

1992 / 1993

**JOURNAL OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
OF
SRI LANKA**



New Series, Volume XXXVII

*The object of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Language, Literature, Arts,
Sciences and Social Conditions of the present and
former peoples of the Island of Sri Lanka and
connected cultures*

PUBLISHED BY THE

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

COLOMBO

1994

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Honorary Editor
G. P. S. H. de Silva

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RSW
Printed by
Mahendra Senanayake
Sridevi Printers (Pvt.) Limited
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Nedimala - Dehiwala
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Land tenure, Caste system and the Rājākāriya, under foreign rule : a review of change in Sri Lanka under Western powers, 1597-1832

by

M. U. De Silva

Introduction

The establishment of Western rule over the medieval, near self-sufficient, caste - feudal society in Sri Lanka during the last decade of the sixteenth century was undoubtedly a change of much consequence. Sri Lanka, then, was predominantly a land of villages under an overall supervision of kings and their chieftains guided by longstanding traditions, customs and norms evolved in association with the Buddhist religion. Theoretically the king was the lord of the soil, but in practice the land had been cultivated communally for centuries on individual or joint family shares (*pangu*) on a system of reciprocal labour exchange system in lieu of services rendered in common to the state for the well-being of the society. Land was not a marketable commodity, but it was the means of sustenance of everybody. Social surplus, however, was small and technology of production remained traditional and backward. The society was caste based; all castes were primarily subsistence cultivators and the caste specific vocations were restricted to subsidiary pursuits. *Rājākāriya* was the mechanism which combined land tenure and the caste services for the state and the well-being of the community. Everybody except the *sangha* or the clergy had to perform *rājākāriya*. This caste system, a labour specialization that emerged in the course of the drift to the south-west with the fall of the hydraulic civilization and the gradual assimilation of the migratory groups of special skills to the existing social order.

The policy of the western powers was moulded primarily by the economic and secondary religious motives. They were interested in obtaining the local produce at minimum cost to be traded at the Asian and European markets. They found the ready made administrative, socio-economic apparatus of the native rulers useful in achieving their economic goal. Therefore, without disturbing the social fabric by introducing a new system of administration they were careful to make use of the old order by soliciting the co-operation of the local nobility as junior partners to

share the power. Christianity was made a binding force of allegiance. In due course, as and when the occasion had arisen they took steps to stretch the customary services and obligatory duties of the caste system and the *rājakariya* to their advantage. Economically and politically useful castes and social groups were looked after and organized to suit the needs of the masters while the other castes were either left unattended or transformed by force, to other vocations, giving a new outlook to the social order. The stabilisation of the money economy and the gradual urbanisation and modernisation process which accompanied as a by-product of western dominance further accelerated the disintegration and confusion of the old order. A new concept of hierarchical position was cast over the society and the competition for social priority among the castes was becoming clear.¹ The British who succeeded the Dutch in 1796 inherited this system, and continued it for sometime. However, as they were influenced by the humanitarianism of the early 19th century in Britain and the growing liberal and free trade concepts in the colonial administration, the undesirability of the continuation of the system was high-lighted by many civil servants and on the recommendation of the 1830, Commission of Inquiry, the British government officially abandoned it by the Order in Council of 12 April 1832.²

It is perhaps possible to agree with the view that in a particular social system moving towards change, the differing status, and positions of the component groups, are derived ultimately from the distribution of political and economic power within that system.³ All societies are heterogeneous; history adds new elements to them without eliminating old ones; the differentiation of functions multiplies and the groups adjust in relation to each other.⁴ The upward mobility of castes and social groups depended on the political and economic importance they gained from the state and in the observance of "standards" they imposed on society. Honour, riches and authority were common goals to all castes and the competition for them between and within the castes was fierce and continuous.⁵

Pre - Colonial Period

Though land was the source of direct and indirect wealth it is difficult to trace the origins of the respective taxes and dues to the state and the various services performed by the people to the king and officials at the time of the arrival of the Portuguese to Sri Lanka due to the paucity

of local official records.⁶ Writings on land tenure system of ancient Sri Lanka are fragmentary and disconnected, and neither comprehensive nor sufficiently accurate. However, it is evident that there was no concept of exclusive rights over land. What existed were limited rights over certain lands and a network of obligation based on land. The king was clearly not the sole owner of all the land in practice.⁷ The king himself had purchased lands some times to be donated to the *sangha*. However, he was entitled to a share of the produce from all the cultivated and occupied land. He was also entitled to collect a water rate for water supplied for cultivation from waterworks constructed by the king. Likewise there were reference to privately owned reservoirs from which the owners derived income. However, it is evident that with the fall of the hydraulic civilization and in the course of the drift to the south west, new lands were opened up for cultivation by the local chieftains and kings whose authority was limited to certain localities in which different tenurial patterns have emerged. When the Portuguese took control of the littorals they introduced their own experience of the European feudal system making the system even further complicated. Therefore, no proper assessment of the gradual change can be traced with certainty.

Until the establishment of Portuguese rule in Kotte, the land tenure system was governed by age old tradition. The king was the main source of land grants. Land grants were of two types - grants of *pangus* or portions of land and grants of villages. The king could grant any portion of abandoned or vacant land to any person. The holder of such a portion was called the *pangukāraya*. He was expected to perform service in lieu of land held, and the nature of the service depended on the caste. The second type of land grant was the grant of a village, and the recipient was called *gamladdā* or the village holder. He was in fact entitled to enjoy the tract of land called *mutteṭṭu*. The *mutteṭṭu* was the most fertile portion or the village and was to be cultivated jointly by the shareholders or the *pangukārayās* of the village, and the proceeds of which were to be transferred to the store of the *gamladdā*. The income of the *gamladdā* was often supplemented by dues from the land given out on lease. *Otu* and *ande* were two forms of such lease holds.⁸ *Otu* involved the obligation to give the holder a grain equivalent to the sowing capacity while *ande* obliged to pay half of the produce.

In the sixteenth century Kotte, the king himself was the principal village holder with 1/8 to 1/6 of the total number of villages retained as *gabaḍāgam* or of the villages of the royal store house with an annual

income exceeding 3 million fanams.⁹ These *gabaḍāgams* were the most fertile lands and were scattered all over the kingdom, and in certain *Kōralēs*, more than one third of the total number of lands belonged to this category.¹⁰

Some villages were granted to Buddhist temples (*Vihāragam*) and to *Dēwālayas* (*Dēvālagam*) for their maintenance and up keep. The *pangukārayās* gratuitously cultivated the *mutteṭṭu* and the crops were paid to the *Vihāre* or *Dēvāle*, and performed personal service and attended to the repair of the buildings. The temple lands were exempted from regular service to the state and from the *kada rājakāriya*, but in a case of national emergency the tenants were liable to be called for labour service for public work and military service. Villages were also granted to individuals as rewards for past services or as remuneration for services being performed and were called *Nindagama*. When a grant of a village was made the recipient enjoyed the full benefits of the *mutteṭṭu*. The recipient was also entitled to the free service of the *pangukārayās* according to their castes. The nomenclature of these service *paraveni* changed from time to time. During the time of the hydraulic civilization they were called *Divel*, and during the Kandyan period *Baḍavedili* while the portuguese called them *Comedias* and the Dutch the *accommodessans*.

All officials were appointed by the king or in his name by the *Adikārama* or *Disāva*. As subordinate officials, every officer was expected to visit and pay homage to the king, at least once a year, and brief the king of the prevailing conditions and the general situation of his area. On such occasions the officer made a gift of payment called *dekum* or *dekumkada* a *pingo* load of tribute.¹¹

There were two kinds of service lands allotted to officials. *Sēvāparaveni* seems to have been conferred on an hereditary basis while the *nilapangu* was for a life time. When a *nilapangukārayā* retired or died, the king or the *Adikāram*, in the name of the king, appointed a successor to the post (*nile*) and transferred the *nilapangu* to him. Under the service *paraveni* system only the chief occupant of the family or the recipient was obliged to serve.

Land disputes were rare in the pre-colonial days and such disputes emanated from the violation of customary rights pertaining to broad divisions of tenurial rights held on perpetuity and temporary rights held by the will of the king or the *gamladdā*.

As stated earlier, the pre-colonial Sri Lankan village community was a near self-sufficient one. A village, irrigated either by a tank or a stream or by rain, was comprised of a tract of paddy land (*kumburu*), a few small gardens surrounding the homes (*gevalu*) cultivated with fruit trees and other productive plants for his life, a tract of periodically cultivated dry grain land commonly known as *hēn* and a tract of forest (*kalē*) which separated one village from the other and provided timber and firewood. There was room for some one to open up new land for cultivation either in the village or elsewhere. When such new clearance was reported to the king or the officials they assigned a service to the cultivator according to his caste. But due to the difficulties of opening up new lands for cultivation, sometimes, those who did so were not subjected to any tax or service during the lifetime of the cultivator.¹²

Rājakāriya, the mechanism which combined the land tenure and caste service were of three kinds. First, the compulsory labour for fourteen days or less for the public utility and military service during a war. Second, the caste services to the state, temples or individuals. Third, the annual land tax, *decum* or *kadarājakāriya*, paid to the treasury as a part of the assured agreement with the ruler. However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century this agreed share of the produce and craft was connected with three kinds of payment. namely *decum kada* and *tuppoṭṭi*¹³ and paid in kind to the ruler.¹⁴

For the convenience of extracting service, of crafts people they were organized separately under their own headmen of castes or *baddas*. The authority of each *badda*, in respect of the group of people and the services falling within its perview, was all-embracing and stopped short only at the territorial limits of the kingdom. Thus the departmental administration inter-penetrated the territorial administration.¹⁵ The headmen were entrusted with power to administer the caste services, and were exempted from menial tasks. The ritual functions assigned to some castes were essential to the well-being of the society and such castes were clustered around in villages and hamlets. They had to render services at the ceremonies of the patron, and in return they received the customary gifts.

Portuguese Era

The association of the Portuguese in the kingdom of Kotte, first as traders and allies of king Buwanekabāhu VII (1521-1550) and later as

masters of the kingdom led to a change in the tenurial system. When they became indispensable to the king they started acquiring land and were not paying the customary dues or service to the state. By 1541, the lands so acquired had become numerous enough to attract the attention of the king, that he took steps to de-base such acquisitions made without his permission.¹⁶ During Dharmapāla's nominal reign (1557-1597) still more Portuguese began to acquire land by purchase or as gifts. When Portuguese became masters in 1597 they acted of their own and flouted the long standing customary tradition on land holding by the allotment of land on lease.

The Sri Lankan land tenure system was quite different from that of Europe and of the Portuguese in particular. Unlike in Europe there was no sub-infeudation. The *pangukāraya* was not a tenant or a serf of the landholder. His share or the *pangu* was secured so long as he did not controvene the tradition and rendered his service. Changes among the land holders took place without any chain reaction of change in the village, for in effect only the *mutteṭṭu* changed hands.¹⁷

Within the first few decades of the Portuguese rule the littoral of Sri Lanka had witnessed several modifications to the existing land tenure system. The continuous alienation of *gabadāgam* to Portuguese had created a Portuguese landholding group. This landholding group was exempted from the traditional obligatory services and were paying quitrent equivalent to 12% of their income in money. This was a clean break with the past. It introduced a totally new and hitherto unknown principle to the tenurial obligations for proprietors of a *gabadāgama*. The allotment of lands were done by the Viceroy, Captain General, and by *Disāve* flouting the rights of the royalty. *Disāves* started redistributing service lands, among their favourites contrary to tradition. *Nilakārayās* or service tenants were allowed to cultivate the allotted lands for successive generations without an ejectment or reconfirmation and they by birth and right by long residence and enjoyment transformed themselves into *pangukārayās*. As written grants were rare, and in many cases non existing hereditary and temporary tenures became difficult to make. Private property rights in land were being gradually introduced.

Another development which took place during the Portuguese period was the acquisition or the right to buy and sell the shares or *pangu* of the village by the village holders. When peace was restored after the fall

of the Sitawaka Kingdom, the refugees started moving into the Kotte lands. The Portuguese *casados* found it profitable in the prevailing circumstance to buy *pangus* from the existing holders and convert them into *ande* and *otu* lands, or sell them. By 1619 the Portuguese held villages covered around 1/5 the area of Kotte and the same process continued in the following years. This change was more evident when compared to the Jaffnapattanam. In 1618 the principal village holders in Jaffna were all Tamils, but within a decade of their conquest only 30 Portuguese families had settled in Jaffna. By 1645 Portuguese settlers had increased to 88 and this contrasts strongly with the numbers in Kotte which was about 350 to 400.¹⁸

Portuguese in Sri Lanka needed military men to defend their territory as there was the threat from the hostile Kandyan Kings. Under the native kings there were *sevā paraveni* lands granted to persons who performed military duties. However, in the course of alienating such service lands to the Portuguese as non-service lands, they ceased to provide militarymen for the service. According to Couto, king Rajasinghe I (1581-1593) could muster an army of 50,000 at once.¹⁹ In 1602, the lascarin force of Kotte numbered around 12,000 while it fell to 4,700 during the last phase of their rule.²⁰ In the light of the urgent necessity to increase military-men, the Portuguese who discontinued the service obligations in lieu of a quit-rent, now enforced a new obligation of providing militarymen in proportion to the quit-rent paid. Under the new formula the landholders whose annual income fell below 50 *xerafins* were exempted while those between 50 to 100 *xerafins* were obliged to provide two militarymen, a musketeer and a bowman. Landholders with over 100 *xerafins* were to maintain a musketeer and a bowman for each additional 100 *xerafins*. This new obligation seems to have emanated from the experience the Portuguese inherited from feudal Europe.

The curious nature of this change was that when the Portuguese revenue officials requested the new village holders to supply a certain amount of militarymen, the lands held under the native rulers by their military-men, such as the *Mudaliyārs*, *Aratchies* and the *lascarins* were subjected to quit-rent. Some of these militarymen seems to have been paid an allowance by the government during the early years of the Portuguese administration. But, subsequently, such allowances were stopped. Then the local military-men had refused to pay the quit-rent as they argued that the quit-rent was in lieu of the allowances and, as the government had

stopped paying their allowance they were justified in not paying any quit-rent.²¹

It is evident that despite the compulsion of the government *casados* failed to maintain the necessary military-men. But in due course attempts were made to raise *lascarins* by granting of lands valid for three generations. This meant that the *lascarin* was able to nominate his brother, child, nephew or any close relative to hold the land on the same terms as he had done earlier.²² But he was expected to pay quit-rent.

However, there were many villages to which neither the payment of quit-rent nor compulsory military obligation applied. To this class belonged the *Vihāra* and *Dēvalagam* now conferred on the Catholic church. Yet again, any other land held by the church other than the *Vihāra* and *Dēvalagam* were subjected to the quit-rent.²³

Service tenure was retained in some other categories which the Portuguese thought was profitable and convenient. Prominent among these were the *Salāgama* caste, who were obliged to peel cinnamon. Likewise the boatmen in certain *Kōralēs* were obliged to transport government goods by river were exempted from the quit-rent. The *pannayās* who supplied fodder for the elephants, the *Kūruwe* people who were engaged in the elephant hunt, the *Navandanna* caste who supplied iron to the state, the Muslims who provided pack-bulls to transport produce and some *Karāwe* caste fishermen who supplied fish to the Captain General and other officials were enjoying land and were performing their services. According to Ribeiro, the total number of villages, performing these services, under the Sinhala service tenure system was, around 400 or roughly one-eleventh of the total number of villages.²⁴

The overall impact of these changes was the emergence of three categories of lands (i) those obliged to perform some service according to caste, (ii) those paying a quit-rent and (iii) those doing neither.²⁵ From the point of view of permanence of tenure there were two categories of lands- those held for two or three generations, and those held at the king's pleasure.

Another significant change was the separation of revenue collection from the civil administration, at least at the higher levels. This was due to the introduction of revenue farmers to collect a number of taxes in place

of native headmen. The revenue farmers were either *casados* or the *Mudaliyārs*. The collection of land rent, port dues, fish rent, coconut rent or *pol aya*, etc. were entrusted to them, very often at a lower rate. For example, lands from Weligama to Dondra was rented for sixteen thousand *pardāos* a year by Don Jeronimo de Azevedo to Don Fernando *Mudaliyār*. The collection of port dues and land rent of Beruwala was entrusted to Diogo de Mello, a *casado*.²⁶ This practice reduced state revenue from the land, by at least seven-eighth, as the holder paid only twelve percent of the estimated income from the village as quit-rent.

By the end of sixteenth century the commercial products had gained precedence over the food crops. The total potential revenue estimated at that time was around 74,000 *xerafins*- of which about a quarter consisted of dues drawn from the quit-rent on land. The bulk of the revenue - almost fifty thousand *xerafins* was derived from the sale of three items - cinnamon, arecanuts and elephants. A typical colonial economy - dependence of the state revenue from the export of the agricultural products had emerged. Money too was in free circulation and small towns were emerging along the coastal areas.

Cinnamon was undoubtedly the greatest single product that attracted the Westerners to Sri Lanka. The Sinhala kings had sold cinnamon to merchants who came to Colombo and other ports at comparatively a very low price. But the Portuguese, once they controlled the cinnamon trade, gained far greater profits outstripping all other incomes they obtained.³⁵

Cinnamon grew wild in the coastal plain from Chilaw to Walawe *ganga* and the peeling of cinnamon had become the main skilled profession of the *Salāgama* caste. The *Salāgama* or the *chaleas* as the foreigners named them had been a migratory group from India skilled in weaving, but later turned cinnamon peelers. The obligatory tribute of the *Salāgama* caste to the king of the Kotte was around 300 *bahars* peeled and cured cinnamon a year, corresponding to the extent and the fertility of the lands they held. The excess production was sold at a fixed rate. Up to the year 1590, cinnamon trade was open to anyone.

The Portuguese started controlling cinnamon production as well as its trade from the time they were ruling Kotte for Dharmapāla. In 1595, cinnamon was declared a private monopoly of the Captain of Colombo

who was obliged to sell a fixed portion to the king of Portugal at the cost price. By 1614 the cinnamon was made a royal monopoly and the annual export was fixed at 1,000 *bahars*, while the Portuguese were allowed to peel cinnamon privately and sell it to the Vedor de Fazenda.²⁸

The *Salāgama* caste was organised into three sections or *baddas* called *Mahabadda*, *Sulanbadda* and *Kunambadda*. *Salāgamas* belonging to *Mahabadda* lived between *Gin ganga* and Beruwala with the main concentration in the villages of Kosgoda, Welitara and Madampe. Those of *Sulanbadda* lived between *Kelani ganga* and Kanampella village scattered in the villages of Alutkuru and Siyane *Kōrales* as well as Gampaha, Negombo and Mādampe in the North Western Province. Those of the *Kunambadda* were obliged to perform the duty of carrying the palanquins of the king, and were scattered over many villages. The overall charge of the *Salāgama* was in the hand of the *Vidāne* of *Mahabadda*. In each village was placed a *Duraya*, a petty headman, who supervised a number of *Salāgama* families in the performance of their obligatory service.

When the Portuguese took control of the Kotte kingdom the *Vidāne* of the *Mahabadda* was placed under the Vedor de Fazenda. He was entrusted with the task of providing the stipulated number of peeled cinnamon a year to the government stores in lieu of the service. Gradually the amount to be supplied, increased, and by the end of the Portuguese rule about 4,500 *bahars* of cinnamon were collected. This increase was done in two ways. They gradually increased the burden of supplying the peeled cinnamon by individuals of the *Salāgama* caste and also by extending the obligatory service to other castes such as *Hunu*, *Padu*, *Karāwa* and *Hinna* castes people, in certain localities. Amidst protests and uprising of the cinnamon peelers Portuguese managed to increase the output of cinnamon. The obligatory share of peeled cinnamon which was around 104,000 lbs, or 400 *bahars* at the commencement of their rule was gradually raised, and by the year 1615 it was around 460,000 lbs and by the year 1640 around 840,000 lbs.

The Portuguese who were closely involved in the slave trade in the western hemisphere tried to enforce slavery into cinnamon peeling. The Portuguese alleged that the *Salāgamas* were descendants of the 24,000 captives brought as slaves from India during the reign of Gajabāhu, in the second century AD, and had not been emancipated; that they were obliged

to serve the government, whenever they were called upon to do so.²⁹ The *Salāgamas* bitterly resented this theory. Commenting on it, Tikiri Abeyasinghe says, that the economic needs, led it not only to impose new burden upon the *Salāgama* caste, but also to formulate "a social theory, reminted or new coined to justify such impositions. By 1636 the dry bones of the theory had been dressed up in frills fashioned from history and thus given a modish correctness".³⁰

However, at the end of the Portuguese rule the obligation to peel cinnamon according to the extent and the fertility of the land enjoyed by the *Salāgama* caste turned to be an obligation associated with the person rather than the land. Every male over twelve years of age was compelled to supply a minimum fixed quantity of cinnamon a year irrespective of the land-holding.

The trend towards the control of all marketable commodities by the Portuguese is also seen in the case of arecanuts and pepper etc. Arecanut, had been exported from Sri Lanka for several centuries before the arrival of the Portuguese. The people had been accustomed to pay for their requirements of cloth, salt and perfumes in arecanut and arecanut had never been an obligatory payment to the king. The king was entitled to what was grown in the *gabadāgam* which came within the perview of the *Koṭikābadda*.³¹ With the alienation of the *gabadāgam* by the Portuguese government, such collections became few, while the price of areca had arisen. Therefore, the Portuguese assigned the people within the areas of areca production to pay arecanut at a fixed rate to the government.³²

Likewise, the Portuguese insisted the landholders pay at a fixed price the quitrent in pepper, in areas where pepper was grown.³³ They also exploited the expanding coconut cultivation by insiting that the landholders should pay *Pol aya* or a tax on coconut. But the application of the *Pol aya* was not uniform within the Portuguese territory.³⁴ Thus we see by the end of the Portuguese rule the land tenure and caste services had taken a new turn.

The Portuguese conquest of the Jaffna kingdom, and the consolidation of their power therein was swift; and unlike in Kotte, there were no post-conquest rebellions. Phelippe de Oliveira, the trusted lieutenant of the Captain General Constantino de Sa de Noronha (1618-1630) captured the King of Jaffna, Sankili (1617-1619) in 1619 and exiled "all those who

had a royal smell about them" to Goa by 1624. The Portuguese managed to coerce the *Adigārs* and the *Mudaliyār* by pursuing a policy of marrying the Portuguese into their families and making them partners to the alien administration. However, they consistently followed the appointment of Portuguese to the higher posts, and by 1645 the last Tamil *Adigār* was succeeded by a Portuguese.

Jaffna had neither cinnamon nor arecanuts and there were no other commercial crop on which the Portuguese could make quick profits. About 96% of the revenue came from land or sources connected with land. The overwhelming majority of the landholders were the *Vellāles* with *kudimai*, the right side and *adimai*, the left side retinue representing different castes.³⁵ Therefore the land tenure was not so complicated and prominent in the state management. The *Brahmins*, though few in numbers, were playing second fiddle to *Vellāles* in the social ladder. The caste system in the Jaffna Kingdom had a close resemblance to that of South India than that of the Sinhala areas and was much rigid in operation.

Jaffna had long been subjected to a money economy and the nexus in relationship between the ruler and the subjects was money. Nearly 97% of the government revenue was collected in cash. The king paid his officials, the troops and even the headmen in cash. Therefore, the service tenure was not linked with the land. Portuguese made periodic increase of taxes, but the area tilled remained the same.³⁶ Therefore, the imposition of Portuguese power in the Jaffna kingdom did not very much complicate the existing order.

But, It was not so in the Kotte kingdom. The system there as seen earlier, was governed mainly by customs and usages with reciprocal obligations of the ruler and the ruled. These customs and usages had so grown into the society that they had almost become second nature and operated without the consciousness of administering any set of laws or regulations. The complex nature of the tenurial system was that each family was in a different state of relationship to the landlord from the other; uniformity was not a characteristic of the native system, therefore, each area had to be studied separately. Thus, it was impossible for an outsider to study the system in theory and master its working without years of actual experience in its administration.³⁷ But the alien master was not ready for such a laborious task.

The interest of the alien masters was not a serious study of the existing system but to reap all the benefits that the country could offer with the least expense and the slightest disturbance to the social structure. Therefore, they utilized the existing caste services and land tenure obligations to serve their interests. In the new set up, all that was needed to give a certain conscious direction to economic activity in the land, in accordance with their aims, and to see it that these aims were fulfilled by the customary means. The caste system with its occupational divisions of society, and the allocation of a particular function to each individual was thus taken and made to serve the economic and political interests of the Portuguese and later of the Dutch.

The use of service tenants by the alien government was different in spirit from the traditions of the land. Therefore, the institution evolved in a totally different context, was to serve a different need. Cardinal ethics of the traditional law of mutual contract was unheeded in operation and interpretations added to them in due course was based on the experience in Europe and Asia. The official minutes and decisions laid down by the higher officials in the process of operation became precedents for their successors. The native institutions were now being used in the interest of an alien power inclined to obtain utmost benefit without regard to the subject people. The personal relationship that existed was superseded by an impersonal and indirect one. The traditional obligations were used to cultivate lands, peel cinnamon, to catch and tame elephants, to dig choya roots and to work in ports and fortifications which were beneficial to the rulers and oppressive to the subjects. The obligatory services rendered to the lord of the land or the community was now been performed under pressure, became oppressive and burdensome. The subjects fleeing their homes to escape such service obligations became a common phenomenon.

The use of headmen to administer the caste services to exploit the resources for the alien government without proper control over them paved the way for the emergence of a privileged and influential class within the native society. The system of farming out of the tax collection by public auction and the association of the headmen as tax collectors further enhanced their power. Some became partisans and judges of their own cause. They being the junior partners to the foreign rulers without adequate control of their dealings by the center emerged in due course as an exclusive group.

The direct rule of the Portuguese in the littorals of Sri Lanka did not last more than half a century. But this short period of their administration was instrumental in disturbing the social fabric. The movement of people away from their traditional habitats to the emerging urban settlements along the coast for occupational purposes have been taking place, though in a limited scale. There were the *lascarins* within the fortification and the watch posts in the interior, the increasing number of Burghers, the offspring of mixed marriages who were exempted from the service obligations, the administrative officials, and the natives collected as labourers for the purpose of loading and unloading ships and to serve in the constructions of buildings and fortifications etc. created imbalance in the social order. The basis of the society remained the same though partly shaken by these changes while the superstructure changed in the direction of an impersonal and regulated system.

Dutch Era

The Dutch who ousted the Portuguese in a prolonged war from 1638 to 1658, as the ally of Rajasinghe II (1635-1687), gained the political hold of a reduced area of the littoral "to face the devastation and depopulation of a belt from Negombo to Matara" between the coastal strip and the Kandyan highlands. The political conditions were unfavourable for economic development with half the area in active rebellion and the other half under precarious control.³⁸ "Nearly all the lands in their jurisdiction are depopulated, abandoned and laid waste, we have no need to follow the old laws, customs or practice of the Sinhalese" wrote Ryklof Van Goens the Senior (1664-1675) "in cultivating them, but may be guided by such regulations as may be made in the interest of the Company and for the welfare of the island".³⁹ Therefore, they felt free to make changes in the system and steps were taken to introduce the laws and traditions of the Netherlands and administer justice according to the Statutes of Batavia.⁴⁰ A new court of Jurisdiction called the *Landraad* was set up in Colombo to decide petty cases in land disputes in 1661 with the *Disāve* of Colombo as the Chairman, and the Lieutenant *Disāve* Captain of Pasdun *Korale*, *Mudaliyār* of Colombo, *Adigār* of Matara, Chief officer of Negombo, and the *Mudaliyār* of Negombo as other members of the court. At a later stage this court became very useful to the Dutch and they established these courts in the principal towns with slight alterations to its composition and the minor disputes of civil and criminal nature was referred to it. At the outset the *landraad* met on Saturdays but subsequently it met twice or more a week according to the demands of the investigations.⁴¹

Initially the courts under the Dutch adjudicated according to the Statutes of Batavia and the local laws, and later steps were taken to codify the Tamil and Muslim laws. When the courts could not find precedents or prescription in local law, the Dutch resorted to Roman-Dutch law which played an important part in formulating and stabilizing a more precise legal status to property rights in the island.⁴²

The Dutch also assumed the role of a landed proprietor in addition to that of a merchant and claimed the rights to the labour services, taxes and dues. The Dutch carried a policy of inducing people to move to the Dutch territories and improve agriculture. The occupants were temporarily exempted from the service obligations and permitted the people of Negombo, Galkissa, Ratmalana and Moratuwa to occupy as much land as they could cultivate, without paying taxes and dues. The lands of Kalutara, Beruwala and Alutgama were rented for 10 years at 400 rix dollars a year on condition that 4000 coconut trees were to be planted in the first year and an additional 2000 a year for the rest of the period.⁴³ They even, imported slaves from India to cultivate land.

But with the gradual consolidation of the power and the restoration of peace with the Kandyan monarch in the early eighteenth century the Dutch tried to establish absolute sovereignty over the property rights which they alienated on condition to pay tythe under strict security. The compilation of the *tombo* was an important aspect of the Dutch land policy. By its compilation they hoped, that they could dispense with the dependence on the headmen for information about dues from the land. The headmen who were the liaison officers between the Dutch and the natives, held a substantial part of the land as *accommodessans* and enriched themselves on taxes and services owed by the government.

The process of land registration was started in Jaffna in 1674, where some Portuguese records were in their possession. A five member committee was appointed to check each plot of land in entirety in every village and to enter them in a new register together with the families which depended on them. The fields and gardens were noted with care to include every fruit bearing tree in the land, the amount of poll-tax each family was obliged to pay, the number of persons liable to serve the government, the nature of the service and the number of days.⁴⁴ The successful completion brought an increase in the number of people obliged to serve the govern-

ment by 12,000 and the amount of taxes by 75,000 Guilders. It also justified the extension of the compilation of the *tombos* to the other parts of the island. But the unexpected revolt of the peaceful people of Jaffnapatnam in 1676 and the disturbed conditions in the Sinhala areas delayed such a compilation. The Jaffna *tombos* were revised every fifteen years and brought upto-date. During the period of Governor Van Rhee (1692-1697) the Dutch went a step further and initiated a scheme to draw maps of lands entered in the *tombos*.

The Dutch policy of land grants in the South West coastal belt was primarily guided by their interests in cinnamon, and underwent several changes. In the early days, due to depopulation, a policy of inducing people to move to the Dutch territories for improvement of agriculture was carried-out. But a reaction seems to have set in somewhere in the early 18th century, possibly owing to the desire to preserve cinnamon in the woods and jungles, from where most of their requirements were collected. The Dutch land grants policy oscillated between the policy of preserving the cinnamon lands on the one hand and providing living for the inhabitants on the other hand, by allowing them to cultivate *chenas*, for food production.⁴⁵

Chēnas had a time circle between five to thirtyfive years, and it was believed that the cinnamon plants grew best in the newly abandoned *chenas* of the South West lowlands. In order to protect the cinnamon plant restrictions were placed in the repeated clearance of such lands. People were permitted to clear *chenas* only after a thorough inspection for the availability of cinnamon by the *Disāve* and the Captain of the *Mahabadda*. Permission was not granted if the land had more than 6 to 8 bushels of cinnamon. The uprooting of a cinnamon plant without permission was subjected to heavy penalty.⁴⁶

The *chēna* cultivation supplemented a major portion of the food needs of the people. Governor Schreuder (1757-1762) had permitted in the Colombo Disavany alone around 4,000 to 5,000 *chēnas* annually. However, there was a tendency of converting the *chēnas* in to gardens as the cultivation of coconuts in *chēnas* was easy and the cocounts fetched a good income. In 1761, the *Tombo Keeper* noted that during the previous 25 to 35 years around 12,000 to 30,000 plots of lands had been the cultivated without permission by the well to do people, some having more than 35 such plots.⁴⁷ In 1775 *Mudaliyar* of Aluthkuru *Kōrale* was banished from the island for permitting to clear *chēnas*.

As the need for cinnamon in the European markets were high and the prices were lucrative, Governor Loten (1752-1757) totally banned the *chēnas* in order to protect the cinnamon plant. This forced the people to migrate to the kings' territory as there was no such restriction; this created a dual problem for the Dutch. Large scale clearance of forest in the kings' territory deprived the Dutch the peeling of cinnamon from the kings' territory, and the depopulation of the lowlands created a loss of service from the people. Apart from that there was widespread disturbances in the Dutch territories as the people resented to the ban, and the following year the restrictions were withdrawn. But a restriction was placed to prevent the *chēnas* been converted to gardens.

Systematic surveying and mapping out blocks of land in the littorals was started during the early 18th century. The mapped out areas were divided into lots and were leased out to buyers on conditions stipulated by the government. The buyers who did not keep to the stipulated conditions had to forgo their rights to such lands with whatever improvements made on them.⁴⁸

In a general sense the Dutch tried to maintain absolute sovereignty over the lands under their control. The government land scattered over its territories were sold by auction. The fertile lands held by the headmen in easy accessible location and in and around Colombo, Galle, Matara and Negombo were withdrawn by the state, and others in less accessible areas and of less fertility were given, once when the holders died, to their descendents. Steps were taken to limit the extent of land as *accommodessans* to headmen varying according to their rank, a *Mudaliyār* of a korale was assigned 12 *amunams*; a *Muhandirum*, 8 *amunams*; an *Arachchi*, 6 *amunams*; a *Kanakapulle*, 4 *amunams*, and others in proportion to their posts.⁴⁹

In the process of land registration the government had a vested interest in denying the claims of the citizen, and the holders of service tenure land or *paravenis* were forced to establish their rights along with those of other holdings. At the initial stage there was a misunderstanding among company officers concerning the definition of the two classes of service tenure lands, *paravenis* and *accommodessans*. Governor Van Gollennesse classified them under different heads such as (a) *sēvāparaveni*, lands held in return of service to the state which was heritable so long as the service was performed for the state, (b) the *accommodessan*, lands

given to a person for the service which could be withdrawn on the holders dismissal or at his demise, (c) the purchased *paraveni*, lands purchased by an inhabitant (d) the gift *paraveni*, lands given to an inhabitant by the Governor in recognition of a special service. From 1745 onward these distinction were noted in the *tombos*.⁵⁰

The traditional Sinhala village organisation was both a kingship group as well as a common property-owing body.⁵¹ The wet paddy formed the basis of the economic and social structure of the Sinhala village. The morphology of land with north south ridges running parallel to the coast confining the paddy to the valleys between these ridges cultivated mainly by rain, and the *chēnas* cultivated on the ridges mainly controlled by the changing Dutch land policies, and the compilation of *tombos* defining the ownership of land formed an effective barrier on the natural growth and expansion of the villages to which the country had been long accustomed to.⁵⁰ A pattern of free-hold lands emerged in the course of alien rule in which full rights of alienation to the owner began to be predominant. The Dutch policy of bestowing the exclusive legitimacy of property rights of inheritance only on the children born to Christian families duly solemnized by their weddings at the church, and had been baptised⁵³ further complicated the land tenure.

The land tenure system the Dutch inherited in Sri Lanka gave possession to a considerable source of labour services of the subjects. The Dutch like the Portuguese, utilized such labour to foster their economic and political interests and to a host of civil and military service. The way in which they utilized these obligatory duties is well illustrated by the working of the *Mahabadda* which had already been subjected to pressure and change under the Portuguese rule.

The new arrangement of the management of the *Mahabadda* is evident from the instructions issued to the Superintendent of the Cinnamon Department, by the Governor Rycklof Van Goens (Senior) between 1656-1665.⁵⁴ He noted that the *Salāgama* caste, was "a seperate nation", and has to be "ruled in a particular manner in order to make them perform their duties according to their capacities both, individually and as a community" Therefore, he ordered that no *Salāgama* caste person was to be raised to a class above that in which he was born or reduced to a situation below it, "the children of *Durayās* must remain *Ilandāriyas*, the coolies as coolies and the cinnamon peelers as cinnamon peelers".⁵⁵ This exclusiveness

seem to have been entertained by *Salāgama* caste themselves by this time. In a petition submitted to Governor Rumpf in 1723, the *Salāgama* caste claimed to be a distinct race, who had been invited to Sri Lanka by the Sinhalese king some 650 years ago.⁵⁶ Unlike the other natives, the *Salāgama* caste had no right to sell or alienate the lands granted to them, but to be inherited by their heirs. The sales were declared *null* and *void*, and both the seller and the purchaser were to be severely punished.⁵⁷ The ammount of money a *Salāgama* caste person possessed at the time of his entering the service of the company were noted and a close watch was kept on his expenditure.⁵⁸

Van Goens also noted the peculiarity of the *Salāgama* caste as being divided into a hierarchy of superior and subordinate officials in extracting the caste service. At the apex of the superstructure was the captain of the *Mahabadda*, a Dutch official. Below him was a host of *Salāgama* caste headmen of varying rank. Next to the captain was the chief *Vidāne* of the *Mahabadda* who held authority over the *Salāgama* caste people of Welitara, Kosgoda, Madampe, Dadalla, Magalle and Lanumodara. The second *Vidāne* held authority over the *Salāgama* caste people around Colombo, Totabadda, Moragalla, Calamulla, Potupitiya, Waskaduwa and in and around Negombo, was called the *Hulanbadde Vidane*. The third *Vidāne* held authority over the *Salāgama* caste people of Matara and the fourth *Vidane* held authority over the *Salāgama* caste people of Ratgama. The next in rank was the *Maha Durayā*, 24 in number, who acted as substitutes for the *Vidanes*: in their absence, and below them were the sub-*Durāyās* or the *Durayās*, 54 in number who acted as the superintendents. Van Goen instructed that the number of *Maha Durayās* in future be reduced to 13 and the Sub-*Durayās* to 29.⁵⁹ The *Maha Durayās* enjoyed the whole of cinnamon grown in his lands, the services of a cinnamon peeler and the pay of a *Decumkārayā*. The *Sub-Durayās*, received besides the cinnamon cultivated in his gardens, the pay of a cinnamon peeler.

Van Goens thought that the seven hundred and thirty peelers or the "*Corondahālias*" were sufficient to peel the required of cinnamon for the company provided they were "ruled according to the customs and usages of the country. Therefore he instructed the Superintendent to order the *Vidānes* and the *Durayās* to furnish a correct list of all *Salāgama* caste people who were under their supervision, men, women and children including the land and gardens they possessed with their value, conditions

of service, domicile, village, hamlet and the dwelling, taking great care that none were left out. He stressed the need to take care in preparing these lists, and that if one man is left out "all his descendants will be freed of the obligation of providing cinnamon to the company in future." He ordered the Superintendent to check these lists in April every year, by a committee which included the *Disāve* of the area before the commencement of the Great Harvest. All people were ordered to be present for such examination and each one of them were assigned to supply a quantity of cinnamon according to their height, strength and age. Old and weak persons were exempted or taxed higher than the others while the youths at the age of 12 years were included in the lists to provide one *robbe* of 62 lbs. Cinnamon peeled, which was gradually increased to eleven *robbes* when strong and healthy. The amount was reduced to *robbe* at old age, but such reductions was not consistent as it was the increase.⁶⁰ A peeler who could stand up and walk with the help of a stick was not exempted. The peelers were ordered to pay a bigger quota of their allocation during the Great Harvest which falls between July and September and the balance during the Small Harvest of January to February. The peelers were also under obligation to peel extra cinnamon on payment to cater to the needs of the Company. In order to raise the number of peelers, whom the Dutch thought, was essential to supply to the increasing demand of cinnamon in European market, orders were given to enroll the illegitimate children of the *Salāgama Durayās*, *Lascarins*, *Ilandāriās* and *Pottabendes* as peelers.

Apart from the peelers there were the *lascarins* of the *Salāgama* caste nearly 100 in number assigned to five Arachchies and placed directly under the *Disāve*. The Captain of the *Mahabadda* had no power to remove these *lascarins* from their stations without the approval of the *Disāve* or of the Governor. There were about 299 *Ilandāriās* or *Poetbennes* or the children and descendent of *Durayās* who were obliged to take up arms and accompany their parents at war or to protect the peelers but always exempted from menial work. They were obliged to pay the poll-tax or the *Āngabadda* according to their height, strength and age. There were also a groups of *Salāgama* caste defined as *Decum Carrias* or coolies who were obliged to serve as canganies, messengers and letter carriers and were bound to perform ordinary, inferior and servile occupation. They were subjected to *Āngabadda* and were 379 in number.⁶¹

During the peeling times the peelers were provided with rice, salt, fish and arrack. However, the peelers were obliged to supply a quantum of arecanuts as they could collect them while they were moving from place

to place in search of cinnamon bushes.

Cinnamon was the most important single item of trade for the Dutch in Sri Lanka and steps were taken to control every aspect of its production, collection and transport. Regulations were enacted one after the other to protect its monopoly which in turn created much difficulty, opposition and vexation both to the *Salāgama* caste and the Dutch.⁶² The *Salāgama* caste people were denied the natural justice of marrying outside the caste without the permission of the Government.⁶³ They were also placed outside the jurisdiction of the formal courts of law and placed under the jurisdiction of the court of the *Mahabadda*.

The Dutch had endless troubles in extracting their service obligations. The labour demanded from them was excessive. There were 2,902 *Salāgama* caste people in 1696 which had risen to 2,924 in 1751.⁶⁴ The natural growth of the caste according to the statistics seems to be very poor, and frequent attempts were made to draw the services of *Hunu*, *Demalagattara*, *Pannya*, *Wahumpura* and *Durāwa* caste people in certain localities to the *Mahabadda*.⁶⁵ However, the peeling was not done by all. In 1696, out of the total of 2,902 there were only 968 peelers and in the official social ladder arbitrarily imposed on the caste, the peelers were considered the lowest.⁶⁶ There were 5 chief *Vidānes*, 3 lesser *Vidanes*, 2 *Kanganees* and 59 chief and lesser *Durayās* in the upper strings of the caste ladder with 2 *Mudaliyars* 1 *Muhandiram*, 19 *Archchies* and 36 *Kanganees* to control 446 *lascarins* of *Mahabadda* by 1697. The caste which had the obligation to pay a tribute of 300 *bahārs* of cinnamon annually to the king at the beginning of the Western rule at the end of the 16th century and had been organized into three sections under the *Mahabadda*, *Sulanbadda* and *Kunambadda* under a *Vidāne* as shown earlier, had now been divided into 4 classes as peelers, *handariās*, coolies, and *lascarins* distributed over in 5 *Vidane* divisions of the *Salāgama* caste and three *Vidane* divisions of other castes forced to serve under the *Mahabadda* and obliged to deliver 800 *bahārs* by the end of the 17th century.⁶⁷ By the end of the 18th century, the four fold division of the caste remained clearly marked and the gulf between the sections well established.

In consequence of the fantastically high value put upon cinnamon in the European markets and its readiness to take up more than what was annually supplied from Sri Lanka, the Dutch tried to increase the quota obliged to be delivered by the cinnamon peelers. For some years, the

annual demand was over 10,000 bales while the annual supply was around 8,000 bales. Often this amount could not be collected until the last few years of the Dutch rule due to disturbances which was rampant. In order to increase the annual supply the Dutch imposed a tax called *Huwandirum* in addition to what was levied under *Āngabadda*, and money-cinnamon or the extra amount which the able bodied peelers had to deliver for a small money payment. There was much resentment over the new tax and *Huwandirum* was abolished in 1736 after a serious uprising of the *Salāgama* caste.⁶⁸ According to Governor Van Imhoff, the peelers came forward with complaints when it was time to commence peeling, with the intention of postponing the work and to say that they went to the forest too late to be able to deliver the required amount.⁶⁹ Their frequent demands and complaints formed the subject of a lengthy inquiry and the basis for some important government measures.⁷⁰

The Dutch took meticulous care to regulate the services of the *Salāgama* caste in obtaining the best results in cinnamon. The peeling of cinnamon by unauthorized persons were prohibited together with their transport and its trade.⁷¹ Only the good quality cinnamon was accepted and the peelers who peeled bad cinnamon were banished to the Cape of Good Hope.⁷² Between 20-30 peelers were entrusted to each *Durayā* who was held responsible in delivering the allocated amount of cinnamon. failure to supply the stipulated amount, subjected him to a fine and other disciplinary actions. In order to make the deficit caused by means of death, ill-health etc. of peelers, the *Duraya* was permitted to keep one peeler extra.⁷³

The lists of cinnamon yeilding villages were compiled and kept under special care. Cinnamon was grown in jungles far away from the homes of the cinnamon peelers. Before, the commencement of the peeling, temporary sheds were put up in the cinnamon bearing woods and the peelers were sent out in groups of 2, 4, and 6 men and some times they were stationed about 4 miles apart of each other for more than six months a year. Many peelers deserted to the King's land and it was reported in 1745 that there were 361 such peelers living in the kings' territory.⁷⁴

The headmen had to place lascarins of the *Mahabadda* for the protection of the peelers as they were often been beaten and carried away by the Kandyans, and also for the safety of the peeled cinnamon which the peelers often sold to others. Headmen searched the houses of the peelers at mid night to check whether an absconding peeler had reached home.

Such absconders were brought to the superior headmen tied and tortured like a high criminal to be placed in stocks until the case was up for hearing. The obligatory service of the *Salāgama* caste was arduous and risky and the peelers took every opportunity to abscond. Rules were framed to the effect that such absconders when reported were never left free without punishment. The hardship was such that Governor Schreuder remarked that "there was no product in the East or West of the India in respect of which such great difficulty, opposition and vexation were experienced in its collection and transport as the Cinnamon"⁷⁵

In consequence of the need to protect the monopoly of cinnamon and to collect the "precious and aromatic bark" without trouble the Dutch conferred special privileges on the *Salāgama* caste. Besides, the fields and gardens they enjoyed, the peelers also received when going to the woods one *parrā* of rice and a *medide* (equal to seven quarters) of slat per month and a quarter of arrack daily. They were also free from tolls or passage money, both for themselves and the articles they carry. They were allowed to bring coconuts, oil and paddy by sea and were exempted from duty and anchorage charges.⁷⁶ They were allowed to fetch salt from the *lēvāyas* or salt pans and transport them in *dhoneys* to their villages without paying any duty.

After the completion of the harvest, it was customary for the Governor to meet the peelers in an annual audience where the Governor conferred gifts and medals on those who fulfilled their obligation satisfactorily and all others with a gift of a cloth of 12 cubits.⁷⁷ At that meeting he discussed the problems of the peelers as well.

However, the attitude of the Governors towards the *Salāgama* caste were not always cordial. Some treated them favourably identifying them as "those who milk the cow" for them.⁷⁸ While some others considered them as rebellious, bold and stubborn,⁷⁹ impertinent, discontented and a mutinous group.⁸⁰ But Governors Falck (1766-1785) and Van Der Graaf (1785-1794) developed good relationships and often listened to their complaints. Falck while he is waiting for the official reception as the Governor looked into the complaints levied by the peelers against the head of cinnamon Du Maurin and dismissed him at once. Making use of the known hostility of the peelers towards the other castes, Falck appointed them as Commissioners to deal with matters of illicit felling of timber and the clearance of *chēnas*.⁸¹ During this period the *Salāgama* caste people

were endowed with privileges not enjoyed by any other group of inhabitants.

Cinnamon was not only the *raison d'être* of the company's interest but also was the prime cause of all its problems. When the Dutch destroyed the newly planted coconut trees the people destroyed the cinnamon plants and rose up in rebellion. The coconuts in addition to their domestic needs gave them much needed cash for buying cloth, salt and dried fish, while cinnamon added misery and oppression to them. In the meanwhile some of the loyal Sinhala officials seems to have pinpointed the serious repercussions of the land reforms carried out during the period of Van Gollennesse and of Schreuder, and the after effects of the chena policy carried out for some time. According to Schreuder, the number of cinnamon bushes have gradually dwindled and in former places where one saw as many as 20 to 30 peeling sheds only found nothing but coconut gardens.⁸² The treaty of the Dutch with Kirti Sri Rajasinghe in 1766 assured them the right to peel cinnamon in the Kandyan hills.

In the meanwhile the Batavian authorities adopted a positive policy on land alienation and the cinnamon production by declaring the cinnamon a general product of the island, by its Instructions on 4 December 1797. While the *Salāgama* caste was made responsible for the peeling and collection of cinnamon their authority to enter private lands for cinnamon was withdrawn. The landholders were permitted to get their cinnamon peeled by the *Salāgama* caste and also could sell it to the government.

By 1769 the experiments on cultivation of cinnamon on a plantation basis had proved successful, all *Mudaliyārs* of *Kōralēs* and *Muhandirams* of Colombo *Disāvany* and of Galle *Kōralē* were ordered to clear selected pieces of ground and plant cinnamon with the advice of the *Salāgama* caste. The granting of *Tunhaul* lands were encouraged with the view of planting 1/3 of its area with cinnamon for the government.⁸³ To extricate the company of the inconvenience of calling upon the people to clear the cinnamon plantations thus planted, the cinnamon grounds were divided among the cinnamon peelers on condition that each could keep clear the portion allotted to him instead of peeling the cinnamon. Peelers were also given a food ration for their service and also certificates for good service to keep up good spirit. *Mudaliyārs* was given gold chains and medals for successful planting of cinnamon plantations.⁸⁴ On the request of the Governor Falck, the famous Botanist, Thunberg, visited the island

in 1777 to inspect the new cinnamon plantations and report on further improvements. At the end of Falcks' Governorship period in 1785 there were around 24 million cinnamon plants cultivated under cinnamon plantations which suddenly rose to 609 millions by 1794.⁸⁵ This was mainly due to the compulsion enforced by the government and the incentives extended in terms of favours, promotions and medals to the native headmen.

The Dutch policy hitherto followed on the cinnamon industry was responsible for carving out a separate entity for the *Salāgama* caste. Though their activities were subjected to minute control, they were enjoying comparatively a privileged position and possessed considerable lands and wealth. The *tombo* entries of the day clearly endorses this view. At Waskaduwa, a certain cinnamon peeler possessed 22 gardens planted with 1587 coconut trees, 108 jack trees and 16 arecanut trees.⁸⁶ At Uduwara another peeler possessed 12 gardens and 24 paddy fields as the father's service *paraveni*.⁸⁷ Some of them possessed landed properties in more than one village.⁸⁸

The gulf between the four classes to which the *Salāgama* caste had been categorized at the beginning of the Dutch rule had been further widened and stabilized to be transformed into four stereo-typed sub-castes at the end of their rule and the change from one to the other was difficult. The marriages were minutely regulated and the offsprings were categorized by the decisions of the Dutch Political Council of Colombo taken one after the other.⁸⁹ The main aim of these resolutions was to procure the services of more peelers to the company. There were allegations against the peelers of trying to conceal their new born children been registered offsprings under their names. Hence, they were entered under families of other castes to free them of the obligation to serve under the *Mahabadda*. The natural growth rate among the peelers seemed to be fairly low when compared with the other castes of the day.

The Dutch had endless trouble in holding the *Salāgama* caste people to their service obligations. The labour demanded from them were excessive and in the forests they were exposed to the vagaries of the weather and subjected to sickness. Therefore, the Dutch provided them with the service of physicians either from the same caste or from other castes as seen by the *tombo* entries.⁹⁰

Under the Dutch, the *Salāgama* caste headmen had immensely prospered both in wealth and in status. The new land policy was still

favourable to them. Many of them expanded their own cinnamon plantations at the expense of the service labour. Likewise their positions too had been raised. The *Maha Vidāne*, at the commencement of the Dutch rule had risen to *Maha Mudaliyār* at the end of their rule. By 1831 there were 8 *Mudaliyārs*, 22 *Muhandirams* of varying status and a host of other headmen to administer the functions of the department.⁹¹ Separate territorial regions were carved out to each *Mudaliyār* and *Muhandiram* and their authority rested only on the *Salāgama* caste people of the region, while the *Goyigama* caste territorial *Mudaliyārs* exercised control over the rest of the people.

The Dutch likewise utilized the caste system with its occupational divisions of the society to reap the economic benefits of the country with least expense, and also without disturbing the existing social order. Elephants, gems, pearls, chanks and arecanuts were some such important commodities of trade that were been traded by the Muslims and Hindu traders such as the Chettiyars who came from many parts of India. There were particular castes who specialized in catching elephants and taming them and in mining for gems as well as diving for chanks and pearl oysters.

Ever since the consolidation of the European hold in the littorals of Sri Lanka, they were trying to monopolize the sale of these commodities but were hesitant to engage in the carrying trade themselves. The elephants were bulky to be carried in the ships and many beasts died on the journey. Hence, they allowed the Indian traders to continue in trade and steps were taken to maintain a monopolistic hold over the trade. Hunting of the beasts were organized and regularized under the existing caste tenure services and the sale of beasts were confined to Galle, Mannar and Jaffna. This arrangement assured them not only the monopolistic hold over the elephant trade but also secured a regular supply of rice and other commodities needed for the natives as well as for the garrison at a cheaper rate.

The hunting, feeding and taming of elephants was a caste service and the trade was a royal monopoly. The matters connected with the elephants was handled by the *Kuruwe badda* of different groups of *Panikkiyās*, *Durāwe* or *Chandos*, *Kuruwe* people and the *Pannayās* scattered in many parts of the coastal belt. The *Panikkiyās* engaged in the catching of the wild beast and the *Kuruwe* people engaged in the highly dangerous task of noosing the elephant, with ropes and animal hides while the *Pannayās* provided the fodder for the animal. *Chandos*, or the *Durāwa*

caste people attended to these matters with the other groups in kraaling, taming and leading, the animals to the stables.

The people obliged to serve under the *Kuruwe badda* were enjoying lands for their services and were summoned, three times a year, each time for a month. Kraals were held in the elephant roaming wilderness of the Colombo and Matara districts and along the borders of the Vanni districts. Tamed cow-elephants were used in rounding up the wild beasts.

The Sri Lanka elephants were reputed to be the most intelligent and noblest of its kind and was sought by the Indian rulers and nobles to be used in war, for transporting heavy goods, and for ceremonial purposes on State occasions. The Portuguese king, by a royal decree issued on 3rd January 1612, ordered the continuation of the royal monopoly along with its complex social and land tenure organisation intact.⁹² But a change was unavoidable in view of the fact the social system was been controlled by a foreign power with aims different from those of the native rulers. In operation they could not adhere to the customary traditions and usages in all its strictness. The increasing demand from India for more elephants annually forced them to stretch the customary services to catch more elephants. To keep the extended services trouble free, honours and privileges were conferred on the headmen as well as the members of the caste. As in the case of the *Mahabadda* the *Kuruwe* chiefs were raised to *Maha Vidānes*, *Muhandirams* and *Mudaliyārs* in due course. However, with the decline of the trade in the latter part of the 18th century the importance given to the *Kuruwe badda* started dwindling, and the new positions created within the headmen system was suppressed one after the other with the demise of the holder. The people of the *Kuruwe badda* were allowed to engage in other vocations. A majority of them took to vocations connected with the fast expanding coconut industry as tappers, extractors of oil and makers of ropes etc.

The tendency during the Western rule in the littorals was to establish a direct control over the economically important *baddas* and to regulate their activities to extract more and more revenue, while the unimportant caste services were allowed to function on their own. Under the native rulers the respective *badda* chiefs were placed in subordination to the *Disāva* who managed and co-ordinated all activities within the *Disāvany* for the king. However, during the Portuguese period only Portuguese officials were appointed as *Disāvas* which the Dutch followed.

This made it necessary to appoint co-ordinating officials for each caste service who were placed directly under the main revenue officer. The *badda Vidānes* assisted by *Mohottālas*, *Kanakapullēs* and *Durayās* mobilized the labour services and collected the payment and dues from the subjects under their control. It was through the *Durayā* that the *Vidāne* kept contact with every householder of the caste overlooking the territorial headmen.

The *Karāwe* caste people were engaged in the coastwise trade along with the Muslim and Indian traders and were sailing to South Indian ports as well as Maldives in their boats while a section of the community engaged in the fishing industry. They were the first major caste to be converted to the Catholic religion under the Portuguese and were associating the foreigners closely and were enjoying certain privileges. The Portuguese mobilized their services for the transportation of government goods in their boats along the coastal towns and in the interior through the rivers and were placed along with the *Madige badda* of the Muslims. The Dutch compelled them to serve as rowers in the government boats and to serve in the government boatyard and the carpentry shed. Unlike the other castes *Karāwa* caste had many regional variations in their obligatory services to the Dutch. The *Nānāyakkārayās* were obliged to assist in the elephant hunt and to ford the beasts across the rivers. The *Kiyatkārayas* or the sawyers were obliged to saw the timber for the government use, the *Pedumkārayas* were to serve as rowers in the government boats and the *Panividakārayās* carried messages for the government. The fishermen were obliged to provide fish to the tables of the officials and to collect coral for the burning of lime. There were also the *Naindes* who carried luggage, and the *Oliyakkārayās* who carried palanquins. A sizable portion of the *Karāwa* caste people of Kalutara and Colombo served the Dutch as carpenters and sailors. The *Karāwa* fishermen of Dikwella were obliged to burn lime for the government and to attend to the construction of the bungalows and resthouses for the officials. The fishermen of Weligama had to erect arches ornament and decorate the resthouse and provide people for the kitchen.⁹³ They were also obliged to carry messages to passing ships, float timber along the river, to collect lime stones and to press coconut for oil for the government. When the coconut industry was expanding the Dutch compelled the *Karāwa* and the *Durāwa* castes to engage in the processing and extracting of coconut oil, tapping and drawing of toddy for distilling arrack. The economic importance of the caste varied from time to time and the positions of the headmen varied

accordingly. Thus by the middle of the 18th century the *Karāwa* and the *Durāwa* castes too had *Mudaliyārs* for their castes but towards the end of the Dutch rule such positions were gradually scrapped one after the other.⁹⁴

The Portuguese and the Dutch concentrated on the economically useful caste services within their administrative divisions. Apart from the obligatory services discussed above the caste services of the washermen the tom-tom beaters, and the smiths were useful to them. The *Radābadda* or the washermens' department was useful for them to provide linen for the resthouses, put up for the officers on circuit and for washing the clothes of the officials. As their services were indispensable to the company, for supplying information regarding the births and deaths, to the village authorities, their headmen's positions were raised and honoured. Even at the first half of the 19th century there was a *Mudaliyār* for the washers caste when except for the *Salāgamas* all other caste *Mudaliyārships* were terminated. The tom-tom beaters or the *Neketi* or the *Berawā* caste were obliged to promulgate the government orders by the beat of tom-tom. Therefore, their services were regulated and executed through their own *Vidānes* and *Muhandirams*. Potters or the *Baḍahela badda* were obliged to supply the necessary earthenware to the resthouses and burn tiles to cover roofs of resthouses and of schools.⁹⁵

Koṭṭalbadda or the *Navandanna* caste of the smiths, comprised of all kinds of artisans such as the blacksmiths, gold and silver smiths, stone polishers, painters, lacquerers, brass founders and carpenters etc., and were scattered over many parts of the Dutch territory. They were useful to the Dutch company as well as to the natives as they were producing the iron and turning out guns, spears, swords and other tools for military purposes and the utilitarian articles decorated with traditional motifs and patterns, door handles, hinges, locks, keys, kitchen utensils, for domestic purposes agricultural tools like mammites, rakes, sickles etc. for food production and the ornaments in gold, silver and other precious articles for personal use. They also had the engineering skills and the technical know-how in the traditional society. Therefore, steps were taken to mobilize their services for the government as well as for the needs of the society. They were placed under their own headmen in their localities, subjected to the overall command of *Disāve* and other higher officials. In the Galle Korale they were placed under the Superintendent and also of the Sahabandar. Governor, Van Rhee, found that jealous and differences were rampant among the officials and decided to place them only under the

Sahabandar.⁹⁶ The *Kottalbadda* people of Galle were excellent mechanics and artificers who turned out beautiful ornamented wax-boxes, combs etc. with tortoise shells and pins, rings, bracelets and other ornaments in gold and silver which attracted the attention of the visitors.⁹⁷

With the successful compilation of the *tombos* and on the strength of the information gathered through the *tombo* compilation, the Dutch managed to make use of the obligatory services of the different castes and groups of people for the betterment of the company. The people who did the function of barbers or *Ambāttayās* were compelled to shave the officials on duty visiting the village. The washermen were compelled to wash the clothes and provide linen for the use of the officials, when they were staying in the resthouse. The *Gamarāla* or the village chief was to provide the food. For the convenience of those officials in circuits a host of attendants were harnessed to perform other duties such as of baggage carriers, torch bearers, palanquin bearers and messengers. For these service the Dutch drew members from all castes, gave different names such as *Nainde*, *Oliyakkāraya*, *Sellakkāraya* and Coolies and treated them as of minor importance. Many of the castes which did not stand in support of the main economic needs were thus compelled to serve in other categories. They were obliged to attend daily for the performance of labour to state, and separate master-rolls and *tombos* of such people were kept by the *Disāve*.⁹⁸ The continuation of the service obligation such as the palanquin-bearers, *talpat*-holders, torch-bearers and of other services were not only economically advantageous, but were also politically beneficial to the alien masters. In the adjoining Kandyan kingdom such services were utilized not only for the personal comforts of the king and of the higher officials, but also to create a sense of dignity and authority among the ruling class and to create a sense of subservience and obedience in the minds of the common man. Likewise, the continuation and manipulation of such other services from a selected group from the broad stratum of the society, helped the Western powers to assert and maintain a sense of their own authority, superiority, and power in the minds of the people. Thus the foundation for a stratified society was laid in the course of their rule. The transformation brought about by the enforcement of economic and political goals of the alien powers brought about social changes leading to the compartmentalisation of vocations and services and also to the stratification of the society.

There was yet another category of people who swelled in numbers, due to their being drawn from all castes, namely the *lascarins*. The term

lascarin, derived from the Persian word "lashkar", denoted a soldier. The *lascarins* or the native soldiers armed with swords and spears were used originally by the Portuguese for military purposes. During the Dutch period their numbers swelled, and were used for various purposes such as for guard duty and carrying messages and letters from one post to the other. As their work was lighter and less oppressive than that of the coolies and were endowed with lands and sometimes free rations, large numbers attempted to enter the *lascarin* service through the connivance of the headmen. The *lascarin* lists were maintained by the *Disāve* and the groups of *lascarins* or *rantjes* were organised under the command of the *Mudaliyārs* and *Arachchies*. Governor Schreuder noted that the number of *lascarins* have increased in disproportionately large numbers than the other tenants-by-service, and ordered the *Disāve* to examine the lists carefully and transfer the non *lascarins* to their legitimate duties.⁹⁹

To the already existing list of services the Dutch also added the 'Extra Ordinary Service' for which important functions and duties such as espionage in the Kandyan areas and providing confidential information on developments within the Dutch territories were entrusted. Trustworthy and faithful people from all castes were included in this category and sometimes even the Dancers and *Oli* caste people seem to have been included.¹⁰⁰ *Saffremados* were yet another group, especially carved out of the *Goyigama* caste for such special services. They were appointed subsequently as Commissioners for the inspection of fields and gardens and for carrying out imperial missions, and also officiating at the Gate of the Governor and of the *Disāve*.¹⁰¹ Likewise, there emerged a category of freemen who were doing no service to the state from many of the castes.¹⁰² There was another category of service created only on extra-ordinary occasions called *Porreweddikāreas* of three different kinds. The *lascarin* *Porreweddikāreas*, belonging to the *lascarin* families, could only become a *lascarin* at the death of a *lascarin* member of the family, and in the meantime performed other duties such as transportation of timber, and were engaged on duty at the elephant hunts. There were the *Mayoraal* *Porreweddikāreas*, who in a similar manner, entitled to the *Mayoraal* service, engaged in the transportation of timber and assisted at the elephant hunts and attended to the cutting of firewood for the gun-powder mill. They were also to supply medicinal herbs to the company's apothecary's shop. The third category was the *Dutepaimini* *Weddekāreas* who could be pressed into service where ever they found them. They were employed in any service other than carrying the palanquins. These *Porreweddikāreas*

were drawn from the *Goyigama*, *Karāwa* and the *Durāwa* castes and had regional differences in the service conditions while they did not receive any *accommodessans* while they were not in service.¹⁰³

The Dutch policy of enforcing new services on castes which were of less significance to their economic and political goals made the caste services more complicated. The Dutch tried to enhance free labour service needed for the multifarious duties connected with expanding coconut plantations and other cash crops and for the felling of timber and their transportation to the government work sites and carpentry sheds, to dig and transport cabook for the constructional purposes and to provide firewood and charcoal for powder-mills. The majority thus compelled to serve in those services, were from castes which the Dutch had identified as of minor importance. But even some sections of the more important castes were also obliged to serve in this other work.

Thus, due to the needs arising from the requirements of labour services, steps were taken to restrict the movements of even of the castes categorised as of minor importance. However, by then, the European activities had escalated the process of the emergence of marketing places of the less important groups in search of new vocations to free themselves from the obligatory services. By a restriction imposed on 15th August 1663, people had been compelled to report to the headman in advance of such migrations. The non reporting of such migrations were subjected to severe punishment. By a *Plakkaat*¹⁰⁴ issued on 18th August 1686, restrictions had been imposed on leaving villages without cultivating their lands in time. They were not to sell or mortgage their lands to others.¹⁰⁵ By a Regulation of 12th September 1703, a native taking abode in another village had to obtain a licence from the headmen.¹⁰⁶

The marriage laws enforced by the Dutch defined the social position of the children and were endowed with the legal right of inheritance to the property of the parents. The marriages solemnized in the Dutch Reformed Churches were legally acknowledged and the traditional mode of cohabitation through mutual understanding of the two parties, which the natives had been long accustomed to were not recognized, and the children born to such parties were entered in the *tombos* as illegitimate.¹⁰⁷ The caste of the children born to parents of two different castes were defined in terms of the lower of the two.

The nature of the dress to be worn by the different castes was defined by a *Plakkaat* issued on 18th August 1686.¹⁰⁹ The deviation from the prescribed dress was subjected to heavy punishment. The distinction of the dress was further elaborated by a resolution adopted by the Political Council on 4th August 1758.¹¹⁰ Certain castes were permitted to wear coats and curved combs, to use palanquins, to use parasols, to have servants attending them on with umbrellas or *talpat*. The dress prescribed for the Christians was different from that of the Buddhists of the same caste.¹¹¹ The people took special care to maintain these distinctions and the assumption of such marks of distinction by a person not entitled for his caste was beaten and taken before a Magistrate as a criminal.¹¹²

With the gradual Europeanisation and sub-urbanisation, people were getting accustomed to the wearing of European dress. This helped them to change the caste obligations to which they were bound to. Therefore, steps were taken to prevent persons wearing European dress by enforcing the provisions of a Resolution of 11th October 1759.¹¹³ To wear a European dress a native had to produce a certificate under the Burgher Act.

The caste services of Tamil speaking areas of north were also subjected to change. The Portuguese and the Dutch who ruled over these areas utilized the caste services for their economic exploitation and for the needs of the administration. People were compelled to pay taxes for gardens, trees and their produce in addition to the obligatory labour service. According to Governor, Thomas Van Rhee (1692-1697) there were 40 different castes in the area.¹¹⁴ But, on a close examination of the list it becomes evident that some of the castes so named were the different vocations to which the people had got accustomed to. *Vellāla* caste was the most numerous and honoured, and also economically the more powerful caste. They were the patrons of the *Kōvils* in which the *Brahmins* served as the priests. Every *Vellāla* caste person was obliged to work free for the Company for 12 days a year and to pay 2 *fanams* as poll-tax and 1 *fanam* as *Adigari* tax; a tax paid in the past to the *Adigār* when they were functioning. Later, the Dutch discontinued this tax. The *Carreās* or the fisher caste were obliged to serve as sailors in the Company's ships and boats for 12 days a year, free, and to pay 2 *fanams* as poll-tax. A bitter and irreconcilable hatred existed between the *Vellāla* and *Madapaly* castes and the Dutch carefully followed a policy of elevating one of these castes above the other.¹¹⁵

One commodity in which the Dutch interested themselves in the Tamil speaking areas, were the choya roots. Its supply was not a obligatory service of the natives. With difficulty, the digging of choya roots were entrusted as a statutory service on the people in the area where they were grown, with special *Adigārs* and overseers appointed to supervise them. But, in the Trincomalee district the people refused to dig them as it was not their customary service.¹¹⁶

The seeds of disorganisation in the institution of caste and in the service tenure system in the littorals of Sri Lanka, had been sown during the Portuguese and Dutch rule. In due course the simple tenurial system of *paraveni* was lost and complexities developed in practice giving way to the different classes of paravenies. The alienation of the *Gabadāgam* and the emergence of a non service tenure through gifts, grants, sales and exemptions to individuals and the birth of a landed proprietary class and an absentee landlordism with private property rights of selling or sub-letting and the commutation of service for payment in kind and money confused the existing order. The land was gradually becoming a marketable commodity. The evolutionary process of a social institution is smooth and gradual under normal circumstances and such change is hardly noticeable to a contemporary viewer. But such change in an alien context, control and direction, seem to be quick and noticeable and sometimes even drastic.

With the compilation of the *tombos* the majority of the landholders acquired a prescriptive right under three generations of undisturbed possession. The fragmentation of the cultivable land was inevitable due to the hereditary rights enforced and the restrictions laid on the clearance of forest lands. Within a few generations the majority of the land holdings of the peasants became uneconomical due to sub-division of the cultivated land among its members and the inevitable fragmentation followed. On the other hand, these land holders, who were obliged to pay a share of the produce as the tenants' right of possession with the obligation of service, would appear to have been admitted.¹¹⁷ Other confusing additions to tenurial technicalities arose in due course making the indigenous system highly complicated.

British Period

The British inherited this metamorphosed system in 1796 in which there were three distinguishable categories of land tenures, namely (1) the

land of which the government had retained immediate possession, (2) the non-service tenures and (3) the service tenure.¹¹⁸ These lands broadly fell into two categories, the fields and the gardens. There were six types of fields on which the Government had retained immediate possession, namely, (1) the *Mutteṭṭu* lands which were granted annually or for longer periods to be cultivated for half the produce for Government, (2) the *Ratninda* lands administered like the *Mutteṭṭu* receiving half the produce for the Government, (3) the *Ratmahara* lands, the waste and jungle lands granted on condition of cultivating them within three years for a portion of the produce varying from 1/4 to 1/10, (4) the *Chēnas* or temporary clearings of jungles on permit for 1/10 of the produce or without permit for 1/2 the produce, (5) the *Malapālu* lands granted on tenure of personal services, but which reverted to the government on failure of or non availability of a male issue to perform the prescribed service, (6) the *Nilapālu* lands, granted for individuals for life on prescribed services but which reverted to the government with the demise of the holder. From both *Malapālu* and *Nilapālu* lands, the government received half the produce as its share. There were extensive government gardens planted with coconut, rented on annual payment for 10 years or so. Apart from these coconut plantations, there were the *Bandāra* lands planted by individuals who were entitled for the planter's share of one fourth or one third of the produce.

The non-service tenure included in those land were held free of personal service obligations but were liable to a certain share of the produce to the government. This category included the *Otu* paying 1/10 of the produce, *Andē*, half of the produce and *Ōviṭa* 1/5 of the produce to the government, from the fields. *Tunhaul* gardens, which was granted, on condition that 1/3 of the land should be planted with the crop prescribed by the Dutch for the use of the company for an agreed payment, was granted accordingly.

The service tenure lands granted on condition of receiving personal service from the holders were indivisible, could not be sold, mortgaged or willed away by the holders, nor could they be seized for debts.¹¹⁹ There were two kinds of such lands, the *Paraveni* and *Accommodessans*. The *Paraveni* included the *Ninda* and *Divel* lands. The lands granted to persons who held places of trust, either in Civil or Military service were commonly known as *Accommodessans*. When the government could not apportion crown lands for such service, a certain portion of the land belonging to the officer exempted from tax in lieu of such service.

Thus the original single sense of the term *Paraveni* was lost and confusing conditions to tenurial technicalities arose in due course to the indigenous system making it highly complicated. This was very evident from the diverse answers received by Colebrooke in 1830 in his investigations from the various collectors in response to his question No. 28 on tenurial and inheritance system.¹²⁰

The Madras officials of the East India Company in order to assimilate the administrative and revenue systems, abolished the service tenure system in 1796, and resumed the *Accommodessans* and discontinued the obligatory service attached to *Divel Paraveni* lands and rendered them alienable, disposable by will, and heritable by males and females and subjected it to a tax of half the produce.¹²¹ Thus the occupants were made the actual owners and the service lands became *Andē Paraveni* lands. By this step the British expected to reduce the influence of the headmen on the one hand, and on the other hand hoped to encourage agriculture by giving the ownership of lands and a permanent interest in its improvement, and to get an increase in the land revenue.¹²²

However, these innovations and arbitrary deprivation of property were shortlived and the experience of the rebellion of 1797 and the findings of the Committee of Investigation made them to reverse the new system. By a proclamation of 3rd July 1798, the *Naynde paraveni* and *Accommodessan* system was re-established with services under the customs and usages that were in force.¹²³ But due to official apathy and ideological differences, the resumption policy was not fully enforced.

Frederick North (1798-1805), the new Governor was not in favour of the service tenure, and by a Proclamation dated 3rd May 1800,¹²⁴ permitted the service tenure holders to commute such service for the payment of 1/10 the produce of the highlands and 1/4 of the lowlands. At the same time the government upheld the power of enforcing the people to work, under payment at the rate of labour in the chief towns of the district, in case of a necessity. By a subsequent Proclamation of 3rd September 1801,¹²⁵ the obligation of service on tenure of land was discontinued and the lands held free of duty in service, were subjected to 1/10 of the produce on high lands and 1/5 on lowlands. *Malapālu*, *Nilapālu*, and *Ratninda* land holders were ordered to pay 1/4 of the produce with effect from 1st May 1802. North's vision was not matched by a corresponding ability to carry his reforms through to fruition. Often

he tried to do too much too fast. The changes he made in the tenure and in the abolition of *rājakāriya* system were premature and had to be revised by his successor. Forced labour was anathema to North's liberal principles, but cash wages were insufficiently attractive bait to tempt the native labour on public work.

North also did away with the services rendered as *Accommodessans*, and the holders were ordered to get their lands registered with the Registrar of the district. But, however, due to the unavailability of accurate *Accommodessan* Registers, the officials could not identify the particular lands and their connected services and in many cases neither their extent nor their location could be ascertained correctly. However, by Regulation No. 8 of 1809,¹²⁶ Governor Maitland took steps to secure reversionary rights to service lands. The privilege of gifting and selling etc. was withdrawn by a Government Gazette Notification, dated 18th October 1809.

As it has been seen the service based on land tenure ranged from mere ceremonial trivialities to the most responsible services of war and peace. However, its foundation was shattered by the Proclamation of 3rd September 1801, which abolished service tenure in favour of a direct tax on the produce of the service land. But the same Proclamation reserved and re-affirmed the right of the government to compel the services of the inhabitants according to their respective castes at the express orders of the Governor and for the receipt of an adequate payment. The customary compulsory service was now given a statutory sanction.¹²⁷

North expected the necessary labour for government service without any compulsion and the wages were fixed at the rate of four *fanams* a day.¹²⁸ By an earlier Proclamation, issued on 13th March 1799, the exacting of provisions and the impressment of Coolies from among the natives by European travellers was restricted, by defining the customary service categories within which they could demand such service by fixing prices and rates of payments. North himself dropped the practice of receiving supplies *gratis* from the people of the area when he was on circuit. However, these regulations seem to have not been adhered to and according to the numerous petitions received by the Colebrooke Commissioners in their investigations of 1829-1830, the headmen and the officials continued the practice of enforcing the natives to provide free labour and provisions free of charge.¹²⁹

In place of the services of *Divel paraveni*, North created a Pioneer Corps, mainly of Indian Coolies, a paid labour gang of bricklayers, carpenters and artificers of every description, and placed them under the various Collectors. In 1804, during the Kandyan war, the Pioneers were formed into one corps, and transferred them from civil to military control. Since, the expenses swelled in due course, Maitland, reduced the numbers and attached them to different regiments. Subsequently, Barnes, made use of them for the construction of roads and bridges under the Royal Engineers.

The British activities in Sri Lanka commenced at a time when capitalism was fast expanding in Europe with the increased production of Industrial Revolution glutting the markets, and the ideologies of mercantilism and protected markets, making their way to free trade and competition were inculcated in the new theory of *laissez-faire*. The Utilitarians and Benthamites, cried for individual freedom in operation, uniformity in action and equality of all before law. The Methodist humanitarians resented the social inequality, and cried for social justice, freedom of speech, thought, and action. In a caste feudal society, where hand and foot were bound by tradition, capitalism could not survive.

The majority of the British officials who came to Sri Lanka were influenced by these new thoughts that were gaining ground in Europe, inspired by the spirit of the War of American Independence, of the French Revolution, of their achievements and in the escalation of liberal concepts. The officials were not happy with the continuation of the ethics of caste feudalism, modified to suit the socio-political and economic needs of the Western powers. They were against the compulsory labour based on land and caste. They thought that only the introduction of European Institutions could offer them redress.

However, these officials were compelled by local circumstances to maintain and adhere to the caste services based on land tenure. As seen earlier, the Proclamation of 1801 abolished the service tenure but reserved for the Crown the right to caste services on adequate payment. The Regulation No. 18 of 1806,¹³⁰ specified the right to the services of persons of lower castes to the higher castes in the Jaffna peninsula. The clothing and wearing of ornaments by the native headmen were regulated on caste basis by Regulation No. 6 of 1809.¹³¹ In 1808, Governor Maitland, withdrew the payment for caste service, and fresh conditions were im-

posed on the obligation to keep roads, bridges and canals in repair, gratuitously. At the beginning, the demand for such labour was not heavy and they were mostly used for public works which immediately benefited those who contributed the labour.

The various regulations and administrative measures adopted by the British in the first three decades of the nineteenth century were designed to regularise and minimise the effects of compulsory labour and not to abolish its obligations. The compulsory labour was seen to be economically wasteful and oppressive to the inhabitants, when it was applied to the construction of roads and to service in military operations, as Coolies. Men were drawn from their occupations abruptly and then they could not attend properly to their personal needs. The cultivators were taken from their fields during the periods of sowing and reaping or when requiring watching and watering; the fishermen with their boats, before they could salt or dry their fish properly. Often, this obligation fell heavily on the poorer classes and in the decade ending 1830 in the Colombo district alone, an annual average of some 93,525 day labourers or about 300 a day had been called out on compulsory road, canal and bridge construction services.¹³²

When the British rule was introduced to Sri Lanka the acceptance of the laws of the previous government had become an established principle. The Civil Servants who held judicial appointments in the newly established formal courts, empowered to hear and determine disputes of the natives, according to the customary laws and the usages of the caste of the litigants,¹³³ had at best, only an imperfect understanding of the people, even if they acquired a knowledge of the local conditions. In hearing such cases, rules of caste had to be taken into consideration, but there were hardly any written laws of the majority, the Sinhalese as the rule of castes had been determined by tradition. The codified laws of the Tamils - *Tesavallamai*, given judicial recognition in 1806, seem to have created many problems to the judges, than it solved.¹³⁴ The codes did not always make their path clear, they were silent in some areas, ambiguous in others, and obsolete in yet other areas. Hence, the judicature was forced to explore other avenues to elucidate and supplement the codified law.

The Provincial Courts established in 1802 and which continued up to 1833, were empowered to settle caste matters. The court was presided over by a British Civil Servant, assisted in the establishment by a Burgher

Secretary and a few clerks and an interpreter *Mudaliyār*, a native. The procedure in administering the court and the admission of evidence, was modelled on British lines. No official instructions were issued in adjudicating disputes over caste matters, and no codifications of customary laws were attempted. The Provincial Court of Colombo had an advisor each on customary laws of the Muslims, the *Goyigama* and the *Vellāla* castes. None of the other castes, or Provincial Courts, received such advisors. The majority of the cases that had come for adjudication had been against government officials for alleged violations of the customary law.¹³⁵ From the information received by Colebrooke, from the judges in 1830, it is clear that some judges had decided such cases, on the strength of the evidence presented before them, or on the interpretation provided by the interpreter,¹³⁶ while some others had found, technical points, sufficient to dismiss the case.¹³⁷ Some had considered themselves authorized not to take notice of caste unless it was pointed out in the pleadings.¹³⁸ These decisions had gone on record and had been quoted as precedence by others. The result was that the traditional law was undergoing a transformation.

The British had sought from the very beginning to build their own unique institutional apparatus and to transfer the powers of original authority from the hands of the traditional elements to those whose allegiance was unquestionable to the rulers. The judiciary was one such essential part of the institutional framework in which they accomplished their cherished goal. It was not without clashes that the judiciary performed its role with the executive upholding the freedom of individuals on cherished norms, inherent in the British judiciary.

There were at least two instances before 1832 on which the Supreme Court of Sri Lanka, had upheld the freedom of the individual in direct contravention with the tradition of caste. In 1818, the Supreme Court, convicted a *Mudaliyar* of the *Durāwa* caste, of illegally impressing a labourer who had deserted the cooly work.¹³⁹ This was at the height of the Great Rebellion of Kandy, and in a critical hour of harnessing the Coolies services, for transporting materials to the war front. The *Mudaliyār* arrested the deserter in the garden of a Burgher and was beaten and charged for deserting the work place. The Puisne Judge, William Coke, argued in terms of British law, regarding imprisonment of persons and declared the whole procedure, illegal. Thereupon Governor Brownrigg, argued that the Supreme Court decision would tend to "subvert the established customs of the colony" and enforced Regulation, No, 5 of 1818, authorising the

headmen to arrest and employ any such deserter who violated his caste obligation as a cooly.¹⁴⁰

The second incident took place in Jaffna against a conviction by the Collector, as the Justice of Peace, of a slave, making use of the palanquin of his master. The Supreme Court, acting in accordance with the 82nd clause of the Charter of Justice of 1801. quashed the conviction as illegal.¹⁴¹ The Governor, set aside the decision of the Supreme Court and enacted, Regulation No. 2 of 1821, giving the Magistrate the descretionary power to inflict corporal punishment on slaves convicted of misdemeanour.¹⁴²

When the caste system was getting transformed with the socio-political change of the day the *Salāgama* caste continued to enjoy the same privileges granted to them by the Dutch up to the early years of British rule. Both Agnew and De Meuron, the members of the Committee of Investigation of 1797, cautioned about their independence of all authority. In 1802, the "great and unconscionable privileges" were however, withdrawn.¹⁴³ When service tenures were abolished the *Salāgama* caste continued to enjoy *accommodessans* and service tenure lands.¹⁴⁴ Subsequently in 1823, the peelers were paid on piece rate of 1 1/2 to 3 3/4 per lb. according to the quality of cinnamon they peeled.¹⁴⁵ Their period of service was also reduced to 5 1/2 months provided they could produce the usual quantity allocated, but as the quality and quantity of the cinnamon was raised the majority of them had to wait in the jungles for 8 to 9 months a year.¹⁴⁶ Their conditions of service did not improve though their privileges were gradually withdrawn one after the other. They had to endure severe hardships and the risk of endemic fever in the jungles. In 1827 alone, out of 2,100 peelers employed 300 died in the Kandyan jungles.¹⁴⁷ Although native medical attendance was provided, and pensions to families in case of death on duty, the one was inefficient the other insufficient.¹⁴⁸ Only a few could supply the allocated quota of cinnamon and often their wives and children had to help in the peeling. Sometimes they purchased cinnamon from the Kandyans at higher rates to avoid the long sojourn in the fever stricken jungles. The punishments enforced on them were in all cases corporal and J. W. Maitland, the Superintendent, in 1814, noted his experience thus. "It has been not only a painful and disagreeable, but disgusting part of my duty, to punish individuals for disobedience or neglecting to perform a task imposed on them against their inclinations".¹⁴⁹

The increase of labour and hardship in the cinnamon department compelled some, who were forcibly drawn to the cinnamon peeling, to abandon such compulsion. In 1814 some *Hinnavās* of Potupitiya refused to work in the cinnamon plantations on the pretext that they do not belong to the *Mahabadda*. The Superintendent flogged and compelled them to obey his orders on the strength of the Dutch Resolution of 1753. On an appeal made to the Governor, he re-affirmed the Dutch regulation which defined the legitimacy of the marriage law. In order to attract more and more cinnamon peelers, the Dutch, defined the offsprings, legitimate or illegitimate of a union between a *Salāgama* caste person with a member of another caste, creating a class called *Differencikārayas*, obliged to serve in the cinnamon department.¹⁵⁰ Thus it is evident that compulsory customary service gave legal sanction to, and therefore, petrified, the social distinction of caste.¹⁵¹ Colebrooke was critical about these conditions and remarked thus. "Independently of the injustices and severity of the existing regulations and the great expense incurred by the government the profit derived from the monopoly is in no degree proportioned to the injury it has done to the inhabitants."¹⁵²

Therefore, Colebrooke recommended the abolition of the *Mahabadda* department the sale or lease of the government cinnamon plantations at low rates, and in small lots, and allowing the free collection of cinnamon in the Jungles, and allowing free sale of cinnamon to individuals, and the repeal of the cinnamon code. Free trade in cinnamon would encourage private enterprise, improve the wages, accumulation of capital in the lands of the people, and bring more land under cinnamon cultivation, individuals concentrating on the production and sale of a natural product instead of on artificially encouraged exotics.¹⁵³

Governor Barnes who was totally against the abolitionist view of the Commissioners, in his last year of Governorship, tried to establish the voluntary principle of procuring hired labourers for the cinnamon department.¹⁵⁴ A labour force of 660 men was recruited, without reference to caste at 6d. per day with much ease. By this measure he expected to diminish the influence of the *Salāgama* headmen, to weaken the prejudices of caste, and to increase the efficiency, of the *Mahabadda*. However, by this time cultivation of cinnamon plantations were nearly complete, and the production was assured, without arduous search for the crop in the jungles, and a small permanent labour force was sufficient to keep the cultivation in order. Governor Horton, who succeeded Barnes was

instructed in England to adhere to a gradual abolitionist policy, declared that "compulsory labour without adequate pecuniary compensation in the form of wages will be forthwith abolished", and such compulsion would be enforced only, if voluntary labour could not be procured.¹⁵⁵ He ordered the Collectors to encourage voluntary labour for public purpose, and only to resort to compulsion, as the last resort, and instructed them to submit such lists to him.

However, both Barnes' and Horton's experiments were mainly on the Maritime provinces where the impact of a money economy was strong and the modernisation trend has set in. But in the Kandyan areas the situation was different. The implementation of such projects in the Kandyan area were cautioned for two reasons. Firstly "the whole native machinery of the internal government" had been "created by the exaction of personal services." the abrogation of which would "necessarily leave the country without a police, and without the means of carrying in all those details of judicial and executive duty, which were provided for, in other countries by Municipal and local regulations, for the protection of property and the preservation of the public peace." Secondly, the compulsory service was "so interwoven with other institutions of the country, the interest of the chiefs, and the maintenance of their religious establishments, that its abrupt abolition would occasion disruption."¹⁵⁶ He further argued that with the relinquishment of the feudal claims, the chiefs of the temples would ask for immediate help of the government, to improve their conditions. Thus for him the *Rājakāriya* service was unavoidable, and he proposed to introduce a subtle alteration in the form of a local tax on land; either payable in money, or commuted to personal service.

While the Governors were experimenting and enforcing these gradualistic reforms, Colebrooke laid before the Secretary of State for the Colonies, Goderich, a confidential report completely condemning the compulsory labour,¹⁵⁷ in addition to his General Report on the administration recommending the immediate and complete abolition of *Rājakāriya* system and proposed to carry out the construction work on hired labour. Lord Goderich identified that the "real spirit" of the Proclamation of 1801 had been evaded, and that in fact, the tax had been exacted "as well as the labour", and took immediate steps to order, prompt and complete abolition. An Order in Council of 12th April 1832 repealed all proclamations, regulations and laws relating to compulsory service and declared that no native should be liable to any service which the Europeans were not bound

to serve on account of land tenure and caste.¹⁵⁸ But however, these provisions did not affect the *Vihāra* and *Dēvālagam* and the *Nindagams*. The Order-in Council abolishing the *Rājākāriya* and caste service was enforced from September 1832, but however, its spirit was not visible in its operation.

In the Kandyan Provinces the king enjoyed the supreme right over the land and caste services. Tenure by service survived in its archaic form in the Kandyan Kingdom. "The country being wholly it's" said Robert Knox, in the seventeenth century, "the king farms out his land not for money, but service."¹⁵⁹ Some served the king in his wars, some in their trades, some as labourers and the others as farmers. In short, every land-owner owed some personal service, trivial or important, to the king.¹⁶⁰ The nobility and the religious institutions enjoyed such services alienated to them by the king. Through the mechanism of *Rājākāriya*, the king directed the revenues and services based on land and caste, for the welfare of the state.

The *Kada Rājākāriya*, or the pingo duty, was an annual duty, imposed on land held by the occupants, except on those alienated under various services such as the *Nindagama* for the chiefs, *Vihāras* and *Dēvālayas*, the king's personal attendants such as *Atapattu* people and *Dukgannārālas*. For the collection of *Kada Rājākāriya* the whole paddy sowing extent, was measured into units in terms of *Kat* or pingo loads. The *Kada Rājākāriya*, was paid chiefly in rice and in some instances in money and in other produce.¹⁶¹

The abandoned lands and the lands without claimants, reverted to the crown. King also had the supreme right over most of the forest lands in the Kingdom. The *Tahanchikele* or the prohibited forests, protected for security reasons were strictly interdicted, and people were not allowed to collect even firewood. There were other forest lands reserved and looked after for strategic purposes. There was yet another category of forests the appurtenances of villages which were generally used by the natives for *Chēna* cultivation. However, no one was allowed to convert such forests for paddy lands without the express permission of the king through one of his *Adigārs*. Thus, it is safe to conclude, that there was no right to land, independent of the king and that he had supreme right over the land.

The lands cultivated and habitable were divided into several divisions. *Gabaḍāgam*, were organized to serve the needs of the king and

were dispersed throughout the kingdom as villages or small holdings of a village and were cultivated for the king. A royal village generally contained the *Mutteṭṭuwa*, the fertile portion cultivated for the king and the *Nilapanguwa*, or service share held by the tenants. The tenants held their share of land so long as they remained cultivating the *Mutteṭṭu* land and rendering the other service based on caste. The lands allotted to the *Radala* or nobility were called *Nindagama*. There were two categories of *Nindagam*, the *Paraveni Nindagama* and the *Sāramāru Nindagama*. When the king donates hereditary tenures, they were called *Paraveni Ninda*; and when it was on temporary tenure it was called the *Sāramār Ninda*. The composition of a *Nindamaga* was similar to a *Gabaḍāgama* and contained *Mutteṭṭu* and *Pangu* lands or shares allotted to various castes. The *Nindagama* holder had both civil and criminal jurisdiction over all inferior cases which arose among the inhabitants of the village.

The British inherited this system in 1815, but they found it cumbersome from an administrative and unremunerative from a revenue point of view. Many of the services were useless or obsolete, and the demands of government rendered a considerable number of those owing them superfluous.¹⁶² Furthermore, they were faced with a moral and political dilemma in formulating a policy. They were influenced by the advancing utilitarian capitalism and the evangelical lobbying of Wilberforce. These ideological considerations forced them to consider the continuation of the system of land tenure and caste services as being despicable, but political consideration arising out of the Kandyan Convention forced them to maintain the Kandyan system intact.¹⁶³ This dichotomy led to the dislocation of the Kandyan social structure and land tenure without fundamentally altering it.

The Kandyan rebellion of 1817-1818 provided the anticipated opportunity for a change. The clauses 17 to 32 of the Proclamation of 21st November 1818, accomplished in the Kandyan provinces what North's Proclamation of 3rd September 1801 had effected in the littorals of Sri Lanka. Tenure by service was virtually abolished, and in place of the holders obligation to perform personal service, a tax of one tenth of the produce of paddy lands were substituted. The lands, attendants and tenants of the chiefs, were exempted from tax and service, when he was in service. *Badda Nilamēs* or the heads of caste departments were abolished. This loosened the interconnections that had existed between caste and the administrative system. Except for road service and a very few caste

services, gratuitous services were abolished. The government however, reserved the right to obtain services according to caste and tenure of land in return for payment. It also asserted the right to substitute services of greater utility to the government. The former system was, however, allowed to continue in the villages allotted to the *Disāve's* service *Kaṭupulle* and *Atapattu* departments and Temples. Subsequently, in 1821, the calling out of the inhabitants for labour was prohibited without the sanction of the Governor. The nett result was a partial transformation of the old order, but the people were hemmed between the two sets of authorities.

The provisions of clause 30 of the Proclamation of 21st November 1818, was applied in the construction of public works, particularly roads, and the meaning of the clause was undoubtedly strained beyond the interpretation which the obligation of customary service had borne in the days of the Sinhala monarchy; its exercise was stretched to lengths which could never have been contemplated previously. The duty of putting up and repairing roads and bridges, being a gratuitous service, falling on each particular district, the service was allotted among the inhabitants upon the old Kandyan land tenure. Each holding of land, called a *Mulpanguwa*, had to furnish a labourer for the purpose, at call. As there was no statistical record by which the service could be apportioned among the proprietors according to the value of the produce of each man's estate, the liability was made uniform without reference either to the extent of the *Panguwa* or to the number of people participating in their property in it. When there was only one proprietor, he had himself to serve or to find a substitute but a *Panguwa* was normally jointly owned, and the choice of the individual to represent it in such cases was left to private arrangement among the several proprietors themselves.

The Colombo-Kandy road was begun in 1820 and within a few years other connecting chains of roads to Kandy commenced their construction work. For the construction of these roads the full realizable force of labour was drawn from the districts, in two alternative divisions, and they relieved each other every week or fortnight. When the construction work was complete the *Pangu* proprietors were formed into four or five divisions as the case came to be, and called out in turn for repair and maintenance work. In either case, such labourers neither received provisions, nor payments, during the period of service. To attend to their cultivation they were released from service for a period of two months.¹⁶⁴

For public works other than the work of roads the provision referring to caste and customs in clause 30 of the Proclamation of November 1818 was enforced. Such services included the felling of timber, carpentry and washing etc.; it was confined to limits of the district; and was for fifteen days at a time for which their lands were exempted from tax. The services of *Atapattus*, in providing personal security and retinues to a chief, and the carrying of messages by *Kaṭupulla* people and performance of menial and domestic work for the chiefs, by men of inferior castes, was also not affected. For the convenience of the performance of the services the *Atapattu* people were divided into three reliefs each serving twenty days at a time. The *Kaṭupulle* service were performed in two relief batches. On normal circumstances, these two categories of people had to find their own food while they were serving; but on special occasions the chief fed them.

The *Nindagama* organisation began to disintegrate as a result of the impact of the Proclamation of 21st November 1818. When Brownrigg introduced the Grain Tax in substitution for service, the *Nilakārayas* claimed that the lord should pay it or forfeit their claims on them. Some tenants paid the grain tax and tried to emancipate themselves from their vassalage; while some *Nindagam* holders paid the tax, some others abandoned their property in silence.¹⁶⁵ The grain tax introduced immediately after the suppression of the rebellion were carried to extremities in an effort to reduce the influence of the chiefs, and so were declared as a substitute for all other dues and taxes.

Likewise the *Vihāra Dēvalagam* tenants, were called upon to perform *Rājakāriya* service, though they were exempted from the grain tax. The *Diyawadana Nilame* and the *Basnāyake Nilame* and the priests repeatedly objected to this and represented matters to the effect that such enforcement, interfered with the appropriation of the service to the *Vihāres* and *Dēvalēs*.¹⁶⁶

Rājakāriya, developed into a very complicated system in the Kandyan Provinces within a few years under the British. As seen earlier *Rājakāriya* obligations were enforced unequally and the payment in terms of the exemption of land from taxation was uneven. The chiefs and headmen, who were entrusted with the responsibility of collecting, supplying and supervising the labour for road service, themselves were not contributing the labour along with their followers. Similarly the men of *Katupulle*

and *Atapattu* and the cinnamon departments were not called for the duty on roads. The result was an extremely unequal incidence of the service on the inhabitants of a district. This was clearly shown by the Revenue Commissioner, George Turnour, that out of 2,310 *Mulpangu* in the Four *Kōralēs* in 1828, as many as 1,256 were exempted from the road service the entire duty fell on 1,054 *Mulpangu*. Further, the exempted portion comprised the major lands, and according to Turnours' estimates the obligatory duty was borne by those who possessed only one third of the lands in the district.¹⁶⁷ In addition the men performing the same sort of duty could not receive the same advantage from the exemption from the land tax if their holdings, were not of similar extent and productivity.¹⁶⁸

The enforcement of *Rājakāriya* service on a continuous road construction programme resulted in serious evils. The local headmen were responsible for supplying the necessary labourers on pain of fine. The distribution of quotas and the summoning of persons were left to the headmen. This unequal distribution of labour opened the way for bribery, favouritism and influence. Services were often diverted to private objects.¹⁶⁹ According to the Agent of Four *Kōralēs* the road service interfered with all their occupations, retarded every little project of improvement, and limited their industry to cultivate what was required for their actual wants.¹⁷⁰

Colebrooke carefully examined the records and the oral evidence given before him and concluded that though the policy of road construction begun by Sir Edward Barnes had benefitted the country by unrecompensed compulsory labour, the system had been so irregularly maintained and been productive of so much injustice that the entire *Rājakāriya* system should be abolished.¹⁷¹ Barnes was decidedly against this move, but in the eve of his departure to England, Barnes tried to introduce the Voluntary system of paid labour which was productive. By an Ordinance passed in 1829 Barnes exempted the labourers of coffee and other cash crop plantation from the liability to serve on road construction.¹⁷² Governor Horton was instructed by the Colonial Office to enforce the abolition of the compulsory labour and the introduction of payments for the voluntary labour. But soon he found that the *Rājakāriya* system had interwoven with every aspect of the internal government and its abolition would leave the government without a police, and the means of carrying out the details of judicial and executive duty for the protection of property and preservation of the public peace. Likewise, it was interwoven with other institutions of the country, the interest of the chiefs and the maintenance of their

religious institutions would disrupt.¹⁷³ Therefore, he concluded that the *Rājakāriya* system was still unavoidable in the Kandyan territory in view of the need for roads and proposed to convert the obligation to work on roads to a proportionate local tax on land either payable in money or to a commuted quantity of defined personal service. He promised to introduce this law by the end of 1833.¹⁷⁴

In the meantime, Colebrooke laid before Goderich a comprehensive confidential report based on official and unofficial evidence exposing the inherent defects in *Rājakāriya* system in operation and strongly advised the complete abolition of the system of forced labour.¹⁷⁵ Goderich upheld the view of Colebrooke and noted in his instructions that "in the past the people were liable to serve only for their lands and subsequently, indiscriminate labour had been exacted from the people and that the power given to the headman had been greatly abused".¹⁷⁶ In operation, he further remarked that the "real spirit" of the Proclamations of 1801 and 1818 issued to rectify this anomaly had been evaded and the tax as well as the free labour had been exacted from the people in upholding the distinction of caste. Therefore, on his advice, a firm decision was taken to abolish the system at once and the decision was transmitted in the form of an Order in Council issued on 12th April 1832.¹⁷⁷ It repealed all the Proclamations, Regulations and Laws relating to the enforcement of *Rājakāriya*, and firmly declared that "none of His Majesty's native or Indian subjects are liable to render any service to His Majesty in respect of tenure of their land, or in respect of their caste to which other subjects are not liable".¹⁷⁸ However, these provisions were not applicable to the tenants of *Vihāra*, *Dēvālaya* and *Nindagam* holders.¹⁷⁹

By another despatch Goderich informed Horton the decision of the government to abandon the cinnamon monopoly and allowing the free cultivation and trade in cinnamon and the desire of the government to impose an export duty on the products.¹⁸⁰ It also announced the desire to abolish the monopolies on other minor products as well.¹⁸¹ Governor Horton took immediate steps to repeal all the existing laws relating to the production of cinnamon by enforcing Regulation No. 5 of 9th July 1833.¹⁸¹ But however, due to other reasons, Horton continued with some monopolies for sometime which did not involve the caste services.

The Grain Tax, which too emanated from the same source as the *Rājakāriya* a voluntary contribution paid to the upkeep of the royalty with loyalty and affection, now turned a compulsory payment regulated on

orders and directives of alien governments and collected through the renting system, had become oppressive and vexatious according to Colebrooke.¹⁸³ Goderich noted the inappropriateness of the collection of the Grain Tax imposed only on the staple food of the natives and realized the discouraging effect on the natural application of capital on agriculture.¹⁸⁴ In place of the Grain Tax, Goderich preferred the imposition of a Quit Rent but left it entirely to the discretion of the Governor.

Goderich also endorsed the free sale of crown forests to prospective buyers and ordered the removal of all existing distinctions on terms and conditions on land grants, to Europeans, Indians or natives. He also ordered to withdraw the existing restrictions on clearance of land and the felling of timber.¹⁸⁵ In the sale of crown lands he advised the Governor to adopt a combined measure favourable to the development of the resources of the island.

Goderich also upheld the views of Colebrooke to throw open the positions of the Government Service to duly qualified natives with working knowledge of English irrespective of caste, creed or family bindings.¹⁸⁶ Such association of natives in the administration of affairs in the state was an assurance of safety as well as means of bringing down the establishment charges.

Conclusion

The imposition of the authority of the Western powers and the continuation of the merchant capitalist enterprises through the institutional apparatus of a benevolent monarch for over three centuries resulted in many changes. It increased cash consciousness among the natives and established private ownership of lands and the power of transferring and selling them at the will of the holder. It transformed the *Rājakāriya* system and regimented the caste services. It inhibited agricultural development. In this long trail, the indigenous institutions of caste-federal society got metamorphosed by the arbitrary changes imposed on them. However, this change was not uniform, the lowlands, the Kandyan areas and the Jaffnapatanam retaining its own identities. The social mobilisation and stratification was artificial and haphazard, while the native economic order was at a disarray.

In the meanwhile in Europe, the accumulation of capital on account of the continuous economic exploitation from the Colonial possessions

generated wealth which in turn brought out industrialisation. The rapid industrialisation, especially in Britain, created a surplus in production thereby creating the need for a framework for a world market, with corresponding changes in the management of the colonial empire. A conflict of interests developed within the British mercantilist class and the rising industrial bourgeoisie. The outmoded mercantilist ideas were challenged by the emerging *laissez-faire* ideas.¹⁸⁷

The impact of this debate had its repercussions in Sri Lanka during the early nineteenth century. Many British officials in the administrative and judicial fields tried to implant these new ideas within their administrative spheres. Frederick North (1798-1805) the first British Governor, openly tried to establish a private property system through the institutions he created. But however, the effects of these changes were short-lived and the schemes ended with him.¹⁸⁸

By the end of the third decade of the nineteenth century the British authority was firmly established in the Indian ocean. The annexation of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815 and the suppression of the "Great Rebellion" of 1817-1818 eliminated the potential threat from the native hierarchy. The network of roads constructed by Governor Barnes (1821-1831) not only ended the self-imposed isolation of the Kandyan areas, but also connected the interior directly with main coastal towns. The encouragement extended by some of the early British Governors in promoting private enterprise and export agriculture proved successful. The need for the development of economic resources of the island came to the forefront of discussion in England as well as in Sri Lanka on capitalistic lines.

However, capitalism could not thrive in an economic order bound head and foot by customary usages and traditions. Every new technical process applied to harness the resources signifies the violation of the age old customary traditions. The conflict between the mercantilist and the free trade advocates was triumphantly resolved by the far reaching proposals of Colebrooke and Cameron. In setting the foundation for capital investment in Sri Lanka, Colebrooke recommended to lift the pre-colonial and mercantilist restrictions on land alienation, restrictive trade policies, the monopolistic hold over the modes of production, the abandonment of the *Rājakāriya* in place of voluntary and free wage labour, and the creation of a unified administrative and judicial framework for the state machinery which the Whig Government of Britain accepted in principle.

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**An over view of Sri Lanka's mediaeval coinage
with a consideration of some interactions and
influences of the South Indian coinage of the period**

by

Frederick Medis

The earliest coins known in this country were the *purāṇas* or *eldlings* (pieces of silver bearing punch-marks). These were thin circular or rectangular pieces of beaten silver. They were punch-marked with various crudely-formed symbols of animals, trees, taurine marks, human figures, etc. Practically all of them bear solar emblems and are pre-Buddhistic in origin. A few have been found in copper.¹ These coins were in circulation when the great Mauryan Empire was at the zenith of its power,² and they formed the main established currency of the Indian sub-continent during the days of Emperor Asoka (circa 273 B. C.). The *Mahāvamsa* makes ample reference to these coins.³ Their long period of use, spanning a few centuries,⁴ is evidenced by their much-worn condition, wherever they are found, whether in Pakistan, India or Sri Lanka. (Illus. 1) Some of these coins have been uncovered with the original brick-work and undisturbed masonry of the third century B. C. *dāgab* in the Tissamaharama area.⁵ They are believed to have been in circulation even as late as the sixth century after Christ. It is known that in the 14th century, Bhuvenakabahu V (1388-1408) (Illus. 2) caused a casket to be made of 7000 silver pieces for the sacred Tooth relic.⁶

Concurrent with these silver pieces, we have the single die and double-die struck copper of the rectangular bull and 'maneless lion' Sinhala coins, and the Lakshmi plaques with railed swastikas. Oblong plaques served the purpose of coins, and their controversial dating⁷ leaves one in doubt whether they were in use during the second century A.D. or whether they were current, anterior to the Christian era. They come under the group referred to as 'Lakshmi plaques' because they bear on the obverse what appears to resemble the Hindu goddess of prosperity, and on the reverse, the railed swastika.⁸ They are of two types, cast and struck. The predominance of Buddhist symbolism, in the form of the railed swastika has given rise to the claim that these had evolved from early *Gajalakshmi* symbols found in Vedic iconographic art, and are likely to be representations of Mahāmāyā, the mother of the Buddha, as depicted in the decorative panels of the great stupa at Sanchi (Illus. 3)

Except for a few other miscellaneous types, the next most important coins are the Roman and Indo-Roman¹⁰ which entered this country through the trade entrepôts of Mahātīttha (Māntota) and elsewhere, and have been found at nearly all coastal and inhabited areas around the island. The Roman solidus in gold (and also the Byzantine solidus) set a standard of weight which was to influence the coinage of this entire Indian region for many centuries to come. The weight of the Roman Aureus Solidus had been proclaimed by decree of Emperor Constantine in 312 A.D. as 4.55 grammes or 70.22 grains.¹¹ The average weight, however, was reckoned between 67 and 70 grains, which was also the weight of the Byzantine Solidus and the Persian Dinar. This is almost identical with the Sri Lankan Gold *Kahavanuwa* which weighed 20 *madeta* (or *madhiti* seeds) equal to one *Kalanda*.¹² There was also the Persian weight system where 12 *manjādis* were equal to one tangenn.¹³

Roman coins (including the Indo-Roman version) from the time of Emperor Constantine have been current in this country for more than 3 1/2 centuries¹⁴ perhaps up to the 7th century A.D. The several finds have comprised mainly what is referred to as Roman third brass, and they were in use concurrently with the *purānas* or silver pieces. The difference in types and markings on the Roman coins show that they were from various mints in Alexandria, Southern India and also in Sri Lanka, at Nā-imana which is 2 1/2 miles off Matara.¹⁵ It is difficult to ascertain whether most of these were authorised mintings of the Roman military outposts, or whether they were contemporary imitations with a pretence at Roman lettering. There were other currencies which came into this country by way of trade,¹⁶ like the Greek, Persian, Parthian, Sassanian and Kushan, and also the Gupta coinage.

From about the end of the 7th century, there was ushered in, after comparatively uneasy periods of strife and invasion, an era of social, cultural and religious development with Anuradhapura as the capital city. Earlier South Indian inscriptions record that Pallava kings made two or three expeditions with a view to gaining sovereignty over this island.¹⁷ Sinhavisnu (or Avanisimha) 575-600 A.D., is mentioned as having defeated the Sinhala king, while his grandson Narasimhavarman I, made a claim to have conquered Lanka.¹⁸ The *Culavamsa* refers to the Sinhala Prince Manavamma who went to the help of Narasimhavarman when he fought King Pulekesin II, whom he defeated. Subsequently he became lord of South India,¹⁹ ruling over a vast territory; and by way of reward, he assisted Manavamma with an Indian army to invade Sri Lanka during

the reign of King Dathopatisa (641-651). The attack was fiercely resisted but the second attack was successful. Manavamma ruled from 668 to 703, A.D. during which time, Pallava influence exerted itself in this country. Their coins show emblems of the standing bull, and sometimes the lion with the pot of plenty - the *poorna-ghata* or *pun-kalasa*.

According to the *Nikāya Sangrahaya*, Sena I came to the throne in 819/20 A.D.²⁰ During his reign, the Pandians invaded Sri Lanka and the capital and its environs were sacked. But the position was reversed when, during the reign of Sena II, an attack was made on South India by Sinhalese armies. The Sinhalese sacked Madura and captured the city.²¹ Pandyan coins are much in evidence, especially in the northern region. They bear the dynastic emblem of the double fishes (facing either direction alternately), together with representations of sacrificial lamps, and on the reverse, the couchant bull, the vehicle of the God Siva, with the crescent.²²

Whereas earlier, Indian armies had pressed forward and downward on Sri Lanka in their invasions, it now became possible for mercenary soldiers from South India,²³ especially from the Kerala region, to be brought in to serve in separate platoons under the Sinhala king. It is likely that the sparse finds of Chēra and Kongu copper and bronze coins of the period which are found mostly in and around the port of Māntota,²⁴ were those which the Indian mercenary troops used in transactions. They are moderately well designed. They bear no inscriptions but only animal figures of the horse and elephant in life-like postures, together with symbols of the *ankusa* or elephant-goad, the *sanku* or conch-shell and the crescent. These show the disparity of type and pattern with those of the Sinhala coins. It is recorded that South Indian mercenary soldiers served in manoeuvres conducted by Mahinda V,²⁵ Gajabahu II, Vijayabahu I and Parakramabahu I. They were known as Velaikkara.

Once again, the Chōlas invaded Sri Lanka, and their great conqueror King Rāja Rāja Chōla, established himself in this country between A.D. 1001 and 1004 A.D. The north was now completely under the Chōlas, while the Sinhala king fled to Ruhuna. Polonnaruwa, known as Jananāthapuram became the Lankan capital of the great Chōla Empire. Chōla currency was used in Sri Lanka during this period, and it bore the name of the king, Sri Rāja Rāja.²⁶ (Illus. 4) The coins which were in gold, silver and copper, have an uniformity of design. The obverse was usually the close copy of the Sinhala gold *kahavanuwa* which was current from some time earlier, and is referred to as the 'Ceylon man' type. They bear

the name in Dēva-nāgari of Sri Rāja Rāja Dēva and his successor Sri Rajendra. It is also worthy of note that the Sinhala coins were current in the conquered Pāndyan provinces,²⁷ and these influenced the design on Chōla currency which was minted later.²⁸ However in a large proportion of the Chōla copper currency there is a difference of shape in that the coins are lenticular and bulge at the centre in a convex form both on the obverse and on the reverse. In the 'Ceylon-man' type, the standing figure on the obverse has engraved curved lines turned a little upwards at the ends of the feet. The lotus plant and five dots fill the design, while an ornamental lamp hangs from the right arm. Two, and sometimes three, crescent and triangular shapes form the *karanda-makuta* or crown. The surrounding circular rim is composed of an average of 42 beads. The reverse bears a seated figure with the leg drawn under the right arm. The conch, or sometimes a jasmine flower, is held in the left hand, while the legend is in Dēva-nāgari characters. The Chōla copper issues appear to be immature adaptations of these.

Rājendra Chōla I, Rājendra Dēva and Adhirājendra continued to retain a firm stranglehold on the north of Lanka. The Sinhala armies made unsuccessful attempts to regain the kingdom, until Vijayabahu I, in 1073 A.D. emerged victorious in his campaign to re-establish Sinhala independence. From about the middle of the 10th century, the Sinhala gold *kahavanuwa* with its sub-divisions of the half (*Adha-kahavanuwa*), the quarter (*De-aka*) and one-eighth (*Aka*) continued in use. The *kahavanuwa* bore as its legend the title common to earlier Sinhala royalty, Sri Lanka *Veha* or Sri Lanka *Vibhu*, Fortunate lord of Lanka. (*Vibhu* is the title of Vishnu, protective deity of Lanka).²⁹ (Illus. 5) Vijayabahu I was the first Sinhala king to have his name inscribed in Nāgari characters on the mintings of gold, silver and copper coins. They are large, and somewhat irregular in shape. A great proportion of the gold coins have a high admixture of silver. Some are only gold-washed silver. The copper coins cannot be attributed with any accuracy, and there is circumspection that a large number are those of Vijayabahu II, III, and IV. (Illus. 6) The copper coins which followed subsequently, including the one-eighth *massa* of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186 A.D.) have an uniformity of design, shape and size. (Illus. 7)

In the year 1164, when Parākramabahu I, again sacked South India, the Pandyan ruler was killed and the son of his rival, Vira Pandu, was set on the throne.³⁰ The General Lankeswara ordained that the gold

kahavanuwa coin bearing the superscription of King Parākramabahu of Lanka should be used throughout the South Indian territory.³¹ Thus it was, that at the time Sinhala coins became the official currency of South India.

Copper coins of this period of attack and invasion are referred to as *Dambadeni kāsi*. (Illus. 8) From Polonnaruwa the capital shifted to Dambadeniya, Yapahuwa, Kurunegala and Gampola, and it is believed that nearly all the currency issued was off a mint in the Dambadeniya district.

It is worthy of note that some of the thirteenth century copper coins of Jātavarman Sunthera Pāndya³² and Mānavarman Sunthera Pāndya also have the standing and seated figures almost identical with the Sinhala issues. The lettering is in Tamil characters. The Sinhala rulers who followed Parākramabahu I also issued gold, silver and copper as well as billon or base-metal (*tutenag* or *tuttenagra*) coins. (Illus. 9) The copper *massas* of Nissankamalla are well executed (1187-1196 A.D.) including the white-metal and the extremely rare silver *massa*.³³ (Illus. 10) Those of Choda Ganga (1196-1197 A.D.), Queen Leelawathie (Illus. 11) (three reigns between (1196-1212 A.D.) Sahasamalla (Illus. 12) (1200-1202 A.D.) and Dhammasoka Deva (Illus. 13) (1208 A.D.) are also minted with care. Some of them have a light-coloured shine when rubbed, indicating the admixture of a small percentage of silver. Most of these coins were struck. But some are in cast metal using terra-cotta moulds.³⁵ Dhammasoka Deva was only a young child when he was on the throne,³⁶ and his reign, directed by the court, lasted for a very short period. However, his coins are superior to many others in their quality of execution, and even the rare one-eighth copper *massa* is a miniature work of calligraphic art. The other one-eighth copper *massa* known is that of king Parākramabahu I who is also credited with the minute copper one-sixteenth *massa* which is rare and little known.

Some *Dambadeni* coins can be differentiated from others by their distinctive colours. Some are blackish-green or light greenish-red depending on the metal alloy. The provenance also conditions the colouring of the coins, depending on the laterite, loam and calcine clays in which they have been found.

The mid-fourteenth century coinage of the Sethupathi rulers of Jaffna,³⁷ is in all probability, an adaptation of the design on Sinhala coins. (Illus. 14) They are basically identical, although they do not bear the

names of the rulers, and are likely to have been copied from the Lion coins of Parākramabahu. (Illus. 15) There the emblem of the lion is replaced by that of the couchant bull.

Apart from the coins which were minted in gold or silver, some copper *massas* too are known in gold-gilt or silvered condition. These can be classed as forgeries of coins³⁸ of precious metals, or they may be pious frauds perpetrated by mediaeval goldsmiths on the rich officials or courtiers who purchased these coins for the purpose of donating them to be enclosed in the foundations of religious edifices. The goldsmiths knew that their chicanery would not be revealed for at least a few centuries. Amongst the ancients there appear to have been unscrupulous persons who had taken to forgery of coins in a big way. This is true of many countries.

By the thirteenth century there was, apparently, a scarcity of gold, and, as a result, silver coins were gold-washed and issued in place of gold. This gave forgers a new chance of washing base metal coins in silver. Rock bottom was reached in the fourteenth century³⁹ when the word *masuran* was applied even to copper coins. Codrington thought this to be curiously reminiscent of the bankrupt Roman Empire of the third century.

Sinhala copper coins of the Dambadeniya variety during the 12th and 13th centuries, have been cast in clay moulds which were connected to one another by short channels to allow the molten metal to flow outwards. The edges and channel spur-marks were filed off after the coins had set in the moulds. The lead content which was alloyed to the copper base in some of these coins gives them the sound of a dull thud when dropped on a hard surface, and makes them malleable, and sometimes even fragile, depending on the alloy. Cast coins of some reigns are much scarcer than others. The name of the ruler is always in the Dēva-nāgarī script.

What long-range influence was exerted indirectly can be seen from the fact that during the Dutch period, when Negapatam in South India came under the Dutch Government of Ceylon from 1673 to 1680, the coins minted by the Dutch were recognised for mutual use in both countries. In these coins the obverse showed a crude human figure, stylised beyond recognition, with the name Nagapaddanam in Tamil lettering on the reverse. There can be little doubt that just like the highly stylised human figure on the gold and silver Virarāya *fanams* in Tanjore, (Illus. 16) Pulicat and, Negapatam, and even to some extent on the gold *pagōdas* of the period, they had been adaptations from the design on the Sinhala coins of the ninth and tenth centuries.

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32. Frank A. Lapa, *Kandy Kings of Ceylon*, California, 1968, p.8.
33. S. Pathmanathan, Coins of the kings of Jaffna, *Spolia, Zeylanica*, vol. 35, Pts. I & II, p. 409
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1. Punch-marked Purānas or Eldlings (Silver pieces)



2. Bhuvanakabahu V: Silver



3. Lakshmi coins (plaques)



4. Rāja Rāja Chola Kahavanu (gold)



5. Sinhala Kahavanu (gold)



6. Vijayabahu I
copper coins



7. Parakramabahu ; 1/8th Massa (copper)



8. Reverse common to
Dambadeni kasi



9. Parakramabahu base-metal



10. Nissankamalla: Silver-massa



11. Queen Leelawathie



12. Sahasamalla



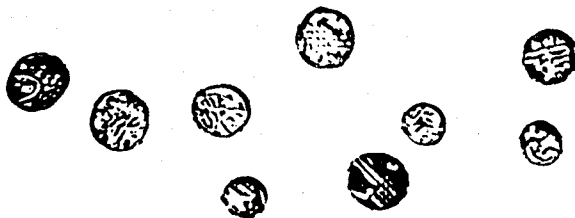
13. Dharmasoka Deva



14. Copper, Sethupathi Coin of Jaffna



15. Lion-coin (copper massa) of Parakramabahu VI



16. Ran-panam and Ridi-panam (gold and silver fanams) (including half-fanams)

A re-appraisal of Sri Lanka's Non-Alignment : 1948 - 1960

by

W. M. Karunadasa

Until recent times, the foreign policy of Sri Lanka had been a subject which seems to have had been discussed mainly in the precincts of the House of Representatives. The subject of foreign policy had been vested with the office of Prime Minister by virtue of constitutional arrangements until it was changed under the second Republican Constitution of 1978. Since no provision had been made in the 1978 Constitution for the Prime Minister to hold the portfolio of Foreign Affairs, a new Ministry of Foreign Affairs was created under a separate Minister.¹

Although this measure indicates the increasing importance attached to the subject of foreign policy, it had been already a subject of extra-parliamentary interests from 1970. The point of departure which marked the increasing significance of foreign policy was the accession of Mrs. Bandaranaike to the seat of political power at the parliamentary General Elections held in May 1970.

The decade of 1970 was obviously the most crucial period in the history of foreign policy. It was the decade where Sri Lanka held the prestigious international conference - the Fifth Non-Aligned Summit 1976 - with 86 nations participating from all over the world. For three successive years from 1976 to 1979 Sri Lanka held the leadership of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). The credence and credibility placed on Sri Lanka's non-aligned stand by the international community when it was chosen to host the fifth summit in 1973, positively speaks of the era which attached the greatest significance to the foreign policy of the island.²

Because of the prestige earned by Sri Lanka in non-aligned politics from the very inception of non-alignment, the ruling political parties - Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) and the United National Party (UNP) - predominantly used the term 'non-alignment' in identifying Sri Lanka's foreign policy. What is more interesting is that they both made equal claims as the initiator and promulgators of Sri Lanka's non-aligned policy.³

This short essay, aims mainly to re-assess the non-aligned aspect of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. It primarily attempts to express some thinking on the origin and evolution of Sri Lanka's non-alignment rather than making a thorough investigation on the subject. It deals mainly with the period 1948-1960. This division is primarily based on the nature of the two political regimes headed by the UNP and the SLFP governments respectively. The period and the subject was chosen for two specific reasons. Firstly, there exist overtly partisan views in some academic writings on Sri Lanka's foreign policy, particularly in respect to the interpretation of facts. Evidently, an under-estimation of facts is seen in relation to the UNP regime under D.S. Senanayake (1948-1952) Dudley Senanayake (1952- 1954) ; and Sir John Kotelawala (1954-1956) . On the contrary, an over-estimation of facts is seen in respect of the SLFP regime under Solomon Bandaranaike (1956-1959 Sep.) . Again, this seems to apparently reflect a political bias which was overwhelmingly displayed in the foreign policy debates of the House of Representatives. Secondly, there is an imperative need to undertake preliminary researches in order to trace the origins and evolution of Sri Lanka's foreign policy and non-alignment.

The point raised above in respect of the academic bias in interpretation of facts on Sri Lanka's foreign policy during the early years of independence (1948-1956) had already been taken into serious account by a recent historian, Vijaya Samaraweera, in a short study made on foreign policy, published in K. M. De Silva's (ed) *Sri lanka - A Survey*. What has been stated in his bibliographic note is that, "writings of an overtly partisan political nature have been excluded, even though in some instance they have been writers with good academic credentials".⁴ It must be added that the major authors who wrote on Sri Lanka's foreign policy, and not been included in Samaraweera's bibliography are S. U. Kodikara, D. M. Prasanna Lucy M. Jacob and H. S. S. Nissanka.

The references he listed in his bibliography thus excludes all major publications relating to foreign policy for the reason he has explained in his bibliographic note quoted above.⁵

The few books published after Samaraweera's contribution did not make much of a difference in respect of the views on the origins and evolution of Sri Lanka's foreign policy and non-alignment.⁶

The views held by the early writers of foreign policy, hardly indicate any different point of view, except the political views held by the Opposition parliamentarians during the UNP administration from 1948 to 1956. The arguments raised by them in the House were highly convincing to attract the attention of the early writers who held similar views.⁷ For this reason, perhaps, they, only sought evidence to support their own point of view. Thus the initial approach of early writers on foreign policy were apparently rooted on the prejudices created by Opposition Parliamentarians, which made them, perhaps, not wanting to see the other side of the coin. What is more, almost all early writers on Sri Lanka's foreign policy, began to write after the premature demise of Solomon Bandaranaike, particularly with sympathies and a preconceived image on his foreign affairs. Apparently this may have been one of the factors which would have influenced early writers to express highly partisan views for the period which falls within this study. Thus is seen the need for fresh research to make investigations relating to the origins and evolution of Sri Lanka's foreign policy.

Both intra and extra parliamentary criticisms relating to Sri Lanka's foreign policy during the early years of independence (1948-56) are based on the view that Sri Lanka was not independent in her foreign affairs, and she had an alignment with the U. K. and the Western Bloc. In other words, the political Opposition in the House of Representatives upheld the view that Sri Lanka had aligned itself with the Western Bloc and particularly with Britain through the Defence and External Affairs Agreements.⁸ In the same vein, the authors I had identified as early writers of foreign policy tended to define Sri Lanka's foreign policy as 'pro-West' in orientation during the first phase of its independence viz. 1948-1956.

This view was based mainly on the interpretations given first, to the Defence and External Affairs Agreements; second, to the membership of the Commonwealth; third, to the rhetorics of foreign policy made by the first three Prime Ministers - D. S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake, and Sir. John Kotelawala - of independent Sri Lanka.

The interpretations given to the three aspects referred to above were mainly based on political considerations. In fact, no sufficient attention had been paid to the economic dimension and the other relevant aspects, which should have been taken into account in an analysis of the island's foreign policy. In our analysis all these aspects will be taken into

serious account as they were vital factors which contributed to form the actual character of Sri Lanka's foreign policy.

The most controversial period of the island's foreign policy was the first phase of independence, where the UNP governments were in power until May 1956. Sri Lanka was offered full independence along with India and Pakistan at a time when she was ill equipped to defend herself from external threats. It was the belief of the D.S. Senanayake government that 'defence' is an extremely vital requirement for her survival as a sovereign independent state, because of the prevalent bi-polar conflict which did create uncertainties about her newly gained independence. The matter was crucial, since she had no real military strength to defend herself. Not only was it a problem of 'political' defence, but also a question of 'economic' defence.¹⁰ Politically, she was vulnerable, partly because of her strategic location in the Indian Ocean and partly because of the Indian defence outlook.¹¹ It would seem that in the minds of D. S. Senanayake this would have amounted to an actual threat from neighbouring India. Economically, she was vulnerable mainly because of her import-export economy, where she was entirely dependent on the safety of the sea-lanes which carried her East-West trade,¹²

Thus the main problem for D. S. Senanayake, the first Prime Minister of Independent Sri Lanka, was the protection of Sri Lanka's economic and political interests without creating any prejudice against her independent status. In finding a solution for the said problem, he sought the assistance of the former colonial master - the United Kingdom - for one specific reason. For Senanayake, the United Kingdom was the only friendly power which could have been trusted and relied upon for the purpose of defence.¹³ For him neither India nor Pakistan could have been trusted on account of their rivalry.¹⁴ U. S. A. was a distant power and USSR was unfriendly. Without defence assistance from a friendly power D. S. Senanayake feared to take up the defence responsibility. He made this fact plain when he said that, "... the defence of the country is one of the primary obligations of an independent state and this is *not the sort of world in which small nations can be secure without large and expensive armed forces...Frankly I cannot accept the responsibility of being Minister unless I am provided with means of defence..*"¹⁵ (Emphasis added)

The Defence Agreement

It is our view, that the above factors influenced D. S. Senanyake to enter into a Defence Agreement with the United Kingdom. Nevertheless,

it began to attract heavy criticism mainly from the Opposition for one specific reason. That is the grant of military bases at Katunayake and Trincomalee to the British Royal forces in exchange for 'defence'. The agreement specifically stated that, defence will be provided only if the Government of Ceylon so requests. Notwithstanding this fact, it was viewed by both opposition parliamentarians and the early writers of Sri Lanka's foreign policy as an agreement which 'aligned' Sri Lanka with the Western Bloc, where Britain was a partner.

This could be interpreted on the basis of the non-aligned criteria adopted at the Cairo Preparatory Meeting of the Non-Aligned countries held in June 1961.¹⁶ The fourth of the five point criteria stated that,

"in case of bilateral military agreement with a Great Power, membership of a regional defence pact, the agreement or pact *should not be one deliberately concluded in the context of Great Power conflicts;*"¹⁷ (Emphasis added)

In respect of this criteria, the Defence Agreement with Britain shows no evidence to indicate that the agreement was concluded in the context of a Great Power conflict. What has been said by each and every Prime Minister during the first phase of independence, except the rhetorical statements made by Sir John Kotelawala, do suggest that the agreement was concluded **NOT** in the context of Great Power conflict. It may be said that it was concluded for the safeguarding of the national interests, and the national interests alone. There is little or no evidence to suggest that it indicate any formal 'alignment' with bloc politics. The rhetorics of foreign policy mostly implies the sentimental attachments placed on the "Western model" democracy and also to the 'free' economic system.

In this sense, it may be said that the Defence Agreement was only a bilateral agreement which had no involvement in the bi-polar conflict and was only to safeguard her immediate national interests. The easy manner in which the Agreement was terminated by the withdrawal of the Bases, further supports this view.

The External Affairs Agreement

The External Affairs Agreement was another source of constant criticism both inside and outside the parliament. It was generally projected as an instrument which indicates 'pro- Western' alignment with the U. K.

But in actual fact, D. S. Senanayake looked for guidance and advice from a friendly nation, at a time when Sri Lanka lacked sufficient means of physical and human resources for the conduct of external relations.¹⁸ Notwithstanding this fact, the Agreement was viewed by early writers of foreign policy as indicating 'alignment' with Britain. Allegations were also made to state that Sri Lanka was controlled by Britain in matters of external affairs. In spite of such allegations, the actual foreign policy decisions of the UNP governments speak to the contrary. Instead of quoting many such instances which demonstrate the independent character of her foreign policy, it is suffice to give one example.¹⁹

Herein the most illustrious example is the Rubber-Rice pact signed with the People's Republic of China in 1952 during the administration of Dudley Senanayake.²⁰ Apart from this, Sri Lanka was not barred by the External affairs Agreement in entering into trade relations with the Socialist countries.²¹ The abrogation of External Affairs Agreement, in course of time further provides evidence to support the idea that it did not indicate any formal 'alignment' with the U. K. or its allies of the Western bloc.

The Commonwealth Membership

Sri Lanka's membership in the Commonwealth received vehement criticism from the Opposition with organized demands for quit the Commonwealth.²² Though the Commonwealth did not signify any formal 'alignment' with the U. K. the demand was simply a factor which represent general marxist tendencies to oppose special linkages with the former colonial master - Britain. In spite of this Opposition, the first three Prime Ministers of independent Sri Lanka placed greater emphasis on the Commonwealth. This may be explained in the following terms. It was the only forum where Sri Lanka's international status was recognized until she was admitted to the United Nations in December 1955. It was also a major source of inspiration for political and economic survival during the critical years of independence. There is evidence to believe that Senanayake intended to use the Commonwealth as a counterpoise to India.²³ Moreover, it was the major trading partner as well as a donor of economic aid. There seem to have been a fear in the government political circles that any deviation from the Commonwealth would jeopardise the country's economic and political interests.²⁴ For such reasons, D. S. Senanayake and his successors constantly placed much more emphasis on the Common-

wealth relations. It is also worthy of note that no government in the subsequent period made any efforts to withdraw from the Commonwealth. In this context, it would be seen, that the membership of the Commonwealth, particularly during the first phase of independence was not intended to indicate any 'alignment' with the government of Britain.²⁵

The First phase of Independence : 1948 - 1956

The foreign policy statements and their rhetorics, made by the first three Prime Ministers of independent Sri Lanka, prima facie, indicate the sentimental values they placed on democratic political institutions rather than on the Socialist system. Such statements had been interpreted in both political and certain academic quarters to suggest that the UNP governments had the political intention to 'align' with the Western military bloc, although there is no positive evidence to support this point of view. It is also significant to note that, the Prime Ministers at times, made it clear that Sri Lanka stands for 'non-alignment'. Although the term 'non-alignment' was not in active usage then, Dudley Senanayake, the successor of D. S. Senanayake, explaining the foreign policy said that 'our foreign policy....is not to align ourselves with one bloc or the other.... our foreign policy will be primarily guided by the interests of this country..²⁶ (Emphasis added).

In fact, this was an elaboration of the same principle enunciated by the first Prime Minister - D. S. Senanayake. In a broadcast over the B. B. C. London, in January 1951, D. S. Senanayake said that the "Middle way" is the first principle of Ceylon's foreign policy. The terminology owes its origin to a Buddhist phrase, which meant 'to keep away from the two extremes of life'. By this terminology he certainly would have meant nothing but to keep away from the two power blocs. In other words D. S. Senanayake's own terminology suggests that the objective of his government's foreign policy was to stand neutral in power politics. Even before Senanayake made this statement, one of his close cabinet colleagues, J. R. Jayewardene, then, the Minister of Finance and later to be the first Executive President of the Republic of Sri Lanka, in 1949 made the government's stand very clear when he said that "the government of Ceylon has refused to align with any power bloc..."²⁷

In spite of this stand in foreign policy, the UNP government's (1948 - 1956) lack of keen interest to have diplomatic relations with the Socialist countries were generally interpreted as another instance which demon-

strates 'alignment' towards the Western bloc. In such interpretations, both politicians and historians who seem to belong to the Traditional School of Thought,²⁸ did overlook the fact that the UNP government of Dudley Senanayake initiated trade relations with a Socialist country - China. Subsequently trade agreements were concluded with Yugoslavia, Poland, and Czechoslovakia during Sir John Kotelawela's administration.²⁹ The reason for not initiating diplomatic ties with Socialist countries, however, needs explanation on two grounds. First, it was the repeated use of the Soviet veto against Sri Lanka's admission to the UN. As pointed out by Jayewardene as late as 1977, it was this problem that froze Sri Lanka - Soviet relations until Sri Lanka gained admission to the United Nations in December 1955.³⁰ Second, there is also seen no intention on the part of the Socialist countries to initiate diplomatic relations with Sri Lanka. In the House of Representatives, D. S. Senanayake speaking on this point stated two important facts for not initiating diplomatic relations with socialist countries. His first point was that the initiative should come from the Socialist countries.³¹ His second point was that, Sri Lanka was having many commitments to have diplomatic relations first with the countries with which she was having wider trade and other relations.³²

Explaining the basis of the government's policy in initiating diplomatic relations, to the House of Representatives, the Parliamentary secretary to the Minister of Defence and External Affairs, Mr. R. G. Senanayake once said that "the practice we adopted in the past is to first appoint representatives mainly to the countries with which we have trade at the moment...".³³ In this context, the reason for not having diplomatic ties with Socialist countries during the first phase of independence may be thus interpreted: the Socialist countries were not so important for Sri Lanka's trade since it had a flourishing trade with the Western countries during the early years of independence. On the first occasion when she felt the need for having trade relations, with Socialist countries it was initiated with Socialist China, thereby opening the avenues for diplomatic relations in the future. Thus the economic factor had been significantly important, in delaying the initiation of diplomatic links with the Socialist countries, it is seen that the early writers had looked at the question only from a political angle. It is also seen that the UNP government of 1948-1956 had generally followed a policy based on what had been termed by government Parliamentarians as 'friendship with all'.³⁴ In fact, this was later found to be the fundamental principle on which was based the 'non-aligned' foreign policy of successive governments.

Both statements and the actual foreign policy decisions of the early years of independence suggest that the UNP governments were generally inclined to follow an independent foreign policy, free, of 'alignments' with bloc politics. *In Practice, the policy emphasis was mainly on the economic dimension rather than on the political dimension.*³⁵ Unfortunately this was the factor which had been overlooked by many academics who wrote on Sri Lanka's foreign policy. The cause for this deficiency is seen to be primarily the political prejudices against and for, the Senanayake and Bandaranaike politics respectively. It was the unforeseen economic factor that had made the UNP governments not making radical shifts in their foreign policy. Further, it was this same factor, which influenced the UNP governments to maintain a 'low-key' status in external relations. It is seen that these factors need to be taken into serious account in making actual assessments of the foreign policy of the UNP governments during the period 1948-1956.

The Bandaranaike Era: A Period of Transition : 1956 - 1959 September

The change that occurred in the international political arena in the mid 1950s, with the partial thawing of the cold war, and the wake of Afro-Asianism coincided with S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike's accession to seat of political power. This offered Sri Lanka better opportunities than in the previous years to define her foreign policy in explicit terms. Both the external and internal environment gave encouragement to change the emphasis on foreign policy. Externally, it was the momentum which gathered a force among the Afro-Asian leaders to follow an independent stand in foreign policy free of bloc politics. Internally, the articulated political pressure with Bandaranaike's political victory at the General Elections of 1956 demanded swift change in both internal and external policies. This position had been seen gaining momentum with Sri Lanka's entry to the UN in December 1955, just a few months before Bandaranaike's electoral victory in May, 1956. The significance of this was that it offered an unprecedented opportunity to proclaim to the international community what Sri Lanka intended to do in both foreign and domestic affairs.

In his first policy statement to the House on 17th June 1956, it was stated that his government intends to follow a policy which he termed as 'positive neutralism' in international affairs.³⁶ This statement on foreign policy, precisely expressed the intention of giving a positive character to

the 'neutralist' stand that had found ambiguous expression in the previous years.

The neutralism of Bandaranaike was not ambiguous but very explicit in expressing its political and economic dimensions. In explanation of the former aspect he announced that his neutralism was intended to follow:

In Cold War - to steer clear from power blocs while reserving Sri Lanka's rights to criticising our friends when we feel they have not acted correctly³⁷;

In peace - to remain neutral but to press for peaceful and honourable solutions;³⁸

In defence - to preserve freedom of making bilateral agreements by way of non-aggression and Mutual assistance and *also making agreements similar to the 1948 Defence Agreement with our neighbours such as India, Pakistan, Burma or with any other Great Power*³⁹ (Emphasis added)

In the explanation of the economic dimension of neutralism Bandaranaike said, both in the House and in the UN. "it is a problem of converting a colonial society into a free society..."⁴⁰ In handling this problem he emphasised the need as it did in the previous years, to be 'friendly with all' particularly to obtain what is advantageous to Sri Lanka's society.⁴¹

Besides such statements referred to above, the practical measures taken by Bandaranaike was very explicit and positive in character in the sphere of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. Among the measures two steps stand more significant. Firstly, the action taken leading to the withdrawal of the Bases and secondly the initiation of diplomatic ties with Socialist States.

The political agitations for the withdrawal of the British troops from Sri Lanka's soil was facilitated by two factors. Firstly, Bandaranaike's political victory culminated the demand for the withdrawal of the British bases. Secondly, it was the time when the British government reviewed her defence policy. Combined with these two factors was the diplomatic skills shown by Bandaranaike in the process of negotiations.

At the conclusion of successful negotiations, first with the British

High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, and second with the British government it was agreed to make early arrangements for the withdrawal of the British troops from the two military Bases - Katunayake and Trincomalee⁴². In respect of the withdrawal procedure Bandaranaike agreed to grant the following concessions:

- a. to extend the period of withdrawal until 1st March 1961,
- b. to further extend the 'run down period' of withdrawal, if necessary,
- c. to pay Rs. 22 million in five equal instalments as compensation for five years commencing from the financial year 1957/ 58 to 1961/ 62.⁴³

Two important points need emphasis here. Firstly, that he offered to an extension of the period of five years if necessary, although the normal life-time of the Parliament was five years; secondly, Bandaranaike did not make any effort to suspend the defence agreement. Instead, he expressed the government's desire in entering into new Agreements with any Great Powers if such necessity were seem to have arisen.⁴⁴

The initiative taken to establish diplomatic relations with Socialist countries was a major foreign policy decision made by Bandaranaike. His success in this initiative was that did not lead to any dislocation of the existing relations. The initial discussions were undertaken by the Claude Corea Mission who headed the Sri Lankan High Commission in Britain. Under the instructions of the Government of Ceylon, the mission visited Moscow in August, and Peking in September 1956. The discussion of the mission with the officials of the two governments were highly successful and led the exchange of diplomats between Sri Lanka and China in April 1957. In September of the same year USSR sent her first Ambassador to Sri Lanka.⁴⁵

Indeed, these measures were important landmarks in the evolutionary process of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. The question which arises here is whether these measures were the only factors which are accountable to trace the origins of Sri Lanka's non-aligned foreign policy to the period of Bandaranaike's administration.

Considered from the point of view of Sri Lanka's national interests referred to above the foreign policy of the island during the period 1948-

1960 indicates two remarkable phases, in its evolution. The early phase from 1948 to 1956 signifies a period, where Sri Lanka originated a foreign policy which consisted of all the basic ingredients of 'non - alignment'. The latter phase from 1956 to 1960 represents a period of transition where the foreign policy was expressed in more positive and well defined terms. What is important to stress here is that there was 'continuity and change' in Sri Lanka's foreign policy during the period under review.

In the early writings on foreign policy, this particular aspect had been overlooked. It was for this reason, that there has been an under-estimation and over-estimation of facts in the interpretation of Sri Lanka's foreign policy during this particular period of time. What is more, in the earlier estimations more attention had been given to the political dimension rather than to the economic dimension, which in the writers view is the most crucial element in Sri Lanka's 'foreign policy'. Accordingly, re-interpretation of facts would seem to lead us to conclude that Sri Lanka's 'non-aligned' character of foreign policy had its origins from the very inception of her independence and it has had a gradual evolution from the beginning of its independent era.

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Text Editing in Sinhala : History and Methodology

by

A. V. Suraweera

1. Introduction

The *Mahāvamsa* and some Sinhala works speak of the existence of written texts from as far back as the time of Vattagāmiṇi Abhaya (1st. Century B. C.). The oldest Sinhala text available today, the date of which can be fixed with certainty, is the *Dhampiyā Aṭuwa Gāṭapadaya* compiled by king Kāshyapa (913-923 A.D.).¹ Writing a text and the process of presenting a text to the reader are not one and the same thing, but considering the richness of Sinhala literature produced through the ages, one could assume that some form of editing was required before making a text available to the reader. With the introduction of printing, text editing has taken a completely different form, and then onwards, classical Sinhala texts came to be edited and printed. It could be noted that a large number of Sinhala texts which remained preserved in manuscript (ms.) form have now been published. However, no comprehensive study has ever been undertaken on the subject of editing these works. The subject being so vast, we confine this paper to the examination of the history of editing and methodology adapted in respect of Sinhala texts.

Before going into the subject proper, some classification of the two key words, namely, "text" and "editing" is desirable. Texts, are defined in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* as "...writings other than formal documents, inscribed or printed on paper, parchment, papyrus or similar materials."² In a broader sense, writings on stone etc. may as well be called texts, but since these writings are part of another branch of study, namely, epigraphy, such writings may be conveniently excluded.

The New Encyclopaedia Britannica has made a three-fold classification of texts based on the mode of transmission, namely, (i) books transmitted in print, (ii) books transmitted in manuscripts, and (iii) books transmitted orally.³ As far as Sinhala books are concerned, since all of them have been committed to writing at one time or another, the last category does not come strictly within our scope. Nevertheless, one could not completely rule out the oral tradition, in view of the existence of folk tales and folk poems that have not been published so far.

To come to the first category, namely, books transmitted in print. A printed version of a book that has not undergone the process of editing in the modern sense, remains a useful source for the editor, because it is assumed that such books so far published were based on one or more mss. In the course of our discussion we shall have occasion to go into details regarding printed books. We are left with the second category, namely, texts transmitted in mss. As far as Sinhala books are concerned, copies of texts written in ola leaves, *at pitapat*, *puskola pitapat* or *pot gedi* as they are called are undoubtedly the best available source for an editor of classical texts.

The word "editing" needs some classification as well. In brief editing means, "collecting, arranging and preparing material for publication in a readable form."⁴ Thus, in a broad sense, text editing would include a wide range of materials such as essays, articles, books etc. including those of living authors. However, for the purpose of our discussion, we confine ourselves to material belonging to the past. We refer to them as classical literature/classical texts.

2. The Tradition of Text Editing in Sri Lanka

Looking back at the history of text editing in Sri Lanka, it has to be pointed out that we have a tradition extending as far back as the time of Vattagāmiṇi Abhaya (1st c. B.C.)

"The texts of the three pitakas and the aṭṭhakathā thereon did the most wise bhikkhus hand down in former times orally, but since they saw that the people were falling away (from religion) the bhikkhus came together, and in order that the true doctrine might endure, they wrote them down in books."⁵

This is an instance of texts transmitted orally being edited, not by a single editor but by an assembly of bhikkhus. The manner in which this was done is recorded in the *Pūṇāvaliya*, the word used being "*saṃgāyanā kaḷa sēka*."⁶

This tradition could be further linked up with the three *Dharma saṃgāyanā* (councils) held in India. What had taken place at these *saṃgāyanās* was a laborious process of discussion of the texts orally transmitted and arriving at a consensus with a view to establishing an

acceptable text. In Aḷuviḥāra, the texts so edited were committed to writing for the first time.

There is evidence of similar councils being held from time to time for the purpose of compiling and updating the texts. We refrain from going into details. Nevertheless, in these editing exercises, the learned Theras of old had readily accommodated variations in respect of traditions, recensions etc. This liberal method had prompted such scholars as the great commentator Buddhaghosha and the author of the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*, *Vamsathappakāsinī* (*Vsp.*) to record such variations. With regard to editing methodology of *Vsp.* Prof. G. P. Malalasekera comments: "variant readings have been noted, possible alternative explanations given, and shades of meanings in words have been distinguished with such meticulous care as any modern exponent of textual criticism may well be proud of."⁷

3. Writing Material

We have evidence of compiling books from very early times. Whether they were committed to writing or were preserved orally, we do not know for certain. Apart from the inscriptions dating from as far back as 3rd century B. C., other materials used for writing seem to have been gold and copper plates, leaves of trees such as *kētaka*, bamboo boards etc., and thereafter ola leaves. Prof. S. Paranavitana has suggested that the ola leaf came into use for writing in the 8th century A. D.⁸ while Prof. P. E. E. Fernando holds the view that "the practice of using palm leaves as a writing material was known in Ceylon in the 5th century, the latest."⁹

With the practice of writing on ola leaves gaining popularity, it can be assumed that the books hitherto transmitted orally came to be written down. And from then onwards, but for epigraphical records, other compositions were written on ola leaves. The use of olas as writing material was certainly a great impetus for literature as well as the spread of learning. From that time, copies of books were made and steps taken for their distribution. We do not know if the statement in the *Pūṇāvaliya* that Duṭṭhagamuṇi caused copies of *Bana* books to be made and distributed among the Dharmasālās¹⁰ can be established, but there is evidence of later kings and other benefactors undertaking this task. These ola books have succumbed to various forces of destruction and the oldest ola leaf mss. available today are believed to belong to the Dambadeniya period, these being one ms. of the *Cullavagga* deposited in the Colombo Museum

Library and another ms. of the *Visuddhimagga Tika* available at the Peradeniya University Library.¹¹ However a perusal of the available mss. would show that a majority of the older mss. belong to the period of Kirti Sri Rajasinha.

Copying and distributing books were considered a meritorious deed. Merits of such deeds are enumerated in our literature. Incidentally the present writer came across an ola ms. by the name of *Pot liyamanē ānisansaya* at the London School of Oriental and African Studies Library (44076). In the process of copying mss., generation after generation, it has to be assumed that numerous changes had taken place due to omissions, commissions etc.

4. The New Era of Printed Texts

Now we pass on to a new era with the introduction of Sinhala printing during the Dutch period in or about 1736.¹² The first printing press with Sinhala types had remained the only press for many years to come. Few other printing presses were established by the Christian Missionary Societies during the early nineteenth century and Christian books and tracts began to be published including the Sinhala version of the Bible for the purpose of making "the natives hear the words of God in their own language."¹³

Taking this as a challenge, Buddhists too started their own printing presses. Initially, they published newspapers and journals in which were printed, among other things, extracts from classical Sinhalese texts. These printers, with the assistance of Scholars, took the initiative in publishing the texts as part of the religious and national revivalist movement. The establishment of the Pirivenas was another contributory factor. Again, the founding of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1845, the objectives of which were "to institute and promote inquiries into the history, religion, literature, arts and social conditions of the present and former inhabitants of the island"¹⁴ had prompted the bilingual scholars to take an interest in classical literatures. The publication of the text of *Sidat Saṅgarāva* by James de Alwis in 1851, and his introduction to the translation of the *Sidat Saṅgarāva* with the title *A Survey of Singhalese Literature* in the following year was a turning point and an eye-opener to all those interested in Sinhala language and literature. It included extracts from numerous Sinhala classics taken from ola mss. All these factors would have prompted native scholars to publish Sinhala texts in print.

5. Editorial Techniques

I have tried to show that text editing of some sort was practiced in Sri Lanka from very early times. This was true of other eastern countries as well, and of India in particular. However, it was in Europe that editing began to be practiced as a disciplined science. Text editing, today is more often referred to as 'Textual Criticism'. It is said that this term was first used by the German biblical scholar J. G. Eichhorn in the middle of the 19th century. Eichhorn had distinguished two forms of text editing namely, (a) lower criticism and (b) higher criticism. Higher criticism was identified with textual editing, a term defined as "the technique of restoring texts as nearly as possible to their original form."¹⁵ Such a distinction was desirable when one considers the fact that the earlier text editors were prompted to make numerous mutilations to the text by way of substitutions and alterations in respect of not only orthography, language etc. but also of subject matter in conformity with the accepted norms and ideas of the day. The result was a text much different from the original.

In order to achieve the ideal of restoring a text "as nearly as possible to its original form", the editor is expected to follow a certain procedure. With regard to Sinhala texts, the procedure would be as follows : (1) collecting all available copies of the text (i. e. ola mss., handwritten mss., printed editions etc.), (2) determining the ms. genealogy, as far as possible, with a view to deciding on the most reliable ms. or more reliable mss., (3) collating the variant readings (in other words comparing the mss.) and (4) determining the text and recording all other variant readings by way of foot notes. This is of course a simplification.

Now, to come to the other responsibility of the editor namely, 'the presentation of the text in a readable form.' This amounts to the transformation of the text from the ola writing form to the printed form. We know that the ola writers of the past, just as those on other materials, were in the habit of writing words all joined together, in other words, not separating one word from another. The ola writers were not in the habit of using punctuation marks either, but for the *kunḍali* to separate sentences. Thus, the text editor will have to separate the words so as to extract the meaning intended by the author. This is no easy task as it appears to be, for an incorrect word separation would sometimes convey a completely different meaning. To take an example from the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya*, 'agasavuvanaṭanisi' in the ola mss. has been rendered by D. B. Jayatilaka as 'agasavuvanaṭa nisi'¹⁶ and as 'aga savuvanaṭa nisi'¹⁷ by M. Wimalakitti

Thera. The difference in the division of words in these two editions does not affect the meaning. The translation would be 'agreeable to the chief disciples'. D. E. Hettiaratchi's word separation is, '*agasavu vanāta nisi*',¹⁸ giving the meaning 'fit to become chief disciples.' Hettiaratchi's interpretation seems to agree with the context. *Agasavuvanata* in the first instance is a case ending while the latter is an infinitive form.¹⁹

Another problem that an editor would face is the recognition of different writing systems, in other words deciphering the writing. The script in ola mss. is not much different from that of the present day but there exist certain peculiarities in writing, particularly in the conjunct - consonants, double consonants with the *rēpha*, aspirates, half nasals etc. Spelling in ola mss. seems to have suffered much confusion in the hands of later copyists, often due their ignorance of the old usage. Words with *r kākara* or *rakāramisaya* like *vrksha* (වෘක්ෂ) and *bhrnga* (භූර්ග) have been written as *vraksha* (වුරුක්ෂ) and *bhrnga* (භුර්ග) respectively. The following are some other peculiarities of ola writing : ත්‍රිකීය for තෘතීය; පුෂියා for පුරුෂයා; පව්වියා for පව්වියා; මොබ්බියා for මව් බිබ්බියා; පබ්බියා for පබ්බියා; පාඩාල for පැරාල; ඉඩ්, එඩ්, පිද්දි for පාද්දි; ශුක්ත දෙවෙනියා for ශුක්ත දෙවෙනියා; ශුභයා for ශාභයා etc. Further, there was no consistency in writing dental and cerebral *n* and *l* forms nor in the aspirate and unaspirate forms. There are also instances where the form of certain letters have led to incorrect readings. For example, Wimala Wijayasooriya has pointed out in his introduction to the edition of *Sasadā kava* (සසදාකව) that long *rā* (රා) had been written to appear as *ga* (ග)²⁰. For instance, *kirāta* (කිරාත) had been written as *kigata* (කිගත) in the mss. The text editor will have to be cautious in identifying the letters.

In the process of establishing the text, the editor will have to be mindful of the meaning as well as the interpretation of the text placed in its context. For this purpose he should be equipped with all the background knowledge, linguistic, literary, historical, socio - cultural, to which the text belongs. It has to be pointed out that some of the blunders caused by the copyists as well as by the editors were due to their ignorance of this background knowledge.

I would like to give an example from my own experience to illustrate the type of unconscious blunder that copyists had made in course

of time and the nature of hasty conclusion that editors and scholars would make. When I was working on the mss. of the *Rājāvaliya*, in the section dealing with Wimaladharmasuriya and Dona Catherina, I came across one reading which I thought would give new information about the queen. One ms. recorded '*ē bisava kanaviya ē raja agamehesun kota unnāha*', while four other mss. had recorded '*ē bisavagē āsā kanaviya ē raja agamehesun kota unnēya*.' The author of the *Sinhala Sāhitya Vamsaya*²¹ after reading one mss. of the second category and accepting it as authentic, had stated in his book that Dona Catherina was blind in one eye when Wimaladharmasuriya married her. The readings in the other mss. were '*bisava kanyāva*'; '*bisava kanyāvi*'; '*bisava kannāvi*'; '*bisō kannaviya*'. In the absence of evidence from other historical documents, I had to be careful in deciding on the correct reading. Since *Rājāvaliya* author was referring to the Virgin princess, in keeping with the language of the text, I sensed that the word in the *Rājāvaliya* could will be '*bisava kanyāvi*' or '*bisava kanyāva*'. One could visualize how the copyists, one after another, had changed the phrase. The process of change would have taken place as follows: '*bisava kanyāva*' > '*bisava kanyāvi*' > '*bisava kannavi*' > '*bisō kannaviya*' > '*bisava kanviya*' > '*bisavagē āsā kana viya*'. Reading the last ms. alone, as did the author of *Sinhala Sāhitya Vamsaya* one would conclude that Dona Catherina was blind in one eye ! This example alone would emphasize the fact that editors and scholars should be extremely careful in deciding on the text.

6. Classification according to the Type of Texts

Now, to go into some technicalities in relation to Sinhala texts. Editorial procedure could vary according to the type of text itself and the special problems that an editor would encounter. Taking these factors into consideration, a classification of texts under four heads is possible.

6.1. Exegetical works (*Atuvā, tīkā, sanna, gāṭapada* etc.)

These being word by word or descriptive commentaries of original Pali or Sanskrit or Sinhala words or phrases, the text would make a class by itself. Here, the word commented upon could be checked with the original, but the editor would be more concerned with the Sinhala commentary. Hence the editor will have a two fold responsibility towards the Sinhala text in relation to the original word or phrase on one hand and the mss. on the other.

6.2. Poetical works of which mss. copies of the original were completely lost and the text reconstructed at a later date by an energetic scholar editor with or without the help of available mss. of the *sanne* (commentary). This commentary could have been written by the author himself or by someone else during the author's life time or at a subsequent date.

This might sound rather strange, but scholars and editors have pointed out the existence of such works. In editing, rather reconstructing the text of the Sanskrit *Mahā Kāvya Jānakīharana*, the text of which was lost, the late Ratmalane Dharmarama Thera had resorted to this method.²² It has been conjectured that the texts of some of our *gī* works had undergone that same process. For example, in editing the *Sasadāvata*, Wimala Wijayasooriya has pointed out that the text available in the mss. could well be a text reconstructed from the then available *sanne* (commentary) by a scholar during the Dambadeniya period or thereafter.²³

6.3. Poetical works

This group can be further split into two :

- (i) Poetical works of which the text and the *sanne* are available. Here the editor has a double responsibility in that he has to be guided by the mss. in restoring the text while paying attention to the *sanne* for the text and the meaning as well.
- (ii) Poetical works with the text only.

In both of these groups, the editor's task is somewhat simplified in view of the fact that the verses are often written separately, but unlike in prose, the editor will have to pay attention to metre, rhyme etc.

6.4. Prose works

Here the editor will have to depend very much on the available mss. apart from other considerations.

7. Classification according to Methodology

Now, to come to the Sinhala texts edited in recent times, as far as we are aware, *Sidatsaṅgarāva* was the first Sinhala text to have received the editor's attention. *Sidatsaṅgarāva* was printed in 1851 under the

editorship of James de Alwis. By the end of the 19th century, a considerable number of Sinhala texts which were not easily available to the reader came to be published.

Looking at the Sinhala texts edited and printed from 1851, we would like to consider the editorial procedure under four broad categories as follows:

- (a) Text based on oral tradition,
- (b) Text based on a single ms.,
- (c) Text based on more than one ms., recording selected variant readings without identifying the mss.,
- (d) Text based on mss. with all variant readings recorded and mss. identified.

It has to be pointed out that the order in which these categories have been placed does not strictly conform to any chronological sequence. It is also not correct to identify a single category with any period of time. It would be more correct to consider methodology as a matter of choice depending on individual editors. Nevertheless, it has to be pointed out that last category which coincides with textual criticism is the latest or the most advanced method of text editing.

7.1. Text based on oral tradition

To this category belongs a wide range of texts consisting mainly of folk poems and stories. European scholars like Hugh Neville and Henry Parker had made collections and translations of these poems and stories. The collection of folk poems titled *Folk Songs of the Sinhalese* by W.A. de Silva and G. P. Malalasekara (1936) was perhaps the earliest attempt at bringing out a printed edition based on oral tradition. Since then, many collections of folk poems have appeared. *Kohombā kamkāriya* by Charles Godakumbura (1963) is another such recent work. In preparing these texts for the press, the task of the editor is rather simple in that he has to present the text in a readable form without paying much heed to complications in language and meaning.

7.2. Text based on a single ms.

The publication of the *Sidatsaṅgarāva* by James de Alwis 1851 is a landmark in recent Sinhala literature in many respects. As far as evidence

is available this is the first attempt at editing a text. In his introduction to the translation published the following year de Alwis states:

"The text itself... has to a certain extent been redeemed by me at considerable labour and expense, and with the aid of two of the ablest Pundits of the day, from the unintelligible and incorrect state to which it was found reduced by ignorant copyists." ²⁴

Although this passage does not specifically state that the text was based on a single ms., the *Sidatsaṅgarāwa* itself, as well as the lengthy extracts from numerous classical works given in the introduction are sufficient proof to that effect. The editor has not attempted even any orthographical alterations. Further, the use of the *kundali* in keeping with the tradition of old texts instead of the fullstop indicates his desire to be faithful to the original ms.

To trace the history of Sinhala text editing, few other single ms. editions belonging to the same period may be mentioned. ²⁵ The text and the *sanne* of *Kāvyaśekhara* and *Guttīla Kāvya* were published in 1859 in a single volume. ²⁶ The title page is as follows: '*Kavyasekare gāṭapada sannaya sahita Guttile gāṭapada sannayatya*' (කාව්‍යසෙකරෙ ගුටපද සන්නය සහිත ගුත්තිලෙ ගුටපද සන්නයන්ය). The following account given in the inside front cover indicates the process of editing. It is regrettable that the name of the editor is not given.

ජයවර්ධනපුරවරාධිපායීවූ ශ්‍රීපරාක්‍රමබාහු මහරජානන්ට
ගුරුව චූඩසිවි වඩබාලගම්චූසි පිටකත්‍රධර ජට්ඨාසා
පරමේස්වරයා විසින් කාව්‍යසේකරයට සාදනලද කතිපය
පදානම් ප්‍රකාශනම්වූ ගුටපදසන්නය හා වෙනත් පණ්ඩිත
යෙකු විසින් ගුත්තිලයට සාදනලද ගුටපදසන්නයද පුරා
ණ පටන් අතින්අතට ලියාගැනීමෙන් පැදිතිබෙන වරද
නැතපමනින් සුඩකොට ඉතා වැදගත් පොත් දෙකක්
හෙයින් අවදිගසවා ප්‍රසිද්ධකරණයට යෙදුනෙමි. ²⁷

There is another *Kāvyaśekhara* edited by Sipkaḍuve Sumamgala Thera published by Mohottivatte Gunananda Thera printed at *Koṭahene Sarvagā sāsanābhivuddhi dāyaka Yantrasālāya* in 1872. No information about the mss. is given, but the introduction implies that a single ms. was used. The editor seems to have devoted more attention to the *sanne*

than to the text. The Vidyodaya tradition of cerebral and dental n and I have been used throughout the text. ²⁸

The other text edition based on a single ms. worthy of note is the 'text and translation with notes and glossary' of the *Salalihini Sandeśaya* (spelt SELLA LIHINI SANDESE) prepared by William Charles Macready printed in 1865 at the Wesleyan Mission Press, Colombo. ²⁹ In his preface dated December 1863, Macready has acknowledged the "services rendered to me by the celebrated scholar Sumangala Terunnanse of Hikkaduwa in carefully revising the text and the old *sanne*."

A perusal of the Sinhala texts published during the latter half of the 19th century would show that Mohottivatte Gunananda Thera had been instrumental in getting these texts printed. His intention had been to popularize classical texts with a religious orientation. One such work was the *Milindapaṇṇāsa* printed in 1877. The book does not mention the editor, but the introduction gives its intent:

"මෙම මිලිඳුප්‍රාසනය බුඩධම්ම ඉගෙන ගැනීමටද ක්‍රමණ වැඩිමටද
මිත්‍යාවාදීන්ගේ වාද මැඩපැවැත්වීමටද අත්‍යන්තොපකාරීවූ මාගැති
ප්‍රකරණයක්ය, මෙම ප්‍රකරණය අතින් අතට ලියා ගැනීමෙන් පැමිණි
ලිපිදෝෂාදිය ප්‍රසිද්ධ මොහොට්ටිවත්තේ ගුණානන්ද උත්තාන්තේ
ආධාර ඇතුළු පණ්ඩිත සංවිරයන්වහන්සේලා කිපනමක්ලවා සුඩ
කරවා යලිද මෙම පොතෙහි තේරුන් ගැනීමට දුෂ්කර වූ ධම්මපදාදි
ගම්හිර පදයන්ගේ අත්දැකීම්මෙන් යුත් උපග්‍රහයක්ද අක්ෂරාදි
පිළිවෙලට යොදනලද ගුටපද විවරණයක්ද මෙහි අගට යොදා....." ³⁰

The *Ummaggajātākaya* printed at the Government Press in 1866 was a text prescribed for the Ceylon Civil Service Examination at the time. During the second half of the nineteenth century and during the early decades of the twentieth century, associated with the establishment of printing presses in Colombo and in other suburban towns like Kandy, Kegalla, Matara and Galle, a large number of printed texts, prose and verse, appeared. Majority of these texts, with a thickness ranging from 8 to 20 pages, based on a single ms. was often prepared for the press by the publisher himself. The task of the editor-publisher seems to be to copy the text paying attention to the division of words and spelling. All these books can be grouped under the broad title of 'Popular Literature', which included *Jātaka* stories, religious ballads, stories associated with popular cults etc. *Mahākanha Jātākaya* (1866), *Alav Kathāva* (1866), *Malārāja Kathāva*

(1870), *Soḷos Svapnaya* (1887) may be mentioned as some of the earliest printed texts in this category. *Kitalagama Dēvamitta himiyangē Kirala Sandēśaya hā Vāḷamiṭṭiyāvē Sumana himiyangē Mayūra Sandēśaya* edited by Charles Godakumbura (1961) is another example of editing based on a single ms.

7.3. Text based on more than one ms., recording a few selected variant readings without identifying the mss.

This is a very broad category varying from attempts at relying on the mss. as far as possible and giving a text as close as possible to the original to presenting an imaginary text revised by the editor. In presenting a revised version of the text, certain editors seem to have dwelt on the assumption that the Sinhala writer was an infallible genius who had produced an all perfect work and that the mss. available were all full of errors committed by careless and ignorant copyists.

The terminology used by the editors in all these texts has been one of the following: *suddhiya*, *sodhanaya*, *samsodhanaya*, *suddhakota sakas kārana ladi*, *lekhana dosha paharanayen suddha karana ladi*, *pratisaṅskaranayen samsodhanaya karana ladi*, while the English term used was 'edited' or 'revised and edited' without much distinction. Very often the task of the editor had been to prepare a reasonably readable text basing itself on the available mss. At the bottom of the page a few selected variant readings have been given without reference to the ms. or mss. in which they occur. The number of such readings entirely depended on the fancy of the editor. Words like *ātām*, *kisi*, *samahara*, *bohō* were used against the variant reading given. The editors were not hesitant to make any revisions, improvements and alterations to the text without even a slight clue from the mss.

It must be mentioned in fairness that some of the editors who were aware of their responsibility had taken pains in recording the emendations and improvements they had made which they thought desirable without textual evidence in the introductions to their respective works.

Andabūta Jātakaya printed in 1866 could be mentioned as one of the earliest works belonging to this category.³¹ The contents of the cover page are as follows:

අන්දබුත ජාතකය
හෙවත් කුතාල ජාතකයෙහි නම් ලත්
බොධිසත්ව චරිතයෙහි අතුරු කථාවක්ය
සොතන මිල පැන්ග 9
වසි 1866 ක්ෂු මහනෝමිත්‍රමය 1 වෙනි දිනදීය

Colombo

Printed at the Press of the Society of
Sarawagna Sasanabhiwardhidayaka.

The introduction to this edition with the title "*Danvanavaganam*" records as follows:

"...මනොරමා කණ්ණිරසායන වෘත්ත එක්තිසතින් වෘත්තයකට තව සතරක් බැගින් එක්සිය විසිහතරක් වණිණනා කරනලද ඉතා යහපත් මෙමසොත සියනානා පුරුදුපුහුණුකරණ ආධුනිකයන්ට සහ එහි ප්‍රයෝග විමසන්නාවූ විබුධ ජන සමූහයටද අති ප්‍රයෝජන වත් වූ හෙයින් පොත් කිපයක් එකතුකොට ඉල්ලෙරුම ආරච්චිගේ සාදිවිස්ද අල්විස් අප්පහාමි සහ තවත් කිපදෙකක් ලවා අතිතතව ලියවීමෙන් රැස්වනු ලබන නොයෙක් දෝෂයන් සුද්ද කරවා අඩුවසවා ප්‍රසිඬ කරව යෙදුනේ කොළඹ ආදිවිජ්ජ විදියේ පදිනටි අමර සිංහගේ කරෝලිස් සිල්වා අප්පහාමි විසිනි."

This introduction informs us that a number of mss. have been compared and the text corrected.

Ratmalane Dharmarama Nayaka Thera and Sipkaduve Sumangala Nayaka Thera, principals of Vidyalandara and Vidyodaya Pirivenas respectively, need to be mentioned as the two leading scholars who had made a great contribution to Sinhala Literature by way of editing and writing commentaries to classical texts. These two scholars had established the two Pirivena traditions with regard to the use of cerebral and dental n and l in Sinhala. We see this difference in the texts as well, edited by them. There had been some sort of rivalry between the two schools and sometimes we find the same text being edited by both scholars, *Sidatsaṅgarāva*, *Kāvyasekhara* to name a few. To take the *Kāvyasekhara*, mss. from the up-country and the low country had been consulted for each of these editions. Perhaps, the famous line "*veseti gānun notit vīnen* (X.

49) would suffice to give an insight into their treatment of the text. Sumangala Thera had noted the reading "*veseti gānun*" in all the mss. but changed it to "*veseti aṅgano*". Dharmarama Thera who edited the text subsequently (1915), while being aware of the so called correction in the text edited jointly by Sumangala and Batuwantudawe (1887) had retained "*veseti gānun*" as the correct reading and given "*aṅgano*" in a foot note. Incidentally, Paranavitana in discussing the grammar of the *Sigiri Graffiti* has pointed out that this construction was in vogue in early literature.³²

Sanne Sahita Kavsilumiṇa hevat Kusadāvata (KS) by Madugalle Siddhartha Thera (1897) and *Guttila Kāvya Varṇaṇā (Gut.)* by W. F. Gunawardhana (1907) are worth mentioning as two outstanding works in the history of text editing in Sinhala. These two scholars had undertaken the task with full awareness of the responsibility of text editing. To take the *KS* first, the title page contains a statement to the effect that the faults crept in from time to time as a result of ignorant copyists have been removed and the text restored (*cirakālāntarāgataalpaśrutalēkhakadośāpaharanāyē sakaskaranaladi*). The introduction gives further details about the editing procedure :

"Comparing 13 ola mss. obtained from the districts of Colombo, Galle, Matara, Sabaragamuva, Negembo and Kandy, and paying heed to mannerisms in other texts, not transgressing the ancient forms of language and style...I have restored the text" (translation).³³ It is of interest to note that the editor has discussed the reliability and even recorded the peculiarities of writing in each mss. Further, he has attempted to trace the genealogy of the mss. as well.³⁴

W. F. Gunawardhana, in editing the *Gut.* has been even more explicit. He has made use of 12 ola mss. in addition to 3 editions printed previously available to him. Examining the 3 printed editions namely, of Batuvantudawe Devarakshita (1870), K. P. Dharmasena (1891) and Asabhatissa Thera (1904), he has succeeded in tracing two traditions to which the three mss. belonged and has selected the best out of the three giving good reasons. The editorial procedure has been further explained.

"Our attempt has been to compare the old mss. along with the recensions of both traditions, namely, Karatota and Bovela and also the commentaries...

" We have tried as far as possible to remain faithful to the ola mss. in restoring the text. When there were many variations, we have generally preferred to retain the majority version. However, we have not conformed to this procedure too strictly. At times, we had to accept the reading found only in one ms. in preference to that found in all other 11 mss. and record it by way of a foot note. When even this procedure was not found satisfactory, at a few places, we had to reconstruct the text in accordance with the classical usage.." (translation)³⁵.

Thus we see that Madugalle Siddhartha Thera and W. F. Gunawardhana have come very close to modern textual criticism, the difference being in their methods of recording the variant readings. Both editors have given variant readings in foot notes but without identifying the mss. in respect of each reading. Gunawardhana has gone a step further in giving the number of mss. in which the reading occurs. The other noteworthy feature is that both these editors have attempted to identify the mss. genealogy and assess their authenticity in order to decide on the more reliable reading.

Numerous texts edited by D. B. Jayatilaka, too, belong to this category. We confine our discussion to his major work, the edition of *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gūṭapadaya* published in 1932. Here, too, the word used for editing was "*saṁsodhanaya*" He mentions by name 8 ola mss. and 4 other incomplete mss. unnamed. Having considered the genealogy, the editor has based the text on the most reliable ms. Variant readings have been recorded but he had not thought it desirable to name them against each reading.

Now, we pass on to another method of editing within the same category, where the editors had dwelt on the assumption that the original text was a piece of perfection. What is more, some of these editors seem to have expected the authors who lived many centuries ago to have composed their works in conformity to their own rules of language, grammar, word separation, orthography etc. They have taken the liberty to correct the text without considering the author's style of language on the assumption that all the available mss. were full of blunders made by ignorant copyists.

The *Rājāvaliya* may be cited as one example of a text that had received merciless treatment from the editors from as far back as 1899. Considering the period in which this book was compiled we know that its.

language was not in conformity with traditional grammatical norms. B. Gunasekara (1899) and Vatuvatte Pemananda Thera (1923) have both taken the liberty to not only correct the language but also the subject matter against textual evidence.³⁶

In spite of their good faith, both these editors have presented two completely different versions of the *Rājāvaliya* from that of the original text.³⁷

We are compelled to refrain from going into details of individual editors. But to do justice to the subject, it is desirable to make a few comments about the editorial work of two of our leading scholars, namely, Vāliṭṭiye Sorata Nayaka Thera and Munidasa Kumaratunga. Their contribution to Sinhala literature by way of presenting classical texts to the readers, and more so in their commentarial work (*vivarāṇa*, *padavarṇanā* etc.) is great. Such an evaluation is beyond our scope. Our concern is with editing. Both these editors seem to have had preconceived notions about language, metre, etc of their texts. S. Paranavitana has made the following observation regarding Rev. Sorata's edition of *KS*. "In the edition of Bhadanta Sorata, who had satisfactorily explained many passages which had hitherto been obscure, both in the text as well as in the commentary of this poem, the learned editor has, in order to conform to the existing notions of the character of *gi*, amended the readings so that the first quarter ends with a word. It has however, not been stated that this has been effected on the authority of manuscripts."³⁸

Kumaratunga had approached the text with two definite conclusions, namely, (a) the mss. do not represent copies of the original text of the *KS*. They record a text reconstructed by a scholar at a later date, based on the mss. of the *sanne* available to him. Therefore the text needs to be reconstructed. (b) But for canto 9, the entire text was composed of *Yon Gi* metre.³⁹ Accordingly, an entirely new version of the *KS* of his own has been reconstructed, calling it "*Kav Silu miṇa Peḷa gāśma*." It is not a question of challenging the scholarship of Kumaratunga, but the question arises as to whether an editor is entitled to resort to this method. It may be pointed out that Kumaratunga himself had brought about three different versions of *Muvadev dā Kava*⁴² within a period of fifteen years and two versions of *Tisara Sandesa*.⁴³ This is a result of the editor resorting to correct the text independent of the mss. Kumaratunga did not live long enough to bring out another version of the *KS*.

M. B. Ariyapala and Karahampitigoda Sumanasara Thera have in their editions of the *KS* separately pointed out that Kumaratunga's edition of *KS* presents a completely different text reconstructed by the editor. Wilhelm Geiger who pioneered editing of Sri Lankan texts including the *Mahāvamsa* offers an answer to the above question :

"... It is by no means the duty of a critical editor, I must emphasize, to correct his author, but only to emendate the faults of the manuscripts."⁴⁰

Sorata Nayaka Thera and Kumaratunga, and others taking their example, have mentioned in their respective works that they had prepared the text within a very short period of time. Rev. Sorata's *KS* edition had been started in February and printing had started the following month.⁴¹ It has to be pointed out that this kind of hasty work does not speak well of a responsible editor, though perhaps it goes in favour of his erudition.

The 1967 edition of *Amāvatura* by Kodagoda Nanaloka Thera displays his erudition as well as the patience with which he had undertaken the task of reconstructing the text. In his long introduction he has devoted a subsection titled *kiliṭipada* (defiled words) to discuss and account for all his emendations. However, it is unfortunate that the learned Thera has not considered it worth his while to discuss the authenticity or otherwise of the mss. Under these circumstances, one is inclined to ask the question whether all the recordings from the mss. could be discarded as copyist's errors on the assumption that Gurulugomi was a perfect translator.

7.4. Text based on mss. with all relevant variant readings recorded and mss. identified

Now, to come to the standard method of text editing which goes by the name of Textual Criticism practised by modern scholars. It has been said that textual criticism means the restoration of texts as nearly as possible to their original form. In respect of classical Sinhala texts, the editor will have to depend solely or mainly on old mss. In the process of copying these mss. generation after generation, it is reasonable to accept that numerous errors and blemishes had taken place. Nevertheless, it is accepted that the editor is bound to rely on the mss. as far as possible. In this task there are two alternatives available to an editor as follows :

(a) Restoration of the text by making its chief base, one ms. or a group of

mss. which could be considered as derived from the same archetype and which appears most authentic. Variations from other mss. to be admitted to the text only when the reading in the chosen ms. or the group of mss. is proved to be erroneous for some reason or other. Geiger in editing the *Mahāvamsa* and Malalasekara in editing the *Vaṇṣatthappakāsini* had resorted to this method. When this method has to be ruled out due to lack of such mss., a second method is desirable.

(b) Restoration of the text by the adaption of the most appropriate reading selected from one or more of the mss. at the discretion of the editor, of course, with sufficient external evidence. Geiger has adopted this method in editing the *Cūlavamsa*. He explains: "It is much to be regretted that all the mss. of our text known to us are derived from the same archetype...In these circumstances the task of the editors becomes somewhat unsatisfactory. We are not able to follow a certain rule in restitution of the text by making its chief base one ms. or one group of mss."⁴⁴

Now, to make a general observation about text editions in Sinhala that belong to this category, it could be pointed out that our editors have paid attention to identifying the genealogy of the mss. but on the whole they seem to have adopted the second method given above for reasons peculiar to their mss.

As far as evidence is available, it was Mabopitiye Medhamkara Thera who first brought out a text in Sinhala in these lines. This was a remarkable work, his edition of the 34th chapter of the *Pūjāvaliya* published in 1932. Making use of 10 ola mss. and 3 printed texts, all of which according to the editor, belong to one tradition, Medhamkara Thera had attempted to restore the text to its original state without making corrections on his own. All variant readings have been recorded and mss. identified. The therā had undertaken the work on the invitation of H. W. Codrington, the well known historian, and without prejudice to the scholarship of the therā, it might be possible that Codrington had prevailed on the editor to adopt this method of textual criticism, new to Sinhala text editing. With this edition the word '*saṃskaraṇaya*' acquired a new meaning quite distinct from *suddhiya* or *saṃsodhanaya*.

However, this new method of textual criticism was not generally followed by editors until such time as Sri Lankan scholars started editing texts in view of their post-graduate examinations. Perhaps, the earliest work to be published was the edition of *Vesaturu dā sanne* by D. E.

Hettiaratchi (1950), his PhD. thesis submitted to the University of London. *Daḷadā Sirita*, *Saddharmālamkaraya*, *Kokila Sandesaya*, *Lokopakarya*, *Rājāvaliya*, *Sinhala Dhātuvamsaya* and many more texts came to be edited and submitted to the Universities of London and Sri Lanka. Other independent works of this category include the editions of *Dhampiyā Atuvā Gāṭapadaya* by D. E. Hettiaratchi (1974), *Kavsiḷumina* by M. B. Ariyapala (1965) and *Saddharmaratnāvaliya* by the Sri Lanka Prācīna Bhāṣopakāra Society (1985 & 1986).

In the edition of *KS* by Karahampitigoda Sumanasara Thera (1993), variant readings have been recorded and identified but he has used only one ola ms. and another incomplete one in addition to the printed editions.⁴⁵ It is unfortunate that only one ola mss. was used when more mss. could have been obtained. Surprisingly, this limitation had permitted him to make changes in the text without being tied down to the mss. All in all, this is a deviation from the method of textual criticism. The time spent on recording the variant readings from the printed editions is a waste because these editions are readily available to any scholar for reference or comparison.

Since *KS* has received the attention of most number of editors it would be interesting to compare a single verse from each of the editions. To take the first verse itself, but for Kumaratunga, all other editors have recorded variant readings in their own way. Hence, the variant readings recorded in respect of the verse are given immediately after the verse.

(i) Madugalle Siddhartha Thera (1889)

Text : නමා චරදස නො දිස් - නේ මෙරමා දොස් දිස්නේ
නුවන් බැහැර නහමක් - නමා මුත් නො දක්නේ කිම^x

Variant readings :

x නුවන් බැහැර නමා මුත් විහාරන නොදක්නේ කිම , ටි
සමහර

(ii) Kumaratunga Munidasa (1943)

Text : නමා චරදස නො - මෙරමා දොස් මැ දිස්නේ
නුවන් බැහැර නහමා - නමා මැ නොදක්නේ කිම?

(iii) Velivitiye Sorata Thera (1946)

Text : කමා වරදස නො - දිස්නේ දොස් මැ මෙරමා,¹
 කුවන් බැහැර කමා මුත් - නහමන නො දක්නේ² කිමි?

Variant readings :

1. දිස් - නේ මෙරමා දොස් දිස්නේ
2. දිස්නේ මෙරමා බර කමා මුත් න. කමා මුත් විතාරන නො.

(iv) M. B. Ariyapala (1956)

Text : කමා වරදස නො දිස්නේ මෙරමා දොස් දිස්නේ¹
 කුවන් බැහැර² නහමන් කමා මුත් නොදක්නේ කිමි³

Variant readings :

1. දොස් දිස්නේ - ABCMTPWSR
2. බර - L ; බැර - X
3. කුවන් බැහැර කමා මුත් කමා නොදක්නේ කිමි - RVSTBL
 කුවන් බැහැර කමා මුත් විතාරන නොදක්නේ කිමි - TP

(v) Karahampitigoda Sumanasāra Thera (1983)

Text : මෙරමා දොස් දිස්නේ - කමා වරදස නො දිස්නේ¹
 කුවන් බැහැර² කමා මුත් - නහමන්³ නොදක්නේ කිමි

Variant readings :

1. කමා වරදස නො දිස්නේ - මෙරමා දොස් දිස්නේ - මඩු, ආරි.
 කමා වරදස නො - දිස්නේ දොස් මැ මෙරමා - වැලි; කමා වරදස
 නො - මෙරමා දොස් මැ දිස්නේ - කුමාර.
2. බැහැර - මඩු, ආරි.
3. නහමන් - මඩු, ආරි. නහමා - කුමාර.
4. කමා මුත් - මඩු, ආරි. කමා මැ - කුමාර.

The text in numbers (i) and (iv) above are identical, the only difference being the division into *pāda* in number (ii). The dissimilarity among the other editions imply that the editors have made changes to the text without relying much on the mss. It may be noted that M. Siddhartha Thera and M. B. Ariyapala have made use of the text of the old *Sanne* as well in determining the reading of the verses.

I have only attempted to give a general survey of the history and methodology of text editing in Sinhala. Hence, no apology is needed for

not mentioning by name all editors or all texts and it has not been my intention to pass judgement on any Sinhala scholar. My attempt has been to point out that it is the responsibility of a text editor to follow correct methodology, but it must be emphasized that methodology alone will not work unless it is coupled with scholarship.

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 34. Ibid
 35. * අපගේ මේ ප්‍රයත්නය නම් කරකොට බෝවල පරම්පරා දෙකෙහිම ආවාටු

- පාඨශුචිය හා ව්‍යාකෘතයන්ද සන්සන්දනය කොට පුරාණ පොත් සමගද සමකොට බලා....
- * මේ ශුචිය පුස්තකාල පොත් අනුවම කිරීමට පුළුවන් පමණ උත්සාහ ගත්තෙමු. පාඨාන්තර කිපයක් ඇති තැන වැඩි පොත් ගණනෙහි පාඨය සාමාන්‍ය වශයෙන් දෙනලදී. එහෙත් පොත් වැඩි ගණනක තිබුණ පමණින්ම සමහර පාඨයක් නොපිළිගත්තෙමු. කිසිතැනක පොත් එකොළොස්කම තිබුණවා පාඨය අධෝලිපියෙන් පෙන්වා එක් පොතක පමණක් තිබුණු පාඨය කවියට ගනිමු. මෙසේ කොටද ශුචිකළ නොහැකිවූ දෙතුන්පළක් ගෙවූ හෙයින් සමහාවතියවූ පණ්ඩිතයන්ගේ මතය අනුව ඒ ශුචි කෙළෙමු. *ගුත්තිකාව්‍ය වර්ණනා, ඩබ්ලිවු. ඇස්. ගුණවර්ධන, 1916 සංස්., සංඥාපනය, xxxix - xl පිටුව
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The Location of Mahātittha

by

B. J. Perera

An attempt has been made to locate in the Jaffna Peninsula, Mahātittha the great emporium which served the Rajarata throughout the many centuries of its existence¹. If this identification is correct it could be called the discovery of the century as regards Sri Lanka's history. It would also mean that our historians and archaeologists like Geiger, Paranavitana and Nicholas have all erred in their identification of the most important non political city of Ancient Sri Lanka. The writer of the above article has presented a wide variety of evidence, archaeological, literary, epigraphic, etymological and even military logistics. Unfortunately none of this evidence and arguments is convincing.

There are two simple and incontrovertible facts which we must bear in mind in attempting to identify Mahātittha. First, going by the references to Mahātittha in the Pali and Sinhala Chronicles and inscriptions both in Sri Lanka and India we have to admit that Mahātittha, whatever its location was, was the most important port in ancient Sri Lanka. No other port of the Rajarata period has been mentioned even one twentieth of the times that Mahātittha has been mentioned in the sources. The references to Mahātittha has been collected by Nicholas in the '*Historical Topography*' and by the present writer in the "Ports of Ancient Ceylon"²

Secondly, the ruins at Mantai and the hoards of coins, the wealth of pot-sherds and chinaware belonging to different periods and countries, the walled and moated city and the buildings within, can leave us in no doubt that Mantai, whatever its ancient name may have been, was the most important port in ancient Sri Lanka and perhaps one of the most important ports in the ancient world. This must be the great emporium mentioned by Cosmos in the sixth century.

If Mahātittha the port of the literary and lithic sources was not at Mantai where then was it? The writer states "perhaps marine archaeology may be helpful in locating the exact place of the harbour."³ There is no evidence whatever of the subsidence of the sea bed in the area where the writer proposes to locate Mahātittha.

The Writer also suggests that Mantai could be Margana or Manguna. "Therefore, it is quite likely that the name of the ancient shallow water landing place found here could indeed be Margana or Manguna and not Mahātīttha as hitherto supposed by archaeologists and historians".⁴ The writer begs the question by calling Mantai a shallow water landing place. Local and foreign archaeologists have spent months excavating this site and what they have done is only a start. Dr. B. K. Thapar who worked at this site is quoted as saying "...when properly excavated Mantai may well establish itself as the greatest urban complex in all South Asia"⁵ It is this place that the writer calls "the ancient shallow water landing place".

Both Burnouf and Nicholas are explicit in their identification of Moduttu of Ptolemy with Mahatota i. e. Mahātīttha. They both agreed that Ptolemy had erred in the orientation of his map. Therefore, the writer's statement about Nicholas viz "But the necessity he faced to conform to the accepted notion of its location at Mantai makes him add that :

"This necessitates an important re-orientation of Ptolemy's map:" is quite gratuitous. Mr. Nicholas was too honest and mature a scholar for that.⁶

According to the writer, Geiger, first identified Mahātīttha with Mantota and all other historians followed suit. This is far from the truth. If there had been no Geiger, Mahātīttha would still have been identified with Mantai. As Codrington states "its identification is put beyond doubt by *Kōkila Sandēsaya* locating it north of Mannar on the coast road to Jaffna"⁷ The writer very glibly brushes away this evidence with two very improbable suppositions. First, after many invasions which made Mahātīttha the first target, it is quite possible that by the fifteenth century, that ancient port ceased to be identified by that name"⁸. But why should that be? Why should the most important port of Sri Lanka cease to be known by its name because it was the first target of invaders. There was no significant change in the population of Jaffna to justify the view that the existing place names were forgotten.

The second supposition is even weaker than the first. According to it "When the Jaffna Peninsula was occupied by invaders in the fourteenth century, the minor port near Mantai could have risen into prominence." No one who has visited Mantai or have read the reports of excavation there would call it a minor port. The remains at Mantai prove that it was in its heyday long before the Chola invasions and fell into desuetude about the

twelfth century. There is no question of Mantai coming into prominence in or after the fourteenth century because by that time the Rajarata had long been abandoned. As John Carswell has remarked there was a symbiotic relationship between Anuradhapura and Mantai,⁹ Therefore, the demise of one inevitably led to the demise of the other.

The evidence of the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* cannot be so easily dismissed and Cordrington was quite right in preferring the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* to the *Rājāvaliya*. The fact that this work is a poetical work does not detract from its value as a source book in identifying place names. The *Rājāvaliya* is a most unreliable work. It locates Mahavatutota not on the sea coast oppsite Mannar nor in the Jaffna Peninsula where the writer proposes to locate it, but at the mouth of the Mahaweli.

Much importance has been given to the fact that King Vikramabahu betook himself to Mannar to fight the invaders who had landed at Mahātīttha. The writer believes that it would be wrong strategy to go to the island of Mannar as the King and army could be cut off from the mainland by the invaders. Mannar was not only an island but also a district and when the *Culavamsa* states that Vikramabahu took his army to Mannar it does not necessarily mean that he went to the island of Mannar. If the island of Mannar was meant we could expect it to be so stated. The island of Mannar is mentioned in the Sigiri graffiti as Mahapatan-ju¹⁰ It could very well be, that the village of Mannar was in the mainland and the island named after it in later times.

The *Culavamsa* account of Parakramabahu's invasion of South India under the General Lankapura has been made to yield evidence against the identification of Mahātīttha with Mantai. Lankapura's troops embarked at Mahātīttha and disembarked at Dhanuskodi in South India. Dhanuskodi is the closest point in India to Sri Lanka. If we leave out the Mannar Island, Mantai was the closest point to India in Sri Lanka. According to the *Culavamsa* when disembarking at Dhanuskodi the ships had to lie in deep water and the troops taken ashore in small boats,¹¹. The writer takes this to imply that Lankapura's ships "were too large to be launched from such a shallow-water port as the one near Mantai". The problem of the depth of the sea was encountered at Dhanuskodi and therefore, the statement in the *Culavamsa* quoted above does not in any way imply that the sea was not deep enough at Mantai. It has been suggested by the writer that Mantai may have come into prominence after

the fourteenth century. How can a "shallow water landing place" that was not deep enough for ships in the twelfth century rise into prominence two centuries later?

The writer goes on to state that the five fathom line comes within half a mile of the Northern Coast while it is about twenty miles off the coast at Mantai. Five fathoms is thirty feet and that was deep enough for the ships of those days. As remarked earlier the relics and ruins at Mantai prove that it was once a great port and the closeness of the five fathom line has apparently not prevented its rise as the greatest port in ancient Sri Lanka.

The readers attention has been drawn to the fact that the sea between the Island of Mannar and the mainland is very narrow at ebb tide and could be forded. This does not mean anything. Sand banks appear and disappear with the monsoons and the currents and the sea may at the same time be shallow in one place and quite deep in a place close by. It all depends on the configuration of the sea bed and the currents.

Mahātīttha is referred to many times in the *Culavamsa* from the reign of King Sena II (853-887) till the end of the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186). These references are to invasions to and from south India. Both Sena II and Kasyapa V (914-923) sent armies to Pandya. In both instances the port of embarkation was Mahātīttha.¹¹ In the reign of Mahinda V, the Chola emperor Rajendra invaded Sri Lanka. The port of disembarkation is not mentioned but since a Chola inscription states that Mātottam was renamed Rajarajapuram it is likely that the Chola Army landed at Mahātīttha.¹² In the time of Vijayabahu I, a Chola Army sent to quell a revolt against the Cholas in the Rajarata landed at Mahātīttha. After Vijayabahu became King he assembled an army at Mahātīttha to invade the Cola country, but this invasion was called off because the Velaikkaras revolted. Finally, in the reign of Parakramabahu I, an army was despatched to Pandya in response to an appeal for help.¹³ This army too embarked from Mahātīttha.

Thus, we see that of all the ports of the Rajarata Kingdom, Mahātīttha was almost exclusively used for invasions of India and invasions from India. There must have been good reasons for this. We must find out the factors which could have favoured Mahātīttha, whatever its location may have been and see whether these factors are more applicable to Mantai or to a port in the Jaffna Peninsula now extant or even a port

swallowed up by the sea waiting to be discovered, as the writer state, 'by marine archaeology at some future date'.

The success of an invasion depends to a great extent on the element of surprise. The aim of the invader would be to give as little time as possible to the invaded country to organise its defences or prepare a counter attack. Therefore, an invader would choose a port as close as possible to the capital of the invaded country. Seen in this light Mantai would have been the first choice of any invader. It is true that the Chola Kingdom lay to the north of Sri Lanka and the ports on the Northern Coast of the Jaffna Peninsula were nearer to it than Mantai. But each time the Cholas invaded Sri Lanka, the Pandya Kingdom had been conquered by the Cholas and formed a part of the Chola empire. Therefore the Cholas were free to use the Pandya coast as a springboard to invade Sri Lanka.

Secondly the port in the invaded country should be close to the bases in the land of the invaders so that supplies and reinforcements could be swiftly sent to the invading troops. Here too the choice would have been Mantai because it was only about fifty miles from the nearest point in India and another fifty miles to Anuradhapura.

If, as the writer wants us to believe Mahātīttha was not at Mantai but on the Northern Coast of Jaffna, then for example King Rajasinha the Pandya ruler who fled to Sri Lanka through fear of the Cholas travelled at least seventy miles by sea to the Northern Coast of the Jaffna Peninsula and then travelled another seventy miles on land to Mantai, a total of a hundred and forty miles. This journey would have been only fifty miles if Mahātīttha was Mantai. A classic example of how the Portuguese went to Kotte.

Mantai had another great advantage for an invader of the island. Not only was Mantai the closest port to Anuradhapura but also the Malvatu Oya which flows into the sea near Mantai gave an invading army easy access to the capital. Had Mahātīttha been on the Northern Coast of Jaffna an invading army would have had a march of several days through one of the most arid regions of the island.

The Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription is crucial in the identification of Mahātīttha with Mantai. The Sinhala Literary works has the name Mahaputu with slight variants where the *Mahāvamsa* has Mahātīttha. The name Mahaputu is also mentioned in the inscription. Therefore there

would have been no difficulty in assuming that Mahātīttha and Mahaputu was the same as Mantai. But the writer claims to have identified some of the place names in the inscriptions with certain place names in the Jaffna Peninsula.

The name Tumpokon of the inscription has been equated with the Tamil Munkulam which is a present day village near Kankasanturai. We agree that one is the translation of the other, but they need not necessarily refer to the same place. The same name may be given to several places. The identification of the other place names in the inscription with places in the Northern Coast of the Jaffna Peninsula is, to say the least, very unconvincing, as we shall show later.

Villages mentioned in inscriptions as being granted immunities were invariably near the place where the inscription was found. Therefore, the original location of the inscription was of paramount importance in the location of Mahaputu or Mahātīttha. Parānavitana in his edition of this inscription has in a foot-note mentioned that Mr. John Still had been informed that the pillar was found in Mantai. Parānavitana also adds that he himself was informed that a note by the Kacceri Mudaliyar in 1913 stated the "pillar had been found in the bund of Giants Tank where an old sluice was."¹⁴ The discrepancy seen in these two statements can be explained easily. The pillar had been first discovered in the bund of the Giants Tank and removed to Mantai. From Mantai it was once again removed to the Mannar Kacceri. The writer has ignored all this information.

The writer has turned a blind eye to many other facts. There are very few inscriptions of the Anuradhapura Kings in the Jaffna Peninsula and certainly no inscriptions of the *attāni kanu* type. Not a single inscription of this type from Jaffna Peninsula has been published in the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, or any where else, as far as I know. Besides igneous rock of the kind on which the inscription is inscribed is not available in the Jaffna Peninsula which is covered with a deep layer of lime stone.

The writer has tried to show how, the inscription which he asserts was originally in the Jaffna Peninsula, came to be in the Mannar Kacceri. The gist of his explanation runs thus, various kings built *vihāra* in the Jaffna Peninsula. Some of these *vihāra* were probably situated near Thaiyiddi and Myliddi and were built of giant sized bricks. When the

buildings were destroyed during the invasions, the bricks from the ruins would have been for long a land mark which gave rise to the name Thaiyiddi or Ancient Bricks. The origin of the place name Myliddi is best explained in his own words. "When such unusually large bricks were exposed among the ruins a millennium later, one could imagine the surprise they caused among the first Tamils to land here. This led to another place name called 'The Demon Bricks'. This is the obvious meaning of Myliddy",¹⁵

The Writer doesn't state that the bricks of unusual size were actually found at these two places. He merely supposes that such bricks had existed because of the presence of the element "iddy" in these two place names. In other words these bricks which the writer says were "strewn all over the coast" is quite imaginary.

The heaps of bricks which the writer states are no longer to be seen gives him a clue to how the Mannar Kacceri Pillar came to its present resting place. The heaps of bricks are not to be seen, says the writer because they have been recycled first by Tamil settlers and then by the Portuguese and Dutch for use as building material for their fortifications at Mannar and Kayts. That is how according to the writer the Mannar Kacceri inscription came to be in Mannar.

The writer refers to the Tamils as if they had come suddenly like the Portuguese or Dutch to Sri Lanka and they are said to have come a millennium after temples were destroyed during the invasions. Even if he is referring to the invasion of Elara, a millennium later would be the ninth century, the period which according to the writer the Tamils first came to Sri Lanka! The Tamils were in the Jaffna Peninsula and other parts of Sri Lanka from the earliest recorded times of its history and contributed to the formation of the Sinhala nation.

The idea that the Mannar Inscription could have been brought as ballast from the Jaffna peninsula has also been suggested. When taking ballast, ships would take in things that could be handled and disposed of easily like bricks and stones. Getting the rock pillar on to the ship and then unloading it would have been a minor feat of engineering.

The writer states "The name Mavittapuram appears to be a corruption of the ancient name Mavatu or Mavitipura (Mahaputu of our inscription) for Mahatīttha"¹⁶. Among the various names given to Mahatīttha in

Sinhala there is no Mahavitipura. It is a far cry from Mahavittapuram to Mahaputu so the writer probably invented Mavitipura to make the identification more plausible.

Stranger still is the fact that Mavittapuram is an inland village and could never have been a port by any stretch of the imagination. The writer himself has realized the weakness of the identification of Mahātitttha with Mavittapuram and suggests that Mavittapuram may have been the fortified township itself and that marine archaeology may be helpful in locating the exact place of the harbour! He does not state whether any ruins or any other evidence of a fort have been found at Mavittapuram. He also has failed to explain why a fortified township was built miles away from the port, which it was meant to protect.

The writer equates place names found in the Mannar inscription with modern tamil names in the Jaffna Peninsula. I shall deal with a few of them. The Nāgavihāra in the Mannar inscription is one of them. Of the Nāgavihāra he states "It is possible that the modern Tellipalai or Tellipallai is reminiscent of the name Naga Vihāra, for Tamil Telli is another word for Nāga and Tamil *palli* is the same as temple or *vihāra*".¹⁷ The word *Nāga* is a common word in both Sinhala and Tamil and is a common element in place names and personal names. Therefore, it is very unlikely that the term *Nāga* appearing in a Sinhala place name would be translated into Tamil. If they felt the Sinhala name objectionable they would have changed the name altogether.

In Sinhala, some words have a plethora of synonyms. For example, the Sinhala lexicon *Ruvanmala* has no less than nine different names for the elephant, but these names were not used by the ordinary man and certainly would not have been used as an element of a place name. These words were used in literary works, especially poetical works where they were useful to meet the demands of rhyme and rhythm. When the elephant had to be represented in a place name the term familiar to the people would invariably be used i. e. *āt* in Sinhala *Yanai* in Tamil. The word *nāga* in Nāgavihāra is the same as *nāga* Nāgadvīpa and had probably an ethnic connotation. Nāgavihāra could well have been a *vihāra* used by Tamil Buddhists.

It has been suggested that Kumbalhala of the inscription could be the same as Kolambahālaka of the *Mahāvamsa* because *Kolamba* means 'a large earthen vessel or pot'. But Kumbal and Kolamba have nothing in

common except a phonological resemblance. If as the writer says Kolamba refers to a 'large earthenware pot', Kōlambahālaka would mean 'The Hall of the large earthenware pot' and what kind of place could that be? It is interesting to note that *Kolamba* is given the meaning of harbour in the *Ruvanmala*.

It has been suggested that Pepodatuda of the inscription may be the "small promontary with a water a hole" near Munkulam. He derives *pe* from 'pa' to drink and therefore, means drinking water. If 'pe' of this place name means water, why wasn't the usual word 'diya' used. As far as I am aware there is no other place name in which 'pe' is an element and which we can be sure meant water. The writer then goes on to translate the whole name as "Little Watering Point". The English word point has several meanings, some of which are 'a tapering end' 'headland or promontory' and 'a point in space or time'. The Sinhala word 'tuda' does not have the last meaning i. e. a point in space or time. Therefore, to translate Pepodatuda as "The Little Watering Point" is misleading since 'tuda' here would mean 'place'. Besides if 'poda' meant little or small we could expect it to be the first word of the compound.

It would be unnecessary to deal with all the place names for which the writer has so ingeniously but unconvincingly provided derivations.

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BOOK REVIEW

Robert Knox : the Interleaved Edition

review article by

K. W. Goonewardene

An Historical Relation of the Island CEYLON - Revised, Enlarged and Brought to the verge of Publication as The Second Edition by ROBERT KNOX - Together with his Autobiography and all the new Chapters, Paragraphs, Marginal Notes added by the Author in the Two Interleaved Copies of the Original Text of 1681.

Edited with Introduction and Notes by J.H.O. Paulusz, M. A. (Oxon), Volume I, 508 pp. (Price Rs. 700) , Volume II, 688 pp. (Price Rs. 980). The Ceylon Historical Journal Monographs Series - (Tisara Prakasakayo Ltd. Dehiwela, 1989)

An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon has been the most often quoted work whenever the history of the Island (more especially the Kingdom of Kandy) in the seventeenth, and, even the eighteenth century, has been discussed. It was published over three hundred years ago (1681) by Robert Knox, an Englishman who spent some 19 1/2 years in that Kingdom, in a captivity which was not only relatively mild but which also left him during some years with a great degree of freedom of movement within that territory. This account of Knox's experiences and observations became justly famous and, as is well-known, it influenced Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* and, though less well-known, his *Captain Singleton*. Moreover, Dutch, German and French translations of the *Historical Relation* soon appeared, although that was done (following the widespread practice of the time) without any permission from Knox or Chiswell, his London publishers.

In the meantime, because the book had been so well received and as it was also known that Knox had much more to add to its contents, a second edition was thought of. Chiswell provided him with an interleaved copy of his book to enable him to write down the additional information. Between 1681 and 1713, Knox added so much material in the interleaved copy on the blank sheets provided as well as by way of interpolations on the printed text itself, that altogether it became nearly one-and-a-half times the size of the original text. The contemplated second edition, however, never saw the light of day in his life-time. Knox,

it needs to be noted, had with him another copy of the *Historical Relation* in which he inserted material of an autobiographical nature including what he calls "Concerning severall remarkeable passages of my life that hath happen since my Deliverance out of my Captivity." But here too, he has given some material that relates to his experiences in Sri Lanka.

Towards the end of the 19th century, Dr. Braunholtz, the Keeper of the Department of Ethnography, Museum of Mankind in London, had transcribed the material in the interleaved volume (which had found its way to the Christy Library of the Museum), with a view to bringing out a second edition of the *Historical Relation*. C.S. Vaughan (a British administrator in Sri Lanka) had prepared transcripts of the other volume discovered in the Bodleian Library containing what has come to be referred to as *Knox's Autobiography* ("Severall Remarkeable passages..."). Due to various reasons neither of these attempts ended in publication.

In 1911, James Ryan published in Glasgow an edition of the *Historical Relation*. By way of a Preface, Ryan gives such further information about Knox as he had gathered from the research of others as well as his own, more particularly from the manuscript material attached by Knox to the copy of his book at the Bodleian. Moreover, he made that material public for the first time by printing it in its entirety along with the 1911 edition of the *Historical Relation* referred to above, as one publication, entitled on the spine of the cover as: *Knox's Ceylon with Autobiography*. The autobiographical section in this volume was prefaced by Knox's own nomenclature: "Concerning Severall Remarkeable Passages..."

Whilst Ryan performed a scholarly service by adding to our knowledge of Knox and of his experiences in Sri Lanka and elsewhere by publishing the Autobiography, his contribution as far as the *Historical Relation* was concerned, lay almost entirely in the faithful republication of a work that had gone out of print since the close of the seventeenth century. It has to be noted, however, that Knox's copious and valuable interleaved manuscript material in the copy at the Christy Library was not incorporated by Ryan in his publication; nor was it done in any of the other reprints or abridgements by diverse hands both before and after.

That deficiency has at last been made good by Mr. J.H.O. Paulusz in the publication that is now being reviewed. Mr. Paulusz, a graduate of

Oxford University, had served Sri Lanka (Ceylon) as the Government Archivist for some fifteen years and had subsequently held several diplomatic posts in the years between 1958 and 1966. During all this time he had edited and translated many Dutch documents of the 17th and 18th centuries. Finally, during the last three decades or so he seems to have devoted his attention to the preparation of this Second Edition. It appears to have been undertaken at the outset jointly with Dr. Braunholtz; but with the latter's death quite early in the project, the burden had fallen entirely on Mr. Paulusz. There is no reference in the present edition to any contribution from this early collaborator.

Volume I of this publication which runs into 508 pages is apparently meant as an introduction to Volume II which contains all of Knox's historical and autobiographical writings, both published and hitherto unpublished. This first volume has a 470-page section titled the Introduction. Within that Introduction are various sections divided into further sub-sections, which seems to cause some confusion. For instance, when Paulusz refers the reader "to the Chapter headed 'The Lost Interleaved Volumes'", one looks in vain for this 'Chapter' until one eventually discovers that it is only a two-paragraph section with that heading at page 465. The logic behind many such 'Chapters' of barely a page or two is difficult to fathom. Moreover, widely disparate themes sometimes follow each other so that the presentation becomes further disjointed.

As far as their contents are concerned, however, several of these sections are interesting and useful for a study of Knox's work or as providing some elements of the background of his times. For instance, Paulusz has collected together - though not always fully and faithfully - the extant published correspondence relating to the English prisoners at Kandy (pp. 245-259). He has also given extracts or summaries from the depositions or other statements made to the Dutch by other erstwhile European prisoners (pp. 326- 55). Some of this information helps to supplement, and at times, even to modify and correct Knox's account of men and events. For instance, when the escapees Day and Kirby say (p. 353) that the "Dissawes and others directing their affairs dealt harshly with them, put them in irons and otherwise maltreated all the prisoners whatever their nationality, whether Dutch, English, French, or other foreigners" we can see an aspect of the prisoners' lives which in Knox's account, can only be surmised by reading between the lines.

In the section (pp. 438-42) entitled "Sinhalese Lekammiti Used for

Framework" what is of significant value is the attempt made to indicate some of the important trade and travel routes within the Island (though the section title does not warrant such information). Information gathered from Knox and from the well-known Dutch compiler Francois Valentyn as well as from one or two of the Dutch Company's own records have been utilized for this purpose. A meticulous and useful attempt has also been made in this section to determine the date of some of the maps taken up for consideration there, although his main concern with cartography was shown in the previous section (pp. 434-38) which is called : "Some Dutch Maps Before Knox."

Paulusz has given us (pp. 403-16) details of the various translations of the *Historical Relation* as well as of extracts, summaries and adaptations of it. Where even rather limited utilization of the work has been made, the Editor attempts to keep us posted on it. Part of this task had already been performed by others, just as Defoe's Debt to Knox (pp. 463-65) had previously been pointed out by Ryan and others. As befitting an entirely new and complete edition of Knox's works, it was appropriate that the Editor should incorporate all this information in the volume that was meant as an introduction to the new edition in Volume II. It is regrettable, however, that he has overlooked the Facsimile Reprint of the *Historical Relation* by the Indian publishers, Navrang, in 1984 with the introduction by H.A.I. Goonetilleke.¹ Even if this publication and its introduction had been overlooked because it might have appeared around the time that he was finalising his preparations for this new edition, there can really be no excuse for ignoring a very relevant and valuable publication that was out several years earlier. This was the seventy-page article entitled "Robert Knox in the Kandyan Kingdom, 1660-1679 written by the same H.A.I. Goonetilleke for the *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Dec. 1975), pp. 81-151. This article has covered much of the ground that Paulusz has ventured upon, as well as some new ground - and all that, meticulously and in a scholarly fashion.

Turning to other sections of Paulusz's Introduction, we notice that he has compiled a very interesting section called "Coffee House Visits" (pp. 376-79). In this, he attempts, largely with reference to the Diary of Robert Hooke, to show more clearly than was known before, the latter's role in promoting and helping in Knox's literary pursuits. In the sections entitled: "The Illustrations; The Artist / Limner" and "Ms. of Hooke's Diary Yields Clue" (pp. 383-391) the editor has done some assiduous

investigations to trace the unknown artist who had done the sketches for the *Historical Relation*. His findings have tended to strengthen the view that it was Knox's own brother, James, who had been the anonymous artist (even though Robert Knox himself was no artist, judging by the few drawings in his interleaved volume).

We can now take up what appears to be the main preoccupation and thrust of the Introduction taking up over 300 of its 470 pages namely, an attempt at re-writing the history of the seventeenth century, more particularly of the history of Rajasimha's reign (c. 1628 to 1687). With this end in view, Paulusz virtually ignores the historical revisions based on an intensive study of documents (especially those of the Dutch East India Company) made since the nineteen-fifties by Arasaratnam and Goonewardena.² Though he leaves these studies entirely out of his rather voluminous Bibliography as well as elsewhere in his work, there is no doubt from various indirect statements and remarks that it is the revisions in these studies that he wishes to overturn. Such references as "critics of the V.O.C." (p. 221), "modern commentators" (p. 227), "some modern writers" (p. 291) in all probability aim at these two writers though their writings have not been cited except on one occasion, (which will be referred to later).

It is quite apparent that Paulusz's prime objective in attempting to re-write history was to refute the established thesis that the Dutch had acted fraudulently in their dealings with Rajasimha. For this purpose he has not considered it sufficient to attack Rajasimha only but has also felt impelled to attack the founder of the Kandyan royal house, Vimaladarmasuriya himself and Rajasimha's father, Senarat. Whilst it is not possible to take up all the preposterous ideas on seventeenth century history which Paulusz has attempted to disseminate, it is necessary to take up at least a few of them, so that the reader would approach the editor's exposition of history with the necessary circumspection. A consideration of some of his comments regarding the first two Kandyan monarchs would be useful for this purpose.

Regarding the killing of Sebald de Weert and his retinue on the orders of Vimaladarmasuriya in 1603 he rejects the views of Dutch writers such as Baldaeus³ (work published in 1672) that the incident was a sudden one provoked by de Weert's actions and drunken behaviour. On the contrary, Paulusz puts forward the novel thesis (pp. 208, 454-56), that the "massacre had been carefully planned", that it was at "the prompting

of the Portuguese", that the king "had made peace overtures to the Viceroy and, to strengthen his plea, had approached the Archbishop of Goa with offers to re-enter the Christian fold". Moreover, according to our editor, the "Kandyan King was required to give convincing proof of a change of heart". This massacre was therefore, the provision of that proof. The implications of this view were that the very first Kandyan ruler had shown evidence of shameless duplicity in that he was pretending to negotiate with the Dutchman De Weert to attack the Portuguese whilst all the time planning to kill him to please the Portuguese! On this basis, the double-dealing which Paulusz attributes to Rajasimha II virtually ran in the family. The fact is that neither the contemporary Portuguese (including the writer Queyroz⁴ whom Paulusz often quotes) nor the Sinhalese would recognize the picture of Vimaladharmasuriya painted by him. As the following extracts prove, we could add: "nor would the contemporary Dutch."

The extracts are from the Journal⁵ maintained in the fleet of Joris van Spilbergen who had visited the Kandyan King some months earlier, and who was at Bantam when news of De Weert's death was brought there by the crew of *Der Goes*, (one of De Weert's ships that had been at Batticaloa at the time of the massacre). The extracts read:

"This [the massacre] was greatly to be wondered at because our General [i. e. Spilbergen] had been so often entirely in the hands of the aforesaid King, and had received all friendship from the said King, as stated above in this Journal."

"The King of Kandy, hearing the news of the capture of the Portuguese [by De Weert]...came to Batticaloa thinking of obtaining [those] Portuguese there. Then, as soon as the Vice-Admiral [De Weert] and his Ships's Council had heard that the king was coming to Batticaloa, they let the Portuguese with their servants and ships sail away free. When the King saw this when he came to Batticaloa he came to have a very bad opinion for he could not think that we were honest with him and were the enemies of the Portuguese as we had told him, since we treated the Portuguese with courtesy and without hostility."

"The King requested the Vice-Admiral [De Weert] to proceed to Galle with his ships and said that he would go there with an army by land in order to capture Galle. The Admiral [De

Weert] readily promised that but first wished the King to come on board his ship, a thing which the King did not like and so excused himself. Then the Vice-Admiral told the King.... that if he [the King] did not wish to come on board, then he for his part did not wish to go to Galle with the ships. When the King heard these words, he said 'Kill this dog.' Whereupon there took place the gruesome murder, which we have so heard and understood from the persons of the aforesaid ship *Der Goes*.

"Our General [Spilbergen] was very grieved over these tidings, the misfortune of so many good friends, also because the good understanding and friendship which our General had achieved with the said King had now come to nought, because our General has letters from the said King both to the States General as well as to His Excellency [Prince Maurice] requesting thereby assistance to war against the Portuguese. We did not find that King to be any thing other than a bitter enemy of the Portuguese."

The Journal adds that when previously Spilbergen had captured some Portuguese ships off the Island, he had handed over to the King's envoy as many Portuguese and Mixties as possible along with the best weapons that were found in the ships. He had also got some Portuguese ships set on fire. All this had been done "to prove to the Sinhalese that we were enemies of the Portuguese."

The above extracts show up in unmistakable fashion how blatantly Paulusz has distorted the true situation - all the more because he has a reference to this Journal and faults Baldaeus for ignoring it. (p. 454).

Regarding Senarat's marriage to the widow of the late King, Paulusz states: "Her new husband, a cousin of Vimala Dharma Suriya on the mother's side, was Senarat, a priest then undergoing penance at a temple near Adam's Peak. But he cast off his robes and emerged as the successful contender for the throne and the hand of Dona Catherina, though she fought him tooth and nail. The fruit of this ill-founded union was Raja Sinha." The monk Senarat's indecent haste in casting off his robes in order to become King and marry the widowed Queen which is here suggested, is contradicted by earlier Dutch writers, and more especially by those whom Paulusz has introduced in another context as being

"the most qualified" to speak on such matters. According to their account,⁶ Vimaladharasuriya had got Senarat to disrobe and undergo military training. Thereafter he had appointed him successively as a Vidane and a Disave, "and finally, when had acquitted himself well against the Portuguese, had employed him as Viceroy and General Commander in the field, and, at death, had entrusted to him his Kingdom and children...."⁶

As for Rajasimha and his reign, Paulusz would have us completely revise traditionally accepted views as well as those established by modern research. "Raja Sinha...lately put forward as the national hero", as he puts it (p. 220), appears to be the *bete noire* of his waking hours and his dreams. In this he seems to be following in the footsteps of the Dutch Governor Rijckloff Van Goens, many of whose propaganda concoctions he seems to have swallowed wholesale. The following are some of the section-headings which give an inkling of his attitude: "Raja Schemes Against His Brothers - Treaty 1632-34" (p. 29), "Raja Guided Perhaps by Machiavelli" (p. 102), "King at Odds With His Dissavas" (p. 155), "His Hypochondria; Suspicious Mind" (p. 218), "King Sweeps Aside Main Pillars of Treaty" (p. 226).

A device employed by Paulusz to pass off his own flights of fancy or concoctions in order to denigrate Rajasimha is that of linking or juxtaposing such material to a quote from an actual document. A prize example is found on page 219 where he says:

"As a guide to his routine, he drew up for the instruction of the Dutch a list of his duties in order of importance : first, to woo peace of mind through a bout of random killing; next, enjoy perfect health for some time; then last of all, attend to state affairs,"

The very next sentence, however, is an actual extract from one of Rajasimha's letters, with a reference to the source given within brackets by Paulusz. Another example is the following at page 41:

"Instead of marshalling the units of his militia for disciplined evolutions and rehearsals of battles in readiness for the day of real fighting he busied himself with noisy palace ceremonials or with teaching his Fishes...to come and eat in his hand."

After the word 'hand' he has a foot-note number '26' which refers to 'Kn. p. 41.' Although the whole passage seems to get the benefit of Knox's authority, we find on checking that Knox has said nothing more than that the fishes in the palace pond come and eat out of the King's hand.

Partly with a view to supporting his case that Rajasimha was against all attempts at improving methods of warfare, Paulusz has set out on a remarkable flight of the imagination with regard to Rajasimha's bare comment that in 1630 the Commander "Maratenna Vandaar" had pulled back from Colombo without just reason and later crossed over to the enemy. Paulusz (pp. 147-48) supplies a full justification from his own imagination for the Commander's action by saying:

"... he took the decision to draw off his forces in order it would seem, to train them in the special techniques of siege warfare - tunnelled approaches behind earthworks, parallel lines of attack with troops moving up along deep trenches - in short, making full use of the latest engines and devices for conserving life while strangling the enemy. But these new methods found no favour with Raja Sinha. The Commander was summoned to answer for himself but he wisely took to flight and, in the King's words 'went over to the rebels'."

In all such cases - and there are many of them (see e.g. pp. 149-50) - the contribution if any, is to historical fiction.

We can take up a few other matters regarding which Paulusz has set out to give a basically new interpretation, whatever the evidence. Some of these were put forward a decade or so ago in a 31-page article entitled 'The 1638 Westerwold Treaty in Ceylon : Charges of Dutch Deceit Disproved', in the Dutch Journal, *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, Volume 136, Nos. II & III (1980) pp. 321- 352. Arasaratnam wrote an effective 'Rejoinder' based on the findings in his work and mine. This was published in Vol. 138, Parts II & III (pp. 191-204) of the *Bijdragen* along with "Some Comments" from Paulusz (pp. 206-10) on the 'Rejoinder'. Since Paulusz has repeated and enlarged his arguments in the volume that is now under review, it is useful to take up as briefly as possible the main points in question.

When Paulusz claims that Rajasimha was not entitled to call

himself Emperor, Arasaratnam points out that "this claim to all-island sovereignty was ingrained in Sinhalese Kingship" and that recognition of this title had been "afforded to the ruler by European powers whenever it was in their interest to do so" (p. 193) But since Paulusz makes a legalistic issue of this question in his "Comments" (p. 206) and still more in his edition of Knox (Vol.I, pp. 66-67) saying that according to the test of European diplomatic usage the assumption of such illegitimate titles would make the Treaty of May 1638 between the King and the V.O.C. "null and void" - a convenient way of getting rid of the charge that the Dutch had violated its terms - it is necessary to make a further point, which should finally dispose of the question.

The title of Emperor along with various sub-titles of principedoms, dukedoms and marquisates had been coined by a V.O.C. employee, Marcellis de Boschouwer, in order to present forged credentials purporting to have been issued to him by King Senarat. With these forged credentials presented to the King of Denmark he had concluded a Treaty with the Danes allegedly on behalf of Senarat. Though Boschouwer died on the voyage, the Danish expedition arrived in the Island. When the Danes arrived at Court and their leader began to address him - probably through an interpreter - with the above titles couched in the bombastic language of European feudalism, the Danish diarist, Giedde, records that King Senarat "put his hand before his mouth, looked at his Council and laughed." Later that day the Kings' Secretary explained to Giedde that Senarat's title was "simply King of Candia." But when the Dane asked whether he should delete the other titles, the Secretary had said that "...it might as well remain, since it did neither good nor harm." ⁷ From that time Senarat, and after him his son Rajasimha, seem to have utilised these titles in the belief that this was appropriate in relation to the Dutch. It was, therefore, not a novel or presumptuous assumption of titles by Rajasimha, as Paulusz would have us believe, but rather introduced in the first instance by the Dutch themselves.

Paulusz's assertion that the Kandyans had no control of cinnamon is taken up and refuted by Arasaratnam, as also his claim that the Dutch "raised a protective barrier in a huge arc around Raja Sinha's Kingdom" from 1623 and "even earlier" and that the King "never roused himself to seize the chance they gave him to crush his weakened enemy" (ideas repeated in the volume under review e.g. at pp. 28, 32-33, 40). In fact, in Paulusz's view Rajasimha had called in the Dutch not to help in driving out

the Portuguese from the Island as all other historians have assumed but rather to protect himself and his tottering position against his own subjects and against the rising power of his brother Vijayapala. As Arasaratnam remarks: "With a flash of originality he asserts that the decision to attack Batticaloa was motivated by Raja Sinha's desire to get Dutch support against his rebel brother Prince Vijayapala. This original interpretation proves an original error" because only two months before the capture of Batticaloa, Vijayapala had joined Rajasimha in crushing the Portuguese at Gannoruva (March 1638). In his 'Rejoinder', Arasaratnam has also drawn attention (p. 200) to an aspect of Paulusz's utilization of sources when he says: "Paulusz misquotes my statement on the correspondence between Raja Sinha and the Dutch by the old trick of omitting crucial clauses in it and replacing them with dots (....)."

In Volume I of the edition of Knox that we have hitherto been primarily considering, Paulusz gives new twists and turns to incidents, statements, words and phrases in order to give a new interpretation to them that would justify such claims as the following : "...But the Dutch were peaceable, stood purely on the defensive and were more sinned against than sinning" (p. 369) or the following: "They had responded to Raja Sinha's invitation to intervene in Lanka partly because they believed that they could devote their full time to the problems of trade across the world, leaving the burden of government to the King. They now found themselves in a false position, with no choice but to take into their own hands the apparatus of bureaucratic control." (pp. 188-89)

It would be a tedious waste of time and space to tackle his new interpretations and fabrications in detail. At the same time, the reader has to be made aware of the fact that no reliance should be placed on the history of the period that he has presented before us. This can be done by referring the reader to the comments already made as well as to the detailed research in the two monographs referred to above. In addition, it may be helpful to underscore a few other points taken from the records of the Dutch East India Company.

Paulusz has a section entitled "Raja Guided Perhaps By Machiavelli", though he adduces no proof to support his surmise. As against that we could refer to a statement on aspects of Dutch policy by the Governor-General and Council to the *Heeren XVII* in their General Letter of 9 Dec. 1637: "In our local letters we write to the Directors and

Merchants of the Company, sometimes even to some native princes concepts which are far removed from our decisions, such as that.... we are going to assist Bantam against Mataram, and Mataram against Bantam etc. We request Your Excellencies to treat such concepts and objectives which do not accord with our resolutions as fabrications meant to throw our enemy into confusion."⁸ In a letter to Jan Thijssen, the Officer-in Charge in the Island, Governor-General & Council remind him on the 26th July 1644: "You know well that we are helping Raja Sinha with no other intention than to help ourselves."⁹ In that same letter they instructed as follows: "We do not ask you to break formally with Raja Sinha and to declare war against him...but to carry on war in his name against those who try to hinder [i. e. the King's men] His Majesty's forts [i.e. the Dutch]."¹⁰ This was the Machiavellian policy that Governor Van Goens practised in the 1660s and '70s. Sometimes he followed a more sophisticated variant claiming that though Rajasimha himself was friendly towards the Dutch, a powerful anti-Dutch faction at Court had overruled the King and was conducting hostilities against the Company, which on the other hand was doing its best to support him: The King himself was so unpopular, so the propaganda went, because of his blood-thirsty executions.¹¹

At various points in this first volume, the Editor comes up with the charge that Rajasimha was faithless in his dealings with the Dutch, despite established research findings to the contrary. He has, as already noted, a special section entitled "King Sweeps Aside main Pillars of Treaty" (p. 226). and laments that "The party with a sense of duty to the Contract [Treaty of 1638] was at a disadvantage beside its irresponsible partner." (p.230) What sense of duty the Dutch had towards the Contract was well demonstrated when Rajasimha offered to pay off his so-called debt to the Dutch in spot cash, and Governor-General Van Diemen and his Councilors turned it down with the Shylockian words: "The Contract speaks of merchandise and not of cash."¹²

The submissions made to the Company's principal authorities in the mid-seventies by the well-known Dutch administrator, Hendrik Adriaan Van Reede, criticising some Dutch policies, in particular, Van Goens's "encroachments and provocations against Raja Sinha" are dismissed by Paulusz as "ill-considered", "full of factual mistakes, misleading judgments and bold assertions either unsupported or based on scraps of information" and stemming from hatred and a personal vendetta against Van Goens (pp. 365, 367). In order however, to leave no room for doubt

or further controversy regarding a salient feature in the dealings between Rajasimha and the Dutch, a quote from a memorandum presented to the Batavian Council by the Director-General (later Governor-General) Johan Van Hoorn on the 23rd August 1700, should suffice. He stated, *inter alia*, that it had been well-known in Batavia that

"...not long before his death His Excellency the Governor-General, Joan Maetsuycker of Blessed Memory, had declared quite outspokenly in the Council of India in 1677 during the important discussions over Ceylon affairs that during the past twenty years and more he had testified, and he still testified, that Raja Sinha had been wronged by the Company."¹³

Paulusz's view of Rajasimha's character as a leader too is as unreliable as the other aspects which we have noted. Works such as *Parangi Hatana*, the *Rajasimha Hatana* and the traditional chronicles depict Rajasimha as a great leader, even in military affairs.¹⁴ Research studies based on Portuguese and Dutch records (mentioned earlier in this review) tend to support that picture. But Paulusz sees him as being "more concerned with decimating his own subjects rather than preparing to fight the Portuguese" (pp. 24-25, 40-42) as deserting "the passes and ferries on the eve of Gannoruwa" (p. 87), as one who had "a blind mistrust of his own subjects" (p. 357) and "meddled from afar with tactical operations;" and as one who did not march with his troops (p. 81). For these and other reasons Paulusz believed that "almost everybody was thirsting for his blood." (p. 112).

In support of what he calls "a striking example of the lukewarm feelings" of the people "towards this dim figure," he cites the Portuguese soldier-historian, Joao Ribeiro (p. 81). When one looks at Ribeiro's *Historic Tragedy*, one sees not only a king who had marched with his troops but also one who on one occasion attempted to throw himself into the midst of a victorious Portuguese army with a view to rallying his fleeing troops. Ribeiro comments that "as he was prevented by his nobles, he took more sane advice and hastily retired..."¹⁵ This episode, as narrated by Ribeiro, also gives some idea of the affection and loyalty of the nobles, whom Paulusz often depicts as always waiting for an opportunity to get rid of him.

To some extent this view of the hostile attitude of the nobility towards Rajasimha is derived by Paulusz from Dutch propaganda,

particularly in the time of Van Goens and also from Knox, who (like other European prisoners), seems to have been influenced by that propaganda.

It is appropriate to take up for consideration at this point one area in which Knox appears to have strayed far from the truth. In the *Historical Relation*, Knox refers to frequent and gruesome executions ordered by Rajasimha, especially of the nobility and other persons of note. The King's punishments are said to have often reached out to the kith and kin and even the youngest descendants of the condemned persons.¹⁶ The statements of other escapees and informants as set down in the Dutch records also echoed this view. It was reiterated in blood-curdling detail in the statement¹⁷ which Knox had made on the 22nd November 1679 on the basis of questions asked by Ryckloff Van Goens, Jnr., who had succeeded to the Governorship four years earlier when the senior Van Goens, his father, had left to take up a seat in the Batavian Council. It is extremely important to note that Knox had refused to sign this statement which closely resembled current Dutch propaganda and that the statement which he made at the Dutch headquarters in Batavia over two months later, and which he certified, gives an almost entirely different kind of personal testimony. In the statement at Batavia he says:

"of Raja's government he had *heard* that it was very cruel and that many people were killed on his orders; but during the 19 years he was there *he had only seen four* being killed at various places, and also some dead bodies and skeletons on stakes in the roads and villages. But that Raja's reign since his 19 years' stay has become worse, killing on the slightest provocation his chief rulers and families...*although he can only report what is rumoured.*"¹⁸

From the above it would appear that the relatively scrupulous regard for truth in the statement at Batavia where he indicated that he was basing much of the King's reputation for cruelty on rumour, was virtually abandoned when writing the *Historical Relation*. Doubtless, the more unfamiliar and outrageous the happenings in strange lands that are contained in a book appear to be, the more attractive and popular such a work would become in Europe. Even if Knox had been reluctant to make his book popular by incorporating such material, his publisher and friends probably had no such scruples. Moreover, what Knox was saying in his book was nothing more than the current talk among the European

prisoners in the Kandyan Kingdom. Knox himself had admitted in Batavia that "no European... can say anything for certain about Raja or his government, as he does everything in secret and only with his chiefs"¹⁹ Another European escapee Dirk Balk in his statement (Paulusz I, p. 348) admitted that "nobody can get to know anything; unless of course, the king chooses to set afloat some rumour." When questions were asked about executions, Balk says that "the people stick both thumbs into their ears and say, with a loud exclamation, as though in astonishment, that the Emperor, their god, is their preserver." It thus also appears that what was commonly believed in European prisoner circles was a matter of surprise to the people of the country, and in no way endorsed by them.

The fact that Knox in his interpretation of men and affairs was at times rather unreliable is shown by a further fact, namely, his portrayal of Rajasimha's government as being "Tyrannical and Arbitrary in the highest degree; for he ruleth absolute and after his own Will and Pleasure : his own head being his only Counsellor." As pointed out many years ago,²⁰ there is much evidence in Knox's own work and in his statement at Batavia to contradict this view. The delegation of authority and responsibility to subordinate officers is clearly in evidence in Dirk Balk's statement as well (Paulusz Vol. I, p. 347). The Dutch Commander Adam Westerwolt had noted in 1638 itself that Rajasimha had discussed for "full two or three days" with his Ministers the draft Treaty put forward by Westerwolt and thereafter suggested some modification which had to be incorporated in the Treaty before it was signed.²¹

What may be considered as a final assessment of Rajasimha and his achievements was made by the Dutch after his death. When it was reported to the Directors that among his people the King was referred to as Rajasimha the Great, the Directors had concurred with the views of their subordinates in the East that he had truly deserved that title.²²

In the course of discussing Paulusz's interpretations of the history of the seventeenth century we have had occasion to take up for discussion a few of Knox's statements relating to King Rajasimha as Paulusz has at times attempted to justify his novel interpretations by reference to the *Historical Relation*. There are, however, yet other aspects of Knox's writings which need to be considered in any assessment of the value of his work for historical purposes. Paulusz has taken note of some of them when he refers (p.415) to my article "Some Comments on Robert Knox and his Writings on Ceylon." Though he says that the "writer gave due

weight to various features, hitherto left unregarded...", he has taken note of only a few of these "features", and some of them too cursorily or inadequately (pp. 415, 461-462). The fact that Knox had been moving most often and most intimately "only" amongst people of low economic, social and cultural circumstances", has been duly noted as well as, to some extent, limitations imposed on him by slow and inadequate acquisition of the Sinhala language. These were some factors that affected the nature and extent of his understanding of life and thought in the country. But there were other noteworthy factors which are either not noted at all by the editor, or only inadequately.

One of these is the fact that Knox's freedom of movement had been severely restricted during most of the first ten years or so of his captivity and that even during the balance period his travel had been for the most part limited, on his own accord, to an area to the north and north-west of Gampola and Kandy. This was an area from which he was hoping to escape to Dutch territory. Thus Knox's firsthand knowledge of the Kandyan country was, generally speaking, limited to a narrow social circle as well as a narrow geographical area.

Knox's very strong religious and racial pride and prejudice constitute other aspects of his work to which attention had been drawn in the article referred to above. Paulusz has taken inadequate note of these aspects. Whilst the reader is referred to that essay for a more extended discussion of the problem, a few brief illustrations and comments are made here.

Knox claims that "indeed all over the land they do bear as it were a natural respect and reverence to White Men in as much as Black, they hold to be inferior to White." (p.187) But from information provided by Knox himself we see that the reality was rather different. He admits (p. 67) that regarding the Whites there was "an abatement of their Honour that they eat Beef and wash not after they have been at Stool: which things are reckoned with this People an Abomination." An incident when a potter assaulted an Englishman and another when there was an exchange of blows between several Englishmen and local inhabitants (pp. 129-30) clearly indicate the lack of "a natural respect and reverence to White Men." It is also known from Knox that when the King's support for the captives was absent, they had been forced to beg in the streets (p. 140).²³

Knox would have us believe (p. 187) that Rajasimha's appointment of some Europeans to certain high posts was due to a recognition of their superiority and that the King considered them to be "more faithful and trusty than his own people." As pointed out many years ago,²⁴ appointments in the Kandyan Kingdom both in Rajasimha's time and before were based on ability and loyal service rather than on race or skin colour. In fact, from Knox's own account (interleaved addition to p. 72) we know that one of Rajasimha's Adigars (the holder of an administrative position next only to that of the King) was a South Indian. In comparison, the only Englishman who held a post of some importance had been placed in command of less than a thousand soldiers. Moreover, from the statement of Beard and Knight (Paulusz I, p. 333) we find that even this man and his troops were "under the overall command of a Sinhalese Chief."

Closely connected with the claims of superiority for "white Men" are his claims for the superiority of Christianity over all other religions. At page 83 of the *Historical Relation* he says, for example: "But on the contrary both King and people do generally like the Christian Religion better than their own...and believe there is a greater God than any they adore". There is no doubt that on this point he was misled by the reluctance of the Sinhalese to criticise or run down Christianity (or any other religion) because of their extraordinary concept of liberty and religious tolerance - a tolerance that Europe had not witnessed up to Knox's time. In after years, when he had had more time to reflect on this question, he touches upon the truth when he writes:

"As they [the Sinhalese] are not biggotted in their owne Religion, they care not of what religion straingers that dwell amongst them are of, they doe believe there is a plurality of Gods, and more than they know; there for all nations have a free liberty to use and injoy their owne Religion, with all or any manner of Cerimonies, thare to belonging, without the lest oppsition or so much as Rideculing." (Interleaved addition to p. 72. Paulusz has it as an addition to p. 73)

How his religious prejudices led him to very peculiar and faulty conclusions can be illustrated by his claim that the people of the lowlands who had been under Portuguese rule "have been exercised and acquainted with the customs and manners of Christian people, which...have begot and bred in them a kind of love and affection towards strangers, being apt to

shew Pity and Compassion on them in their distress" (p. 121). But about thirty years later (in 1711 to be precise) when Knox was reflecting in his old age on what he believed was the lack of true charity amongst his Christian countrymen in England, he realised that the Sinhalese had not learnt pity, compassion and charity from the Christian Portuguese and said:

"The Heathen Pagans on Ceylone account releaving of the poor so well pleasing to God, that....there are strangers that come from beyond the seas one purpose to begg...these heathen are very Compationate to indigent people of what nation or Religion soever...." (*Autobiography*, pp. 115-16)

In the *Historical Relation*, moreover, whenever he or the other European captives had received "Pity and Compassion" from the Sinhalese he ascribed such actions to the intervention of God (eg. pp. 120, 128, 129, 143, 144, and 147) but similar actions on the part of others such as the Dutch are given their just due, without bringing God's intervention in to the account (eg. pp. 169, 171, 173-74). Such prejudices are also strikingly revealed in his attitudes towards the people of Bandara Koswatte. In 1661 when they brought a rope with which they tied cattle with a view to tying it round his dead father's neck and dragging the corpse to the place of burial, Knox was righteously indignant at "this Insolency of the Heathen." (p. 125) But when many years later he was well received by them during a visit, he explains that friendliness by saying "for the people in the lowlands are naturally of a kind and friendly disposition". (*Autobiography* f. 90). In other words, they had developed "a kind of love and affection towards Strangers" as they had at one time been under Portuguese rule. It is a weakness in Knox's account that he did not see the contradictory nature of such statements or assessments.

Perhaps one last example might suffice to indicate how Knox's prejudice and naivete led him to false conclusions. In 1667 when Knox and three other fellow-captives were quartered in dismal Lagundeniya, they were very dejected because they had heard that this was a place to which the King was accustomed to send malefactors whom he had decided "to cut off." But the very next day they were quite comforted to hear an official inform the villagers, and in the hearing of the captives, that the King himself had said that these were not malefactors "but men whom his Majesty did highly esteem", and that if they were too poor to provide the

due allowances for these persons they "should sell their Cattel and Goods" and, if necessary, even "their wives and Children" to find the wherewithal. The Englishmen concluded from this that the King's purpose "in placing us in those remote Parts, was not to punish us, but them" [i. e. the local people] (pp. 142-143). It did not occur to the captives that the official's speech could well have been a piece of play-acting to put them in better humour.

The story has a sequel which indicates quite clearly that the local people had been performing a duty rather than being subject to punishment and that it was not the King but state officials who usually made all arrangements regarding the captives. When Knox bought a piece of land some ten miles or so away at Eladetta and settled down in a house there, he insisted that the people of Lagundeniya should bring his allowance of provisions there. It then became apparent - though Knox did not see it quite that way - that these people had enough independence to trun round after some time and tell him, as they did, that he was much better off than they were and that they were not going to bring him the provisions all that way. Knox admitted the fact that he was indeed better off than those people, but he was out for his pound of flesh and did not wish to lose his allowance from Lagundeniya, hence he went and

"appealed to the *Adigar*, to whom such matters did belong. Who upon consideration of the Peoples poor condition, appointed me monthly to come to him at the Kings Palace for a Ticket to receive my Allowance out of the King's Store-houses." (pp. 149-50).

Incidentally, this statment also furnishes an example of the concern for the poor under the King's administration.

From all that has been said above, it is apparent that Knox's account is vitiated by strong religious and racial prejudices as well as a naivete and credulity partly arising from them. He does not analyse or compare and collate all the evidence he had on any particular subject; hence, for example, his contradictory opinions of the people of Bandara Koswatte. We have also noticed how he abandoned his earlier scruples in order to depict Rajasimha as an unmitigated tyrant in the *Historical Relation*. Early in this century Ryan had remarked that it was "unfortunate for our general impression of his veracity that he should have magnified

the tonnage and gunnage of the "Tonquin Merchant" (of which he had been given command after his return to England).

There is also evidence to indicate that he deliberately suppressed extremely important information relevant to his narrative of events. From the statement (p. 326 of Vol. I) of Charles Beard and Ralph Knight, fellow-English prisoners from the *Anne*, who escaped to Dutch territory in 1681 we find that the Captain's son Robert Knox *Jnr.*, and John Loveland, the Supercargo had been sent by the Captain, Robert Knox *Snr.* "on a mission to deliver a letter" to a provincial governor. By this means it was hoped to secure the release of some Englishmen from the *Persia Merchant* who had been detained in the Kandyan Kingdom about a year previous to the arrival of the *Anne* at Kottiyar in March 1660. A letter of 11 Jan. 1661 from the Madras Council to the Company in London indicates that Captain Knox had been acting in this matter on the instructions of the Madras Council. Knox's mission was undoubtedly a clandestine one, particularly because according to the above statement it was not a boat from the *Anne* but a *doney* or country vessel which came to take the duo on this mission. Moreover, if the release of the detainees had been sought in a straightforward manner, the mission should have addressed itself to the King along with a suitable present.

There has been much speculation about the reasons for the arrest and detention of Knox and his companions, as well as various other persons during the time of Rajasimha II. It would be too much of a digression if we were to enter into a discussion of this problem. But it needs to be made quite clear that there was no indiscriminate detention of all Europeans and other foreigners who chanced to enter the Island. In fact, John Burford, who took over the Command of the *Anne* after the detention of the Knoxes had stayed many days in Kottiyar during a voyage in 1648 and many of his companions "had travelled up in the country more than thirty miles" without any molestation.²⁵ We may also note that the Madras Council had sent several emissaries to communicate with the Court of Kandy with a view to securing the release of Knox and other English captives (P-I, pp. 108, 247). There is no doubt, however, that the clandestine mission of Knox and Loveland would have been sufficient reason for action against the Englishmen.

As indicated above, Knox does not make any admission of his clandestine mission (which Paulusz says was not mentioned because "it may have been little to his taste to dwell on his father's false position as the

futile rescuer who himself fell in the same pit". But Knox says enough at two points in his narrative to indicate a sense of guilt and to suggest that their conduct and actions had virtually decided their fate. He says:

"By this time the King of the Countrey had notice of our being there, and as I suppose grew suspicious of us, not having all that while by any Message made him acquainted with our intent and purpose in coming" (p. 118)

"I impute the main reason of our *Surprize* to our Neglect, viz. in not sending a Letter and Present to the King at our first coming" (p. 120)

It may be noted that a further offence inviting punishment was committed by the crew of the *Anne* in felling timber from the King's lands to replace the main mast and for effecting other repairs to the ship, without obtaining any permission from the King or his officials (see pp. 117-18). Knox and his fellow-countrymen seem to have ignored all such considerations in accounting for their imprisonment.

The attention that has been drawn to various shortcomings in Knox's *Historical Relation* should, of course, not blind us to the tremendous value of this work for an understanding of much of the economic and social life of the Island, particularly of the highland areas, during the seventeenth century and to some extent, even during the eighteenth century (as the economy and society did not change so very much in the latter century.) Knox was a very alert and perceptive observer, who missed very little of what was happening around him. Where his biases, prejudices and personal interests are not involved - it is often not very difficult to see when that is - he is an extremely reliable source. In fact, even with regard to the political and administrative spheres and the religious and cultural, where these shortcomings are most apparent, it is possible to garner much valuable information by making due allowance for these shortcomings, by reading between the lines and taking account of other sources, including the evidence of other European prisoners of the time.

We now consider Vol. II of Paulusz's publication. Though the first volume is called by the same name, "An Historical Relation...by Robert Knox..." it is only this second volume that contains Knox's famous book together with his *Autobiography*; the first volume contains only Paulusz's Introduction and some miscellanea. Before passing on to other matters, it

has to be pointed out that since the title page of the new edition is considerably different from that of the original, a reproduction of the 1681 title page would have been desirable. In fact, the facsimile of that page which appears between pages 380 and 381 of the first volume would have been more appropriate at the beginning of this second volume.

This new edition of the *Historical Relation* has incorporated virtually all the material that Knox had added to the interleaved volume. Though there is, at times, some repetition of the original information, most of the additions give us fresh information or provide new insights and viewpoints. Thus, there is a considerable amount of new information relating to administrative divisions and urban places (interleaved additions to pp. 2, 4, 5 and 6 of the original edition, to be found at pp. 4-10 and 21-29 in the present edition, hereafter cited as: P:pp.), relating to caste (pp. 66-71; P: pp. 199-215), religion (pp. 179-82; P:pp. 234-242), slaves (pp. 70, 94; P: pp. 210-11, 268-69), and relating to his escape (pp. 156-58, 162, 164-65; P: pp. 405-07, 415-17, 420-23).

How valuable some of the new information is, may be illustrated by the following few examples. He points out that there are no beggars (other than religious persons seeking alms) because "every family here maintains all their indigent Relations" and the sick and disabled. (p. 85; P: p. 247). He tells us about a class of "lands that Continue to be hereditary" in the female line (p. 101; P: p. 283). As regards litigation, he says: "These people plead their own Causes before Courts of Justice (for here are no Lawyers Nor counsils), which teacheth them behaviour and to speake well." (p. 105; P: pp. 293). Knox had said in the 1681 edition that he had bought a piece of land at Eladetta from the grandson of a priest. As the "priest" referred undoubtedly to a Buddhist monk, doubts could have arisen as to whether during Knox's time it had been possible for monks to marry and formally pass on their property to their descendants. But in the interleaved additions to p. 144; (P: 379) Knox provides a correction and says: "These Priests may never marry" and that he bought the land from "his sister's son or Nephew" to whom the monk had gifted it.

Regarding this new edition Paulusz claims in the Foreword at page 5 in Volume I, that: "Every sentence, phrase or even word inserted by Knox in any blank corner has been included in the present edition". That this claim does not turn out to be entirely accurate should not be surprising not only because of the sheer volume of the book (over 500 pages in this edition) but also because the additions and interpolations are at times so

crowded together and sometimes almost hidden in some odd corner.

Just as it took over three centuries for a proper second edition of Knox's *Historical Relation* to be presented, it is unlikely that a third edition would appear very much sooner, if at all. Paulusz's edition will have to be treated, for all practical purposes, as the last definitive one. Hence, some of the errors and omissions that have been noted in this new edition on the basis of eye-copies or photocopies of some of the interleaved material made by me many years ago, are noted here.

At the end of the long interleaved additions to page 37 (P: p. 123), the editor has placed the punctuation mark after the word "time", making much of the last sentence meaningless, whereas Knox's own punctuation gave proper meaning to it, the last phrase reading: "time having worn them out of esteeme..."

Out of the additions to p. 50 (P: p. 157) under "Rotteralls", Paulusz has missed four Ratas: "Oudinare, Jatta-nare, Tonponihoy Horcy-Pott" (for Udunuvare, Yatinuvare, Tumpene and Harispattuva). In the next para, Knox has no full-stop but only a comma after the word "Countries" and that makes the sense run on whereas Paulusz makes the sense unintelligible with a full-stop there. In the interleaved addition to p. 51 (P: p. 161) at line 11, Paulusz has "for him his security" where Knox has correctly written "for his security."

In the interleaved additions to page 73 (P: p. 219) this edition has: "The Malabars and the generall inhabitation next the Sea one the northern parts..."; whereas Knox had written: "The Malabars are ..." (are has been erroneously transcribed as "and", thus altering the sense).

On the last interleaved page (192) at the end of the lengthy material dealing with the coconut tree (reproduced in P: 481-95) was a separate section towards the bottom of the page. It contains eight closely-written lines (some 90 words). There Knox reports a story which he had heard about the reasons for the King's sparing the lives of the French envoy and his retinue despite their arrogant behaviour. These lines, overlooked by Paulusz, read as follows:

"It was generally reported that the Kings Command, at first, was to cut off all their heads, but the before mentioned

Monrogominna Rall, (that saved the Dutch at Arrunderry) falling down petitioned the King for their lives, saying they were Straingers, and had done it out of Ignorance, not knowing His Maeesties manner & Custome, & if they were executed, it would scare, all forriners, ever to come upon on an embassie, to treat, with him, - which so modderated the King's passion, that by beeting & chaining them, it was justif [i] ed."²⁶

There are also some occasions when the interleaved material has not been placed at the apposite point. For instance, the crude drawing of a woman and child (undoubtedly drawn by Knox himself) falls in place with the additions to page 91 (and thus to P-: p. 260) and not to page 95 (P-: p. 270) as in this edition. Similarly, the interleaved additions to Knox's Sinhalese vocabulary properly belong to pages 108-09 (P-: pp. 297-98) rather than to the "Postscript" on pp. 673-74 to which Paulusz has relegated them.

In the interpretation or translation of Sinhalese words and phrases, some serious errors are seen : committed either by the editor or his specialist advisers, or through a faulty transcription of Knox's manuscript or through an inadequate knowledge of the language. In Volume I (P-: p. 277) there was an occasion when the Sinhalese word *vadili* in the expression *bada vadili* had been wrongly equated with the word *vedili* and Paulusz had rendered it as "stomach ammunition"! That, however, was not directly connected with any transcription from Knox. But the following errors in Volume II are seen to directly arise from a misinterpretation of Knox's text.

At page 17 (P-: p. 58) Knox refers to the *Orula* tree and fruit and again in the interleaved additions to page 43 (P-: p. 137) he refers to it, spelling it this time as "*Orrela*." Paulusz equates this with the "*Veralu*" (P. 58 n.1 and p. 137 n. 2) despite the fact that both the spelling of the word and, still more, the description of the fruits of this tree as well as the uses to which they are put - as a purgative and dyeing cloth black - indicate unmistakably that the *aralu* tree and its fruits are being referred to.

As for Knox's reference to *Danna Pola Rodgerah* at page 33 (P-: p. 110 n. 2) it may be suggested that it is his equivalent for Godapola Rajjuruwo. This was the name by which Vijayapala was popularly called,

after Godapola Nuwara, the capital city of the Matale Kingdom. "Danapala" or any other such name, based on Knox's spelling would be quite off the mark, as having no support in legend or history.

From the context it would appear that the "*durro dura carrs*" whom Knox speaks of in the interleaved additions to page 55 (P-: p. 171) refer to people who are free from service to the King because they hold no land from him. The reference can by no ordinary stretch of the imagination be to "firewood agents", as Paulusz seems to suggest (p. 171, n. 1) by equating '*dura*' with '*dara*' (i.e. "firewood") and "*Carrs*" with "*karaya*" (i.e. "the agent")! Likewise, in the same set of interleaved additions the persons called "*Gommoies*" by Knox are clearly defined by him as people "who are free holders also who till the King's land...", although Paulusz raises the unnecessary question as to whether the reference is to minor headmen. It would appear that the *goulammah* which Knox refers to at page 78 (P-: p. 232) is the bird known as the "*ulama*", and, as far as is known, it is not called "*goulammah*" by the people; nor is the expression *Gerimahe Gulamā* known, much less used to denote "a foul person", as Paulusz states (in a foot-note at p. 231)

Finally, we come to the words "*guall molla*" (also hyphenated as "*guall - molla*" in the interleaved additions to pages 86-87 (P-: pp. 250-251). In a foot-note (p. 250 n.1), Paulusz attempts an explanation on the basis of Codrington's Glossary and the clarifications provided by the Rev. J. W. Samaranayake, his adviser on Sinhalese words and expressions (See "Acknowledgements" in Vol. I p. xvi). Thus, Paulusz equates *Guall-molla* with "*Udahalla*" and continues: "A hanging basket of wickerwork" (Codr. Gloss.), "Uda, aloft: Halla, from Salla : wicker work; Malla : bag or basket" (j.w.s.).

It is not quite appropriate to equate "*guall molla*" with a basket of wicker work because Knox specifically describes it at one place as a "mat bag" and later on as a *ma[t]* bag, made of rushes." Apart from that, however, it would seem that Paulusz has come up with a felicitous identification of "*guall - molla*". However remote phonetically Knox's "*guall*" might appear to be from "*udahala*" (not *udahalla*", as Paulusz spells it), Knox's descriptions of the bag and of the use to which it was put when checked with extant Kandyan tradition, make it quite clear that it was the "*udahala-malla*" that was being referred to.

The following extracts from Knox's description not only help to identify this item but also help to indicate its salient position amongst Sinhalese household effects. Furthermore they help to give a further idea of the valuable information that would have been lost to us if this interleaved edition had not been published. The extracts read:

"I find I have omitted I think the most valuable piece of their household stuff, which they call a guall-molla...it is always hanged up by the necke to the Roofs of the house, [so] that the white ants...shall not eat them, the bag being always in sight.....and is the first thinge they take and carry with them in an invasion by enimies or the like, when they run away into the woods and leave their houses...."

"Here in they keepe their Chiefe treasure, as money and their Hannahampots or nativities,...."

"In fine this contains all the apparrell of the family,...."

We have now examined both volumes published under the title of *An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon*...and described as the Second Edition. It has been noted that the first volume is of very limited value because about three-fourths of it is devoted to the propagation of extremely fanciful and prejudiced versions of the history of the seventeenth century. As the merits of the volume are far outweighed by its demerits both the publishers and the readers would have greatly profited by a one-volume publication limited to the present Volume II but incorporating in it, by way of an introduction, the relevant and useful material noted in the first volume.

As for the present Volume II, it is no small achievement on the part of the editor, Mr. J.H.O. Paulusz, that he has handled printed text and manuscript material all running to nearly seven-hundred pages so well that the errors and shortcomings have been as few as those indicated above. The new light which the interleaved manuscript material has thrown on so many aspects of the history of the seventeenth century is more than enough justification for this second edition. A special word of appreciation has also to be expressed towards the publishers for undertaking the publication of two mammoth volumes of a rather specialized nature and boldly facing the possibility of a limited market for their publications.

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3. Paulusz at p. 208n. 3 and pp. 454-56.
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5. *De Reis van Joris van Spilbergen naar Ceylon, Atjeh en Bantam. 1601-1604, Linschoten Vereeniging xxxviii* (Hague 1933) pp. 84-86.
6. See J.H.O. Paulusz, "Some Sinhalese Royal Families: A Memorandum compiled in 1676 by Governor Rijckloff van Goens the Younger" *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (hereafter JCBRAS)* New Series Vol. II Part II (Colombo 1952) pp. 21-30.
7. cf. "Diary of events which took place in Ceylon...till June 1621" by Ove Giedde trans. by Mary Mackenzie in *JCBRAS* xxxvii No. 102 pt. 2 (1946) p. 81. See also K. W. Goonewardena, "Kingship in Seventeenth Century Sri Lanka..." (hereafter referred to as "Kingship") in *Sri Lanka Journal of the Humanities* Vol. III Nos. 1 & 2 (1977) pp. 1-32, especially pp. 15-16.
8. *Algemeen Rijksarchief* (The Hague) *Koloniaal Archief* (hereafter KA) 1034 fo. 35-36. (N.B. In recent years these volumes have been re-numbered with the classification of the series changed from *Koloniaal Archief* to *VOC*.)
9. KA 771 p. 466
10. *Ibid*, p. 467 Thus the instructions would, in effect, be to: carry on war in Rajasimha's name against Rajasimha himself. See further *Foundation* pp. 110-12.
11. For the adoption of this propaganda by Paulusz see e.g. pp. 122, 138-40 and 242-43,
12. Letter of 18 Oct 1641, KA 768 pp. 510-11; also, *Foundation* p. 45.
13. *Sri Lanka National Archives* (hereafter, *SLNA*), 1/3343, It is most appropriate that Maetsuijcker should have admitted this because he himself had been heavily involved in this wrong doing. (See the *Foundation* especially 117 to 126 and Arasaratnam's work cited in note 2 above, *passim*)
14. *Foundation* p. 12: "Kingship" pp. 19-20, 22, 23, pp. 31-32
15. Joao Ribeiro *The Historic Tragedy of Ceilao* trans. and ed. by P.E. Peiris (3rd, ed. Colombo 1925) p. 190
16. eg. pp. 4-5, 40-41, 53-54, according to Knox's pagination and pp. 21-23, 132-134,

165-168 respectively in Paulusz's pagination in Vol. II of this edition.

17. See Vol. I of Paulusz pp. 319-25.
18. See. K. W. Goonewardena, "Some Comments on Robert Knox and his Writings on Ceylon", (hereafter referred to as "Some Comments") *University of Ceylon Review* Vol. xvi. No. 1 & 2 (Jan- April 1958) p. 48
19. cf "Some Comments" p. 50
20. *Ibid.* pp. 48-50
21. Westerwolt to xvii, 20 Sep. 1638 KA 1036 fo 324 & fo 333.
22. This reference could not be traced in time for publication.
23. On the above see "Some Comments" pp. 41-43. Also relevant is the evidence of Day & Kirby, referred to at p. 113 above, who say that the officials directing affairs "dealt harshly with them, put them in irons and otherwise maltreated all the prisoners whatever their nationality, whether Dutch, English, French or Other foreigners" (Paulusz, Vol I p 353).
24. "Some Comments" (1958)
25. cf William Foster (Ed.) *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660* (Oxford 1921) p. 395 and *The English Factories in India, 1661-1664* (Oxford 1923) p. 361 (also Ryan's edition p. xiii and Paulusz, Vol II p. 327 n.1
26. So it reads, though the word "satisfied" might have been more appropriate.

NOTES AND QUERIES

Blowholes or Hoommana

I refer to the interesting article by Dr. C. G. Urugoda which appeared in the JRASSL (New Series) Vol. XXXVI, pp. 146-149 on *Previously Unrecorded Blowholes or Hoommana* proper at Kudawella and the other at Goyambokka, Tangalla, situated at the late Mudaliyar Wijetunga's coconut estate overlooking the Tangalla Bay Hotel. On the subject, I wish to make the following comments :-

- i. During my school days I have seen in *Rohanodaya*, a quarterly magazine of the Govt. Bilingual School, Nakulugamuwa Vol. 1. No. 1. 1934 p10, an article by a student, L. Hettihewa on the Blowhole at Kudawella and in the second number, December 1934 pp. 11-13, a valuable article on *Some Places of Interest* (in Giruwa Pattu) by a Civil Servant, Cadet, C. J. Oorloff attached to Hambantota Kachcheri, describing the Blowhole at Kudawella.
- ii. *The Silumina* of August 1955 carried an interesting feature article by Meemana Prematilake on "*Muhudu Nāna Deuduvak*" (Bathing Goddess of the sea) with a very clear picture of the Blowhole at Kudawella.
- iii. Derrick Schokman on 'Facets of Lanka' has described the Blowhole at Kudawella under Ruhunu Reminiscences in the *Island Saturday Magazine* on 1.7.1989.
- iv. As far as I know, the minor Blowhole at Goyambokka, Tangalla, is connected with some legendary treasures belonging to a sub-king named Minikirula, has not been mentioned by anyone earlier.
- v. I would like to add that a Bubula spring of water appears when the sea is calm where the waves break against the sea shore between the Bay - Hotel and the Mudaliyar's Cocount estate mentioned earlier, near the culvert, facing our ancestral land where my first cousins Sam Mannakkara and Peter Warunakulasuriya Gunasekera are residing today.

This information about the Bibula might be of interest to people interested in such research.

Peter Jayasuriya.

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PRESIDENT	Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya , M. A. Ph. D. (Lond)
PAST PRESIDENTS	Prof. H. W. Tambiah , B. Sc., Ph. D. (Lond), Q. C. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala , B. A. (Hons) , Ph. D. (Lond) D.Litt. (Honoris Causa), Colombo. Dr. C. G. Uragoda , M.D,F.R.C.P.,F.C.C.P.,M.F.O.M.
VICE PRESIDENTS	Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulasooriya , B. A. (Lond) Wr. I. Raheem , Dip. (R.D.A), M.A.A. (Den) Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando , B. Sc. (Hons) (Cey), Ph. E.(Neth), M.Sc. Photo. Eng (Neth), F. L. Sur. Eng, Fellow National Academy of Science
HONY. JOINT SECRETARIES	Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe , B.A. (Cey), M. A. (Penn), Ph.D (Peradeniya) Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana , B.A. (Lond), Ph. D. (Kelaniya)
HONY. TREASURER	Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara
HONY. EDITOR	Prof. J. B Disanayake , B.A (Cey) , M. A. (Calif), Ph.D. (Cey); up to 8/9/1992. Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva , B. A. (Hons) (Cey), Pg. Dip. Archives Adms. (Lond); from 8/9/1992
HONY. LIBRARIAN	Mr. T. B. Weerakone , B.A (Vidyodaya), Dip. (Buddh. Studies), M. A. (Kelaniya) , Attorney-at- Law ; up to 8/9/1992 Mr. W. R. McAlpine , O. B. E. B.Sc., up to 20/ 11/1992 Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara ; from 8/12/1992
MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL	Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara , up to 8/12/ 1992, Mr. K.Jayathileke , B.A. (Hons) (Lond), Pundit V.W. Abhayagunawardene ,M.A., Dr.K.L.V.Alagiyawanna , M.A., Ph. D. (Lond), Mr. M. St. .S. Casie Chetty , Attor ney - at Law, Mr.P. Weerasinghe , Dr. N. T. K . G. Senadeera , M. A. (Lond), Ph. D. (Kelaniya). Mrs. I. Iriyagolle , B. A. (Cey), Prof. L. P. N. Perera , B. A. Ph. D. (Cey), Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya , B. A.(Hons), Doc. de I Unvers (Paris) Prof. of Sinhalese , Mr. F. Medis , Mr. M.H. Sirisoma , Prof. W. Wijayasooriya , Pundit , B. A., M.A., (Cey), Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva ,

146th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING

Proceedings of the Meeting held on Saturday, 27th March, 1993, at 5-00 p.m. at the Auditorium, Mahaweli Centre, No. 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

AGENDA

1. Address of welcome by the President Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya
2. Condolences
 - Mr. H. R. Premaratne
 - Mr. A. Dissanayake
 - Mrs. Hilda Mendis
 - Mr. L. A. Adithiya
 - Mr. D. D. de Lanerolle
 - Mr. M. H. Sirisoma
3. Letters of excuse
4. Confirmation of the minutes of the 145th Annual General Meeting
5. Business arising out of the minutes.
6. To receive the Annual Report of the Council for 1992/ 93
7. To receive the Audited Statement of Accounts for 1992.
8. Election of nine (9) members to the Council. The following eleven nominations have been received:-

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
(a) Dr. N. T. K. G. Senadeera	Mr. L. Sugunadasa	Pundit V. W. Abhayagunawardene
(b) Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne	Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	Dr. G. P. Wijaya wardhana
(c) Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera	Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	Prof. W. Wijayasooriya
(d) Mr. Peter Jayasuriya	do	do
(e) Dr. S. U. Deraniyagala	do	do
(f) Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya	Mr. A. D. N. Fernando	Ms. D. Brohier
(g) Mr. P. Kulatileke	Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara	Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
(h) Prof. A. V. Sura-weera	Mr. S. W. K. H. Samaranayake	Dr. S. Jayawardhana
(i) Mr. K. Arunasiri	Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya	Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
(j) Dr. M. N. M. Kamil Asad	Ms. D. Brohier	Mr. A. D. N. Fernando
(k) Pundit V. W. Abhayagaunawardena	Ms. D. Brohier	Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya

9. Election of an Auditor.
10. Vote of thanks.

*Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe
Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretaries*

Minutes of the 145th Annual General Meeting, held on Saturday, 21st March, 1992, at 5. 00 p. m., at the Auditorium, Mahaweli Centre, 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

1. **Present :-** Dr. J. de Costa, Mr. W. M. R. A. Perera, Mr. P. Tambimuttu, Mr. F. Medis, Mr. H.P. Abeysekera, Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. M. H. Sirisoma, Mr. M. Sirisena, Mr. B. L. Perera, Mr. K. Jayatunga, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Miss H. Mendis, Mrs. I. Iriyagolle, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Dr. A. S. Kulasuriya, Prof. L. P. N. Perera, Prof. W. Wijayasooriya, Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Mr. A. Abeysinghe, Mr. P. Weerasinghe, Mr. W. J. E. Monhemius, Mr. J. Perera, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. W. A. Jayawardena, Dr. H.A.P. Abeywardena, Mr. K. Jagarasasingam, Mr. I. Raheem, Bishop Oswald Gomis, Dr. N. T. K. G. Senadeera, Dr. C. G. Urugoda, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe and one name illegible.
2. **Address of welcome.**
Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President in welcoming members to the meeting made the following comments :-
 - i. A Bill to incorporate the Society is before the Parliament and that the Report of the Standing Committee "A" has just been submitted.
 - ii. Action is being taken to finalise the 'Condominium Plan' and a request for the preparation of this plan has already been made to the Surveyor General by the Mahaweli Economic Authority.
 - iii. The Library has considerably been improved by adding several important publications such as a set of the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1990 - edition). He added that a handsome donation was made by the Patron of the Society, his Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa. It was made use of this year to improve the Library.
3. **Condolences.**
Dr. C. G. Urugoda, the President, proposed a vote of condolence on the deaths of J. H.P. Wanigatunga and Mr. S. Kuruppu. Two minutes silence was observed.
4. **Letters of excuse.**
Mr. T. W. Hoffmann, Mr. A. Chittambalam, Rev. Fr. M. Quere and Pundit William Alwis had intimated their inability to attend the meeting.
5. **Confirmation of the Minutes of the 144th Annual General Meeting.**
The minutes of the 144th Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, held on Saturday, 23rd March, 1991 at 5.00 p. m. at the Auditorium, Mahaweli Centre, 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7, were confirmed, being proposed by Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Mr. T. B. Weerakone.
3. **Election of Office Bearers & Members to the Council.**
 - i. Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President, declared that the following members were elected to the respective posts uncontested being nominated in accordance with the

PROCEEDINGS

rules of the Society :-

President

Vice Presidents

Hony. Joint Secretaries

Hony. Treasurer

Hony Editor

Hony. Librarian

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya.

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya.

Mr. I. Raheem.

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe

Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana.

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

Prof. J. B. Disanayake.

Mr. T. B. Weerakone.

- ii. Dr. C. G. Uragoda invited the house to propose a qualified member's name to fill the remaining post of Vice President. Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando was elected unanimously being proposed by Mr. T. B. Weerakone and seconded by Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya.

- iii. The following three members were declared duly elected to the Council :-
Mr. P. Weerasinghe
Dr. N. T. K. G. Senadeera
Mrs. I. Iriyagolle.

- iv. Dr. C. G. Uragoda, the President then invited the house to propose the names of qualified members to fill the five vacancies in the Council.

Proposed by Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Mr. T. B. Weerakone the following members were elected unanimously to the Council:-

Prof. L. P. N. Perera.

Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya.

Mr. F. Medis

Mr. M. H. Sirisoma.

Prof. W. Wijayasooriya.

9. **Election of an Auditor.**
M/S Wickremasinge Dayananda & Co., Chartered Accountants were elected as Auditors proposed by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya and seconded by Prof. L. P. N. Perera.
10. On being invited by Dr. C. G. Uragoda, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, the newly elected President, addressed the members and thanked them for the honour bestowed upon him. He made special mention of Prof. M. B. Ariyapala for bringing him back into the Council and paving the way for his election as President. He also thanked Dr. C. G. Uragoda for guiding him in various ways and sought the co-operation of all Office Bearers and the other members.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1992 / 1993

Meetings

12 Council Meetings and 12 Lecture Meetings were held during the period under review.

Condolences

The Council records with deep regret the deaths of the following members:-

Mr. H. R. Premaratne

Mr. A. Dissanayake

Ms. Hilda Mendis

Mr. L. A. Adithya

Mr. D. D. de Lanerolle

Mr. M. H. Sirisoma

Lectures 1992 / 93

The following Lectures were delivered during the period 30th March, 1992 to 22nd February, 1993.

30th March, 1992 - **Characteristics of the language and to what extent do they exist in the sign language** - Dr. (Mrs.) Daya Wickremasinghe; 27th April, 1992 - **Rituals associated with Ancient Sri Lankan Architecture** (Sinhala) - Mr. A. Tissa Kumara; 25th May, 1992 - **Cartography in the use of Determining Traditional Homelands in Sri Lanka** - Mr. Denis N. Fernando; 29th June, 1992 - **The architecture of the Baths of Anuradhapura** - Mr. L. K. Karunaratna; 31st August, 1992 - **A Re-examination of the Origin and Development of Sinhala Duta Kavyas** - Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya - 28th September, 1992 - **A comparative study of the Vijaya - Kuweni story in the Mahavamsa and the Ulysses - Circe story in Homer's Odyssey** Mr. F. Medis; 26th October, 1992 - **Representation of the Polarity of the Male and Female Principles in Early Sinhala Art** (Illustrated) Mr. T. B. Karunaratne; 30th November, 1992 - **Credit and financial Markers in Sri Lanka** - Mr. N. U. Jayawardena; 28th December 1992 - **The Sanctity of the Bodhi Tree and the Significance of Bodhi Puja** - Mr. T. B. Weerakone; 25th January, 1993, **Text Editing in Sinhala** - Prof. A. V. Suraweera; 22nd February 1993 - **The Reign of Gaja Bahu I-174-196 A. D.** - Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

Membership.

During the period under review 06 Ordinary Resident Members, 00 Ordinary Non-resident Members and 21 Resident Life Members 01 Non-resident Life Member were enrolled.

The Society has at 09th March, 1993, 547 Members on roll. Of these 07 are Honorary Members, 159 are Resident Ordinary Members, 46 are Non-resident Life Members and 335 are resident Life Members.

OFFICE BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY

Patron

His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa

President

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond).

Past Presidents

Prof. H. W. Tambiah, B. Sc. Ph. D. (Lond), Q. C.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, B. A. (Hons), Ph. D. (Lond) D. Litt.
Honoris Causa (Colombo).
Dr. C. G. Urugoda, M. D., F. R. C. P., F. C. C. P., M. F. O. M.

Vice Presidents

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, B. A. (Lond)
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, B. Sc. (Hons), (Cey), Ph. E. (Neth), M. Sc. Photo. Eng (Neth)
F.I. Sur. Eng. Fellow National Academy of science.

Hony. Joint Secretaries

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, B. A. (Cey), M. A. (Penn), Ph. D. Dr. Somapala Jayawardane,
B. A. (Lond), PhD. (Kelaniya), Ex. S. L. A. S.

Hony. Treasurer

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara

Hony. Editor

Prof. J. B. Disanayake, B. A. (Cey), M. A. (Calif), Ph. D. (Cey). up to 08-09-92.
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, B. A. (Hons) (Cey), Pg. Dip. Archives Adm.
(Lond), from 08-09-92.

Hony. Librarian

Mr. T. B. Weerakone, B. A., Dip. Buddh. Studies, M. A. up to 31-8-92.
Mr. W. R. McAlpine, B. Sc., O. B. E., from 08-09-92 up to 08-12-92.
Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, from 08-12-92.

Members of the Council

Mr. K. Jayatileke, B. A. (Hons) (Lond).
Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena M. A.
Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, M. A., Ph. D. (Lond), Barrister-at-Law, Attorney-at-Law.
Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Attorney-at-Law.
Mr. P. Weerasinghe.
Dr. N. T. K. G. Senadeera, M. A. (Lond), Ph. D. (Kelaniya).
Mrs. I. Iriyagolle, B. A. (Cey).
Prof. L. P. N. Perera
Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya, B. A. (Hons), Docteur L' Université (Paris) Prof. Emeritus
(Univ. of Peradeniya)
Mr. F. Medis.
Mr. M. H. Sirisoma.
Prof. W. Wijeyasooriya, Pundit, B. A. (Hons), M. A. (Cey).
Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, B. A. (Hons) (Lond), Barrister-at-Law (Lond)

Donations

M/s. Aitken Spence & Co. Ltd.	Rs. 5,000/-
Mr. W. J. E. Monhemius	Rs. 2,000/-

Government Grant

The Society received a sum of Rs. 200,000/- from the Government of Sri Lanka being the Annual Grant for the year 1992, through the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

Royal Asiatic Society's Building

The separate entrance has been constructed by the Ministry of Mahaweli Development for the Library and Office of the Royal Asiatic Society. The condominium plan has yet to be finalised.

Incorporation of the Society

The Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka has now been incorporated. The Act "Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka (Incorporation) Act. No. 6 of 1992" has been passed by the Parliament.

Acknowledgements

The Society extends its grateful thanks to His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa, the Patron of the Society for all assistance extended to the Society.

The Society thanks Hon. Gamini Atukorala, Minister of Mahaweli Development for all the services rendered to the Society.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to the Mahaweli Authority for the use of their auditorium for Lecture meetings.

We record our thanks to the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information for assisting the Society in various ways.

The Council records its thanks to retiring members of the Council.

The Council also extends its thanks to Mr. Mahendra Senanayake, Proprietor, Sridevi Printers (Private) Ltd. for printing free of charge the schedule of lectures for the year 1992, and his staff, for their ready co-operation in regard to the printing of the Society's Journal and other material.

Last but not least, the Council thanks Mr. C. L. D. Perera, Administrative Asst. / Librarian and the staff of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka for their efficient service.

PUBLICATIONS BOARD

One Meeting of the Publications Board had been held during the period April-September 1992, to discuss the Contents of the JRAS Vol. xxxv for 1990/1991.

Prof. J. B. Disanayake, Editor of the Journal and the Convenor of the Meetings of the Publication Board, had resigned from that position with effect from 8/9/1992, as he was proceeding abroad to take up an overseas assignment. At the time of his leaving, all matter for the Journal had been sent to the Printer, and they were in various stages of printing.

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva was appointed by the Council to fill the vacancy created by Prof. Disanayake, as from the date of his resignation.

Four Meetings of the Publications Board were held during the period Oct. 92-Feb. 93. JRAS Vol. xxxv 1990/91 was seen thro the Press, and was issued beginning Dec. 1992.

Work on JRAS Vol. xxxvi for the year 1991/1992, commenced in Oct. 1992. Articles for the Journal were called from Members who had delivered lectures at the Society.

a Printer was selected, and by the end of Feb. 1993, all matter for the Journal had been given to the Printer- Sridevi Printers - It is expected that Vol. xxxvi would be published by March / April 1993.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE

Administration

During the year under review the mangements of the library was conducted under the guidance of a Library Committee appointed by the Council, and with the assistance of the permanent staff consisting of the Librarian Asst. Librarian, the binder and an office. The Library committee consisted of the President, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, The Treasurer Kalasuri Wilfred Gunasekara, the Hony Librarian, (Convenor) Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya (Vice president). Dr. S. G. Samarasinhe (Hony. Jt. Secretary), Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna and Dr. C. G. Uragoda, Mr. T. B. Weerakone functioned as Hony. Libraian till 31-8-1992 followed by Mr. W. R. McAlpine till 08-09-1992, whilst Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara took over these duties from 08 - 12-1992.

Overdue Books

The question of long overdue books: most of these going as far back as the sixties and seventies, was taken up by the Council in the light of the amendment to Rule 59 of the Constitution, and 28 members were suspended by the Council at its meeting held on November 17, 1992. The Suspension will operate for a period of one year from that date, to be followed by expulsion from the date of expiry of suspension if the book/s are not returned within that period. Their names are in the Council Minutes of November 17, 1992.

Purchase of New Books

A sum of Rs. 11,230/ 40 was spent for the purchase of new books. The most significant purchase for the year under review, was the purchase of five books from the Pali Text Society of Gt. Britain for £ 207/50 (equivalent to Rs.15,937/20). A sum of Rs. 60,000/- was allocated for the purchase of books for 1993.

Book Donations

During the year under review there was a generous donation of books by Mr. S. D. Saparamadu, a Life Member of the Society. They were books published by Tisara Prakashakayo Ltd.

REPORT OF THE HONORARY TREASURER

During the year under review the Government granted Rs. 200, 000/- to the Society. Unlike in the previous years this grant was given in quarterly instalments of Rs. 50,00/- each. This method of paying the Annual grant had deprived the Society of a sizable income by way of interest. It is suggested that the Ministry of Cultural Affairs pay the Annual grant in one instalment at the beginning of the year. But, however, this Society wish to place on record its gratitude to the Hon'ble Minister of Cultural Affairs, Information and Indigenous Medicine.

A Gross interst of Rs. 94,618. 74 was realised on Fixed Deposits and Savings (Sch: 9) as an additional income for the Society during the year under review. In addition to this the Society had accrued from the Sampath Bank Savings Account Rs. 20, 656. 03 (Sch: 9) which, as stated in the last year's report is used to feed the current account only when payments have to be made and cheques have to be drawn.

Membership Fees and Subscriptions for the current year and arrears earned Rs. 22,278. 79 (p. 15). This item indicates a reduction of Rs. 2, 126. 21 from that of 1991. By the sale of Journals the Society has earned Rs. 38, 806. 46 against Rs. 30, 386 in 1991 (p. 15).

Schedule (1) of the Auditor's Report shows an expenditure of Rs. 74,524. 50 on Staff Salaries and Allowances in 1992, against Rs. 66, 470. 00 in 1991, while the Society had spent Rs. 86, 475.00 for printing of the Society's Journal Vol. XXXV - 1990/ 91, against Rs. 66,600.00 spent for the printing of the Journal Vol. XXXIV 1989/ 90 in 1991. Rs. 28, 619. 60 was spent for the purchase of books for the Society's library during the year under review. (Sch. I) A Hand - press machine, which was a long felt need was acquired in 1992 for Rs. 800.00 (Sch:5)

Page 15 shows that the Society had earned a total Income of Rs. 365, 417. 14 in 1992 against that of Rs. 388, 324. 00 in 1991. The total expenditure during the year under review exceeded by Rs. 4,724. 12 as that of 1991. For example in 1992 the Society spent Rs. 221, 212. 12 while in 1991 the Society Spent only Rs. 216, 488.

A Summary statement of the Income and Expenditure of the Society for the year ended 31st December 1992, is given below. Brackets refer to the Schedules referred to in the Auditor's Report for the year under review :-

	INCOME	
	Rs.	Rs.
Grant	200,000.00	(Sch:10)
Donations	7,000.00	(Sch: 10)
		207,000.00
Membership fees	22,279.00	(Sch: 10)
Journals	38,806.00	(Sch: 10)
Miscellaneous	2,714.00	(Sch: 10)
Interest		2,714.00
Total	115,240.00	("8 & 9)
		115,240.00
		386,039.00

EXPENDITURE	
	Rs.
Recurrent	221,212.00
Books	28,620.00
Capital Expenditure	
Hand Press	800.00
Total :	250,632.00
	(p.22)
	(Sch :1)
	(Sch :5)

**AUDIT OF THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1992**

We are pleased to forward herewith 2 copies of the Audited statement of accounts for the year ended December 31, 1992.

2. We wish to make the following comments.
 - 2.1 As in previous years income from subscription has been shown in the accounts on a receipt basis and no credit has been taken for subscriptions receivable.
 - 2.2 A Fixed assets Inventory has not been maintained in respect of Furniture, Fittings & Equipment. We have not verified the fixed assets and library books as at December 31, 1992.
 - 2.3 We have not received independent confirmation of the following:

Sampath Bank Savings A/c No. 1000 6000 2683
Rs. 229,647.68

Sampath Bank Current A/c No. 0001 6000 1259
Rs. 30,451.54
 - 2.4 Provision has been provided for income tax on the interest income and wealth tax for year ended December 31, 1992 at the appropriate rates. Balance Payable after setting off the Withholding Tax is shown in the Balance Sheet as Rs. 4,610.86
 - 2.5 Festival advance of Rs. 500/- outstanding as at 31.12.1992 is irrecoverable as the employee has ceased to be in service.
 - 2.6 Donations received, other than cash, have not been taken into accounts.
3. We attach herewith necessary journal entries passed by us during the course of Audit to enable you to update the books as at 31-12-92
We will be pleased to clarify any other matters you may need. Our memo of charges is enclosed for your kind attention.

Yours faithfully,

Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co.
Chartered Accountants

**AUDITED STATEMENT OF ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1992**

CONTENTS

- (i) Balance Sheet as at 31-12-1992
- (ii) Income and Expenditure Account for the year ended 31-12-1992
- (iii) Receipts & Payments Account for the year ended 31-12-1992
- (iv) Schedules

BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1992

	Schedule	1992	1991
Current Assets		Rs.	Rs.
Interests Receivable on Fixed Deposits	2	19,668.50	19,668.
Festival Advance Loan		500.00	700.00
Cash & Bank Balance	3	<u>265,767.64</u>	<u>201,246.</u>
		285,936.14	221,614.
Less : Current Liabilities			
Accounts Payable	4	<u>9,378.18</u>	<u>9,810.</u>
NET CURRENT ASSETS		276,557.96	211,804.
FIXED ASSETS	5	519,094.95	518,295.
LIBRARY BOOKS	1	200,085.74	171,466.
INVESTMENTS	6	<u>608,851.59</u>	<u>556,768.</u>
		1,604,590.24	1,458,333.
Financed By			
Accumulated Fund	7	1,499,521.69	1,366,167.
Specific Funds	8	<u>105,068.55</u>	<u>92,166.</u>
		<u>1,604,590.24</u>	<u>1,458,333</u>

Note : No depreciation has been provided on fixed assets.

We have examined the Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1992 and the annexed accounts and have obtained all the information and explanations that were required by us. In our opinion, the above Balance Sheet and the Income & Expenditure Account exhibits a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at December 31, 1992.

**INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1992**

	1991	1992
	RS.	RS.
Income		
Grants - Government Grants	200,000.00	200,000.

PROCEEDINGS

Donation Sch :10)	<u>7,000.00</u>	<u>7,000.00</u>
	<u>207,000.00</u>	<u>207,000.00</u>
Members Subscription		
Life Membership Fees	12,232.80	10,570.00
Subscription - Current year	6,882.69	10,700.00
- Prior Year	1,400.00	1,400.00
- in Advance	900.00	300.00
Entrance Fees	<u>863.30</u>	<u>1,400.00</u>
	<u>22,278.79</u>	<u>24,400.00</u>
Other Income		
Sale of Journals	38,806.46	30,380.00
Photo-copy Income	2,488.75	1,357.00
Gross Interest on Fixed Deposits & Saving (Sch :9)	<u>94,618.74</u>	<u>89,960.00</u>
Fines for Delays to return Books	225.00	210.00
Translation Fees -Ministry Cultural Affairs	-	35,000.00
	<u>136,138.95</u>	<u>156,919.00</u>
Total Income	<u>365,417.74</u>	<u>388,324.00</u>
Expenses	<u>221,212.12</u>	<u>216,488.00</u>
Excess of Income Over Expenditure	<u>144,205.62</u>	<u>171,836.00</u>
Less : Taxation for the year	<u>(14,782.00)</u>	<u>(14,220.00)</u>
Net Surplus transferred to Accumulated Fund	<u>129,423.62</u>	<u>157,616.00</u>

**RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1992**

Receipts		Rs.
Government Grant		200,000.00
Donation (Sch : 11)		<u>7,000.00</u>
		<u>207,000.00</u>
Received from Members		
Life Membership Fees		12,232.80
Current Year's subscription		6,882.69
Entrance Fees		863.30
Arrears of Subscription		1,400.00
Subscription in Advance		<u>900.00</u>
		<u>22,278.79</u>
Others Receipts		
Interest Sampath Bank Saving Account		20,656.00
Sales of Journals		38,806.46

JOURNAL R. A. S. (SRI LANKA)

XXXVII, (N. S.) 1992 / 93

Photo Copy Income	2,488.75
Fines for delay to return Books	225.00
Income Tax refund 87/88	1,924.00
Interest - N. S. B. Fixed Deposit (Net)	24,610.78
	<u>88,711.02</u>
Total Receipts	<u>317,989.81</u>
Less : Payments: Purchase of Assets	
Library Books & Journals	28,619.60
Hand press Machine	<u>800.00</u>
	<u>29,419.60</u>
Other Payments	
Salaries & Advance	74,324.50
Tea Expenses	4,249.40
Stationary	10,763.12
Printing Expenses - Journal	80,475.00
- AG.M Report	5,625.00
Audit Fees & Accountancy Charges	4,000.00
Sundry Expenses	1,905.70
Postage	9,158.75
Telephone Charges	3,297.65
Bank Charges	30.00
Servicing Charges - Photo Copier	10,016.00
- Typewriter	1,997.50
- Poslisher	4,871.00
Professional Charges	1,000.00
Income Tax	3,029.00
Repairs & Maintenance	2,425.00
Lectures	100.50
Dishonest Cheques	<u>780.00</u>
	<u>224,048.12</u>
Total Payment	<u>253,467.72</u>
Surplus for the year	<u>64,522.09</u>
Balance B /F..on 1.1.92 - Sampath Bank Saving Account	192,586.57
Sampath Bank Current Account	5,400.33
Cash in Hand	<u>3,258.65</u>
	<u>201,245.55</u>
Balance at December 31, 1992	<u>265,767.64</u>

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1992

Schedule : Library Books

Balance at 1-1-92	Rs.
Additions	171,466.14
Somawathie Hewavitharana Trust - 16 Books	1,599.00

Survey General Office -The National Atlas of Sri Lanka	3,000.00
Artibus Asia - Volume 52 of 1992	3,427.90
American Anthropological Association	2,268.50
Tisara Prakasakayo - 5 Books	1,175.00
R.C. De. S. Manukulasooriya	325.00
Pali Text Society (EGB : 207.50) -5 Books	15,937.20
Govt. Publications - Acts & Bills	887.50
	28,619.60
	<u>200,085.74</u>

Schedule 2 : Interest Receivable as 31-12-1992

N.S.B. Fixed Deposit Interest for period 01.05.92 to 31. 12. 92	
17% on Rs.179,700	<u>19,668.50</u>

Schedule 3 : Cash & Bank Balance

Cash in Hand	4,641.18
Cash at Bank -Sampath Bank	31,478.78
Sampath Bank Savings A/c	229,647.68
	<u>265,767.64</u>

Schedule 4 : Accounts Payable

Educational Publications Department	371.32
Telephone Charges	396.00
Audit Fees	4,000.00
Income Tax	<u>4,610.86</u>
	<u>9,378.18</u>

Schedule 5 : Fixed Assets

	Balance at 1-1-92 Rs.	Additions Rs.	Balance at 31-12-92 Rs.
Typewriter	31,855.00	-	31,855.00
Filing Cabinet	1,950.00	-	1,950.00
Pedestal Fan	5,900.00	-	5,900.00
Gestetner Machine	37,500.00	-	37,500.00
Furniture & Fittings	164,216.95	-	164,216.95
Society Name Boards	13,588.75	-	13,588.75
Vacuum Cleaner	4,500.00	-	4,500.00
Electric Kettle & Boiler	1,460.00	-	1,460.00
Wall Clock	600.00	-	600.00
Cannon Photo Copier	80,000.00	-	80,000.00
Steel Cupboards	14,580.00	-	14,580.00
Glass Fronted Book Almirahs	28,168.75	-	28,168.75
Hoover Brush Polisher	4,600.00	-	4,600.00
Telephone	14,150.00	-	14,150.00

Sundry Assets	2,863.00	-	2,863.00
Partitioning of Library	85,810.00	-	85,810.00
Typewriter (Electronic)	26,552.50	-	26,552.50
Hand Press Machine		800.00	800.00
	<u>518,294.95</u>	<u>800.00</u>	<u>519,094.59</u>

Schedule 6 : Investments

	1992 Rs.	1991 Rs.
Funded Investments - Saving A/c		
N.S.B. A/c No. 133495/4	33,880.92	29,720.
A/c No. 141850/3	48,532.25	42,572.
A/c No. 226282/2	22,655.38	19,874.
	<u>105,068.55</u>	<u>92,166.</u>

Other Investments

Savings A/c - N. S. B. A/c No. 141733/3	123,724.48	108,530.
Fixed Deposit - Peoples Bank -A/c No. 00861840/7	200,358.56	176,372.
Fixed Deposit - N.S.B. A/c No. F/DHOB 12/17/5/540	179,700.00	179,700.
	<u>503,783.04</u>	<u>464,602.</u>
	<u>608,851.59</u>	<u>556,768.</u>

Schedule 7 : Accumulated Fund

As per last year Balance Sheet	1,366,166.87	1,208,554
Income Tax over provision	3,931.20	-
Add. Income Over Expenditure	129,423.62	157,613.
	<u>1,499,521.69</u>	<u>1,366,167.</u>

Schedule 8 : Specific Funds

Chalmers Oriental Text Fund	29,720.12	25,821.
Add. Interest	4,160.80	3,899.
	<u>33,880.92</u>	<u>29,720.</u>
Chinese Records Translation Fund	42,572.45	36,988.
Add. Interest	5,959.80	5,584.
	<u>48,532.25</u>	<u>42,572.</u>
Society Medal Fund	19,873.58	1,7267.
Add Interest	2,781.80	2,607.
	<u>22,655.38</u>	<u>19,874.</u>
	<u>105,068.55</u>	<u>92,166.</u>

Schedule 9 : Interest For 1992

	Gross Rs.	Withholding Tax Rs.
N.S.B. Savings A/c. 141773/3 - Rs.108,530.28 -		
People's Bank Thimbrigasyaya - Fixed		

PROCEEDINGS

A/c 00861840 -7)	15,194.20	
-Deposit -Rs. 176,371.97	28,219.51	4,323.92
National Bank - Savings -12/17/s/t/540		
Rs.179,700/=	30,549.00	5,138.22
Sampath Bank A/c No. 1000 6000		
2683	20,656.03	-
	<u>94,618.74</u>	<u>10,171.14</u>

Schedule 10 :

Donation - Others	1992	
M/s/ Aitken Spence	5,000.00	
Mr. W. G. E. Monhemius	2,000.00	
	<u>7,000.00</u>	

Schedule 11 : Salaries & Allowances

Mr. C. L. D. Perera	27,680.00	
Miss. C. Senanayake	18,520.00	
Mr. R. M. Weerakone	16,440.00	
Labourer	11,884.50	
	<u>74,524.50</u>	

Schedule 12 : Festival Advance & Loan

Mr. Wilson Perera	500.00	
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EXPENSES

Staff Salaries & Allowances (Sch:1)	Rs.	Rs.
Staff Tea Expenses	74,524.50	66,470.
Printing Expenses - Journal	4,249.40	5,036.
- AG.M Reports	86,475.00	66,600.
Stationery	5,625.00	8,650.
Postage	10,763.12	11,559.
Sundries	9,158.75	6,051.
Telephone Charges	1,905.70	2,836.
Audit Fees	3,290.65	2,386.
Bank Charges	4,000	4,000.
Servicing Charges - Photo Copies	30.00	584.
- Typewriter	10,016.00	9,174.
- Polisher	1,997.50	317.
Professional Charges	4,871.00	-
Advertisement	1,000.00	1,250.
Translation Fees Paid	-	2,000.
Repairs & Maintenance	-	29,575.
Lectures	2,425.00	-
Dishonest Cheques	100.50	-
Total Expenses	780.00	-
	<u>221,212.12</u>	<u>216,488.</u>

COUNCIL MEETINGS : 1992 - 1993

ATTENDANCE

	21/4/92	12/5/92	9/6/92	21/7/92	11/8/92	8/9/92	13/10/92	17/11/92	8/12/92	12/1/93	16/2/93	9/3/93
President :												
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Past Presidents :												
Prof. H.W. Tambiah						Absent						
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala						Absent						
Dr. C. G. Urugoda	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1
Vice Presidents :												
Mr. R. C. de S Manukulasooriya	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. I. Raheem	-	1	1	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mr. A. Denis N.Fernando	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hony. Jt. Secretaries :												
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-	1
Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hony. Treasurer:												
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Hony. Editor:												
Prof. J. B. Disanayake	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva (from 8/9/92)	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Hony. Librarian :												
Mr. T. B. Werakone (up to 8/9/92)	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. W. R.. McAlpine (from 20/11/92)												
Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara (from 8/12/92)										1	1	-
Members of the Council :												
Mr. S. A Nanayakkara	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-
Mr. K. Jayathileke	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	-
Pundit V. W. Abhayagunawardene	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	1
Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	-	1
Mr. M.St. S. Casie Chetty	-	1	-	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	-
Mr. P. Weerasinghe	1	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	-	-
Dr. N. T. K. G. Senadeera	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-
Mrs. I. Iriyagolle	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prof. L. P. N. Perera	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-
Prof. A.S. Kulasuriya	1	1	1	-	-	1	1	1	1	1	-	-
Mr. F. Medis	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. M. H. Sirisoma	1	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Prof. W. Wjesooriya	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	1	-
Mr.O. M. L. H. da Silva	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	1	1
Mr. W. R.. McAlpine	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	-	-	-

COUNCIL MEETINGS
Abstract of Proceedings

21st APRIL, 1992

- 146.1.01 **Present :** Dr.K.T.W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 14 members
- 1.02 **Excuses :** Dr. C. G. Uragoda, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara and Mr. I. Raheem
- 1.03 **Minutes of the Council Meeting** held on 25th February, 1992, were adopted proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, and seconded by Mr. T. B. Weerakone.
- 1.04 **Translation of Pali Commentaries** into easy Sinhala: decided to nominate the President and Dr. S G Samarasinghe, to meet the Secretary, Buddha Sasana Ministry, to discuss the matter and ascertain the position.
- 1.05 JRASSL, Vol. xxxv, 1990/91: advance payment of Rs. 23,500/- has been made; decided to hand over available manuscripts to the printer.
- 1.06 **Recovery of long overdue library books:** Mr. T. B. Weerakone, informed that letters are now being sent to all defaulting members along with a copy of Rule 59 (as amended) : to refer all replies including the one already received from Mr. I Raheem to the Library Committee, for its recommendations.
- 1.07 **New Members.** see pp. XXXVI - XXXIX
- 1.8 **Book donations :** see pp. XXXIX-XLIV
Mr. T. W. Hoffmann; Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara; Chairman, National Dangerous Drugs Control Board Mr. M. F. Jennings; Mr. P. Weerasinghe; Prof. Wimala Wijesooriya.
Mr. W.R. McAlpine queried whether all books donated to the Society were suitable for acceptance: where necessary the Library Committee to be consulted.
- 1.09 **Draft Minutes of the 145th Annual General Meeting** were adopted unanimously, proposed by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya and seconded by Prof. L. P. N. Perera, subject to the following amendments :-

Para 3-iii Between the words 'Latest' and 'edition' insert the figure '1990'

Para 9 delete the words 'The Acting Treasurer stressed the following points - i, ii, iii, iv, delete the remaining subsection 'v, vi, vii' and renumber them 'i, ii, iii',
- 1.10 **Finance Committee,** to consist of:
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Prof. L. P. N. Perera, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara - Convenor
- 1.11 **Library Committee**
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara, Prof. Wimala Wijesuriya, Mr. T. B. Weerakone Convenor.

- 1.12 **Publications Board**
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, Mr. F. Medis, Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Prof. J. D. Bisasanayake- Convenor.
- 1.13 **Translation of Pali Commentaries** into easy Sinhala: Committee Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Prof. Y. Karunadasa, Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe - Convenor.
- 1.14 **Letters tabled :**
1. of 12.3.1992, by Mr. W.J.E. Monhemius re donation of Rs. 2,000/- accepted with thanks.
 2. Who's who in Australia and the Far East: file
 3. of. 13.3.1992 by Merlin Peris; request re his article, granted
 4. 'Brother Electric Typewriter' from Ceylon Business appliances Ltd., re service contract for the Rs. 1650/= : approved.
 5. re Photocopier from Metropolitan Agencies; bill for Rs. 4,591/-for replacing the 'Oil Pan' ; payment approved.
 6. From American Anthropological Association re subscription for the Journal of American Folklore US \$ 50: approved
 7. re 'Sinhala Gami Nātya' ; to request a free copy from the National Institute of Education.
 8. of Mr. P. Tambimuttu for permission to park his car within the premises; to inform that the facility is available only to Office Bearers and Members of the Council.
 9. re Art Horizon : referred to the Library Committee.
 10. of R. M. Weerakone, requesting a salary increase : referred to the Finance Committee.
- 1.15 **Any Other Business :** Invoice Numbers 210, 211 sent by the Pali Text society was referred to the Finance Committee.
- 12th MAY, 1992**
- 146.2.1 **Present :** Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 19 members
- 2.2 **Excuses :** Dr.N. T. K. G. Senadeera
- 2.3 **Minutes of the Council Meeting** held on 21st April, 1992, were adopted, proposed by Mr. T. B. Weerakone and seconded by Mr. W. R. McAlpine.

Subject to the following amendment: add under item 146.1.15 the last item the words 'on a point raised by Mr. F. Medis, it was decided to call for a report from the Hony. Editor, Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva on the present position and progress made so far on the 'Jubilee Publication'.
- 2.4 **Translation of Pali Commentaries** into easy Sinhala: Dr. S.G Samarasinghe, briefed of the discussion he had with Mr. D. M. P. B Dassanayake, Secretary,

Buddha Sasana Ministry and undertook to pursue the matter

- 2.5 **JRASSL Vol. xxxv, 1990/91** : decided to convene a meeting at 2.00 p.m. on 25th May, 1992, of the Publications Board
- 2.6 **Recovery of long overdue library books**: Mr. T. B. Weerakone, informed that Mr. Austin Jayawardena, has returned two books he had borrowed and donated an additional 12 books to the Society.
- 2.7 i. Committee on the 'Translation of pali Commentaries' into easy Sinhala : decided to co-opt: Prof. Wimala Wijesooriya and Prof. L. P. N. Perera
ii The Library Committee to be reconstituted as follows : Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna
- 2.8 **New Members** : see pp. XXXVI-XXXIX
- 2.9 **Book Donations** : see pp. XXXIX-XLIV
Mr. Austin Jayawardene, Prof. J. B. Dissanayake
- 2.10 **Letters tabled**
i of 28.9.1992, re Journal 'Ethnos' of the Folkens Museum, Sweden : to seek exchange
ii of 2.3.1992 from 'Navrang' requesting permission to reprint JRAS Vol. xx, No. 60 1908; inform conditions not acceptable.
iii of 4.5.1992, from Melrose Press Ltd., England, requesting a list of Members and addressed of members of the Society with a view to including their biographies in the 'International Authors and Writers Who's Who accepted to display the letter on the 'Notice Board' so that Members could submit their curriculum vitae
- iv of 9.5.1992, by Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya : referred to the Library Committee for its recommendations.
- 2.11 **Any Other Business**
Mr. P. Weerasinghe's suggestion to start an 'Ola Book' collection was agreed to : to commence with donations.

9th JUNE, 1992

- 146.3.1 **Present** : Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 15 members
- 3.2 **Excuses** : Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and M. H. Srisoma, Prof. W. Wijesooriya
- 3.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 12th May, 1992, were adopted, proposed by Mr. K. Jayatileke.
- 3.4 **Translation of Pali Commentaries into easy Sinhala** : The President, informed they had been made to understand that the Ministry is not in a

position to assist the project due to financial constraints.

Mrs. I. Iriyagolle proposed to start a fund to carry out the project. She suggested that a leaflet giving a brief description and the value of the project should be prepared both in English and Sinhala to be handed over to prospective donors. The Council accepted it and Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, undertook to prepare the leaflet.

- 3.5 **JRASSL, Vol. xxxv, 1990/91** : discussion deferred as the Hony. Editor, was not present.
- 3.6 **Recovery of long overdue library books**: discussion deferred as the Hony. Librarian, had intimated inability to be present.
- 3.7 **New Members** : See pp. XXXVI-XXXIX
- 3.8 **Letters tabled** :
i of M/s. Melrose Press Ltd., re 'International Who's Who of professional & Business Women' - Second edition to display on the notice board.
ii of 25.5.1992, re resignation of Mrs. T. S. Samarasekera: accepted.
iii of 18.5.1992 from the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain & Ireland re exchange of Journals : to send suitable reply.
iv of 9.6.1992, by Prof. Chandra Wickremagamage, offering to conserve 'Smither's Architectural Remains of Anuradhapura, 1894 : not accepted.
v re Aquinas Journal : Subscribe to the Journal and request them to purchase the JRASSL.
vi of 18.5.1992, from Prof. Wimala Wijesooriya, requesting to handover his article to Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara; Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara undertook to recall the article.

3.9 **Any Other Business**

- i Finance Committee Meeting was fixed for 3.00 p.m. on 15th July, 1992.
- ii **Book Donations** : see pp. XXXIX - XLIV
Dr. Upali Weerakkody, Dr. J. G. Hattotuwa, Mr. K. Jayatileke

21st JULY, 1992

- 146.4.1 **Present** : Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 13 members
- 4.2 **Excuses** : M/s. T. B. Weerakone and Denis N. Fernando
- 4.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 9th June, 1992, were adopted, proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and Seconded by Mr. K. Jayatileke, subject to the following amendments:-
- Para 146.3.5 - delete the sentence and insert thereof 'This was deferred for the next meeting'
- Para 146-3.8 iv - Delete the word 'writer' and insert the word 'him'

- 4.4 **Translation of Pali Commentaries into easy Sinhala** : decided to lay by this project until at least Rs. 500,00/- would be available and decided to explore the possibility of publishing the 'Pali Tikas' on the Tripitaka; Prof. L.P.N. Perera said it was more important since most of them are still in manuscript form and even the few that were published are out of print. The Council directed Dr. Somapala Jayawardhna to report on it.
- 4.5 **JRASSL Vol. xxxv, 1990/91** : The printer had informed that some proofs would be delivered in a few days.
- 4.6 **Recovery of long overdue library books** : deferred for the next meeting.
- 4.7 **New Members** : see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
To get more information, on the application of Mr. N. Alahakoon
- 4.8 **Letters tabled and other matters** :
- i The President, informed the Council that he had collected the manuscripts of the late Mr. C.L. Wickremasinghe and thanked Mrs. Isvari Corea for her kind, assistance and Prof. M.B. Ariyapala for his initiative, to obtain the manuscripts to the Society.
 - ii From Melrose Press Ltd., re 'Intenational Who's who in Music Musicians' Directory - 13 th Edition : on file
 - iii of 3.6.1992, from the Managing Editor, Dept. of Economics, University of Colombo, re '5th Volume of Upanathi Magazine' : file
 - iv of 1.7.1992, from SL Library Services Board, re ISBN Seminar : Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, nominated to attend.
 - v from Mr. H. Jayasena : Secretary, to convey thanks of the Society.
- 4.9 The Report of the Publications Board : referred back to reconsider, and to submit a fresh report.
- 4.10 **Book donations** : see pp.XXXIX - XLIV
Prof. J. B. Disanayake, Mr. J. Liyanaratne
- 4.11 **The Incorporation of the Society** : The President, informed that the Society has now been incorporated and a copy of the Incorporation Act has been sent to all Council Members. The Council requested the President to send a letter to Hon. Lakshman Jayakody for the keen interest taken by him in the matter.
- 4.12 i The Hony. Treasurer, informed the Council that the Society has received only Rs. 50,000/- from the Department of Cultural Affairs and that he would be meeting the Secretary and the Director on the matter.
- ii Request of Mr. C. L. D. Perera, for a salary increase: decided to increase his salary to Rs. 2,500/- per month from 1st July, 1992.
 - iii re request of Mr. R. M. Weerakone, the Binder, for a salary increase

decided to pay him Rs. 1,500/- per month from 1st July, 1992.

iv re request of Mr. A.K.D.S. Wickremasiri for confirmation in the post of peon : confirm the salary scale Rs. 1,200/- 10x360 , 15,600/- per month.

v Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara stated that the floor of the Society's Library has to be polished : to get it done through the peon and the binder with an incentive payment of Rs. 400/- to both with the materials supplied by the Society.

11th AUGUST, 1992.

- 146.5.1 **Present** : Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 11 members
- 5.2 **Excuses** : Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe, Dr. C. G. Urugoda, Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya, Mrs. I. Iriyagolle, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando and Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara
- 5.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 21st July, 1992, were adopted proposed by Mr. M. H. Sirisoma and seconded by Mr. K. Jayatilake.
- 5.4 **Publications of Pali Tikas** : The Report on the Tikas submitted by Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana was considered and decided to request the Buddha Sasana Ministry to undertake this important project; also the President to address a letter to his Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa, as Minister of Buddha Sasana on the matter.
- 5.5 **JRASSL, Vol, xxxv, 1990 /91**: proofs of two articles given to the respective authors for reading.
- 5.6 **Recovery of long overdue Library Books** : The Hon. Librarian informed that a meeting of the Library Committee would be summoned soon to go into the matter and a report would be submitted.
- 5.7 **Publications Board** : noted that a fresh report of the Publications Board will be available at the next Council Meeting.
- 5.8 **Finance Committee** : re the vacancy created by the resignation of the peon: to submit a report.
- 5.9 **New Members** : see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
Resident ordinary : Ven. U. Vadhanyana : get more particulars regarding his academic and professional qualifications.
- 5.10 **Book donations** : see Pp.XXXIX - XLIV
Prof. V. Vitharana ; Chairman, National Dangerous Drugs Control Board; Sri Lanka Library Service Board.
Oru and Yatra by Prof. V. Vitharana was referred to Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya for review.
- 5.11 **Letters tabled**:

- i of 27.7.1992 from the Chairman, National Dangerous Drugs Control Board with a copy of the 'Careers Study of Heroin users in Sri Lanka : acknowledge
- ii from the National Library Services Board on its Quarterly : file
- iii re resignation of Mr. A.K.D.S. Wickremasiri, Peon : accepted : pay for the two days he had worked.

8th SEPTEMBER, 1992

- 146.6.1 **Present :** Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 12 members
- 6.2 **Excuses :** Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Prof. L.P.N. Perera, Mr. S.A. Nanayakkara, Mrs. I. Iriyagolle.
- 6.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 11th August, 1992, were adopted proposed by Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulasooriya and seconded by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara.
- 6.4 **Publication of the Pali Tikas :** letter to his Excellency the President would be sent after the draft is approved by the Council: Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe's report on the publication of the Commentaries would be ready by the next Council Meeting.
- 6.5 **JRASSL Vol. xxxv, 1990/91 :** noted that proofs of several articles have been received and handed over to the respective authors for reading.
- 6.6 **Recovery of Long overdue Library Books :** the Library Committee report will be submitted to the next meeting of the Council.
- 6.7 **Publications Board :** noted that the report of the Publications Board was yet to come.
- 6.8 **Finance Committee :** the undermentioned recommendations of the Finance Committee were approved by the Council :-
 - i. To appoint Mr. S.K. P. Dinisiri, w.e.f. 12th September, 1992, to the post of Peon/ Labourer on a casual basis on the salary of Rs. 60/- per day for six months.
 - ii. To place the Administrative Asst./ Librarian on Rs. 30,000 - 10 x 900 39,000: personal to be present holder.
 - iii. To place the Binder on Rs. 18,000/- : personal to the present holder.
 - iv. The Asst. Librarian/ Typist: Rs. 18,000 - 10x 480 - 22,800.
 - v. Peon/ Labourer : Rs. 14, 400 - 10x360 - 18,000
- 6.9 **New Members :** see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
 - i. Request Mr. N. Alahakone to submit his curriculum vitae to the Society

to enable the Council to consider his application.

6.10 Resignations and appointments

Prof. J. B. Disanayake's letter of resignation dated 8th September, 1992, was tabled; resignation accepted and the Hony. Joint Secretary was directed to thank Prof. J. B. Disanayake, for the valuable Services rendered to the Society.

- i. It was further decided to appoint Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, to the post of Hony. Editor for the remaining period. His name was proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Prof. W. Wijayasooriya.

- ii. Mr. T. B. Weerakone's letter of resignation dated 31st August, 1992, was tabled; resignation accepted and the Hony. Joint Secretary was directed to thank Mr. T. B. Weerakone for the valuable service rendered to the society.

It was further decided on a proposal by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe to appoint Mr. W. R. McAlpine to the post of Hony. Librarian, for the remaining period.

- iii. Decided to appoint Mr. O.M.L.H. da Silva to fill the vacancy created by the appointment of Mr. W.R. McAlpine to the post of Hony. Librarian, for the remaining period, as proposed by Dr. Somapala Jayawardhna and seconded by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

- iv. On a proposal by Mr. R. C. de S Manukulasooriya and seconded by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara the Council decided to appoint Dr. C. G. Urugoda to the Library Committee.

6.11 Letters tabled :

- i of 7/9/92, from Mrs. D. G.C. Senanayake, for a salary increase : request regretted.
- ii from Cambridge University Press for reviewing book ' Electoral Allegiance in Sri Lanka' by the author Dilesh Jayantha : accepted.

6.12 Any Other Business

- i The President, informed the Council that Dr. C.G. Urugoda had purchased a Binders hand Press for the Society, for Rs. 800/=

The Council approved the purchase and expressed its appreciation of Dr. C. G. Urugoda's initiative in the matter.

- ii Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara brought to the notice of the Council the absence of Mrs. I. Iriyagolle for three consecutive meetings.

Mrs. I. Iriyagolle's letter dated 5th August, 1992, requesting leave till the middle of September, 1992, as she was going abroad for a conference in California, was tabled.

iii Mr. F. Medis requested that the 150th Anniversary be included in the Agenda : Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara undertook to submit a report about its present position.

13th OCTOBER, 1992.

- 146.7.1 **Present** : Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 12 members.
- 7.2 **Excuses** : Mr. Denis N. Fernando, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Mr. M. H. Sirisoma, Mr. P. Weerasinghe and Mr. S. A. Nananyakkara.
- 7.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 8th September, 1992, were adopted proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya
- 7.4 **Publication of Tikas** : The President informed that he would be sending the letter to his Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa, requesting the Publication of the Tripitaka Tikas; Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe asked for more time to submit his report on the Publication of the commentaries.
- 7.5 **JRASSL. Vol xxxv, 1990/91** :
 (a) Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva, Hony. Editor, informed the Council that :-
 i. the total printing cost of the Journal would be about Rs. 85, 000/=
 ii. most of the articles had been approved and given to the Printer for printing.
 iii the remaining articles and other sections too would be ready in about a week's time.
 iv Journal xxxvi for 1991/92 too is due to be published by March, 1993.
 (b) It was also decided that if sufficient material was not forthcoming for it, to invite suitable articles for consideration of publication.
 (c) On a proposal by Dr. S.G. Samarasinghe, it was decided to request the prospective lecturers to submit their scripts two weeks before the due date for the lecture.
- 7.6 **Recovery of long overdue Library Books** : the Council considered the Minutes of the Library Committee Meeting held on 25th August, 1992, and decided to accept its recommendations : namely to take action under Rule 59, against the defaulters. Accordingly, it was decided to suspend the membership of the defaulters with immediate effect for a period of one year, and if the books borrowed by them are not returned to the Society within the stipulated period, the suspension of membership to automatically operate as expulsion from membership with effect from the date immediately following the date of the expiry of suspension.

- 7.7 **Publications Board** : the report of the publications Board is expected before the next meeting of the Council
- 7.8 **Finance Committee** : to reconsider its recommendations and submit a fresh report
- 7.9 **New Members** : see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
- 7.10 **150th Anniversary** of the Society : Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, informed the Council that he will submit a new plan for the publication before the end of the year.
- 7.11 **Letters tabled** :
 i of 24.9.1992 from M/s. Aitken Spence & Co Ltd., with a donation of Rs. 5,000/- : accepted and directed the Hony. Joint Secretary to acknowledge receipt, with thanks.
 ii re Dictionary of Computer Terms in Sinhala : to request a copy of the Dictionary to be donated to the Society.
- 7.12 **Any Other Business**
 Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara brought to the notice of the Council that the Subscriptions of over hundred Ordinary members are in arrears for over two years. The Hony. Treasurer was directed to take action in accordance with the Constitution of the Society, with one year grace added.

17th NOVEMBER, 1992.

- 146.8.1 **Present** : Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 14 members.
- 8.2 **Excuses** : Nil
- 8.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 13th October, 1992, were adopted, proposed by Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulassoriya and seconded by Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara
- 8.4 **Publication of Tikas** : the President informed that His Excellency the President had acknowledged his letter dated 14.10.92, on the subject.
- 8.5 **JRASSL. Vol. xxxv, 1990/91** : the Hony. Editor reported that the printing of the Journal is over except for the cover.
- 8.6 **Recovery of long overdue Library Books** :
 The President informed that letters suspending the membership of defaulters had been sent under registered post to all 24 members in accordance with the decision (146.7.6) arrived at by the Council at its last meeting. The members endorsed the action : the suspended members are :-
 Mr. R. Amarasinghe, Mr. J. R. Carter, Ms. M.C.H. de Soysa, Mr. S.W. Ekanayake, Mr. M. R. Fernando (N. R) Mr. Trevor Fernando Mr. V.B.J.L. Fernando, Mr. N. D.D. Gunasekara, Mr. V. N.D. Gunawardena, Mr. H. D. S.

Jayawardena, Mr. J. A. I. Perera, Ms. M. I. P. Perera, Dr. H. R. Ratnayake, Mr. W. B. Ratnayake, Dr. M. W. Roberts (N. R.) Mr. O. R. Samaranayake, Dr. V. K. Samaraweera, Mr. E. Schleberger, Mr. J.R. Sinnathamby, Dr. W.M. Sirisena, Mr. S. Vattala, Mr. P. Weerawardena, Mr. P. Wijesinghe, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. H. Weeraratne.

8.7 Publications Board:

- i The Minutes of the Publications Board Meeting held on 3rd November, 1992, were tabled.
- ii Recommendations of the Publications Board were accepted : approved award of tender to print the Journal Vol. XXXVI to M/s. Sridevi Printers Ltd., at Rs. 47000/- for 150 pages and Rs. 300/- per extra page; further, to pay an advance of 50% of the estimate along with the print order.

iii Recommendations re review of articles for Vol. XXXVI, accepted.

8.8 **Finance Committee** : as the Finance Committee Meeting had not been held, it was expected that its recommendations will be available before the next meeting of the Council

8.9 Lecture Programme for 1993

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe read out the titles of the proposed lectures for 1993, and the Council finalised the list as given below:-

Lecture Programme for 1993

- | | |
|----------|---|
| January | - Prof. A.V. Suraweera
"Text Editing in Sinhala" |
| February | - Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara
"The Reign of Gajabahu I, 174-196 A.D." |
| March | - Dr. Justin Samarasekera
"The Cultural Heritage of Sri Lanka & the Persian Connections." |
| April | - Dr. S. U. Deraniyagala
"The Proto and early historic chronology of Sri Lanka" |
| May | - Mr. D.G.A. Perera
"Tracing the identity of Kohomba Deviyo-shades of a historic battle for cultural supremacy" |
| June | - Mr. Fredrick Medis
"Metal coins issued as redeemable currency on the 19th century coffee estates in Ceylon" |
| July | - Dr. Gunapala Senadeera
"The role played by the symbols in Buddhist Art" |
| August | - Dr. K.L.V. Alagiyawanna
"The Morgan Report of 1867, significant stage in the development of Educational Policy in Sri Lanka" |

September - Prof. A.S. Kulasuriya

"Jataka Pota in Literature and History"

October - Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana

"An Examination of the Pali Tikas"

November - Mr. O.M.L.H. da Silva

"Some objects of the 16th, 17th century Sinhala Portuguese Art in Europe"

December - Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe

"Socio-Anthropological significance of the Milk Boiling Ceremony"

8.10 **150th Anniversary of the Society** : a report on this is due from Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva before the end of the year.

8.11 **Book donations** : see pp. XXXIX - XLIV
Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara

8.12 Book review

'Electoral Allegiance in Sri Lanka' by Dilesh Jayantha, sent by the Cambridge University Press was given to Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara for review.

8.13 Letters tabled :

- i 16. 10.92 from Mr. Fred Abeysekera requesting information on Mr. S.H. Unwin, a British Planter: to be referred to the Director, National Archives and to inform the writer to communicate with him.
- ii of 15.10.92 from Dr. S.A. Craven, requesting information regarding Mr. H. C. Carolus Baron Von Prophalow: to be referred to the Director, National Archives and to inform the writer to communicate with him.
- iii of 10.11.92 from Mr. Rohan Pethiyagoda : to inform the writer that the manuscripts referred to are available for reference only to the Life Member mentioned in the letter, and permission to photocopy could not be considered until the required pages are known.
- iv of 17.11.92 from Mr. C.L.D. Perera, Administrative Asst./Librarian requesting a loan of Rs. 5,000/- for an urgent personal matter : approved on condition that it be recovered in five monthly instalments of Rs.1,000/-
- v of 16.11.92 from Mr. D. H. Karunapala, containing an estimate of Rs.1,475/- for sealing 32 windows in the Library section with rexine cloth with multibond: estimate accepted.
- vi of 17.11.92, from Dr. Gunapala Senadeera was referred to the Library Committee.

8th DECEMBER, 1992

- 146.9.1 **Present :** Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 12 members
- 9.2 **Vote of condolence :** the Council passed a vote of condolence on the deaths of Mr. M.H. Sirisoma, a Member of the Council and Mr. L. A. Adithiya, a former Member of the Council
- 9.3 **Excuses :** Dr.S. G. Samarasinghe
- 9.4 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 17 th November, 1992, were confirmed subject to the following amendments proposed by Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara and seconded by Mr. P Weerasinghe
- Para 146.8.2
Delete the word 'Nil' and substitute there of the sentence ' Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva, Hony. Editor, had informed the council of his inability to attend the meeting.
- Para 146.8.5
Delete 'I' in the volume number, it should read 'XXXV'
- Para 146.8.13. vi
After the word 'Senadeera' add the words' and containing proposals for the regulation of the lending of library books'
- 9.5 **JRASSL Vol. XXXV, 1990/91:**
- i The Hony. Editor reported that the printed copies of the Journal had been received in the Office, and copies due to the Council Members had been issued.
- ii Council approved the payment of Rs. 86,475/- for printing 750 copies of the Journal and fixed the sale price at Rs. 150/- per copy.
- 9.6 **Recovery of long overdue Library books :** Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva brought to the notice of the Council that Mr. I. Raheem is prepared to appeal and pay a reasonable sum for the book he had not returned. It was decided to refer all such appeals to the Library Committee for report.
- 9.7 **Finance Committee :** Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, informed that the Finance Committee decided to Request the Schemes of Recruitment from the Director, National Archives and the Director, National Museums. Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva pointed out that the salary scales should be equitable. It was decided to refer the matter back to the Finance Committee.
- 9.8 **Book reviews :** Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva brought to the notice of the Council that Mr. D.G.P. Seneviratne has already been invited to review the book 'Electrol Allegiance in Sri Lanka' by Dilesh Jayanththa : the Council gave its approval to it.

- 9.9 **Annual General Meeting :** March, 1993, on a proposal by the President the Council agreed to have the Annual General Meeting either on 20th or 27th, 1993, and to invite His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa, Patron of the Society to preside at the meeting.
- 9.10 **Letters tabled :**
- i of 20.11.92 from Mr. R.McAlpine informing the Council of his resignation from the post of Hony. Librarian : accepted ; and directed the Hony. Joint Secretary to thank him for the valuable service rendered to the Society. It was further decided on a proposal made by Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara and seconded by Mr. R C de S Manukulasooriya to appoint Mr. S. A Nanayakkara to fill the post of Hony. Librarian.
- ii Bill No. 661/1992 dated 24th October, 1992, sent by the Executive Editor of the Vidyodaya Journal of Science and Vidyodaya Journal of Social Sciences for RS. 360/- together with the two Journals : Hony. Joint Secretary to inquire from the writer whether it could be had on exchange for the JRASSL.
- 9.11 **Book donations :** see pp.XXXIX - XLIV
Mr. F. Medis, Pundit Dr. N.D. Wijesekara
- 9.12 **Any Other Business**
- i Fukuoka Cultural Prizes : Letter and reading materials sent by Fukuoka Asian Cultural Prize Committee were tabled : to keep them with the Librarian ; and Council Members to make proposals before the next Council Meeting.
- ii Retiring members of the Council : deferred for the next Council Meeting
- iii On a request made by Mr. P. Weerasinghe, the Council agreed to revive the 'Notes and Queries' section of the Journal'
- iv The President informed the Council that Mr. C. L. D. Perera , Librarian, had fully paid back the advance of Rs. 5,000/- he had obtained last month.

12th JANUARY, 1993

- 146.10.1 **Present :** Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the chair and 16 members.
- 10.2 **Excuses :** Nil
- 10.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 8th December, 1992 were adopted, proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Dr. N.T.K.G. Senadeera
- 10.4 **Finance Committee :** the Treasurer tabled the minutes of the Finance Committee Meeting held on 28th December, 1992: the under mentioned

salary scales recommended by the Finance Committee were approved:

Administrative Asst. / Librarian	30,000-10x900-39,000
Binder	18,000-10x360-21,600
Peon/ Labourer	14,400-10x360-18,000

- 10.5 **Annual General Meeting** : March, 1993: the President informed that an invitation had been sent to His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa, and that a reply is expected : the date of the A.G.M. is to be decided after the receipt of the reply.
- 10.6 **Fukuka Cultural Prizes** : no proposals has been received for consideration.
- 10.7 **New Membders** : see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
- 10.8 **Book donations** : see pp. XXXIX - XLIV
Mr. Fredrick Medis, Prof. L. P.N. Perera, Mr. Anil Premaratne,
Mr. S.D. Saparamadu
- 10.9 **Retiring Members of the Council**
The Council finalised the seven Council Members who will be retiring under Article 29 of the Constitution
Pundit V. W. Abhayagunawardena
Mrs. I. Iriyagolle
Dr. K.L.V. Alagiyawanna
Prof. L. P. N. Perera
Dr. N. T. K. G. Senadeera
Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty
Mr. P. Weerasinghe
- 10.10 **Book reviews** : the two volumes 'An Historical Relation of the Island Ceylon' by Robert Knox, sent by Mr. S. D. Saparamadu for review was referred to the Publications Board
- 10.11 **Letters tabled** :
- i Subscription renewal notice sent by the American Anthropological Association : decided to renew subscriptions.
 - ii of 4.11.92. from M/s. Metropolitan Agencies re renewal of maintenance contract for the Cannon Copier: renewal approved.
 - iii of 28.11.92 from Mr. P. Ranasinghe requesting permission to use the library for research studies ; to inform him to apply for membership
 - iv of 9.11.92 from Dr. N.T.K.G. Senadeera containing a resolution 'that the attendance Register pertaining to the monthly meetings of the Society should be closed at the conclusion of each session and each abstenteism should be initialled by the Hony. Joint Secretary personally " accepted

10.12 **Any Other Business**

- i Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara tabled the 'draft Budget 1993'; decided to allocate Rs. 60,000/- for the purchase of books.
- ii Calender for 1993, containing the dates of Council Meeting and dates of Lectures was tabled, and approved.
- iii JRASSL Vol. XXXVI, - 1991/92
The Hony. Editor, tabled the Progress Report showing the position of the volume, as at date.
- iv On a proposal by Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva, the Council decided to request the Hony. Treasurer, Hony. Editor and Hony. Librarian to submit Monthly Progress Reports.

16th FEBRUARY, 1993

- 146.11.1 **Present** : Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 12 members
- 11.2 **Excuses** : Mr. A. Denis N Fernando, Dr. K.L.V. Alagiyawanna
- 11.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 12th January, 1993, were adopted proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Mr. K. Jayatilade
- 11.4 **Annual General Meeting**
- i The President, informed the Council that His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa has intimated his inability to accept the invitation owing to prior engagements.
 - ii Decided to have the A.G.M. at 5.00 p.m. on 27th Saturday, Mach, 1993, at the Mahaweli Auditorium.
 - iii The draft Agenda circulated by the Hony. Joint Secretary was approved
 - iv It was noted that the Hony. Treasurer's Report, Hony. Librarian's Report and the Hony. Editor's Report will be ready within a week to be sent to the Printer.
 - v It was decided to have the 150th Anniversary in March, 1995.
- 11.5 **New Members** : see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
Hon. Justice S.J.D. de S Wijeyaratne to get a member to propose his name as Maj. Gen. M. Madawela is on suspension
- 11.6 **Book donations** : see pp. XXXIX - XLIV
Dr. Ulrich Von Schroeder, Sri Lanka Foundation, Mr. F. Medis, Ks. Wilfred M Gunasekara
- 11.7 The undermentioned eleven **nominations** were received to fill the nine vacancies in the Council :-
(a) Dr. N. T.K. G Senadeera

- (b) Prof. Mrs. K.E.Karunaratne
- (c) Mr. R.G.G.O. Gunasekara
- (d) Mr. Peter Jayasuriya
- (e) Dr. S.U. Deraniyagala
- (f) Rev. Fr. Dr. X.N. Kurukulasuriya
- (g) Mr. P. Kulatilake
- (h) Prof. A. V. Suraweera
- (i) Mr. K. Arunasiri
- (j) Dr. M.N.M. Kamil Asad
- (k) Pundit V. W. Abhayagunawardena

- 11.8 **Hony. Treasurer's Report** : the Progress Report for January 1993, was tabled by the Hony. Treasurer.
- 11.9 **Hony. Librarian's Progress Report** : the report of the Hony. Librarian dated 15th February, 1993, was tabled by the Hony. Librarian Mr. S A Nanayakkara
- i decided that the proposals contained in the letter submitted by Dr. N. T. K.G Senadeera could not be implemented without amending the Constitution; decided not to amend the rules on the lending of books.
 - ii decided to order the next seven titles from the P.T.S. Invoice No. 210 of 23rd March, 1992: the invoice price being £ 299.25 plus postage.
 - iii decided to request the Hony. Librarian to include the titles of new books added to the library, in his Progress Report.
- 11.10 **Hony. Editor's Progress Report** : report tabled showing the progress as at 16th February, 1993.
- 11.11 **Letters tabled :**
- i of 17.1.93 from Mr. S. W.P. Bulankulama, Chairman, Urban Development Authority, requesting the Society's Co-operation in the Beira Lake Resortoration Study, was tabled : decided to allow an officer authorized by the Chairman U. D. A. to use the Library and for the said purpose, as a special privilege.
 - ii of 1. 2. 93. from Mr. M. K.T.A Alwis, Commissioner of Educational Publications, requesting permission to reprint the Grammar of the Sinhala Language by Wilhelm Geiger; permission sought granted and to request ten copies for the library.
- 11.12 **Any Other Business**
- i Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva, raised as an urgent matter, the question of the payment of the Government Grant. It had been received on a quarterly basis in 1992: he pointed out that the Society should request the full amount be paid en-bloc as early as possible. He further, suggested, that the President

and the Hony. Treasurer should meet the Minister of Cultural Affairs and get the matter sorted out.

The Council empowered the President and Hony. Treasurer to meet the Minister, and sort out the matter.

- ii Dr C. G. Urugoda pointed out that the Committee re the 150th Anniversary Publication should be reconstituted : the House agreed to take it up at the next meeting .

9TH MARCH, 1993

- 146.12.1 **Present** : Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, President in the Chair and 10 members
- 12.2 **Excuses** : Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara and Dr. N. T. K G. Senadeera
- 12.3 **Minutes** of the Council Meeting held on 16th February, 1993 : were adopted, proposed by Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Pundit V.W. Abhayagunawardena
- 12.4 **Progress Reports** : decided that in future the Agenda should include the undermentioned Progress Reports :
- i Hony. Treasurer's Progress Report
 - ii Hony. Librarian's Progress Report
 - iii Hony. Editor's Progress Report
- 12.5 **New Members** : see pp.XXXVI - XXXIX
- 12.6 **Book donations** : see pp.XXXIX - XLIV
Dr. Ulrich Von Schoreder; Mr. T. W. Ioffman ; Dr. C. G. Urugoda
- 12.7 **Hony. Treasurer's Progress Report** for February 1993, was referred back to him to be re-submitted after making the necessary corrections re income from the Savings Account.
- 12.8 **Hony. Librarian's Progress Report** : Nil
- 12.9 **Hony. Editor's Progress Report** : the Council noted the Progress Report submitted by the Hony. Editor and also decided to accept the Publications Board recommendations namely to issue a copy of the Journal to :-
- i Non members who have an article published therein
 - ii To those non members who are requested to referee an article
 - iii An extra copy to a Member who has an article published in it.
- 12.10 **Annual General Meeting** : Saturday, 27 the March, 1993 5. 00 p.m. was confirmed for the AGM ; also decided to serve refreshments after the meeting
- 12.11 **150th Anniversary Publication**

- i Mr. G.P.S.H de Silva, Hony. Editor, submitted a paper dated 9th March, 1993, containing his proposals for consideration by the Council: After discussion the undermentioned appointments were made by the Council
- ii Hony Editors: Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva and Dr. C.G. Uragoda
- iii Advisory Board to consist of :-
The President - Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe - Hony. Joint Secretary
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara - Hony. Treasurer
Mr. P. Colin Thome or Mr. T. W. Hoffman
Prof. A.S. Kulasuriya
- iv It was also decided to issue it as a 'Special Number'

The other details as well as Mr. F. Medis's, proposal to organise an Exhibition and Pundit V W Abhayagunawardena's proposal to arrange a Seminar were postponed for discussion at the next meeting.

12.12 Letters tabled

- i of 27.2.93 from the Secretary, Cultural Affairs informing the Society that the Ministry has directed the Director, Cultural Affairs to pay the grant enblock was tabled : to follow up and get the balance portion of the grant as early as possible
- ii of 2.3.93 from Mr. R.M.V. Weerakone requesting a new year advance of Rs. 1,000/- to be deducted in ten monthly instalments from his salary : approved

12.13 Any Other Business

Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara brought to the notice of the Council the conduct of the Assistant Librarian/ Typist, Mrs. C Senanayake, who on 27th February, 1993, had left office at 4. 30 p.m. without waiting till 5.00 p.m. and thus, making her services unavailable to the Society : decided to call for explanation and take suitable disciplinary action thereafter.

List of New Members 1992/1993

(a) Life - Resident

NAME and ADDRESS	DATE OF ADMISSION
Prof. Nimal de Silva, 47, Nugegoda Road, Pepiliyana, Borelesgamuwa P: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, S: Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	12th May, 1992

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Mr. J. Jayewardene, 7A, Bois Place, Colombo 3. P: Mr. P. Colin Thome S: Mr. A. J. de A. Abraham	12th May, 1992
Dr. M. Fernandopulle, 33, Police Park Avenue, Colombo - 5 P: Dr. R. L. Jayakody S: Prof. S.R. Kottegoda	9th June, 1992
Mr. G. Samarasinghe, Senasana, Mahamegharama Rd, Mahamega Gardens, Maharagama P: Prof. Mrs. T.G.I. Munasinghe, S: Mr. G. P. S.H. de Silva	21st July, 1992
Prof. C. Wickremagama, F 49, Mattegodaagama, Polgasovita P: Mr. S. Lakdusinghe S: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana	21st July, 1992
Mr. R.S. Perera, 31, De Fonseka Road, Colombo - 5. P: Mr. U. L. Kadurugamuwa S: Mr. A. Tittawella	13th Oct. 1992
Dr. M.U. de Silva, 214, Tangalle Road, Pallimulla, Matara. P: Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva S: Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulasooriya	12th Jan. 1993
Ven. A. Dhamminda Thera, Dept. of Sinhala University of Ruhuna, Matara P: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana S: Dr. K.L.V. Alagiyawanna	16th Feb. 1993
Ven. B. Dhammajoti Thera, Sri Vijaya Bimbaramaya, Gammadipitiya, Hakmana P: Dr. V. Vitharana S: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana	16th Feb. 1993
Dr. P. Wienand, 61/6, Ward Place, Colombo - 7 P: Dr. P. Nicolaus S: Dr. K. L.V. Alagiyawanna	9th March, 1993
Ven. M. Nandawansa Thera, Sri Lanka Vidyalaya, 58, Vipulasena Mawatha, Colombo - 10. P: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana S: Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara	9th March, 1993
Mr. Chandra de Silva, 3, Siripa Lane, Colombo -5. P: Mr. L.H.R.P. Deraniyagala S: Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara	9th March, 1993

Dr. W.M.K. Wijetunge, 30/63 A, Longdon Place, Colombo - 7. 9th March, 1993
 P: Mr. G.P.S.H. de Silva
 S: Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara

Mr. G.W. Jayantha, Avasa Road, Kesbewa, Piliyandala 9h March, 1993
 P: Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
 S: Dr. G.P. Wijayawardhana

b) Life - Non-resident

Dr. C.H.B. Reynolds, Little Squerries, Hosey Hill, Westerham, 21st April, 1992
 Kent, England
 P: Prof. M.B. Ariyapala
 S: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana

c) Transferred to Life

NAME and ADDRESS	TRANSFERRED on
Mr. B. A. Hemapala *, 23, Wijerama Lane, Navinna, Maharagama	21st April, 1992
Mr. R.M.M. Chandraratne *, Dept. of Archaeology University, Peradeniya	13th Oct. 1992
Prof. Merlin Peiris*, 9, Taksila Lane, Dangolla, Kandy	16th Feb. 1993
Prof. Merlin Peiris*, 71/3, Green Path, Colombo - 7.	16th Feb. 1993
Mr. D.J. Moldrich*, 88/1, Stork Place, Colombo 10.	9th March, 1993
Mr. O.P. Douglas *, 179, Dharmasena Mawatha, Metarambe, Unawatuna	9th March, 1993
a = On Payment of Life Membership	
b = On completing 25 years as an Ordinary Member (Resident)	

d) Ordinary Resident

NAME and ADDRESS	DATE OF ADMISSION
Ms. G. Juleff, 185, Model Farm Road, Colombo - 8. P: Dr. S.U. Deraniyagala S: Mr. M.H. Sirisoma	12th May, 1992
Mr. P.D. Harggan, Cultural Survival, Taj Samudra, Colombo - 3. P: Mrs. Theja Gunawardana S: Mr. Ajita de Costa	9th June, 1992
Dr. P. Nicolaus, 7, Conistan Place, Colombo - 7. P: Dr. T. A. Buell S: Dr. C. G. Urugoda	11th Aug. 1993

Ven. U. Vedhanyana, Intl. Meditation Centre, Inst. Meditation 8th Sept. 1992
 Centre, 108, Wijerama Mawatha,

P: Ven. T. Lekwickrom
 S: Mr. M. H. Sirisoma

Dr. Ms. C. S. Perera, 69/3, Green Path, Colombo - 7. 8th sept. 1992
 P: Dr. C. G. urugoda
 S: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana

Dr. P. Pinikahana, 20, Cemetery Road, Battaramulla 12th Jan. 1993
 P: Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana
 S: Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulasooriya

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