Colombo 3. (1966).
 Abeywickrema, F. A., (1945), Green Bank, 115, Campbell Place, Colombo 10. (1970).
 Abeywickrema, D. C. G., B.A., (1946), Pepiliyana, Boralessgamuwa. (1967).
 Abraham, V. B. S., Proctor & Notary Public, (1960), No. 8, Skelton Road, Havelock Town. (1963).
 Aluwihare, Sir Richard, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., (1928), The Walawwa, Aluvihare, Matale. (1967).
 Amarasuriya, H. W. (1944), P.O. Box 696, Colombo. (1969).
 Amaratunga, J. A., M.B.E., J.P.U.M., (1952), Kadalama Walauwa, Mirigama. (1959).
 Antoninus, Revd. Dr. P. A. J. B., O.M.I., M.A., Ph.D., Dip. Ed. (1946), Socio-Economic Training Institute, "Setik", 21, Weerakoon Gardens, Kandy. (1959).
- N.R. Baggerley, Leo, Lon., (1958), No. 20, Tripphammer Road, 8A, Ithaca, New York, 14850. (1960).
 Balagalle, Wimal, (1959), Faculty of Languages, Vidyodaya University, Nugegoda. (1961).
 Baptist, A. D., B.A., F.R.G.S., (1959), "Sylvanhurst", No. 34, Bowala, Kandy. (1963).
 Basnayake, H. H., O.C., (1929), "Elibank House", 39, Elibank Road, Colombo 5. (1967).
- N.R. Bechert, Dr. Heinz, (1958), Indologisches Seminar, Hainbundstr 21, 34, Gottingen, Germany (West). (1960).
- N.R. Bett, Dr. W. R., M.R.C.S., L.R.C.P., Roger Williams Hotel, 28, East, 31st Street, New York, N.Y., 10016, U.S.A. (1945).

- N.R. Boudens, Prof. R., O.M.I., Ph.D., Tervuursestraat—24 (207), 3000, Louvain, Belgium. (1952).
 Brohier, Dr. R. L., O.B.E., F.R.I.C.S., F.R.G.S., D.Litt., (1926), 43, Asoka Gardens, Colombo 4. (1967).
 Caffoor, M. F. A., M.B.E., (1950), P.O. Box 1, Colombo. (1960).
 Caldera, H. L., (1946), "Anoma", Nawala Road, Nugegoda.
- N.R. Cappellato, R., Doctor in Engineering, Salita Del Castle, 19, Naples, Italy. (1966).
 Casie Chetty, M. St. S., (1949), 37/2, Sri Dharmapala Road, Mount Lavinia. (1967).
- N.R. Collins, Sir Charles, C. M. G., (1915), White House, Wix Hill, West Leather-head, Horsley, Surrey, England. (1936).
- N.R. Crowe, Philip, K., (1954), Easton, Maryland, U.S.A. (1957).
 Cumaranasinghe, N., Sri, B.A., Hons. (Lond.), Dip. Ed., (Ceylon), (1951), Principal, St. Michael's College, Colombo 3. (1962).
- Daraniyagala, J. F. P., B.A., (1930), Nugegoda, Pasyala. (1942).
 Dassanayake, A., (1963), 18/8, Devananda Road, Navinna, Maharama. (1970).
 Da Silva, O. M. L. H., B.A. (Hons.), (1952), 38, Castle Street, Colombo 8. (1962).
 De Fonseka, L. E., B.A., B.L., (1917), "Armathi", De Fonseka Place, Colombo 5. (1933).
 De Fonseka, R. E. A., "The Glades", De Fonseka Place, Colombo 5. (1946).
 De Mel, C. H., (1925), "Mel Ville", Moratuwa. (1943).
- N.R. De Mel, Most Rev. Lakdasa, M. A., Bishop's House, 51, Chowringee Road, Calcutta 16, India (1950).
 De Mel, R. H., P.O. Box 68, Colombo. (1949).
 Deraniyagala, P. E. P., Hon. D.Sc. (Cey.), M.A., A.M., F.C.P.S., F.Z.S., (1925), 26, Guildford Crescent Colombo 7. (1942).
 Deraniyagala, R. St. Louis, P., C.B.E., B.A., B.L., (1926), 15, Race Course Avenue, Colombo 7. (1939).
 Deraniyagala, R. Y., 26, Guildford Crescent, Colombo 7. (1966).
 Deraniyagala, S., Archaeologist, 26, Guildford Crescent, Colombo 7. (1966).
 De Saram, Mrs. F. R., (1920), St. Ives, Ward Place, Colombo 7. (1942).
 De Silva, N. J., (Address awaited) (1926).
 De Silva, R., (1931), Bogaha Villa, Pannipitiya. (1949).
 De Silva, S. F., B.A. (1941), 33, De Fonseka Road, Colombo 5. (1967).
 De Silva, W. A., B.Sc., (1929), Charles Way, Colombo 3. (1943).
 De Silva, W. M. W., B.A. (1949), 29, 1st Lane, Jambugasmulla Road, Nugegoda. (1951).
 De Singhe, H. D., 36, Nelson Place, Colombo 6. (1943).
 De Soysa, A. B. C., J.P.U.M., (1936), No. 8,—36th Lane, off Buller's Road, Colombo 8. (1967).
 Devendra, Lieut. Commander. S., (1964), Meegaha Pedesa, Timbirigasyaya Road, Colombo 5. (1970).
 Dewaraja, A., B.A. (1954), 42, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3. (1963).
 De Zoysa, A. H. P., (1947), Sea View, Akurala, Ambalangoda. (1951).
 De Zoysa, B. H., B.A., C.C.S., 291/32B, Havelock Gardens, Colombo 5. (1949).
 De Zoysa, W. D. (1947), No. 3, Abeywickrema Avenue, Mount Lavinia. (1959).
- N.R. Dhammananda, Bhikku. H., (1952), Bahujana Vihare, Buddhist Temple Street, Parel, Bombay 12, India. (1968).
 Dhammananda Thero, Ven. W. V., (1920), Adhikarana Nayaka Thero, Sunandarama Maha Viharaya, Ambalangoda. (1922).

- Dharmaratne, M., (1952), "Ratnasiri", Makola North, Kadawata. (1963).
- Dharmasena, J. L., (Address awaited) (1926).
- Dheerananda, Thero, Ven. G. Sri, Adhikarana Nayaka Thero, Sri Bodhirukkaramaya, Wekada Panadura. (1959).
- Dias, N. Q., B.A., 21, Bagatalle Road, Colombo 3. (1950).
- Dissanayake, Rev. Fr. Philip, O.M.I., (1954), Oblate Scholasticate, Ampitiya, Kandy. (1964).
- Don Peter, Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dr. W. L. A., M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.), F.R. Hist.S., (1956), Rector, St. Joseph's College, Colombo 10. (1962).
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- Fernando, B. R., B.A., 70/1, Ward Place, Colombo 7. (1949).
- Fernando, Desmond, M.A. (Oxon.), Advocate, 26, Charles Place, Colombo 3. (1966).
- Fernando, K. C., M.A. (Lond.), (1929), No. 9, Mcleod Road, Colombo 4. (1937).
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- Fernando, W. B., Marcus, M.A., (1959), 19/19, Eksath Mawata, Mahara, Kadawata. (1970).
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- Goonetilleke, M. F. S., (1935), 115, Swarnachaitiya Road, Grandpass, Colombo 14. (1943).
- N.R. Griswold, A. B., Writer on Asian History & Archaeology, Breezewood Foundation, Monkton, Maryland, 21111, U.S.A. (1969).
- Gunananda Thero, Ven. Y., (1953), Sirinivasaramaya, Yagirala. (1965).
- Gunasekera, R. G. G. O., C.A.S., (1956), 500/46, Timbirigasyaya Road, Colombo 5. (1967).
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- Gunawardena, Dr. K. W., B.A., Ph.D., (1959), Vice-Chancellor, Vidyalanakra University of Ceylon, Kelaniya. (1967).
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- Hoffmann, Th. W., M.Sc. Agric. (Zurich), (1964), No. 24, Baur & Co., Ltd., P.O. Box 11, Colombo 1. (1970).
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- Jayasena, K. L. A. D., B.A. (Hons.), London, (1962), "Senani", Medamulla, Minuwangoda. (1969).
- Jayasinghe, D. S. J., (1926), (Address awaited) (1943).
- Jayasundara, L., M.A., B.Sc., F.S.S., (1944), 6, Saravasti Place, Colombo 7. (1951).

- Jayasuriya, Peter, (1955), Lumbini Maha Vidyalaya, Colombo 5. (1963).
- Jayawardena, Hon'ble. J. R., M.P. (1929), 66, Ward Place, Colombo 7. (1967).
- Jayawardena, Brigadier, C. P., C.V.O., O.B.E., C.M.G., E.D., M.A., 5, Castle Terrace, Colombo 8. (1927).
- Jayawardena, Sompala, (1964), Walagayawatta, Elgiriya, Telijjawila. (1967).
- Jayawardena, W. A., M.A. (1950), 176/22, Timbirigasyaya Road, Colombo 5. (1964).
- Jayawardene, H. W., Q.C., Advocate, 218, Buller's Road, Colombo 7. (1964).
- Jayaweera, Mrs. Swarna, B.A., Hons. (Lond.), M.A., (Lond.), (1954), North End, University Park, Peradeniya. (1963).
- Jnanadasa, M. D., 3/3, Old Post Office Lane, Nugegoda. (1952).
- Kannangara, E. W., C.B.E., B.A., (1916), Gregory's Road, Colombo 7. (1943).
- Kirimetiya, H. B., Dissawa, (1934), Welata Walawwa, Mulgampola, Kandy. (1967).
- N.R. Kirthisinghe, P. N., (1961), 52, Kelvendon Close, Kingston-Upon-Thames, Surrey, England. (1967).
- Koelmeyer, K. O., B.Sc., A.I.F.C., Dip. for (Oxon.), (1951), 291/40, Maya Avenue, Colombo 6. (1965).
- Kularatne, P. de S., B.A., L.L.B., B.Sc., (1918), Orient Club, Colombo 7. (1951).
- Kulasuriya, Dr. A. S., Ph.D., No. 2, Augusta Hill, University Park, Peradeniya. (1965).
- Kulatilleke, H. A. de S., "Wimalalaya", Ahungalla. (1962).
- Kuruppu, K. J. R., B.A., (1949), Kande Walauwa, Panadura. (1969).
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A Terracotta from Sri Jayawardhanapura Kotte

The subject matter of this note refers to a rare terracotta embossed fragment with a pleasant face and crowned head as one sees in similar figures in the paintings at Tivāṅka-Piḷimagē (Polonnaruwa). However there is no sign of a halo. The face too is as pleasant as those of the Kaṇṭaka Cetiya terracottas illustrated in the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Annual Report for 1936.

The fragment was found in 1968 at Nawala in a property belonging to Mr. Lionel A. Rodrigo when a labourer was clearing the land for a plantation. Unfortunately the latter had damaged its forehead, resulting in its identification being made difficult.

The elaborate head dress is conical and bears a floral design, the face has a broad forehead, the ears are not visible as the forehead band and the head dress extend almost to the shoulders. Their design is somewhat similar to what is seen at the tail end of a Makara. The face is sensuous, the mouth, eyes and nose are prominent and the upper part of the plaque seems to have been gold painted. The details of the headgear are not quite clear, but plaited hair ending in tassels appears to be framing the forehead. The almost intact right ear is bejewelled. On the obverse of the plaque there is an indication of the clay having been forced inside the mould.

Technique:— Mould made with no applied detail. The unoxidized state of the paste core and the thin surface layer of oxidation suggest a brief exposure to an oxidizing atmosphere prior to drawing from fire.

Clay Texture:— Medium.

Surface Lustre:— Medium.

Surface Texture:— Smooth.

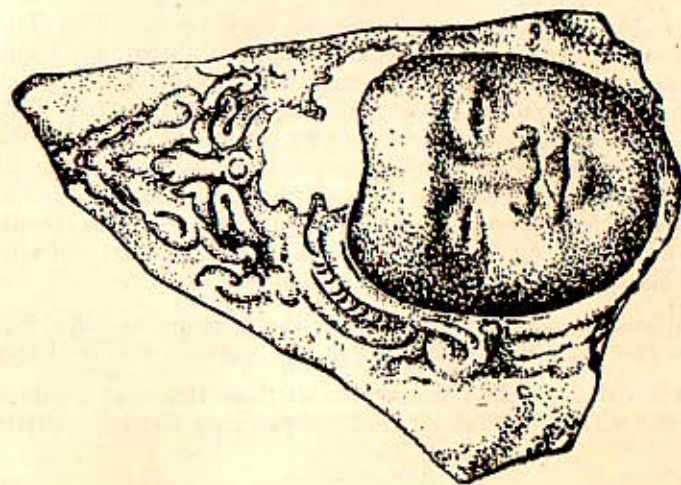
Colour:— 2.5 YR/5/6 Red. According to Munsell system of notation. There are traces of gold paint coloured. 2.5 Y/5/4 (light olive brown) covering entire figure.

Measurements:— Height of face 1.3"
do Head dress 1.9"
Width of face across cheeks 1.2"
Head Dress at its widest point 1.7"
Maximum depth of relief .6"
Thickness of plaque in undecorated area .3"

Dating:—

To assign a date for this terracotta head is presumptuous. One can only say that it was found in an environment of Kotte and probably dates back to the Kotte period.

DOUGLAS D. RANASINGHE.



Antiquarian Topics Reviewed

1. Kāmbodīn

D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe, in editing an inscription in Anuradhapura (No. 13, *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II), discussed the identity of Kāmbodīn mentioned therein. His translation: "He (king Kīrti-Niśaṅka-Malla) gave security also to the fish in the twelve great tanks, and bestowing on *Kāmbodīn* gold and cloth and whatever other kind of wealth they wished, he commanded them not to catch birds and so gave security to birds."

In discussing "Kāmbodīn" he rejected the idea that the tribe was connected with Khmers of Cambodia, being inclined to agree with Burrows (S.M.) 'in wondering why the Kāmbodīn of the present record, if they belonged to those who came over from Cambodia, should have been specially addicted to killing birds.'

Perhaps there was a reason after all for the Khmers of Cambodia to indulge in this bird-killing, although the two scholars were not aware of it in their time. The reason would have been an export trade. This we infer from the work of a very knowledgeable writer on archaeological subjects, Leonard Cottrell (see his *The Lost Worlds*, chap. on "The Land of the Khmers"). He explains that the Khmers traded in blue kingfisher feathers, the hunters quietly watching the birds by water and trapping them.

It is true that in the inscription we do not get the kind of bird named. Nevertheless, two points come up for notice. The first is the Boon of Life to the fish in tanks—where, as shown, the Cambodian fowlers used to lie in wait for their feathered catch—, and the other is the worthwhile inducement as compensation (note, particularly, "whatever other kind of wealth they wished") for the loss of earnings so caused. If kingfisher feathers brought them a large income, as the Bird-of-Paradise feathers are known to have brought many centuries later, that is sufficient compensation for the loss of a trade. Khmer sculptures show warriors going forth to battle with their helmets crested with what looks like sprigs. These could surely have been feathers?

Which is more significant here, the omission to name the birds or the fact that the Khmer fowlers of Cambodia were bird trappers?

The existence, in Polonnaruwa of these times, of a gate named after the Kāmbojas (op. cit. EZ., p. 74) may also be similarly con-

nected. (See further JCBRAS for 1887, X, No. 34, S.M. Burrows at p. 66.)

2. Slippers as proxy

Eastern people despise footwear, most so those who have come under Hindu influence, albeit not conscious of it, when footwear has leather in its composition. When I was in Katmandu in 1956, upon entering the precincts of a Buddhist temple, I was told to lay aside my leather shoes and slip on cloth sandals provided for the visitor.

At what stage in culture did footwear come to be honoured? Perhaps a clue lies both in old literature and inscriptions. In the words of king Niśaṅka Malla (Galpota slab inscription, Polonnaruwa, EZ. II) *maharajun payā lū vahan mātrayakudu raja-tan-hi tabā rājya rākka yutu.....* (....they should place in the position of king even a slipper worn on the feet of a great king and protect the kingdom). D. M. de Z. Wickremasinghe who edited and translated the inscription has appended to his discussion a footnote (No. 2 at p. 103) in which he acknowledges to Prof. Keith a reference to this idea in the "Rāmāyana," (ii, 12). Rāma, then in sojourn in the forest, was invited by his step-brother to take over the kingdom but preferring to complete his full period in solitude, as his father had assigned him the task, told his kinsman to take away his footwear and leave it on the king's seat during the interim period. This story is repeated in the Dasaratha Jātaka.

That a Ceylon king of the twelfth century had thought on almost the same lines must strike one as very curious because it does not seem to have been noticed in the Indian mainland, except for the above literary references.

3. Copperplate grants

To which Ceylon king is to be attributed the *practice of introducing* the issue of copperplate grants? For an answer attention is invited to the following:

- (i) He made it a rule that when perpetual grants of land were made to those who had done loyal services, such benefactions should not be made evanescent, like lines drawn upon water, by being written on palm leaves liable to be destroyed by mice and white ants; but that they should be engraved on plates of copper, so as to endure long unto their respective posterity. (EZ. I, p. 133.)
- (ii) With the object that perpetual grants made to those who have performed loyal services to kings might not be made impermanent like lines drawn on water, by being written on (palm) leaves which white ants and mice (as a rule) eat up; but in order that they might last a long time in the family lines of the donees, and that the donees' names as well as

those of the kings who made the grants might remain for five thousand years, His Majesty introduced copper-plate grants to Laṅkā. (EZ. II, p. 133.)

- (iii) Considering that grants in favour of those who rendered services in various capacities conformable to his wishes should last as long as Sun and Moon endure, he did not (as heretofore) have them written on *tal-pat* (palm-leaves) which were liable to be destroyed by white ants, rats, and the like, but had such grants engraved on copper (plates), and so established the practice which had not been in vogue aforetime in Laṅkā. (EZ. I, p. 156.)

These, from the published inscriptions of Niśsaṃka Malla, contain the only references to the granting of deeds (of a sort) by this particular king on copperplates. The argument in his behalf, in this special mode of grants, has been unfavourably viewed because it was not a copperplate grant of his that was first found in the country but that of a preceding king, Vijayabāhu I. His own grant came to light, as reported in the newspapers, only in 1969, whereas the other's was in or about 1948. In assessing the truth of Niśsaṃka Malla's claim, one should not forget to make a special note of the fact that when he twice in his inscriptions claimed to have such an important matter as the Tripiṭaka copied (EZ. V. pp. 427 and 434) he did not announce to his world that it was done on copperplates. In actual fact, the tremendous importance of the texts would have justified his making even a bogus claim to have done so. Thus one cannot be justified in thinking that Niśsaṃka Malla, in making the claim for having *introduced the practice*, was guilty of *suppressio veri* of an act of a precursor of his. The Panākaḍuva copperplates of Vijayabāhu I have holes to tie them together like any palmleaf manuscript. But the Niśsaṃka Malla copperplates were strung together by means of a wire passed through a perforation in one corner. In this they followed the mode of the contemporary south Indian copperplate grants.

A copperplate copy of the attestation of an agreement by the Veḷāikkāras (contemporaneous with Vijayabāhu I) is mentioned in their inscription.

.....we....have set (our) hand-attestations (to this agreement) and have delivered it over, having had it engraved both on copper (plates) and on stone, so that it may last as long as the sun and moon endure. (EZ. I, p. 255.)

The earlier found copperplate (Panākaḍuva) was edited by S. Paranavitana who, in his introductory comments, has said,

This is the earliest in date of the copper-plate charters so far discovered in Ceylon, and disproves Niśsaṃka Malla's claim to have introduced to Ceylon the practice of issuing grants on copper. (EZ. V, p. 3.)

To concede this reproach is to accept also that Niśsaṃka Malla blatantly brushed aside the existence of a copperplate charter previously given and in the possession of the descendants of the grantees, and so he was ready to face ridicule in making a false claim.

4. Dona Catherina

What was the personal, Sinhalese, name of this queen? She was a year old child when her father died, and she was brought up in Mannar in the house of Gabriel Colaço from where she was fetched in the Portuguese march against Kandy, where the poor little girl fell into the hands of the victorious Kandy king, who promptly married her and secured the throne more firmly. The name by which we know her must have been given to her at her baptism when practically an infant. The other name, if she had been given one after traditional rites, must have lapsed by desuetude.

Dona Catherina's two daughters had interesting names which sound personal and Sinhalese. These were Soria Mahadasin and Antanadassin. (*The Expedition to Uva made in 1630*, etc., Fr. S. G. Perera trsl. 1930, p. 54, ft. nt. 1.)

Now "Adasin" is an expression used in Portuguese and Dutch writings of the time for royalty. Cutting it out we can extract the personal names of these two princesses. But of their mother's name we know only from one source. Even that seems no personal name. It is a high title: Kusumāsana Dēvi, Goddess of the Flower Throne.

This title has been first disclosed, so far as one is able to gather, in a Sinhalese publication in 1960 from the pen of a scholarly monk, the late Kotagama Wachissara thera. (*Saraṇāṅkara Saṅgharāja Samaya*, Y. Don Edwin & Co.) Footnote 3, page 6, discloses that the information is found in a palmleaf Ms. entitled "Rāsīnhāmuduruvaṅgē Rājanītiya" which was originally in the collection of Dr. N. B. P. Goonetilleke. Now, in the course of a discussion on the progress of the Historical Manuscripts Commission's work, an intriguing remark was made to the effect that Dona Catherina's Sinhalese name was to be found in a palmleaf manuscript in the Commission's purview. (JCBRAS. XXXIII, No. 87, 1934, p. 43.) Nothing further was revealed then. But at p. 44 of the Second Report of the Historical Mss. Commission (published in 1935) we find a manuscript calendared as item 66, entitled "Rājasīnha Rajjuruvāṅgē Rājanītiya Kathāva." Although the two names differ slightly, evidently both these are the same manuscript. It is to be noted that in the calendaring the date given to the Ms. is Śaka 1764 (A.C. 1842), or some two centuries after Dona Catherina. As to whether the lapse of time vitiates the value of the name is doubtful, for after all some very famous historical figures of ours are found by name in records of centuries later.

The title (if one prefers it to name) of Kusumāsana Dēvi occurs in a late manuscript. But earlier the title of this lady was, according to Valentyn, Mahabaṇḍige Adasin. (JCBRAS., N.S. II, Pt.I, p. 25, ft. nt. 17.) This certainly was no name. It is just likely that Dona Catharina was given the title of great glory, Kusumāsana Dēvi, years afterwards when the memory of her as a good and uncomplaining royal consort in turn of two kings was surrounded by a halo. That is, unless more concrete information comes to be revealed.

5. Laṅkārama in Sukhodaya

In an epigraph edited by A. B. Griswold and Prasert na Nagara ("The Asokārama inscription of 1399 A.D.", Journal of the Siam Society, LVII, pt.i, Jany. 1969), we learn that "Laṅkārama" monastery, too, was one which received benefactions from the queen who founded Asokārama. The joint editors mention the occurrence of two holy relics that had come from Ceylon. The particular word taken as meaning Ceylon is mutilated. It has been restored "(Tamba) paṇṇipūra." A footnote (12, p. 44) explains, "though the name looks as if it meant something like 'upper land,' it must mean Ceylon, as it corresponds to (Tambapaṇṇi) pūra at II/38."

The word "pūra" is found affixed to Vajjara-, Hema-, Taka-, and Lakkha-, (p.51). In footnote 58 these have been taken as cities or towns. Does that not suggest that confirmatory evidence is called for before identifying a place name ending in "pūra" with a land?

At p. 86 an inscription in Sukhodaya script has the name of Ceylon. The reference is preceded by the name "Kallyāna." The epigraph is dated in 1393 and records a pact between Sukhodaya and Nān. Unfortunately the record is either too mutilated or illegible for learning anything beyond the name.

The above is evidence slowly accumulating of the relations between ancient Laṅkā and Siam. (See JCBRAS. XXXII, No. 85, 1933, S. Paranavitana.)

D. T. DEVENDRA.

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