JAMES THEVATHASAN RUTNAM FELICITATION VOLUME

JAFFNA ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY

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The James Thevathasan Rutnam Felicitation Volume

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presented
by

The Jaffna Archaeological Society
To its President
James T. Rutnam

on the occasion of his
Seventieth Birthday
13th June 1975

Edited by the Society's Vice-President
Karthigesu Indrapala

JAMES THEVATHASAN RUTNAM FELICITATION VOLUME

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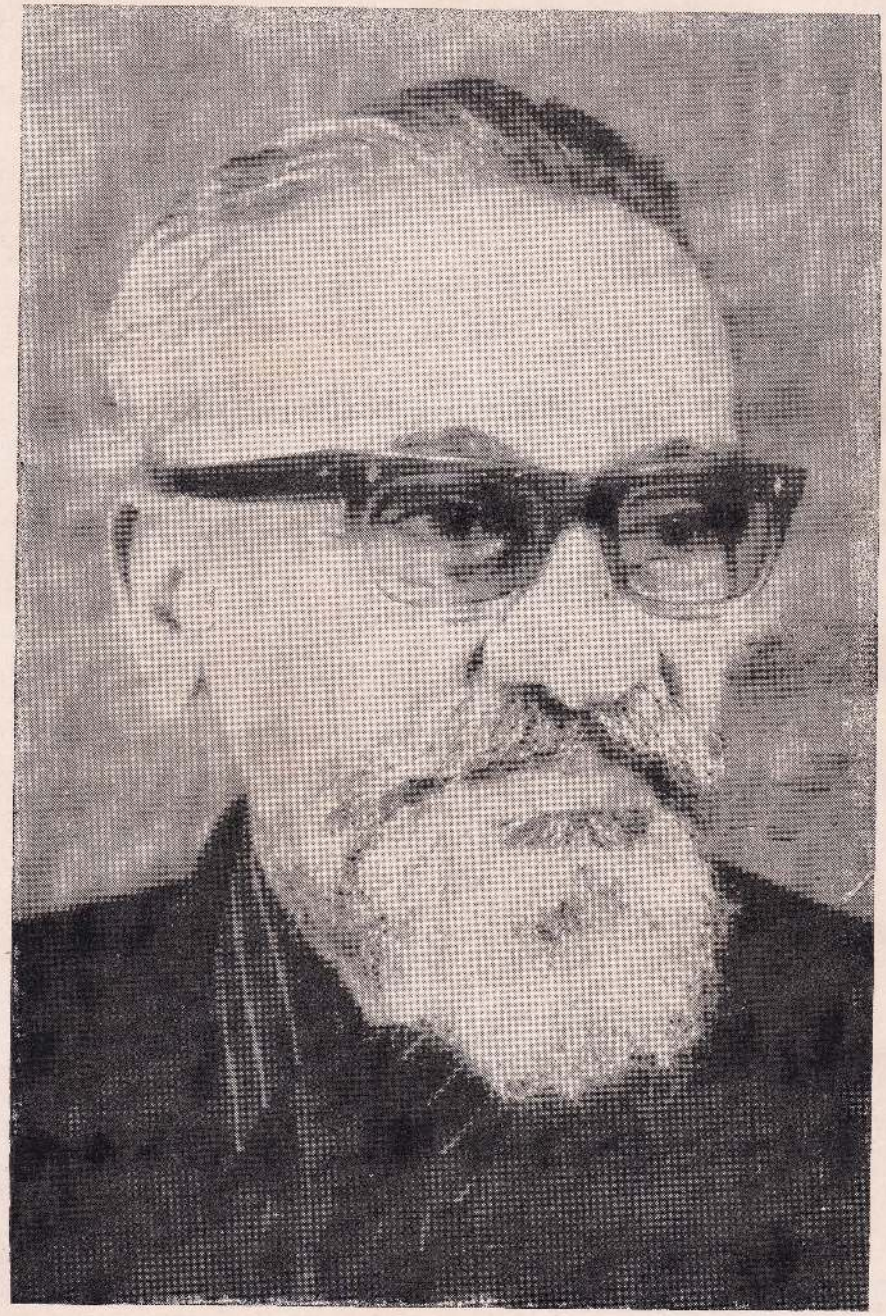

JAMES THEVATHASAN RUTNAM

A Biographical Note

Mr. James Thevathasan Rutnam—trade-unionist, politician, scholar and humanist—the President of our Archaeological Society, is completing three score and ten eventful years and is entering the eighth decade of his life with that vigour, enthusiasm, idealism, and humaneness that have been characteristic of his vivid personality for so long. Though a person possessed of a rare combination of talents, it is as a scholar that he has made his mark, and this volume of articles by friends from the academic world is a fitting tribute to him on this memorable occasion.

Though Mr. Rutnam has spent a good part of his life in the pursuit of an increasingly elusive seat in the legislature of the country, he undoubtedly had the makings of a scholar from his early years as was admirably demonstrated by the Walter Pereira Prize for Legal Research which he won in the Ceylon Law College in 1927. Scholarship was his first love and he returned to it after some turbulent years in politics and business.

Born on 13 June 1905 at the McCleod Hospital in Inuvil, Jaffna, Mr. Rutnam had his school education at the Manipay Hindu College, St. Joseph's College (Colombo) and St. Thomas' College (Mt. Lavinia). He entered the University College (Colombo) in 1924 and, after brief periods there and at the Law College (Colombo) he plunged into politics.

Nourished by the nationalist ideals of Ponnambalam Arunachalam and having cut his political teeth under the benign care of that fiery rebel A. E. Goonesinha as a member of the latter's angry band of young men in the the Young Lanka League and later in the Ceylon Labour Union, Mr. Rutnam joined the Progressive Nationalist Party founded by S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike and others in 1925. Though he hailed Bandaranike as the hope of Young Ceylon when he proposed a vote of thanks to him at one of the latter's very first public lectures in the Island, he soon parted company with him, having opposed Bandaranaike's plan for a federal system of government and, later, his candidacy for the Maradana Ward of the Colombo Muncipal Council against Goonesinha.

In 1926 Mr. Rutnam wrote a letter to the press that started the agitation against the Poppy Day Fund and paved the way for the well-known Suriya Mal campaign of the following year, the movement that marked the beginnings of Leftism in this country.* Soon he became a labour leader, having formed a labour union at Nuwara Eliya where he was serving as Principal of St. Xavier's College, and been elected its first president. It was then that he came to grips with the colonial masters when he organized his first strike in 1929—a strike that lasted for two months. Riding on the crest of popular feeling generated by these early activities, he stood for the State Council in 1931. He tried again in 1943 and lost by a very narrow margin but unseated the winner M. D. Banda, on an election petition. Having determined from school-days to be a politican, he tried again in 1960, but was again denied the chance of entering Parliament.

Scholarship is the breath of his life and it is as a scholar that Mr. Rutnam is known to the present generation of Sri Lankans. Having drifted from other fields to historical research, he is today fruitfully engaged in unravelling the recent and not so recent past of this country and in guiding others in the same task. Almost every young historian of modern Sri Lanka in our University campus today has at one time or other stepped in at Baron's Court, the residence of Mr. Rutnam, seeking his advice and guidance. Some of them, including a few reputed ones, had even revised their drafts in the light of information supplied by him.

His own research papers, on the other hand, have won for him the encomium of university dons. In this respect, his article on Rev. A. G Fraser is worthy of mention (*The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, Vol 1, No. 2, New Series 1971). While the manner of his presentation revealed how well he had mastered the historian's craft, the dexterity with which he handled the footnotes and the sure touch that he exhibited throughout the paper showed his special skills as a researcher. If he had established his credentials as a modern historian through this publication, his monograph on the controversial Polonnaruva Colossus. read at the Fourth International Conference—Seminar of Tamil Studies in 1974, disclosed that he could be equally at home with archaeologists and ancient historians.

As a genealogist Mr. Rutnam has few peers in this country. The uncanny instinct that he displays in the pursuit of clues for the reconstruction of family trees—be it Sinhalese, Tamil or European—has always amazed both layman and researcher alike. The skill with which he smells his way through the shadowy alleys and dusty corridors of the old-world mansions of some of our leading families, sensing the path of their blood with the nose of a sleuth-hound, is well known to many. One has only to read his sensational writings on the Bandaranaike and Jayawardene families to know this.

* See *Ceylon Morning Leader*, 12 August 1926.

A voracious reader and a passionate lover of books, he has been a constant worker in many of the well-known libraries of the world and in his own ever-expanding library, much of which is now on permanent loan in the Jaffna Campus of the University of Sri Lanka. Currently he is working on a wide range of topics in the history of Sri Lanka - from Cheng Ho's expedition to the life and work of Alexander Johnston, William Digby and Christopher Elliot and the activities of the American Mission. The unpublished documents in his possession are a mine of information for our historians.

A perfectionist, Mr. Rutnam never rushes to publish anything, but engages in long years of painstaking search for material among private collections and libraries the world over and in the meticulous study of such material. For the last fifty years, for instance, he has been collecting a wealth of information on Sir Alexander Johnston (Puisne, and some time later, Chief Justice of Ceylon between 1806 and 1817), including a considerable amount of original manuscripts, thus bringing together much of the material on the subject and becoming in the process, a leading, probably *the* leading, authority on Alexander Johnston. While this source of valuable information has been of great use to other scholars who sought his assistance, he himself is yet to bring out his own work on the subject. His perfectionism has not permitted him to do that.

On this day his seventieth birthday—the Jaffna Archaeological Society joins his friends in wishing him a successful research career in the coming years.

— Editor

Basil Perera
Attorney-at-Law

JIM RUTNAM—SCHOLAR AND WRITER*

A 70th Birthday Tribute

James T. Rutnam reaches the Psalmist's span of three score years and ten today. All his friends wish him 'Ad Multos Annos' and 'Many Happy Returns'

Mr. Rutnam is a distinguished scholar of social and political affairs, a man of liberal and progressive views, once an adored school-master and successful businessman. He is, above all, a man of integrity with a keen sense of public duty.

Born in Jaffna, he was educated at the Manipay Hindu College and later at St. Thomas' and St. Joseph's in Colombo. As a boy he loved reading the Bible and also the works of Ruskin and McCaulay. From this reading, no doubt, did he acquire the lucidity of style and felicity of expression which we have come to associate with all his writings.

Mr. Rutnam also entered the old Ceylon University College and the Law College. At the latter he became editor of the Law Student's Magazine and the 'Prime Minister' of its 'House of Commons'. He also won the Walter Pereira Prize for legal research.

His political career began as early as 1922 when he was only 17, making his first public speech from the Tower Hall platform. On that occasions, E. T. de Silva, then a rising star in our political firmament alas! to fade away with his untimely death, hailed him as a 'young man of high ideals, very popular among contemporaries of his own generation'.

* From the *Ceylon Daily News* Friday June 13, 1975.

Mr. Rutnam was a teacher at Uva College, Badulla, and Wesley College, and served for three years as Principal at St. Xavier's College, Nuwara Eliya. It was here he came into head-on collision with the colonial bureaucracy.

He had formed a trade union at Nuwara Eliya and went to see one Mr Smith regarding the grievances of some transport workers. The latter gave him a patient hearing, but at the end shouted: "I will give you five minutes to clear out of this place".

The young Rutnam was flabbergasted by this shocking behaviour. Yet he recovered sufficiently to snap back: "I will give you three minutes to give me a satisfactory answer.". Getting none, he went out to lead a two months' strike of the workers.

By this time, Mr. Rutnam had become a member of the Young Lanka League led by Victor Corea and A. E. Goonesinha. That was a radical organisation of 'Young Turks' discontented with the moderate policies pursued by nationalist leaders. Their founder members had signed in blood a pledge to work for the liberation of the nation from foreign rule. Rutnam wrote later: "Many of us heard for the first time the compelling call for Freedom when Goonesinha's stentorian voice came crackling into our ears."

When Mr. S W. R.D. Bandaranaike made his second public speech here at the YMCA Forum—soon after his return from Oxford, it was Mr. Rutnam who proposed a vote of thanks and hailed him as 'the hope of young Lanka'. He became a founder-member of the Progressive Nationalist Party that Mr Bandaranaike formed with the aim of fostering a spirit of true nationalism' and widening the base of political agitation, till then only the monopoly of a few. But when the attempts of the young radicals failed, Mr. Bandaranaike joined the Ceylon National Congress. Mr. Rutnam followed him into this organisation.

Mr. Rutnam was also associated with the 'Cosmopolitan Crew' formed in 1926. It was this association that organised protest demonstrations against the sale of poppies on November 11th every year. Their movement led to the Suriya Mal campaign and then to the birth of the Left movement in Sri Lanka.

Mr. Rutnam made a number of unsuccessful bids to enter the supreme legislature. Twice in the State Council days, he attempted to beard Mr. E W. Abeygunasekera in his own den at Nuwara Eliya, and twice was he beaten by that seasoned campaigner. Then he contested Mr. M. D Banda when the latter contested the by-election after Mr. Abeygunasekera's resignation following the findings of a Bribery Commission. He polled 11,093 votes against Mr. Banda's 12,652. The latter just won, but the former succeeded in unseating him through an election petition.*

Mr. Rutnam can claim to be one of the oldest living journalists having been writing ever since 1922. He once reminisced about how 'my hand turned to the pen to pour my heart's rage, and this pen has ever since been kept

*See Appendix B

moving'. His earliest contributions were to *Young Lanka*, organ of the Young Lanka League referred to above. Then he was the leader writer to the *Ceylon Independent* and correspondent inter alia, to the *Morning Leader* and the *Ceylon Daily Mail*. He is probably the only Ceylonese who had a letter published in Mahatma Gandhi's prestigious *Young India*.*

His journalistic writings have been of a varied nature. Some were serious learned articles, others light hearted, many polemical. The article of appreciation he wrote on the death of Maud Keuneman‡ was a gem of a piece. No one can read his writings without recognising behind them all the hand of a maestro, the art of a master craftsman. H. D. Jansz classed him among the three best writers of English prose in the Island.

But even more than his journalistic work, it is in the field of real scholarship that Mr. Rutnam has made his mark and will be remembered by posterity. Without a Ph. D. or even plain B. A. behind his name he has been doing painstaking, scholarly research. An acknowledged authority on the British period of our history, he is at present doing research on the life of Sir Alexander Johnston. Prof. Labrooy once congratulated him for his 'uncanny instinct' as of a sleuth in detecting' and for his 'patience and perseverance in your pursuit'.

It is not surprising that three books published recently—H. A. I. Goonetileke's *Bibliography of Ceylon*, Prof T. Nadaraja's *Legal Systems of Ceylon* and Kumari Jayawardene's *The Rise of Labor Movement in Ceylon* all refer to this man of scholarship and culture.

Today, Mr. Rutnam is a Life Member and a member of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sri Lanka Branch. A versatile man, he is also the President of the Angler's Club and the Founder-President of the Humanist Society.

He has founded the Evelyn Rutnam Institute for Cultural Relations in memory of his wife from whose death in 1964 he never fully recovered. They were such a devoted pair. About her he wrote: "She came to me to learn and remained to be my teacher..... She was my constant friend and companion. She guided and inspired me. She was an exceptional woman"

And to this exceptional man, what can we wish on his 70th birthday except many more years of good health and happiness and of course, more power to his pen.

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* See Appendix A

‡ See Ceylon Daily Mirror April 1971

கார்த்திகேசு சிவத்தம்பி
வித்தியோதய வளாகம்
இலங்கைப் பல்கலைக் கழகம்

முற்போக்குக்கு வழிவகுத்த ஒரு முதிய இளைஞன்

ஜேம்ஸ் தேவதாசன் இரத்தினத்துக்கும் எனக்கும் பல விடயங்களில் கருத்து வேறுபாடுகள் உண்டு, தமிழாராய்ச்சி மகாநாடு சம்பந்தமான விடயங்கள் முதல் பல விடயங்களில் நாம் வன்மையான கருத்து வேறுபாடுகள் கொண்டுள்ளோம்.

ஆனால் இந்நூற்றாண்டின் இரண்டாம் சகாப்தத்தில் இரத்தினம் தொடக்கி வைத்த தேசிய ஒருமைப்பாட்டுக்கான முற்போக்கு நெறி சார்ந்த இயக்கத்தின் தர்க்க ரீதியான, தற்கால வாரிசுகள் நாம் என்ற எண்ணத் துணிவின், செயற்பாட்டின் காரணமாக நாம் இன்று நடத்தும் சில இயக்கங்களுக்கு அவர் இப்பொழுது பூரண ஆதரவு தரத் தயங்குகின்றாரெனினும், உட்சுவர் இருக்கப் புறச்சுவரை அலங்கரிக்கின்றோமென்ற குற்றச்சாட்டுக் கூறப்படக் கூடாதென்ற நேர்மைத் தெளிவு காரணமாகவும், கடந்தகால வரலாற்றுப் புருடர்களை மறந்து நிகழ்காலச் செயல்களை நடத்தக் கூடாதென்ற வரலாற்றுநிலைபாடு காரணமாகவும் ஏகாதிபத்திய எதிர்ப்புக்கும், தேசிய ஒருமைப்பாட்டுக்கும், இலங்கையின் அரசியல் வரலாற்று அறிவுக்கும் பெரிதும் உதவியுள்ள இரத்தினத்தின் சேவைகள் பற்றிய எமது நன்றிக் கடப்பாட்டினை எழுபது வயதினை அவர் எய்தியுள்ள இவ்வேளையில் தெரிவித்தல் அத்தியாவசியமானது என்ற கடமையுணர்வுடன் இச் சிறு குறிப்பை எழுதுகிறேன்.

இந் நாட்டில் அரசியற்றுறையில் ஏகாதிபத்திய எதிர்ப்பியக்கமும் இடதுசாரிக் கோட்பாட்டின் தோற்றமும் வளர்ச்சியும் எவ்வாறு இணைந்து நிற்கின்றன என்பது திரு. த. துரைசிங்கம் அவர்களது அண்மைக்கால எழுத்துக்களால் நன்கு புலப்படத் தொடங்கியுள்ளது.

1924இல் தோற்றுவிக்கப்பெற்ற மாணவர் காங்கிரஸ் இயக்கம் இலங்கையின் முற்போக்கு இயக்க விடிவெள்ளியாக அமைந்த தன்மையினை திரு. துரைசிங்கம் அவர்கள்

துல்லியமாக எடுத்துக் காட்டுகின்றார். இந்த இயக்கம் தோற்றுவித்த உந்துதல் காரணமாக 1925 ஒக்ரோபரில் முற்போக்குத் தேசியக்கட்சி எஸ். டபிள்யூ. ஆர். டி. பண்டாரநாயக்காவினால் தோற்றுவிக்கப்பட்டது. அக் கட்சியின் ஸ்தாபக அங்கத்தவர்களில் ஒருவராக ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினம் விளங்கினார். ஏ. இ. குணசிங்க தொடக்கிய தொழிலாளர் இயக்கம் மூலம் அரசியல் ருசி பெற்ற இரத்தினம் 1926இல் பண்டாரநாயக்கா இலங்கைக்குச் சமஷ்டியரசு வேண்டுமென்ற கோரிக்கையை முன்வைத்த பொழுது அதனை எதிர்த்தார் என்பது 1926 ஜூலையில் வெளியான ''சிலோன் மோர்னிங் லீடர்'' பத்திரிகை மூலம் தெரிய வருகின்றது.

ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினத்தின் முக்கிய அரசியற் பணி என்று கருதத்தக்கது முதலாம் உலக யுத்தத்துக்குப் பின் நவம்பர் மாதம் 11ஆம் திகதி கொண்டாடப்பெறும் ''பொப்பி'' தினத்துக்கு எதிராகத் தொடங்கிய போராட்டமாகும். பொப்பி தினத்திற் சேர்க்கப்படும் நிதி ஏகாதிபத்திய அபிவிருத்திக்கே பயன்படுகின்றதென வாதாடிய இரத்தினம், 8-11-1926இல் பொப்பிதின எதிர்ப்புக்கென கொழும்பு டவர் மண்டபத்தின் கூட்டச் செயலாளராகத் தெரிவு செய்யப்பட்டார். பொப்பி தின எதிர்ப்பியக்கமே, இலங்கையில் இடதுசாரியியக்கம் தோன்றுவதற்கு வழி வகுத்த ''சூரியமல் இயக்க''த்துக்குக் காலாக விருந்தது. சட்ட மாணவனாக விருந்த இரத்தினம் அக்காலத்தில் அரசியல் வானில் முக்கிய இடம் வகித்த முக்கியஸ்தர்கள் பலருடன் இணைந்து தமது போராட்டத்தை நடத்தி வந்தார்.

மாணவப் பருவத்தை அரசியற் போராட்டங்களிலே கழித்த இரத்தினம் தனது தொழில்முறை வாழ்க்கையை மலையகத்திலே தொடங்கினார். பதுளை ஹவாக் கல்லூரியிலும், பின்னர் நுவரெலிய சென்ற் சேவியர் கல்லூரியிலும் முறையே ஆசிரியராகவும் அதிபராகவும் கடமையாற்றியபொழுது அப்பகுதித் தொழிற்சங்க இயக்கங்களிலே முக்கிய இடம் வகித்தார். இந்திய வம்சாவழியினரான தோட்டத் தொழிலாளருக்கு வாக்குரிமை வழங்கப்பட வேண்டியதனவசியத்தையும். அது சம்பந்தமாக அப்பொழுது நிலவிய சட்ட நிலைமையை எடுத்துக் காட்டியும் 1930இல் அவர் வெளியிட்ட அறிக்கை சரித்திரப் பிரசித்தி வாய்ந்ததாகும்.

அக்காலத்தில் அரசியலில் ஈடுபட்டோர் ஆங்கில ஆட்சியின் தாக்கத்தினால் தோன்றிய மத்திய வர்க்கத்தைச் சார்ந்தவர்களே யாவர். எழுத்துமூலம் அரசியற் போராட்டம் நிகழ்த்துவது, பொதுக் கூட்டங்களைக் கூட்டுவது போன்ற நடவடிக்கைகளே புத்திஜீவிகளின் செயற்பாடுகளாக அமைந்தன. ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினம் தமது அரசியற் போராட்டங்களை அவ்வழிகளிலேயே ஆற்றி வந்தார். தென்னிந்தியாவிலும் அக்காலத்தில் இந் நிலைமையே காணப்பட்டது என்பது ருசிகரமான ஓர் ஒப்பாய்வு உண்மையாகும்.

புத்திஜீவ அரசியலி லீடுபாடு கொண்டிருந்த இரத்தினம், அரசியலைத் தமது முழுநேரத் தொழிலாக்கிக் கொள்வதற்கான நோக்கத்துடன் பொதுத்தேர்தல்கள் பலவற்றில் போட்டியிட்டார். 1931முதல் 1952 வரை நான்கு தடவை நுவரெலியாத் தொகுதிக்குப் போட்டியிட்டார். 1944இல் எம். டி. பண்டாவைத் தோற்கடிக்கத் தக்க நிலைமைக்கு வந்திருந்தும் அரசவைப் பிரதிநிதிப் பதவி இவருக்குக் கிடைக்கவேயில்லை. நுவரெலியாவிற் பெறமுடியாதுபோனதைக் கொழும்பு தெற்கில் பெற முயன்றார். ஆயினும் வெற்றி கிட்டவில்லை.

தேர்தலிலே தோல்வி பெற்றார் இரத்தினமெனினும், அவர் புகழின் அடிப் படை தேர்தற் போட்டித் தகைமையன்று, முற்போக்கு வாதத்தினைத் தொடர்ந்து கடைப்பிடித்து வந்தார் என்பதே காரணமாகும். தமது வாழ்க்கை முறைக் கும் தொழில் நெறிகட்கும் முரண்பாடு ஏற்படாத வகையிலேயே இவ்வரசியல் நடவடிக்கைகள் அமைந்திருந்தன என்று எடுத்துக் காட்டப்பட முடியுமானால், தான் சரியென நினைத்தவைக்காகப் போராடிய பண்பும், அக்கால கட்டத்தில் சரியானவற்றையே எண்ணிய பண்பும் போற்றுதற்குரியது.

ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினத்தின் அரசியல் நோக்கில் காலத்துக்குக் காலம் சிறுச்சிறு மாற்றங்கள் ஏற்பட்டிருக்கலாம். ஆனால் என்றுமே அழுத அடிச்சுவடு ஒன்று உண்டு. அது இலங்கைத் தமிழ் மக்கள் பிளவு படுத்தப்படாத ஈழத்தின் பிரிக்கப்பட முடியாத ஒன்றிணைந்த பிரஜைகள் என்பதே யாகும். இலங்கையின் தேசிய முன்னேற் றத்தில் தமிழ் மக்கள் எப்பொழுதும் முற்போக்கு நெறிப்பட்ட அரசியல் நோக் கினையே கொள்ளவேண்டுமென்பதற்காகவும் அவர் எழுதியுள்ளார்; முயன்றுள்ளார். இந்த அணுகுமுறை காரணமாகவே 1965இல் தமிழ் மக்கள் யூ. என். பியுடன் சேருதல் கூடாது என்று வாதிட்டார்.

ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினம் இந்நூற்றாண்டின் தொடக்க காலத்தில் தமிழ் மக்களின் முற்போக்கு நடவடிக்கைகளுக்கு வழிவகுத்த முறைமை பற்றி முன்னாள் உதவி அமைச்சர் காலஞ்சென்ற திரு. க. கனகரெத்தினம் அவர்கள் தாம் எழுதியுள்ள கடிதமொன்றிற் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். 19-5-58இல் அவர் எழுதிய கடிதமொன்றிற் குறிப் பிட்டுள்ளதாவது:—"தமிழ் மக்களின் தலைவர்களெனப் பலரும் தம்மைத் தாம் முன் னிலைப்படுத்துகின்றனர். இன்னுமொரு காலத்திலேயே தாங்கள் தமிழ் மக்களின் நலனுக்காக ஆற்றியுள்ள சேவைகளை அறிவார்களேயானால், தமது தற்போதைய அரசில் வரட்சியினை உணர்ந்து கொண்டவர்களாவார்கள்."

கணிக்கப்படத்தக்க அரசியற் சேவை புரிந்துள்ள திரு. இரத்தினம் அவர் கட்கு தொழில் முறை அரசியற் பணி செய்வதற்கான வாய்ப்புத் தேர்தல் மூலம் கிடைக்காது போனமை மனவருத்தத்துக்கு இடமளிப்பதாக வுள்ளதெனினும், அத் தோல்வி, இன்னொரு துறைவளம் பெறுவதற்குக் காலாக அமைந்துள்ளதென்ற உண்மை யையும் நாம் மறத்தலாகாது.

ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினம் இன்று இலங்கையின் முக்கிய வரலாற்று ஆசிரியர்களில் ஒருவராக முகிழ்ந்துள்ளார். இப்படித் கூறுவதிலும் பார்க்க, இவர், பிரபல வரலாற் றாசிரியர்கள் தேடிச்சென்று தகவல் பெற்றுக்கொள்ளும் வரலாற்று மூலப் பெட்ட கமாக முகிழ்ந்துள்ளார் என்று கூறுவது மிகப் பொருத்தமாகும். இலங்கையிற் பிரித் தானிய ஆட்சியின் ஆரம்பகால வரலாறு பற்றியும், இருபதாம் நூற்றாண்டின் முத லிரு தசாப்தங்களிலும் நடந்தேறிய அரசியல் அபிவிருத்திகள் பற்றியும் அறிந்து கொள்வதற்கான பல தகவல்களையும் சான்றுகளையும் ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினம் இத் துறைகளில் ஆராய்ச்சி செய்யும் அறிஞர்களுக்கு உதவியுள்ளார். பேராசிரியர்கள் நடராசா, கே. எம். டி. சில்வா, கலாநிதி குமாரி ஜயவர்த்தனா ஆகியோரின் ஆராய்ச்சி வெளியீடுகளுக்கு ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினம் ஆற்றியுள்ள உதவிகள் பற்றி அவர்களே எழுதி யுள்ளனர்.

சர் அலெக்ஸாண்டர் ஜோன்ஸ்ரன், பொன்னம்பலம் அருணாசலம், இராம நாதன் ஆகியோர்களது சேவை பற்றியும் வட்டுக்கோட்டைச் செமினரியின் கல்விச் சேவை பற்றியும் அதிகாரபூர்வமான அறிவாழம் கொண்ட திரு. இரத்தினம், பொன்

னம்பலம் அருணாசலத்தின் வாழ்க்கை வரலாற்றைச் சிறு நூலாக வெளியிட்டுள்ளார். இலங்கை வரலாற்றுக்கான பல மூலச் செய்திகளை இந்திய அமெரிக்கப் பல்கலைக் கழக நூல் நிலையங்களிலிருந்து தேடிப் பெற்றுள்ளார். இத்தகவல்களை ஆதாரமாகக் கொண்டே பல ஆராய்ச்சி நூல்கள் எழுதப்படலாம்.

ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினத்தின் அறிவார்வம் அவரை அகழ்வாராய்ச்சி முதல் மானிடவியல் வரை பல துறைகளில் ஈடுபடுத்தியுள்ளது. யாழ்ப்பாணத் தொல் பொருட் கழகத்தின் நடப்பு வருடத் தலைவராக விளங்கும் அவர் ஆற்றிய தலைமைப் பேருரை இத்துறையின் வரலாற்றை அறிவதற்கான கருவூலமாகும்.

13-6-1975 அன்று ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினத்தின் எழுபதாவது பிறந்த தினம் கொண்டாடப் பெறும்பொழுது, யாழ். தொல்பொருட் கழகம் இவரைப் பாராட்டுமுகமாக வெளியிட்டுள்ள ஆராய்ச்சி மலர், இலங்கையின் தமிழ், சிங்கள வரலாற்றுசிரியர்கள் சார்பில். பேராசிரியர் லப்ரூயினல் வழங்கப்பெறவுள்ளது. இரத்தினத்தைப் பொறுத்தவரையில் இந்த ஒரு வைபவம் அவரது அரசியல் துறைத் தோல்வி நினைவுகளை யெல்லாம் ஒதுக்கித் தள்ளி, அறிஞனுக்கு வேண்டிய உண்மையான மனச்சாந்தியை அளித்துவிடுமென்றே நம்புகின்றேன்.

ஜேம்ஸ் இரத்தினமவர்களின் நூல் நிலையம் அறிஞர்களிடையே பெரும் பெயர் பெற்றது. ஹொரேஸ் வால்ப் போல் என்னும் அறிஞரின் கடிதங்களிலொருபகுதி இவரிடமிருந்தது. பிரபல அமெரிக்கப் பல்கலைக்கழகமான யேல் பல்கலைக் கழகத்துக்கு அன்பளிப்பாக அதனை இரத்தினம் வழங்கினார். இவரது நூலிற் பெரும்பகுதி யாழ்ப்பாணக் கல்லூரி மூலமாக இன்று யாழ் வளாக நூல் நிலையத்தைச் சென்றடைந்துள்ளது. இது அந்நூல் நிலையத்துக்குக் கிடைத்துள்ள அருநிதியாகும்.

நூலார்வம், ஆராய்ச்சியார்வம், அறிவைப் பகிர்ந்துகொள்ளுவதிற் காணும் இன்பம் ஆகிய பண்புகள் இரத்தினத்தைப் பல்கலைக்கழகத்து ஆராய்ச்சியாளர்களது ஆத்ம மித்திரனாக்கியுள்ளது.

ஹொரேஸ் வால்ப் போலைப் பற்றிக் கூறும் அறிஞர்கள் "வரலாற்றுணர்வு நிரம்பிய கடிதஎழுத்தாளன்" என்று குறிப்பிடுவர். வால்ப் போலின் கடிதங்களைச் சேகரித்துதவிய ஜேம்ஸ் தேவதாசன் இரத்தினமும் வரலாற்றுணர்வு நிரம்பிய கடிதக் கட்டுரை எழுத்தாளனே. அலெக்ஸாண்டர் ஜோன்ஸ்ரன் பற்றிய அவரது நூல் வெளிவரும்பொழுது அவர் தலைசிறந்த ஆராய்ச்சி நூலாசிரியனாகவும் முகிழ்ப்பார்.

நாற்பதில் வயது போனவர்களாக விருப்பதிலும் பார்க்க, எழுபதில் வாழ்பவர்களாக விருப்பது என்றும் மகிழ்ச்சிக்குரிய ஒன்றாகும்.

இரத்தினம் எழுபது வயது இளைஞன்.
அவர் பல்லாண்டு காலம் வாழ்க!

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EARLY INTEREST IN ARCHAEOLOGICAL STUDIES IN SRI LANKA

In the history of the study of archaeology, antiquities, and ancient lore in Sri Lanka, the governorship of Sir William Henry Gregory (1872—1877) assumes marked importance.[1] The latter half of the 19th century was a period when Europeans and local scholars exhibited a keen interest in the pursuit of research and investigation into Oriental Studies.[2] The enterprise taken to delve into Sri Lanka's past was a feature of this general scholarly trend. Before Gregory, the governor, Sir Hercules Robinson (1865—1872) had also sponsored and encouraged Oriental Studies,[3] and Gregory continued this policy of his predecessor but with great enthusiasm and far more conscientiously. During the tenure of his proconsulship, Gregory extended every possible form of assistance for an inquiry into Sri Lanka's past history and culture. But what distinguished him from the other British administrators in Sri Lanka is the continued and sustained interest he maintained in this respect even after his retirement from the colony's gubernatorial office. This could be seen from the number of times he encouraged his successors to continue the work he had begun.[4]

It was also a fortunate coincidence that the Colonial Office too supported him in the furtherance of research into the past in a very reasonable and encouraging manner.[5] An explanation for this attitude on the part of the imperial authorities may be the interest that the Secretary of State for the Colonies at

this time, Earl Carnarvon, himself had in ancient culture. His Under Secretary, R. G. W. Herbert, was yet another official who also shared Carnarvon's interest in having copies of inscriptions in Sri Lanka made and in getting ancient monuments restored and preserved.[6] With such officials at the Colonial Office, Gregory embarked on various schemes to promote a study of the ancient civilization of the island and thereby during his term of stewardship there came to light much valuable information pertaining to Sri Lanka's art, culture and its past history.

As an initial step in this programme Gregory set out to establish a museum, for such an institution was to him essential to promote research. Although the Colonial Office was reluctant to authorise an outlay of expenditure on a project of this sort at this time, because of its eye on economy, the overwhelming eagerness of the governor to go ahead with the scheme on which he had set his mind firmly made him overcome all the obstacles that came his way.[7] By September 1875 therefore the museum was built, ancient sculptured objects of art and remains of the past were assiduously collected from the old Sinhalese capitals of Sri Lanka — Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa, and with these as its first exhibits the museum was declared open in January, 1877. Apart from the fact that Gregory's action helped to preserve examples of old art and sculpture, the establishment of a museum did foster a growth of research into the island's ancient past and continues to do so even now.

Another way in which Gregory sponsored a study of the past could be seen in the measures he adopted to facilitate the investigation and interpretation of inscriptions. Western scholars of this time demonstrated an interest in acquainting themselves with Sri Lanka's indigenous languages and culture, and the governor had been requested at various times by different scholars from different areas to get the numerous inscriptions in the country collected and reproduced for their scrutiny and serious study.[8] Therefore Gregory decided to have the island's epigraphical records copied and he also ventured to make arrangements for the preservation of architectural remains, for the excavation of sites of archaeological interest, and the restoration of ancient monuments and structures. Even the ancient chronicles or records written by early scholars were to be selected to be copied, translated and edited, while a search was to be instituted to recover old books and manuscripts which were to be preserved for the use of research students.

In pursuance of these plans the governor entrusted to Captain Hogg, an officer of the regiment of the Royal Engineers, the task of photographing rock inscriptions and of obtaining casts of epigraphic records in Sri Lanka. A collection of the photographs taken in Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa was despatched to the Colonial Office in 1874. The reproductions of the inscriptions showed variations in the characters and dialects that were used in them, and as Gregory was convinced that a study of these records could yield valuable information about the ancient religion, history and customs of the country, he urged that the collections of the materials should be made available for the use of the scholars

even at the museum and at the India Office library. But, unfortunately, a number of the island's inscriptions were damaged and the photographic reproductions of them were not sufficiently clear and, therefore, were not of much use for study. It was realised that only a competent scholar of Oriental languages could scrutinise the epigraphical records and copy them out more accurately so that they could be made useful in a proper form for research students. The Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland recommended Dr. Paul Goldschmidt, a German philologist and Orientalist, as a suitable person for performing such a task of accurately reproducing the inscriptions and collecting and editing them in a scientific manner. Gregory hence obtained the services of Goldschmidt with the approval of the Colonial Office in 1874.[8a] The Colonial Office too considered it prudent to obtain copies of the epigraphic records which were being ravaged by the effects of time and nature.

The encouragement afforded by the Colonial Office authorities in procuring the services of Goldschmidt proved to be a fillip to Gregory in his plans and, at the end of 1874, he elaborated his scheme in an even more ambitious manner. The Governor now decided to get an epigraphical and archaeological survey of Sri Lanka's "ruined cities" — the past capitals of the country. Goldschmidt was detailed to collect and edit the inscriptions of the island, along with a philological analysis of them, while Hogg was to obtain photographs of the architectural remains of the land for inclusion in a book to be compiled on the archaeology of Sri Lanka. Although Hogg had to revert back to his regiment for military duties, the governor personally pursuaded the Secretary for War through Carnarvon to release him for the completion of Gregory's scheme.[9] By 1875 Hogg was able to finish the task of obtaining the necessary photographic copies.

In the meantime, Goldschmidt continued doing the work laid out for him. After an examination of various inscriptions, Goldschmidt released two reports in September and November, 1875 respectively with special comment on the development of the language in the ancient period.[10] A number of copies of the epigraphical records of the North Central Province of the island were gathered by September 1876. With the idea of discovering more such inscriptions, Goldschmidt moved on to a survey of the Hambantota District in the South of Sri Lanka, as this was recognised to be another area where the Sinhalese had settled down in early times. These sedulous efforts of Goldschmidt and the success which followed them encouraged Gregory to enlarge his plan and he now thought of the production of a book of epigraphic records in the country — *Corpus Inscriptionum Zeilanicarum*.[11] It was felt that such a collection of records would prove to be a ready source of reference which would embody much source material on Sri Lanka's ancient past. But unfortunately Goldschmidt died in early 1877 and Gregory's plan could not be executed. However, the material that had been collected was compiled and this was certainly of much use to scholars interested in Pali studies and the ancient history of Sri Lanka and the Orient. A series of inscriptions of the period 3rd to the 13th century A. D. found on the face of

stone slabs had been copied out; they were arranged in a chronological order and were translated. This material was deposited in the museum's library. By a careful study of the epigraphic records, variations in the structure of the letters used in Sinhalese writing, from their early angular forms to the latter day cursive type had been traced.

In the time of Hercules Robinson, the principal Buddhist remains at Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa had been photographed. Gregory had these photographs compiled into two volumes with an explanatory commentary. Ancient monuments which had got enveloped in the jungle were discovered while buried remains were also excavated and steps were taken to conserve them. After a survey of the ruins at Anuradhapura, in 1873, the objects of interest to scholars of ancient history in this 'buried city' were indicated on a map. Detailed plans and sections were made containing the architectural measurements, and drawings were made of the ancient *dagobas*, which enshrined the relics venerated by Buddhists. Lithographical copies of the drawings were to be forwarded to the British Museum too for the reference of scholars abroad. Because of the Governor's enterprise a number of damaged statues were repaired.

Instructions were issued by the Governor to the Director of the Museum to search for and preserve ancient literary works which were another invaluable source of information about the country's history. Robinson had really started off the task of scouring for old manuscripts in the libraries of ancient Buddhist temples, but Gregory with his characteristic initiative eagerly furthered it. Since James D' Alwis, a local scholar,[12] to whom Robinson had entrusted this responsibility, was found to be slow in discharging it, Gregory employed yet another competent scholar, Mudaliyar Louis de Zoysa, for procuring or copying out the old literary records even more speedily. Two other scholars, the monk Hikkaduwa Sumangala,[13] and Pandit Batuwantudawe, were entrusted with the function of transliterating the second part of the country's historical chronicle, the *Mahāvaṃsa*.[14] As a consequence of Gregory's measures many valuable manuscripts were either procured or copied and preserved in the museum. While quite a few manuscripts had already perished or been lost, the effort to save others from suffering a like fate had really come with Gregory's endeavours. In the past, temples had in the custody of learned priests, who valued literature, but under the British when the usual state patronage that had been extended to the temples was withdrawn, ecclesiastical property had fallen into wrong hands. As a result libraries were neglected and literary and religious works were left to perish unprotected from the attack of insects and the adverse effects of the climate.

Owing to the drive of the Governor the Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit works were collected and deposited in the museum and were catalogued by 1877. Copies of the lists of such texts were sent to the British Museum, the Bodleian library at Oxford and to other libraries abroad to enable foreign scholars to acquaint themselves with the valuable ancient literary works available for research study in the island. The different versions of the text of the *Mahāvaṃsa's* second part

were consulted and thereby the chronicle was reproduced in a rectified version. Gregory made necessary arrangements to have a Sinhalese translation of this Pali work issued and the first part of it was to be rendered into English too. For a proper comprehension of the chronicle a study of the *Mahāvaṃsa-tīkā*, or the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, along with epigraphic and archaeological material was no doubt indispensable for a reconstruction of the history of the land. The attempt made by Gregory to make this chronicle easily accessible and intelligible for the study of scholars is an undoubted contribution to the encouragement of ancient studies.

It is most significant that Governor Gregory, even after he had relinguished his office on 8 May 1877, maintained his interest in encouraging the study of the history and past culture of Sri Lanka.[15] He urged on the Secretary of State to have the work commenced under Goldschmidt continued and advised the production of the book on the island's inscriptions. He wanted the important ruins photographed, measured and drawn and to make the cities in ruins easily accessible to scholars he wanted the jungle ensconcing them cleared, as he had done in his time. For the study of Orientalists he requested that a revised text of the *Dīpavaṃsa*[16], a chronicle earlier in date than the *Mahāvaṃsa*, should be brought out. The response of the Colonial Office to his advice about the work to be done with regard to archaeological and epigraphical matters was cordial, because the authorities recognised that owing to his exceptional keenness Gregory had acquired much knowledge about these matters.[17] Moreover, the Colonial Office even consulted him and accepted his advice on questions pertaining to archaeology and epigraphy. He presented a comprehensive plan embodying suggestions for preventing valuable remains and manuscripts from perishing owing to the want of adequate care. His successor, James Longden (1877—1883), was instructed by Carnarvon, who agreed with Gregory that the preservation of ancient art was prudent and useful, to adopt most of the latter's points of view with regard to epigraphical and archaeological matters.

Another way in which Gregory continued the work he had begun could be seen in the regular letters he wrote to Longden and thereafter to Governor Arthur Gordon (1883—1890).[18] Through this correspondence with his successors in office he prevailed upon them to continue with the excavation and restoration of ruins, the collection and reproduction of epigraphical records, the publication of ancient literary works, and the development of the museum. He learned of the progress that followed his exhortation and the efforts of his successors by receiving regularly reports and information from the officials in the island.[19] Thus he did not allow matters to be ignored. His immediate successor, Longden, agreed to follow in the footsteps of Gregory and continued the policy and work begun by the latter,[20] while Governor Gordon, who was himself eager in furthering the cause of research into antiquities and Oriental studies, even handed down the proposals of Gregory to be followed by his own successor, Governor Arthur Havelock (1890—1896).[21] Thus it is evident that the systematic study of epigraphy, archaeology and the past history undertaken under Gregory was continued almost

to the end of the 19th century. In this respect it could be concluded that Gregory was actively responsible for building up the policy of the British administration in sponsoring the study of ancient Sri Lanka through epigraphic, archaeological and literary sources during the last quarter of the 19th century. Gregory read a paper on the subject of the antiquities of Sri Lanka at the invitation of Carnarvon, in 1878, at the Society of Antiquities in England of which Society Carnarvon was then President.[22] Gregory was one of the first to contribute money towards a fund created by Gordon for restoring the ruined remains of the island;[23] and furthermore Gregory later even encouraged a study of the languages and culture of the Maldive Islands.[24] The above record of his activity makes it more than clear that Gregory did not sponsor a study of Sri Lanka's early period merely as another and usual function of a colonial governor. It clearly shows that he had an intrinsic and genuine interest in the subject of research into the ancient past of Sri Lanka. Therefore, it is no strange coincidence that it was in his tenure of administration, and because of his endeavours, that an official epigraphist — Dr. Paul Goldschmidt — was first appointed by the government and that a systematic pursuit of ancient studies was first commenced and it is now exactly hundred years since then. Before the governorship of Gregory, as early as 1833, the scholar Edward Upham[25] had translated literary records such as the *Mahāvaṃsa*, the *Rājaratnākara* and the *Rājāvali*. In 1837 George Turnour[26] had made a more accurate translation of the *Mahāvaṃsa*, but these were only the results of the sporadic efforts of a European scholar or two, and an organised officially sponsored scientific pursuit of ancient studies really began only with Gregory's government one hundred years ago.

NOTES

1. For a fuller account see, *Sir William Gregory, An Autobiography, ed.* Lady Gregory, John Murray, London 1894; *The Governorship of Sir W. H. Gregory* (Colombo Historical Association Paper No. 16) Frewin and Co., Colombo, 1930; *B. Bastiampillai, The Administration of Sir William Gregory, Governor of Ceylon*, 1872—1887, Tissara Prakasakayo, Dehiwela, 1968, especially Ch. VII. As detailed references and notes are provided in the last mentioned work, repetition of them is avoided as far as possible in this article.

2. See the preface for an account of this interest in *Epigraphia Zeylanica, Vols. I, II, III*, ed. D. M. De. Z. Wickremasinghe, O. U. P. 1912 and 1928.

3. See for a general account—*Addresses Delivered in the Legislative Council of Ceylon by Governors of the Colony, together with the Replies of the Council, vol. II* 1860—1877, Govt. Press, Colombo, hereafter referred to as *Governors' Addresses*, the short title. James D' Alwis on Robinson's invitation wrote descriptive accounts of 23 books, published in 1870 as vol. I of *A Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit, Pali and Literary works of Ceylon*, Ceylon Govt. Press, 1885. Robinson also established a Govt. Oriental library with books in Pali, Sanskrit and Sinhalese.

4. See references to Gregory's letters and replies to them in, B. Bastiampillai, *op cit.* ch. VII, The "Gregory Papers", copies of which are in the writer's possession, illustrate this fact abundantly.

5. Earl of Kimberley was Secretary of State for the Colonies from 1870 to 1874. In the first two years of Gregory's Governorship he did not receive as much support in this cause as he did from 1874 onwards when the Earl of Carnarvon was the Secy. of State for the Colonies. For an account of Carnarvon's own interest in archaeology and antiquities see, *Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XI*, pp. 646—652.

6. *See The Administration of Sir William Gregory*—B. Bastiampillai, p. 140 n. 1.

7. *Ibid.* pp. 148—149 and the notes.

8. See *The Ceylon Observer*—13 May, 1872, p. 1.; In England a periodical called the *Indian Antiquary* had been produced and "The International Congress of Orientalists" were also demonstrating a great interest in research into Oriental Studies: *The Overland Ceylon Observer*, 9 Jan. 1877, p. 2.; Monier Williams, the Prof. of Sanskrit at Oxford University, also visited Ceylon at this time to study Buddhism; also see for further information, B. Bastiampillai—*op. cit.* p. 151 and n. 5 and 6.

8a. K. Indrapala, 'Paul Goldshmidt: Sri Lanka's First Archaeological Commissioner', *Purvakala*, Bulletin of the Jaffna Archaeological Society, 1973, pp. 13—15 (Jaffna).

9. B. Bastiampillai—*ibid.* p. 151 and n. 5 and 6.

10. Goldschmidt's reports appear in the *Sessional Papers* 1875 pp. 107—110 in Co/57/67. Also A. Gray's letters to Gregory of 6 April, 1775., 10 April 1875., 14 Nov. 1875 and 23 Nov. 1875 describe Goldschmidt's work in the North Central Province of Ceylon — these letters are found in the "Gregory Papers". Albert Gray was in the Ceylon Civil Service, 1871 — 75, and served at Anuradhapura in the North Central Province. Later, he was a member of the Royal Asiatic Society, England. — see for a brief account of him, *Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service* — J. R. Toussaint, Colombo, 1935, p. 167.

11. *Governors's Addresses, Vol. II* p. 385.

12. James D' Alwis was a member of the Legislative Council of Ceylon and a prominent Ceylonese of his time. He was also a well-informed scholar. For more details see *Our Legislature* — J. R. Weinmann Colombo, 1947 pp. 11, 31, 34, 37, 44—5, 58, 61 and 63. Louis de Zoysa, Chief Interpreter Mudaliyar, was commissioned to visit temple libraries to obtain particulars of literary works. Submitted report in 1876 - published, Ceylon Govt. 1876.

13. Revd. Hikkaduwa Sumangala was the learned High Priest of Adam's Peak and a Principal of Vidyodaya College.

14. The *Mahāvaṁsa* is a Pali epic. The first part, composed by a Buddhist Monk in the 6th century A. D., relates the island's history from its legendary beginnings to A. D. 362; the second part, the *Culāvaṁsa* consists of three

sections in chronological order and has been the work of different authors. For information about the chronicles see *History of Ceylon Vol. I Part I*, ed. S. Paranavitana, Ceylon University Press, Colombo 1959 — Ch. IV pp. 46-53.

15. See B. Bastiampillai, *op. cit.*, pp. 154 n. 4, 5, 6, 7 and 8 for reference to letters from *Gregory Papers* which substantiate this statement.

16. The *Dīpavaṁsa* is the earlier Pali chronicle than the *Mahāvaṁsa*, and it recounts the islands history from the introduction of Bhuddism to 362 A. D. For more details about it see *History of Ceylon Vol. I, Part I*, ed. S. Paranavitana. Ceylon University Press, Colombo 1959

17. See B. Bastiampillai, *op. cit.* p. 154, n. 4.

18. *Ibid.* p. 154 n. 6, 7, 8.— Letters from Longdon in reply to Gregory found in the "*Gregory Papers*" describe the former's continuation of the task of collecting epigraphs and translating chronicles even in the North Western Province of Ceylon. Gordon's replies too show that he was continuing archaeological restoration and other similar works.

19. Ibid p. 154, n. 5 The *Gregory Papers* contain letters from officials like Albert Gray, J. G. Smither, R. W. Levers and D. Murray describing the work that was being pursued.

20. Longden writing to Gregory on 16 Sept. 1878 agrees to continue with archaeological works and the collection of inscriptions — see 'Gregory Papers', Letter of Longden to Gregory — 16 Sept, 1878.

21. See Gordon's letter to Gregory — 9 Oct., 1890 for this in "Gregory Papers."

22. See Carnarvon's letters to Gregory in the "Gregory Papers" of 15 April, 1878, 26 Nov., 1878. Carnarvon was a Fellow of the Society and its President then — *The Dictionary of National Biography, Vol. IX* pp. 646-652 for this information.

23. Gordon writes to Gregory in this connection in letters of 4 Jan. 1888, 29 Sept. 1888 and acknowledges receipt of a contribution of 10 sterling — "Gregory Papers".

24. See letters of H. C. P. Bell to Gregory of March 2 and 7, 1881 and 10 June 1881. Bell of the Ceylon Civil Service later served in the island as Archaeological Commissioner. Gregory encouraged him and Albert Gray to study the history of the Maldive Islands.

25. Edward Upham, at the request of Alexander Johnston, Chief Justice of Ceylon, translated the *Mahāvaṁsa*, together with two chronicles in Sinhalese, *Rājaratnākara* and *Rājāvalī*. Published in 3 Vols. as, *The Sacred and Historical Books of Ceylon* — London, 1833 See — *The Pali Literature of Ceylon* — G. P. Malalasekera, Colombo, 1928, pp. 5-6.

26. George Turnour, the younger, published a translation of the first part of the *Mahāvaṁsa* with notes and emendations by L. C. Wijesinha Mudaliyar and an "Epitome of the History of the Island", compiled from native annals published in the *Ceylon Almanac* of 1833. The Turnour prize at Royal College, Colombo was founded in his memory. He was a civil servant from 1817—1842 — J. R. Toussaint *Annals of the Ceylon Civil Service*, Colombo, 1935 pp. 69-70.

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A NOTE ON MURUṄKAI

From about the 12th century onwards to this day a classical but almost solitary example to illustrate Tamil borrowing from the Sinhalese language has been the word *muruṅkai* which is usually translated into English as 'horse-raddish'. In the modern English usage of Sri Lanka the fruit of this tree is known as 'drum-stick'. The commentator of the grammatical work called *Viiracooḷiyam* was perhaps the first person to show the word muruṅkai as a borrowing from Sinhalese. Later many scholars (for instance Veluppillai 1966) have repeatedly quoted this example without questioning the authenticity of the observation made by the commentator on this example.

The purpose of this note is to point out that the observation made by the commentator of *Viiracooḷiyam* and the endorsement of his observation by later scholars are untenable for the following reasons:

1. The word muruṅkai occurs in literary Sinhalese as 'muruṅgaa.' The earliest reference to the term 'muruṅgaa' in Sinhalese is in the *Jaataka Aṭuvaa Gae ṭapadaya* which is a literary text dated around the 12th century A. D. This term occurs there in an explanatory note on the Pali phrase 'siggu rukkhassa' where 'siggu' is explained in Sinhalese as 'muruṅgaa'. Looking at its phonological shape, the term 'muruṅgaa' must definitely be considered as a loan-word into Sinhalese. The very presence of the -ṅg- cluster makes this form suspicious to be a regularly derived item from an earlier stage of Sinhalese. This is particularly so since

the form in question does not show up with a morphophonemic alternant with ng, that is, the prenasalized voiced velar stop. Consonant clusters of the type nasal + homorganic voiced stop became the corresponding prenasalized voiced stop around the 2nd century A. D. as a regular phonemic change, and at a later period, i. e. around the 8th century A. D., as a result of the development of geminate consonant clusters in Sinhalese a prenasalized voiced stop became nasal + homorganic voiced stop in the alternant forms under specifiable conditions. So any form showing up with a cluster consisting of nasal + homorganic voiced stop, without an alternant form with the corresponding prenasalized voiced stop can be unequivocally identified as a loan-word.

2. Unlike in Sinhalese the canonical shape of the word muruṅkai is not at all alien to Tamil.

In modern Jaffna Tamil and perhaps in Indian Tamil too muruṅkai tree is also known as 'murukka maram' (murukku + maram). Both these names are also used to refer to another popular tree which has thorns and the leaves of which are used as cattle-food. Off-shoots of the latter tree are usually planted (as kanni-k-kaal maram, a symbol of longevity) during religious ceremonies such as a wedding. To avoid homonymy people sometimes refer to one as 'muḷ muruṅkai', i.e. muruṅkai with thorns and the other as 'kari muruṅkai', i. e. muruṅkai used for cooking. (Consider muruṅkai-k-kaay as a free variant of murukkam kaay). The occurrence of murukku to denote a tree is attested in early Tamil literature such as *Naṟṟiṇai*, *Cilappatikaaram*, *Puṟanaanuuṟu* etc. (Subramaniom 1962).

Historically in certain types of words the medial nasal + plosive has become plosive + plosive in Tamil. The word muruṅka itself occurs as an infinitive form of a verb in Sangam literature, with the meaning 'to break', 'to break up'. (Here it is worth considering a characteristic of muruṅkai tree which most of the Tamils in Jaffna always fear perhaps out of superstition. When several muruṅkai trees in a compound break or fall down, it is usually considered in Jaffna as a bad omen, indicating death or suffering. No doubt, muruṅkai tree breaks or falls down easily. Can we associate this characteristic of 'breaking easily' in any way with its name?)

3. It is somewhat difficult to believe that Tamil borrowed the word muruṅkai from Sinhalese. Though Sinhalese and Tamil have co-existed and have been in contact with each other in Sri Lanka for several centuries, one finds it difficult to quote a loan-word from Sinhalese in Tamil. On the other hand, there are numerous Tamil lexical items borrowed into Sinhalese since its very earlier stages. Tamil along with Pali and Sanskrit was a prestige language for the Sinhalese in early times and this may partially explain why the interaction between Tamil and Sinhalese has been mostly one sided. This state of affairs also helps us to rule out the possibility of muruṅkai being borrowed into Tamil from Sinhalese.

4. Apart from all these facts, the strongest evidence for the word muruṅkai to be Tamil (or rather Dravidian) may be found in the following Dravidian cognates (Burrow and Emeneau, 1961).

Malayalam	murinna
Kannada	nugge
Tulu	murige, nurge
Telugu	munege, munaga
Parji	muṅga
Konda	munna
Gondi	muruṅga
Malto	muṅga

Thus cognates are found in South, Central and North Dravidian languages.

5. It is interesting to note that the word muruṅkai in Tamil recurs with certain adjectivals and used as names for plants, shrubs etc. For example (Winslow 1862):

kaaṭṭu muruṅkai	'a senna-leaved shrub'
cemmuruṅkai	meaning not given
tavacu muruṅkai	'a medicinal plant'
punal muruṅkai	'a plant'

The recurrence of the word muruṅkai with certain adjectivals also strengthens the view that it is a native item.

6. Some extra linguistic factors (we can take them for what they are worth) are also helpful to decide on the origin of muruṅkai. Muruṅkai is a popular food-item among Tamils. One could say that there is hardly a house in Jaffna where there is no muruṅkai tree. Tamils usually make several dishes out of muruṅkai fruit and leaves. But not Sinhalese. In other words, among Sinhalese it is not as popular a food-item as among Tamils.

There are a few other superstitious beliefs in Jaffna centering round this tree. The muruṅkai fruit is considered as the nails of the saint Agastya and therefore no preparation made out of it is served during an occasion or ceremony that has a religious (Hindu) basis or backing. (This belief is not found among Tamils in India). Another belief is that when a person falls down from a muruṅkai tree and gets fractures, those fractures are not easily curable. No such superstitious belief is found with regard to this tree among the Sinhalese. For superstition to grow around an object it usually takes a fairly long time and the association of numerous superstitious beliefs (by the Tamils) can be counted as supplementary evidence for the Tamil acquaintance with this tree for a fairly longer period.

7. The terms murangii, muringii in Sanskrit occur only in a medical text—Suśrutasaṃhitaa (datable around 3rd or 4th century A. D.). Since their first occurrence is in a medical text and since they do not have any Indo-European cognates the Dravidian origin of the term muruṅkai seems more plausible.

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ON THE METHODOLOGY OF INDEXING INSCRIPTIONS FROM EPIGRAPHICAL REPORTS

Epigraphy is the science of studying inscriptions, especially those found on ancient buildings, statues and the like. Inscriptions found on the walls of religious edifices circumambulatory paths and *mandapas* of temples are "the real archives of the annals of ancient history"[1] and they "constitute the nearest contemporaneous testimony of the events and occurrences".[2]

It is felt that there is no good work formulating principles that are to be adopted while indexing inscriptions published in the Appendix parts of the epigraphica reports.[3] In this paper the method followed by this writer for the said purpose is described. Since this has proved to be the most reasonable method for indexing about five thousand inscriptions from the *Reports*, the author feels the method may be useful for scholars and research students alike.

One engaged in writing research articles and other academic works desires to have the requisite details of an epigraph at short notice and his index cards will give a helping hand at that time. It is needless to stress that the card should therefore be complete in all its details.

An index card is a rectangular piece of paper (or card) about one fourth the size of a foolscap paper. It may have holes at the top to enable insertion in a chest.

EPIGRAPHICAL REPORTS

This paper is mainly concerned with the *Annual Reports on (South) Indian Epigraphy*[4], which is taken as the official account of the epigraphical works carried out in various parts of the Indian sub-continent. A *Report* generally consists of two parts; Part I gives of details of official administration of the epigraphy branch of the Archaeological Survey of India, and Part II gives details of copper-plate charters and stone inscriptions in the lists appended to the first part.

The number of appendices in the first part may vary from year to year, but there will be at least two appendices[5]. Let us illustrate it with an example. The *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* for 1923—24 has five appendices added to Part I, viz,

A : List of Copper Plates examined during the year.

B : Stone inscriptions copied during 1923 (continued from previous report).

C : Stone inscriptions copied during 1924.

D : List of photographs taken during 1923—24.

E : Dates of inscriptions included in appendices B & C, calculated with the help of the *Indian Ephemeris* by Sri L. D. Swamikannu Pillai.

Each appendix gives informations about the location of the epigraph, language and alphabet used to engrave it, the date and name of the king under whose reign it was issued, and some general remarks about the record. In the case of copper plate charters apart from the above details, we are informed of the source from where the plates were obtained, place where they are deposited and name of the periodical, if applicable, where the charter is critically edited.

METHODOLOGY

A student of epigraphy must adopt a method which would enable him to enter all the details gathered from the *Report* under a single card.

For convenience I divide the index card into six sectors. Their exact positions are indicated in the illustrations added to the paper.

Let us describe the contents of each sector. To make the method more appealing it is applied to an inscription copied from a hamlet in Thanjavur district in Tamilnadu and that is given as the annexure at the end of the paper.

SECTOR I

It occupies the roughly triangular portion on the left hand corner of the card. It is sub-divided further into A, B, C, D and E This sector is meant to take down the numerical details of the epigraph. The contents of the sub-divisions would be :

A : The correct number of the epigraph and the page number of the appendix in which it is included.

B : The actual title of the *Report*.

C : The historical introduction found in the epigraph, if any, cited under the *Remarks* column.

D : The exact date of the record, if available, as found in the relevant appendix.

E : If the record is discussed in Part II of the *Report*, the page number paragraph number and similar details may be entered here.

SECTOR II

It is a tiny strip at the top portion of the card and gives the location of the epigraph (i. e. village) from where it was copied. The name of village should be accompanied by the Taluk and district in which it is located. Certain abbreviations are suggested for giving the name of District (in Tamilnadu) and shown below:

CBE	:	Coimbatore
CPT	:	Chingleput
DP	:	Dharmapuri
KK	:	Kanyakumari
MDU	:	Madurai
MS	:	Madras
NA	:	North Arcot
NLG	:	Nilgiris
PDK	:	Pudukkottai
RMN	:	Ramanathapuram
SA	:	South Arcot
SLM	:	Salem
TNG	:	Thanjavur
and TRI	:	Tiruchirappalli

SECTOR III

This sector occupies the right hand corner of the card in which the name of the dynasty to which the record is assigned *by the editor of the report* is marked. The student is not expected to write his inferences about the dynasty in this sector.[6]

SECTOR IV

Along with the sectors enumerated above, it occupies the upper half of the index card. It is sub-divided into *a*, *b*, *c* and *d* and include:

a : Language of the epigraph and the nature of the alphabet adopted to engrave it, with such peculiarities as Grantha, Vatteluttu, should be indicated here.

b : The exact name of the king or independent chief under whose reign the record was issued is noted. Some abbreviations are suggested here also to indicate the nature of the prefix that the king/chief carries. viz.:

C : Cakravartin
J : Jata (Jatila) varman
M : Maravarman
PK : Parakesarivarman
RK : Rajakesarivarman
Sbc : Sakala-bhuvana-cakravartin
Svbc : Sarva-bhauma-cakravartin[7]
Tbc : Tribhuvanacakravartin

We are expected to enter the king's name as given in the *Report* and hence round and square brackets as well as asterik marks are meticulously recorded. This sub-division may also be used to note down the military exploits of the king.[8]

c : This portion is meant for taking down the date of the record. The entry should indicate whether the regnal year of the king is given in numerals or words apart from details of month, fortnight, date, day and *thithi*. The names of months are usually given in Sanskrit.

d : This gives the location of the epigraph in the monument as well as the name of the temple.[9]

SECTOR V

This sector is the most informative and therefore the most important portion of the card. The state of preservation of the epigraph and a brief note about its contents are recorded here.

Geographical data found in this portion are very useful and so they have to be taken down carefully. Some abbreviations are suggested for this sub-division also:

B : Brahmadeya
CVM : Caturvedimangalam
D : Devadana
H : Hamlet
K : Kottam or Kurram
M : Mangalam or matha
N : Nagaram or Nadu
VN : Valanadu.

Round and square brackets play an important role in this sector. The epigraphist uses round brackets to translate some phrases in Tamil or other languages into English and square brackets indicate the portions of the record where the writings are not very clear.

SECTOR VI

This is the strip occupying the lower-most portion at the right hand corner of the index card. It records the date on which the epigraph was indexed by the student and the number of the card on that date.

All the sectors are illustrated in the annexure. The accompanying diagram shows the exact locations of these sectors on the card.

The visual affect of Sector I can further be improved by using different colour pencils for each sub-division. Further if the index card has sufficient space after taking down all the details, Sector-V can also be used to take down salient points from Part II of the *Report* again distinguishing it from others by using a different colour pencil.

CONCLUSION

Thus the taxonomy suggested above would be the most practical one in which all the details filled out from a *Report* can be accommodated with reasonable clarity. It is hoped that the method would be of some use to beginners in epigraphy. Suggestions to improve the method and constructive criticisms about the approach are welcomed.

ANNEXURE

To illustrate the method described above let us take an inscription, No. 256 of Appendix B of the *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (1923 – 24)

Summary of the record:

The inscription was copied from the West and South walls of central shrine in the Matysapurisvara Temple at Koyil-Tevaraya-pettai, a hamlet of Pandaravadai in Papanasam taluk of the Thanjavur district.

It is in Tamil and dated in the 5th regnal year and 281st day of the Chola King, Parakesarivarman *alias* Rajendracholadeva (I). It begins with 'Tirumannivalara'.

It records an agreement by two shepherds to supply ghee daily for a perpetual lamp in the central shrine of the temple of Tiruccelurdevar in Rajakesari-caturvedimangalam in Nallurnadu, a sub-division of Nittavinoda-valanadu, for the ninety sheep received by them from Alvar Sri Parantakan-Sri-Kundavaip Pirattiyar.

It was for example indexed on 8th March 1974.

Allocation of details in Sectors:

SECTOR I

A : 256 of 1923 (p. 17)
B : ARSIE 1923 - 24
C : 'Tirumanni-valara'
D : pt. II, para 14, p. 102
E : Date not given in Appendix E

SECTOR II

KOYIL - TEVARAYANPETTAI

(H of Pandaravadai / Papanasam-TNJ)

SECTOR III

CHOLA

SECTOR IV

a : Tamil
b : PK *alias* Rajendra Choladeva (I)
c : 5th year and 281st day
d : on W & S walls of central shrine Matsyapurisvara Temple

SECTOR V

Records an agreement by two shepherds to supply ghee daily for a perpetual lamp in the central shrine of the temple of Tiruccelurdevar in Rajakesari Cvm (B) of Nallur N/Nittavinoda VN for ninety sheep received by them from Alvar Sri Parantakan - Sri Kundavaip Pirattiyar.

SECTOR VI

8-3-'74 — 15

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3. By "Epigraphical Reports" we are referring to *M. E. R., A. R. S. I. E.* and *A. R. I. E.* volumes published on epigraphy.
4. This includes the G. O.'s of the Government of Madras containing *Progress Report*.
5. As the reader may perhaps be aware, we are not concerned here with appendices recording details of coins, seals, inscriptions in Arabic and Persian etc.,
6. Even if the editor had used certain ambiguous terms like "Ganga-Pallava", "Kongu-Chola", a student is expected to record it faithfully. Otherwise chances of critical arguments about the record in his essay would be lost.
7. Generally found in some Hoysala records.
8. The reader shoud differentiate "military exploits" from "historical introductions". The latter is more poetic and eulogises the glory of the king with some tint of imagination whereas the former appears to be more historical.
9. The location should be complete e. g. "on front face of third pillar (from left) in *maha-mandapa* in front of the central shrine" etc.

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SRI LANKA IN SOME EARLY INDIAN INSCRIPTIONS

Geologically Sri Lanka is a fragment of the ancient block of peninsular India. The people of Sri Lanka acquired their Buddhist religion and its associated language Pali with its Brāhmī script from India. Due to this close physiographic proximity and cultural ties, it was linked up with India from ancient times. The cultural intercourse between these two countries was nurtured by maritime enterprise and religious migrations.

The scope of the present paper is to note down the earliest inscriptional evidence of various names of Sri Lanka with their significance and find out the probable time when there was a change-over from one name to another.

The earliest reference of Sri Lanka occurs as *Tambapaṇṇi* in the famous second and thirteenth rock edicts of King Aśoka.[1] The name *Tambapaṇṇi* is coupled with southern boundary kingdoms such as 'Choḍā', 'Pādā' and 'Satiyaputa' of the empire of Aśoka. Another valuable evidence is from Bodhgayā. We learn from Hiu-en-Tsang that Asoka surrounded the Bodhi tree at Bodhgayā with a stone enclosure. This short inscription on one of the railing bars there records the gift of Bodhirakkhita, who hailed from 'Tambapaṇṇi'.[2]

According to the *Dīpavaṃsa*[3] and the *Mahāvaṃsa*,[4] Tāmraparṇi was the name of a particular area of Sri Lanka where Vijaya landed with his 700 companions. It is said that after disembarking from their ship they sat down at the place with their hands on the ground and found them coloured with red dust. While

in Buddhist literature the name Tāmraparṇī was used for a particular area of Sri Lanka, in the inscriptions 'Tambapaṇṇī' represents the entire island. To the Greeks it was known as 'Taprobane'. Megasthenes has mentioned that Taprobane was separated from the mainland by the river named Taprobane (Tāmraparṇī).[5] The same name has been recorded by Periplus.[6] It seems that the names 'Laṅkā' and 'Siṁhala' were unknown to the Greeks in the third century B. C.

From the inscriptional evidence it appears that the name Tambapaṇṇī continued to be popular up to the 2nd/3rd century A. D. The names Tambapaṇṇa and Siṁhala occur simultaneously in an Ikṣvāku record at Nagarjunakonda.[7] The inscription records that the Ikṣvāku queen Chāntasiri constructed a shrine for the Bodhi tree at the Sīhaḷavihāra. The queen also constructed an upsidal shrine for the fraternity of Ceylonese monks who converted Kashmir, Gāndhāra, China, Tosali, Aparānta, Vaṅga, Vanavāsi, Yavana and Damiḷa. The inscription further records that a small stairway with a moonstone at the bottom having decorative lotuses was also erected. Longhurst has noted that with one exception all the moonstones at Nagarjunakonda are plain.[8] The single exception had an outer border decorated with a procession of lions, horses and bulls in bas-relief. There is nothing remarkable about the moonstones found in India. It was in Sri Lanka that the Buddhists developed this architectural member into a thing of surprising beauty and, therefore, it is worthy to note the occurrence of such an ornamental moonstone at Nagarjunakonda and the reference in an inscription to an ornamental moonstone at the Sīhaḷavihāra. This indicates the very cordial relations that existed between the Buddhist community of the Kṛṣṇā valley and the Buddhist fraternity of Sri Lanka. The sea-borne trade between Kaṇṭakasela, the great emporium of the Kṛṣṇā delta and Sri Lanka no doubt led to such friendly relations between these two communities. The inscriptional evidence available to us shows that the ancient city of Vijayapuri, now known as Nagarjunakonda, was the most important Buddhist centre in South India where pilgrims from Sri Lanka flocked.

Pliny has recorded that during the reign of the Roman emperor Claudius, the Siṁhalese monarch sent an embassy to Rome in the middle of the 2nd century A. D.[9] This was the time of the discovery of the quick passage to the east with the help of the monsoon which gave a great impetus to commercial enterprise. Ptolemy has mentioned that the island of Tapropane was known as Salike and the inhabitants were commonly known as Salai. Ptolemy who lived in Alexandria acquired his knowledge concerning Sri Lanka from the traders.[10] It appears that during the time of Ptolemy both Taprobane (Tambapaṇṇi) and Salike (Saiṁhaḷaka) were current. The inscription at Nagarjunakonda records both these names.

The above evidence may further be supported by that from such literary works as the *Divyāvadāna*, which is generally placed in the 2nd century A. D. A story in the *Divyāvadāna* seeks to explain the name Siṁhaḷa applied to Tāmradvīpa. A merchant by the name of Siṁhaḷa happened to become the king of Siṁhakalpā in Jambudvīpa which had previously been the capital of King Siṁhakesarin and soon succeeded in freeing Tāmradvīpa from the Rākṣasis. Thus Tāmradvīpa, having

become a settlement of king Simhala, came to be known after him as Simhala. All these indicate that the name Simhala, even though it appears in inscriptions only around the 3rd centry A. D., was known to the Indians and the Greeks in the 2nd century A. D. About the 3rd century A. D. the name Tambapaṇṇi ceased to be mentioned in Indian inscriptions.

The name Saimhalaka occurs in the famous Allahabad Inscription of Samudragupta[11]. Law[12] has quoted Sylvain Levi[13] who, from the Chinese sources, has pointed out that the king of Sri Lanka, Meghavaṇṇa, sent an embassy to the Indian king Samudragupta asking permission to erect a monastery at Bodhgayā for the accommodation of Buddhist monks from Sri Lanka. From this time onwards the name Simhala was included in the traditional lists of conquered countries in the inscriptions of the Bādāmī Chālukyas, Rāṣṭrakūṭas, Pāṇḍyas, Cholas, Paramāras and even of the later rulers like the Śilāhāras who were of feudatory status.

A very interesting reference may be found in the Akkalkot inscription of Śilāhāra Indarasa.[14] The chiefs of this Śilāhāra family called themselves decendants of Siyāla. The editor of this inscription expressed the view that this name bears some resemblance to the name Simhala and may possibly furnish a clue to the proposed origin of the Śilāhāras of South Konkan from Simhala. If the above view is accepted, it will be a new evidence pointing to the colonization in India of people from Sri Lanka and their role in ancient Indian cultural life.

The name Laṅkā is popularly known from the great epic *Rāmāyaṇa* Walter Wust[15] has connected this word with Ossetic Loenk, Loencoe meaning hollow or cavity. He further states that there is a Lithuanian word Lanka meaning valley, cavity, old church Slavic Loka meaning valley, gulf, swamp and marsh. He has further mentioned that there is also the possibility that Laṅkā might have been a local place-name before the advent of the Aryans.

In India the name Laṅkā was not introduced before the period of the composition of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, i. e., the 2nd century A. D. As for epigraphical references, it occurs in two inscriptions of the 6th century A. D. Of these, one dated in G. 269 (588—589 A. D.) records the names Laṅkā and Āmradvīpa for the same region. It is interesting to note the name Āmradvīpa for Sri Lanka. Cunningham and Fleet pointed out that it was the name of the island derived from its resemblance in shape to a mango. These two instances of the name Āmradvīpa remained isolated in inscriptions.[16] The first inscription records the building of a temple by Mahānāman who was a member of the royal family of Laṅkādvīpa. The other inscription carved on the pedestal of a broken statue records that the Śakya Bhikṣu Sthavira Mahānāman was the resident of Āmradvīpa. Mahānāman was the uncle of King Dhātusena, the heir of King Mitrasena. There is one more inscription from Bodhgayā which records the donation of Prakhyātakīrti who hailed from Lankā may be dated in the middle of the 6th century A. D.[17]

Contemporary literary works like the *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* refer to three names, viz., Tambapaṇṇi, Simhala[18] and Laṅkā. Fleet has pointed out that Varāhamihira distinguished Laṅkā from Simhala.[19] Lankā might be the capital of Simhala.

Although no tangible contemporary evidence is available at present, a 12th century inscription of Niśśaṅkamalla at Rāmeśvara records that Niśśaṅkamalla was the Lord of the three Siṁhaḷas and Laṅkā.[20] The inscription further mentions that the king toured round Laṅkā.

From the above discussion it is clear that Sri Lanka was known by different names in different periods in the ancient Indian inscriptions. These names have no linguistic affinity as such. So far as the names Tambapaṇṇi and Siṁhaḷa are concerned some explanation is possible. But the name Laṅkā, if at all it is an Aryan place-name, might be the indigenous name and that may be the reason for its use in the *Rāmāyana*, but there is no reference to Laṅkā in the Dīpavaṃsa. The Mahāvaṃsa, which is generally placed in the 6th century, records this name[21] and it is surprising to note that this name does not appear in the inscriptions before the 6th century A. D The poetic name Āmradvīpa remained unnoticed behind the veil of history.

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A NEW MARRIAGE, AN OLD DICHOTOMY: THE "MIDDLE CLASS" IN BRITISH CEYLON?

In providing a social framework as a backcloth to her study of the early working class agitation in British Ceylon, Kumari Jayawardena[1] has raised several important issues. Given her primary focus, one could not expect the author to deal with these at great length. The book has received wide attention in Sri Lanka, however, and the social categorisation that it has employed is bound to influence the thinking of generations present and future. An appraisal of these issues is therefore of some importance. This essay is a critique of certain principles and premises in Kumari Jayawardena's social typology. Being a work of demolition, it will inevitably have its limitations. It will not present an alternative edifice. However, in provoking controversy, it is intended to promote discussion in a vital sphere of historical and sociological analysis. This has been a field which has encouraged much loose categorisation in educated circles in Sri Lanka.[2] In employing the techniques of a demolition man or terrorist (a relatively easy job usually), the writer hopes to enforce greater rigour of analysis in future discussions. Hopefully, it might even provide a few building blocks for new structures.

* * * *

Kumari Jayawardena's description of the social structure in early twentieth century Ceylon is based on the class model. Two classes are identified, the working class and the middle class, with the latter subdivided further into two broad

categories or "elite groups." So as to clarify the discussion that follows, her scattered references to these social categories are gathered together and encapsulated in Figure I.

There is an initial terminological problem arising from the use of the label "middle class." This is one of our Western legacies.[3] Given the pervasive influence of European historiography, it is liable to evoke associations with the middle classes of Western Europe. Since even in that context the term has several different connotations and has given rise to a heated debate,[4] and since the island economy differed so much from the emerging industrial society of nineteenth century Europe, these evocative associations and meanings could lead to confusion. All this, however, may perhaps be treated as incidental. A description of the "middle class" has been supplied in Kumari's book and it is in the light of this definition that one must proceed.

Since she has explained the economic background in terms of the development of capitalism (pp. x-xii, 3-5 & 12), Kumari's choice of the term "middle class" rather than "bourgeoisie" or "capitalist class" is instructive.[5] Besides capitalists, her "middle class" includes professionals and landowners (pp. xii, 66, 70-75 & 359-60), with the latter including individuals who were part of the "traditional elite" as well as the "landowning gentry" (pp. 70, 72 & 359-60). It is, therefore, a broader social category than the bourgeoisie in the strict Marxist definition of a social formation with a similar function in the production process and a cohesiveness arising from this situation. Having thus included what Marxists, other Marxists, refer to as the "feudal elements" or "feudal classes"[6] within her middle class, Kumari deviates further from the 'orthodox' Marxists analysis of the class situation in the colonies by giving no thought to the possibility that the indigenous bourgeoisie could be sub-divided into the compradore bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie.[7]

This omission was not from absence of mind. It stems from her inclusion of both the British and Ceylonese elite groups within her "middle class" and the *implication* that the Ceylonese segment of the middle class, including the Ceylonese capitalists, were compradore. The common interests and the absence of serious conflict between the indigenous and the British segments of the middle class are underlined:

> The reasons for the weakness of the nationalist movement and its "reformist" character are probably accounted for by the lack of serious conflict between the various powerful economic groups such as the traditional landowners, the British planters, the Ceylonese planters, and property owners. Their economic "spheres of influence" were clearly demarcated and there was little encroachment. The agricultural economy had not been disrupted by the plantation sector to the point where it created a class of Ceylonese landowners hostile to British rule ..... Unlike the Indian situation, there was no class of local industrialists who were in competition with the British. There was a relatively harmonious pattern of relationships between the groups which held economic power which left no scope for a nationalist movement based on the economic discontent and aspirations of the local middle class (xiv).

> The British tea and rubber planters and merchants had their "own spheres of influence" which did not collide with the new group of Ceylonese capitalists, who were mainly coconut planters, contractors, and arrack renters (73).

In coupling the British capitalists and the Ceylonese bourgeoisie (plus other indigenous elements) within one conceptual category described as the "middle class," the author deviates from the popular usage—for in most of the literature on the colonial era the middle class are presented as the opponents and heir-aspirants of the British.[8] Her usage arises from the logic of Marxist analysis with its stress on the relationship between the factors of production and social groupings, and its further, reductionist emphasis on the manner in which this aspect dominated politics.[9] Yet, against this logic and against the opinions of the founding fathers of the Left Movement in Lanka, she also includes the traditional aristocracy within the same class.

This inconsistency is perhaps less troublesome than the 'marriage' she has contrived between the British and Ceylonese capitalists. Besides her unsupported assertion that their spheres of economic influence were clearly demarcated, her only evidence is the widely-quoted statement made in 1906 by one of the moderate and reformist nationalist leaders, James Peiris, to the effect that the "interests of the Ceylonese planters are indentical with those of the European planters."[10] One needs to recognise that common interests existed: attachment to the institution of property, and faith in the profit motive, the market mechanism, the law of contract and the concept of individual liberties for instance. One must allow that their export-oriented economic interests placed the Ceylonese bourgeoisie in a different situation to the Indian capitalists and traders who were in competition with the British capitalists for the Indian market.[11] Nevertheless, there was another side to the coin and any assessment which fails to take it into account produces a distortion. The emphasis on "the lack of serious conflict" and "a relatively harmonious pattern of relationships" between the British and Ceylonese capitalists is one such distortion.

In the first place, there was a wide range of economic conflicts. Less than two years after his pronouncement, in 1907-1908, James Peiris was among those involved in setting up the Low Country Products Association, an organisation of local merchant capitalists and landowners which sought to counterbalance the British-dominated Planters' Association and The Ceylon Chamber of Commerce.[12] While serving as its first President (1908) Peiris also led the reformist requests for constitutional change which were presented in 1908-1909—pressures in which the L. C. P. A. participated, and which earned it the following comment from Governor McCallum:[13]

> It has not... been joined by the European planters in the low-country; it has from its inception been a purely native institution; and of late it has evinced an inclination to concern itself largely with questions of a wholly political character.

MIDDLE CLASS

landowners, capitalists, professionals and "o
have been from 'upper-class' or 'lower
origins" (xii, 66)

BRITISH RULING CLASS

INDIGENOUS or CEYLONESE MIDDLE CLASS

* "Whose economic base lay mainly in cert
export crops" (ix)
* "composed of agricultal landowners, cocon
planters, merchants, small industrialists, pr
and others whose claims to 'high status'
based on property ownership, caste, occupa
or combinations of these factors" (70)

TRADITIONAL ELITE[a]

* "economic power and high status in the agricultural economy" (xii) and "positions of influence in the non-urban areas for the most part" (70); and "high status in the traditional society" (359)
* "included landowners, village officials, influential Buddhist monks, 'ayurvedic' physicians, teachers" and other influentials in the non-urban areas for the most part (70)
* "whose roots lay in the indigenous language, religion and culture" (70 & xii)

MODERN ELITE GROUP[b]

* urbanised (xii, 359)
* "capitalists and urban professionals" (xii)
* "a multi-racial group English" (70)
* "Christianized and West ing an English life-sty with the prevalent Bri political attitudes" (71,

CONSERVATIVES

* pro-British; and "the local spokesmen of the imperial power" (72)
* native advisors (72)
* many of them large land-owners (72,359)
* but "content to live in feudal style" (359)

MODERATES

* national-minded
* but demands reformist
* and tactics and style moderate and constitutionalist
* capitalists and professionals
* "capitalist attitudes typical of a nascent bourgeoisie which reinvests rather than consumes the surplus" (359-60)

RADICAL

* national-minded
* ardent nationalists and valists
* more radical demands
* for militant methods
* mostly from the pr "many possessing lowe back-grounds"

Notes:

(a) The terms "elite group", "strata", "hierarchy" and "section" are also used in lieu of "elite

(b) The phrase "modernized (Ceylonese) middle class" or the terms "strata" or "section" are also

The summary on the Moderates and Radicals is gathered from material dispersed throughout the book, from pp. 73-79, 89-90 and 359-90. Note the qualification which stresses the overlap betwee categories and the Conservatives (p. 90).

MIDDLE CLASS

FIGURE I

landowners, capitalists, professionals and "others who may have been from 'upper-class' or 'lower middle classs' origins" (xii, 66)

H
G CLASS

INDIGENOUS or CEYLONESE MIDDLE CLASS

* "Whose economic base lay mainly in certain agricultural export crops" (ix)
* "composed of agricultal landowners, coconut and rubber planters, merchants, small industrialists, professional men, and others whose claims to 'high status' in society were based on property ownership, caste, occupation, education or combinations of these factors" (70)

TIONAL ELITE[a]

economic power and high status in the agricultural nomy" (xii) and "positions of influence in non-urban areas for the most part" (70); "high status in the traditional society" (359)

ncluded landowners, village officials, influential ddhist monks, 'ayurvedic' physicians, teachers" other influentials in the non-urban areas the most part (70)

hose roots lay in the indigenous language, igion and culture" (70 & xii)

MODERN ELITE GROUP[b]

* urbanised (xii, 359)
* "capitalists and urban professionals" (xii)
* "a multi-racial group educated in English" (70)
* "Christianized and Westernized; following an English life-style and imbued with the prevalent British social and political attitudes" (71, xii, 359)

CONSERVATIVES

-British; and "the local spokesmen the imperial power" (72)

ive advisors (72)

ny of them large land-owners ,359)

"content to live in feudal style" (359)

MODERATES

* national-minded
* but demands reformist
* and tactics and style moderate and constitutionalist
* capitalists and professionals
* "capitalist attitudes typical of a nascent bourgeoisie which reinvests rather than consumes the surplus" (359-60)

RADICALS

* national-minded
* ardent nationalists and cultural revivalists
* more radical demands
* for militant methods
* mostly from the professions with "many possessing lower middle-class back-grounds"

The terms "elite group", "strata", "hierarchy" and "section" are also used in lieu of "elite".

The phrase "modernized (Ceylonese) middle class" or the terms "strata" or "section" are also employed.

e summary on the Moderates and Radicals is gathered from material dispersed throughout the book, but especially from pp. 73-79, 89-90 and 359-90. Note the qualification which stresses the overlap between these two categories and the Conservatives (p. 90).

Subsequent years were to reveal that the L. C. P. A. represented certain branches of indigenous trade and commodity production. They made representations regarding the copra trade (May 1916). They wanted the railway lines extended to Chilaw and Hambantota. They lodged protests against the preferential railway freight rates for tea (January and August 1922). They wanted the duties on coconut products to be assessed on the same principles as those for tea and rubber (August 1921) and protested against the inequality of duties on copra and coconut oil (August 1922).[14] While they seem to have acquiesced in the international rubber restriction scheme when it was introduced in 1925, it must have been with some reluctance if we are to judge from their request for its abolition in February 1928 and C. E. A. Dias's previous memorandum against the proposals in November 1922.[15]

> I regret very much that I have to state that the English people out in Ceylon are there to reap their harvests and that their views are not those on the people of the country. So any legislation passed before we are properly represented in Council is bound to pay little heed to the welfare of the permanent population in Ceylon, with the unpleasent sequel of retarding the progress of the Colony,

observed Dias on that occasion.

The L. C. P. A. also associated themselves with the reformist nationalists and the Ceylon National Congress in demanding a revision of the fiscal system and the introduction of an income tax. In presenting this demand in 1919 the Congress leaders described the prevailing system of taxation as "scandalously partial to the rich and oppressive to the poor;" while the income tax was presented as a national demand which would enable the country to get at some of the profits which foreign capitalists were making. Thus, James Peiris referred to the relatively untaxed trading capital of the Nattukottai Chettiyars and emphasised "the great injustice done to the people of the country by allowing outsiders to exploit its resources and carry away large sums out of the Colony without sharing the burden of taxation."[16] In brief, this proposal was an expression of economic nationalism as well as an illustration of leanings towards distributive justice.[17]

In such a milieu the decision taken by the British authorities in 1922 to raise the salaries of public servants as well as certain customs duties and freight rates produced a storm of protest. The L. C. P. A. met in emergency session on the 30th August and passed resolutions against several of these proposals, while another resolution deplored "the fact that the Government [was] seeking to raise further revenue by taxing food, clothing, transport and agricultural produce, while no steps [had] been taken to introduce an income tax."[18] The heated feelings were carried on to the public platform and Legislative Council. The sequel was a dramatic walk-out of the elected Councillors on the 29th September, 1922 and their subsequent resignation. While much of the agitation focussed on the steam-rolling manner in which the Government enforced its views, it is not

surprising that one of the editorials in the *Ceylon Daily News* should direct its attention to the economic dimensions of "swaraj" and contend that cheaper goods could "be produced only by their [i. e. the people of Ceylon] own efforts, in their own country, by their own hands."[19]

If the representations of the reformist nationalists were pressed forward by constitutional means, they nevertheless reflect a consciousness of differing interests among the newly-emerging Ceylonese elites. Nor were these sentiments reserved for specific issues and isolated occasions.[20] In 1916, for instance, one T. P. M. spoke of the urgent need for "economic freedom;" and that persistent publicist, Lawrie Muthukrishna, gave primacy to industrial and material progress rather than to constitutional advance: he saw in the "endeavour to increase our resources by an efficient organisation of our economic life, development of commerce and industries, and increase of our individual, communal and national wealth," the surest road to the island's "salvation."[21] A leading political activist and Legislative Councillor, K. Balasingam, consistently peddled demands for protectionist tariffs and for governmental initiation of new industries. He also advocated the establishment of agricultural banks to assist indigenous agriculturists and to make the island self-sufficient in her food supplies.[22] *The Ceylon Economist*, published in Jaffna in the years 1919—20, revealed a special interest in economic matters. And in his acid comments in the Legislative Council in July 1926, A. Mahadeva observed that the Ceylonese were "a backward people.....ruled and governed by Europeans, protected by English bayonets, and tutored by the English," while their "gravest burden" was the "economic burden;" and his exposition of the latter point specifically stressed that the "profits of accumulating capital [were] entirely and jealously guarded by a European ring."[23] G. K. W. Perera combined equally acerbic comments with a slashing commentary on the Ceylonese elites:

> Ceylon has become the happy hunting ground of all the foreign nations in the world, and we are content to be at a standstill, allowing exploiters to prosper all round us. Our stagnation has been their opportunity. While we dream of the glorious days of our past,..... while the up-country quarrels with the low-country Sinhalese, and both with the Tamil, we fail to realise that our land is going and our trade is gone. What self-respecting nation has allowed so much land to be foreign owned as ourselves?

said he; and in noting that one could hardly expect "the governing class" (i. e., the British) to encourage Ceylonese manufacture and commerce, he sarcastically censured the British objectives:

> The nation's wealth must be increased if we are to meet the higher cost of living, to meet the taxation needed for the employment of the large numbers in Government Service, to send out money to provide comforts for the pensioners who live outside our shores, to meet the cost of beautifying our country for the glory of the Empire and the greater good of the hotel keepers.[24]

Increasingly, several politicians began to show concern about the lack of adequate credit facilities and the manner in which credit was controlled by the British banks and Chettiyar moneylenders.[25] Such strands of opinion were eventually embodied in the Report of the Banking Commission in 1934.

It will be evident that these complaints and demands were expressions of economic nationalism. In sum, the thesis which the nationalists were in the process of evolving during the 1920's ran as follows: the British had foisted a plantation economy on the island by expropriating the lands of the peasantry; their budgetary and fiscal policies had favoured the foreign plantation sector and provided little for the indigenous sector; their fiscal structure had favoured "monopolies" so that foreign capitalists were able to squeeze out indigenous newcomers and exploit consumers, while the Ceylonese capitalists were severely handicapped by the credit and banking practices of the British banks and the Chettiyars; discriminatory budgets and taxes were buttressed by discriminatory staffing and recruitment policies; in overall consequence, the island was burdened with low levels of income and supported an undiversified economy which was subject to the vagaries of the international market. If this was the diagnosis, the prescription and goal was a "transition from a colonial to a national economy" and the achievement of "national economic independence" through industrialisation and self-sufficiency in food production.[26]

Nor were such views confined to the period after the 1910's. Within this parcel of views, certain ingredients had appeared in the late nineteenth century. Buddhist merchants and other entrepreneurs were a powerful element in the Buddhist revivalist movement;[27] and Ananda Wickremaratne notes that "they subtly exploited the movement to air certain economic grievances, thereby giving the movement a dual character."[28] This is revealed in significant fashion in the *Sarasavi Sandarāsa*, a Sinhala newspaper founded by Olcott in 1880, which can be viewed as the official organ of Buddhist revivalism. This newspaper displayed a "remarkable preoccupation with purely economic matters" and at times assumed "the character of a commercial journal." The accumulation of capital by Buddhists was pressed as an urgent need. This theme became one of its obsessions. The argument was that Ceylonese should produce locally what was imported from abroad and seek to increase their exports so that "a great deal of money [would] flow into the country." The newspaper capped this refrain with eulogistic presentations of certain Buddhist traders, for instance, N. S. Fernando (Wijeyesekera), R. A. Mirando and Lansagē G. Perera. This propaganda-line was also threaded by an unconcealed hostility to the Moor, Tamil and foreign traders.[29] It is not surprising that these ideas should take firm root in the thinking of the Anagarika Dharmapala (1860-1931). His retrospective romanticism and Xenophobia had as their corollary an intense swadeshism: so that he scolded his countrymen for indulging in the use of foreign consumer goods while their grazing grounds lay idle, their cows starved to death, and their own weavers suffered.[30] It was this feeling which led him (and others) to look with admiration at the achievements of the Japanese, particularly their modernisation and the independent strength which they derived thereby.[31] The Xenophobic and chauvinist strains of thought remained a permanent and powerful feature in the thinking of many Sinhala nationalists. They were propagated and stoked by such effective propagandists as Charles Dias, John de Silva and Piyadasa Sirisena (dramatists, authors and journalists).[32] They

found expression in such incidents as the 1915 anti-Muslim riots and occasional clashes between working class rivals.[33] They merged with the opposition to Indian Tamils and the expressions of economic nationalism which became important facets of nationalist thought in the 1920's; so that, to provide just one illustration, a Ceylon National Congress resolution in 1931 which sought tariff protection was linked with a request for the restriction of labour emigration under a preamble which referred to the "inadequate protection of Ceylonese industries and Ceylonese labour."[34]

Again, the demands for the Ceylonisation of the administrative services and the criticism levelled at the British waste lands policy were two nationalist-planks that date back to the late nineteenth century. The latter derived from a widespread and deeply-entrenched belief that the Waste Lands Ordinances were used to expropriate large extents of peasant land for sale to the British planters.[35] The critique was rhetorical, bitter, and unrelenting. Its pioneering force in the 1890's and the 1900's was the Chilaw Association led by the Corea family;[36] so that the association was described by McCallum as a "notorious" body and the Coreas earned Clifford's witty epithet, a "core of rot."[37] Such ripostes merely stimulated further opposition. The subject was persistently reiterated, in Council and out of Council, and in all seasons. It found expression in such pamphlets as C. E. Corea's *Communal Rights* (1916 & 1917) and A. A. Wickremesinghe's *Land Tenure in Ceylon* (1924), the latter written with the aid of E. A. P. Wijeyeratne and D. S. Senanayake.[38] With the emergence of a Kandyan elite it became a major pillar in their body of grievances. To them, and to the Sinhalese in general, the waste lands issue meant foreign plantations; and foreign plantations meant British planters and Indian immigrants.[39] The latter were viewed as just as much of a burden as the British. Indeed, at times, in the contemporary Sinhala vision, the Indian immigrants loomed ominously large as an alien threat.[40] The fashioning of land policy by the Land Commission (1927-1929) and the debate on universal franchise were both threaded by economic nationalism originating in such perceptions.[41] In laying down the conditions for land grants certain clauses of the Land Development Ordinance of 1935, which was an outcome of the Land Commission's proposals, defined citizenship in such a way as to debar Indians from these benefits (giving rise to a conflict between the leaders of the Indian community and the Ceylonese Ministers which was one of the first manifestations of a long series of conflicts on statutory law).[42] If the majority of nationalists were ready to accept the Donoughmore Commission's recommendation that there should be universal franchise, they were not ready to bring the Indians within its aegis. From the outset, in 1928, they revealed adamant opposition on this point; and resorted to all manner of suggestions in the Legislative Council which sought to restrict the Indian vote. Their opposition on this issue alone was so fierce that it was only by modifications and assurances from the British authorities that the Donoughmore reforms were made acceptable.[43]

The demand for more places for more Ceylonese in the higher echelons of the administrative services was obviously motivated by self-interest and represented a specifically elite interest. In this sense it was "place-hunting." But it was not merely that. There was another dimension: the restoration of national honour in the face of racially-biased staffing policies. The extent to which the phrases "national self-respect" and "self-respect" were proclaimed as goals are witness to the prevalence of this motive force in the corpus of nationalist thought—E. J. Samarawickrame in 1923, Bandaranaike in 1933, the examples are many.[44] Even the *suriya mal* campaign was conceived (in the late 1920's) as a demonstration of "self-respect and independence."[45]

These comments serve as a suitable point of departure for the second criticism which can be levelled at Kumari Jayawardena's coupling of the British elite in Ceylon and the local elite groups in one social category. Such a union overlooks the colonial context and the friction engendered on the political and social planes. In the field of social relations, bitter reactions were aroused among the Ceylonese rich and the Ceylonese educated by the racial arrogance and racial prejudices of the British. When racialism was incorporated in legislation or in recruitment policies, it was treated as a stigma and a slur. When a Colonial Secretary (Ashmore) used a prize-giving ceremony at Trinity College as an occasion to declare that Ceylonese were not employed in the higher echelons of the public service "because they were deficient in those qualities of duty and honour that the British Government had a right to expect,"[46] he may not have been aware that the nationalist awakening had proceeded far enough to produce a storm of protest. But neither did he, subsequently, attempt to pour oil on these stormy waters. In a brief letter to those lawyers who had initiated a "monster meeting" of public protest, he insinuated that they were merely coveting "an opportunity for self-advertisement."[47] On such crass stupidity and self-arrogance was nationalism in Ceylon nurtured. Indeed there is room to consider that the numerous humiliations generated by attitudes of white superiority did more to arouse opposition than anything else.[48] Such attitudes, supported by the power of State machinery, invariably bred feelings of inferiority within the local populace;[49] and thence led to aggressive sensitiveness as a counterpoise was sought. Rich men with strength in their arms, such as Dannister Perera Abeyewardena and John Kotelawala, were quick to respond violently against racial slights by thrashing arrogant Europeans; and they reaped a harvest of satisfaction from the status of local folk-heroes which they achieved as a result.[50] The old men and middle-aged men who formed the membership of the select Orient Club, respectable and decorous as they were, were less violent and more deliberative; but acted in the same strain in excluding Europeans from their club.[51] It is hardly surprising, therefore, that few European planters in the Low Country joined the L. C. P. A. In such an environment, therefore, the union of white capitalist and black capitalist in one conceptual bed seems to be an uneasy marriage.

Since Kumari Jayawardena does not argue that the cognitive perceptions of the British ruling elite and the Ceylonese elites were such as to place themselves in one

social class, it seems hardly necessary to survey the contemporary attitudes. But James Peiris's statement remains and it is as well to deny that their self-images did not extend to notions that they were a similar social category, however "identical" their economic interests were conceived to be. Skin colour and the political context ensured opposite tendencies. Though the reformist nationalists were influenced by a considerable measure of Empire-loyalism, they had cast themselves in the role of an oppositional group and even seem to have possessed self-images of themselves as sturdy fighters for political rights.[52] On certain issues they ranged themselves against the British, however constitutional their methods were. On the occasion of the carters strike in 1906, even such a moderate group as the Karava elite of Moratuwa and Colombo were ready to support the strikers in their demands, while the Colombo merchants as a whole gave financial and other assistance to the carters.[53] The British officials for their part, as Kumari herself reveals, had no doubts that they were in opposite camps. In the 1900's, 1910's and 1920's they looked on the reformist nationalists as "political agitators" or "skunks" or "unscrupulous half-castes."[54] The emergence of Goonesinha's working class associations in the 1920's induced some change and the officials began to look upon certain moderates with less hostility (pp. 224 & 249-50), but threads of ill-feeling remained.[55] Nor does there seem to have been a political coalition of the black bourgeoisie and the white bourgeoisie in the face of Goonesinha's emergence. For one thing, Goonesinha's unions do not seem to have been much of a threat to the Ceylonese firms; the Wijewardenes, Senanayakes, and their type certainly kept a weather eye on his associations and participated in the smear campaign against him, but they were not so worried as to be driven into the arms of the white sahibs.[56] And Goonesinha continued to maintain links with members of the Ceylon National Congress or join the Congress on political platforms from time to time.[57]

In the circumstances, the inclusion of the British interests in Ceylon and the Ceylonese elites in one conceptual category seems to have limitations as a classificatory device which carries meaning in the study of colonial politics. This does not mean that we should neglect the fact that both segments had some common interests which may have brought them together on occasions, or which may have moderated their policies on other occasions. The error lies in treating the lack of serious conflict as a dominant phenomenon. The economy was not as dualistic and the economic relationships not as harmonious as Kumari makes out.

* * * *

In so far as Kumari Jayawardena deals with the "middle class," however, it is the Ceylonese segment that attracts most attention. Here, too, we meet serious deficiencies in her classificatory descriptions. As Figure I will indicate, the "Ceylonese middle class" is broadly subdivided into two sections, or "elite groups" or "strata" as Kumari describes them sometimes; namely, the "traditional elite group" and the "modern elite group." This distinction is drawn on the basis of occupational differences, the degree of urbanisation and Westernisation, and in less clear fashion, the stratification levels (pp. xii, 66, 70-75 & 359-60). The "modern elite group," in turn, is further sub-divided into three categories

(conservatives, moderates and radicals), chiefly on the basis of political and economic orientations and political methods.

It is understood and expected, of course, that lines of social classification cannot achieve mathematical precision. There may be some elements in the population who cannot be readily incorporated in one's scheme. Social mobility will have to be allowed for. Where attitudinal criteria are employed, shifts in stance and opinion will present problems. Kumari has taken care to warn her readers on the latter point: "Although conservative, moderate, and radical elements of the Westernized middle class have been distinguished, the divisions were not always clear-cut and there was sometimes considerable overlap between the groups" (p. 96).

Having reiterated her qualification, and cast one of my own, I would nevertheless argue (i) that Kumari's scheme of classification has several internal contradictions besides other confusions, and (ii) that the traditional/modern dichotomy is overplayed, and carries limited value for an analysis of the social scene in British Ceylon. In substantiating these contentions continuous reference to Figure I will be called for.

To begin with a relatively minor point: Kumari does not seem certain whether or not to place the white-collar workers within the "Ceylonese middle class." In general (pp. 4 & 35) she places them explicitly within the "working population," but at one stage she refers to "the lower middle class of white-collar workers in government offices and mercantile firms" (p. 3). This ambivalence is less of her making than that of the urban white-collar workers themselves. As she notes on another occasion, these workers had "aspirations to integrate with the middle class" and treated the indigenous middle class as their reference group (pp. 13 & 357). What is needed, then, is for her to take conscious note of this discordance and ambivalence on those occasions in which she fashions her classificatory descriptions.

It is at the same place in her narrative (p. 3) that she provides us with a social framework that differs from that adopted by her elsewhere (and which is incorporated in Figure I). Here we are told that the "growth of the plantation and urban sector gave rise to an upper and middle class of British and Ceylonese planters, entrepreneurs and professional men; *[and]* to an expansion in the lower middle class of white-collar workers in government offices and mercantile firms." And elsewhere she refers to a "Sinhalese lower middle class" consisting of "Buddhist monks, journalists, poets, ayurvedic physicians, traders, and small landowners" (pp. 112-13). What is important in this scheme is the emphasis on the hierarchical aspects so that one has

the upper and middle class [British and Ceylonese planters, entrepreneurs and professionals

above

the lower middle class [white-collar workers + journalists, monks, traders, small landowners, etc.

Nowhere is an explanation provided as to the relationship between this scheme, which I shall label H, and the other scheme (MT) depicted in Figure I. One

cannot resolve this discrepancy on one's own by considering the "traditional elite group" in MT as the "lower middle class" in H because it has been stressed that the former were mostly "non-urban" and rooted in the indigenous culture (pp. 70 & xii).

It is evident, however, that the scheme MT is the favoured one. The rest of my comments are addressed to this social framework.

This framework is marred by a lack of clarity in the manner in which the traditional segment of the Ceylonese middle class is demarcated.

> The Sinhalese traditional elite included landowners, village officials, influential Buddhist monks, "ayurvedic" physicians, teachers, and others in the community who held positions of influence in the non-urban areas for the most part, and whose roots lay in the indigenous language, religion, and culture (p. 70).
>
> The distinction between the traditional and modern group is fairly obvious. The Sinhalese-Buddhist or Hindu-Tamil hierarchy of those with high status in the traditional society can easily be distinguished from the English-educated, urbanized members of the modern Christianized elite (p. 359).

Juxtaposed, these two descriptions indicate that the social contours of the "traditional elite" are not as clear as Kumari Jayawardena sees them to be, the more so when one takes note of her reference elsewhere to this same group as being "composed of persons with economic power and high status in the agricultural economy [and with] roots in the religion and culture of the country" (p. xii). In defining this category, Kumari has seemingly looked forward as well as backward in time, and not been able to decide which was more decisive. Parts of her description indicate that she was thinking of the social forces that went into the making of the Sinhala Maha Sabha, the SLFP, MEP, and the electoral overturn of 1956; and her use of the terms "strata" and "hierarchy" is of significance in this deduction. On the other hand, the emphasis on "high status" and the references to "traditional" roles suggest the influence of the pre-British situation and its legacy of traditional aristocrats and a whole range of landowners and rural notables.

Any attempt to apply her definition to early twentieth century Ceylon would reveal several knots of confusion in the contours. There were a range of Kandyan *ratamahatmayas* and headman families, or their descendants, who would fit the descriptions of the "traditional elite." It is true that some Kandyan chieftains, such as T. B. L. Moonemalle and Meedeniya *Adigar*, embraced Christianity. A few had the distinction of rising to the position of "native advisors" or official representatives of the Kandyan interest, examples being T. B. Panabokke Snr., S. N. W. Hulugalle and T. B. L. Moonemalle. A few others had entered the ranks of the professions: e. g., T. B. Herath, Sam B. Bakmiwewa, W. Dunuwille, G. E. Madawala, A. H. E. and Francis Molamure, Richard Aluvihare, Dr. T. B. Kobbekaduve and John A. Halangoda. Yet a significant number remained in their little rural strongholds, wielding varying degrees of influence from their *walauwas* and depending

on landed property and cash crops for their income, while authority was derived from a combination of land, traditional status, and office. During the early twentieth century these declining assets were, in some cases, buttressed by marriage connections which extended beyond the narrow circle of the Kandyan *radala* and reached into the Low-Country elites. The majority of these individuals remained Buddhist; and a few even took some part in sponsoring religious revivalism and temperance work in their localities.[58] They constituted an important category of people with a modicum of economic power, a rural base and "high status" in this context, besides having "roots in the language and culture" of the Sinhala districts. Illustrations are provided by such individuals and families as the Rambukpotas and Bibiles of Uva, the Rambukwelles, the Ellepolas, the Nugawelas, the Madugallas, the Ratwattes of Balangoda, the Bulankulamas of Nuwarakalawiya, the Ellawalas, Muttettuwegamas and Eknelligodas of Sabaragamuwa, the Mapitigamas, the Dodanwelas, J. G. Tennekoon of Kurunegala, and F. B. Walgampahē of Gadaladeniya.[59] Within the numerical limitations of the Sinhalese elites, the number of individuals and families in this category was not insignificant. If one were to add to this category the Low-Country Sinhala aristocrats who relied largely on the traditional foundations of status and power, and who had not reached the heights of status and power commanded by such families as the de Liveras, Obeyesekeres and Ilangakoons,[60] the numbers would be yet larger.

Yet this social category might also be encompassed by the author's description of the conservative wing of the "modern elite group." Though this wing is demarcated largely in terms of its attitudinal stance (that is, its "subservience" to the British), it is also observed that it consisted of "large landowners who were content to live in feudal style" (p. 359; cf. pp. 72-73). While it is obvious that Kumari's description of the conservatives is an outgrowth of the picture presented by such individuals as Sir S. C. Obeyesekere and Sir Solomon Dias Bandaranaike, it also fits the Kandyan Buddhist elite whom I have described in the previous paragraph. In so far as the Kandyan elite had not produced a James Alwis, a Paul E. Peiris or a Donald Obeyesekere by the 1910's,[61] and in so far as several of their Western-educated personnel collaborated with the British to resist Low-Country Sinhala dominance,[62] indeed, they provide an even better fit. This would place them within two of the "elite groups" or "strata" identified by Kumari: in both the "traditional elite group" and in the conservative wing of the "modern elite group." In other words, they straddle one of Kumari's major lines of demarcation: the traditional vs the modern.

Again, Kumari's description of the "traditional elite group" would encompass a few *nouveaux riches* families who made their fortunes in plantation agriculture and carved out rural bases for themselves in the process. All the plantation entrepreneurs did not originate from Moratuwa or the coastal towns and villages. There were a handful whose social roots were autochthonous to the districts in which they made their entrepreneurial gains. In the early twentieth century some still retained their rural interests. Several were Buddhists. Whether Buddhist or Christian, as rural notables they involved themselves in the activities of the

locality. As such they could be described as landowners with "economic power... in the agricultural economy and [with some] roots in the culture of the country." Among more illustrious examples one could name Don Spater Senanayake (1845-1912) and his son D. S. Senanayake, D. C. G. Attygalle, David Martin Samaraweera of Udukawa and Weligama (1855-1943) and D. J. Amaratunga of Mirigama. Among other examples or possibilities are Cornelius D. Senaratne of Akuressa, Abraham Perera Goonetilleke of Veyangoda, James and Simon Sirimanne of the Bentota area, Santiago Thomas de Silva (b. 1868) of Ambalangoda, and Thomas Perera of Veyangoda.[63] Nor must it be forgotten that several traditional elite families in the Low-Country Sinhala districts had taken to plantation agriculture, for example, *Mudaliyar* J. C. H. Seneviratne of Marawila, J. C. Amarasekera of Pitigal Koralè, and *Mudaliyar* Louis Arthur Dassenaike of Mirigama; so that, if one assumes a similarity in income-levels, there *may* have been little to distinguish between a D. J. Amaratunga and an L. A. Dassenaike in the 1920's except for two important assets enjoyed by the latter: that of pedigree and that of a chieftain's office.[64]

However, most definitions are frayed at the edges. In extenuation, it could be argued that no scheme of social categorisation could meet all the fluidities arising from rapid social change. Moreover, several of the individuals and families referred to above (in illustrative intent) were Western-educated, or in the process of making investments in a Western education and a professional career for their children. Some were also moving towards urban centres as absentee landlords. In this sense they *may* have been in the process of becoming "oriented towards Western models of thought and behaviour"—a feature of the moderns in the conceptual scheme MT.

These practical shortcomings and difficulties of categorisation serve also to direct one's attention to a much broader problem—the limitations and confusions arising from an unqualified reliance on the dichotomy between the "traditional" and the "modern."

In contradistinction to the "traditional elite group" as well as the "modern conservatives," it is noted that the "modern moderates" had "developed capitalist attitudes which are typical of a nascent bourgeoisie which reinvests rather than consumes the economic surplus" (pp. 359–60 and xiii). In contradistinction to the "traditional elite group," the "modern" segment of the Ceylonese middle class as a whole is described as being made up of "capitalists and urban professionals" and

> composed of a multi-racial group of persons educated in English and often converts to Christianity, who had not merely assumed an English style of life in terms of dress, names and habits, but had also adopted prevalent British social and political attitudes (pp. 70-71 and xiii).

Kumari Jayawardena adds:

> Many of the pioneer Ceylonese capitalists... gave their children an education in English so that they could enter government service and the liberal professions and thereby become a part of the modern strata of society. The social breakthrough of the new rich into modern society came through education (p. 71).

This description betrays a typically British orientation in associating Western education with modernisation. It lays too much stress on the rational, capitalist, and achievemental orientations of the modern elite group and fails to take into account the degree to which a traditional status ideology influenced their investments and their political behaviour.[65] It also does not pay adequate attention to the prevalence of kinship links, occupational mobility, the dispersal of investments and the reallocation of investments, all of which, in combination, penetrated, permeated and muddled up the line of differentiation between the traditional and the modern.

In the first place, several families who made their way into the ranks of the elites through educational skills and prestigious occupations on the one hand, or merchant capitalist or mining activities on the other, effected marriage alliances with landowning families possessing a traditionally high status and rural roots. Wealth snared prestigious spouses, or a combination of new wealth and newly-acquired status was linked with a combination of long-standing status and moderate affluence. Among the Karavas this began in the latter half of the nineteenth century as the new rich entrepreneurs, planters and merchants intermarried with the traditional Karava elite, the Varunakula Adittiya de Fonsekas, Lowes, de Rowels and D'Anderados.[66] Among the Goyigama, these linkages began later. The traditional Kandyan elite-in-metamorphosis seem to have revealed a greater readiness to link up with the Low-Country Sinhala *arrivistes* than did the Low-Country Sinhala "mudaliyar class" of the nineteenth century. As their traditional foundations of power proved to be dwindling assets under the new dispensation, some Kandyan notables found it advantageous to shore up these foundations by intermarrying with Low-Country Sinhalese Goyigama families possessing landowning interests, prestigious and lucrative professional skills, or business interests. From locational influences, those resident in the borderlands, the Kurunegala, Kegalla and Ratnapura Districts, would appear to have been among the first to move in this direction; the marriages with high-status Kandyan families in Kurunegala effected by Joseph de Silva Jayasundera (in the 1860's) and by E. G. Goonewardene (1885), and Don William Ellawala's marriage to Jane Kuruppu in 1859 provide us with a window to this process.[67] Eventually, and reluctantly perhaps, even some aristocrats in the Kandyan heartland were led to participate in this species of *binna bahinawa*[68]—as indicated by such examples as Ruby Meedeniya (D. R. Wijewardene in 1915), Euphemia Grace and Molly Dunuville (D. C. and D. S. Senanayake respectively) and Neva M. Hulugalle (D. P. A. Wijewardene). In consequence, one found certain families who had roots in traditional statuses and held rural landowning interests on the one hand, while having roots in professional occupations, or graphite-mining or business on the other hand. Nor must it be forgotten that such kinship links have always been of some influence in Ceylon's politics.

In the second place, many families took care to spread their investments. One such investment was a Western education for their children in good schools,

an investment in which businessmen and landowners also laid great store. It was partly by this process that rural notables or small town professionals secured further advances in social mobility, as illustrated in the story of the Wijenaike *pelāntiya* in Hinidum Pattu or that of the Perera Wijeyeratnes of Rambukkana and Kegalla.[69] Since traditional norms attached some stigma to trade and valued literacy and landownership more highly, there was a tendency for the talented sons and grandsons of new merchant princes to abandon the trades of their fathers for white-collar careers in the professions. This process has attracted wide attention, including Kumari's (p. 71).[70] Yet it must be remembered that there were movements in other directions as well; and that several families maintained a wide range of economic interests. No stigma seems to have been attached to the graphite industry; its profits were a great dissolving agent for any such obstacles; even Sir S. C. Obeyesekere was among those who dabbled in these ventures.[71] Again, several individuals who gained professional qualifications and built up lucrative practices invested their monies in plantations in rural areas and in urban property. A few even gave up their practice to devote their time to the management of their plantations and other economic interests — Drs. Marcus Fernando, C. A. Hewavitarne and E. A. Coorey, and the lawyers, C. H. Z. Fernando, F. J. Fernando Jnr., F. R. Senanayake and (Sir) Henry L. de Mel being among the several examples. Such spreading of investments and shifts in occupation or resource allocation, aided and abetted by kinship links and the custom of giving dowries, meant (i) that many individuals in the liberal professions had rural landowning interests; (ii) that many indigenous plantation owners had children or close relatives in prestigious white-collar occupations; and (iii) that many merchants and graphite mineowners owned plantations, besides having sons and close relatives in the liberal professions.

It is true that these entrepreneurial and professional families tended to congregate in Colombo or the district towns. Whether *arrivistes* or family of long-standing influence, the tendency was towards urbanisation and a Westernised life-style. In so far as they retained rural land investments, these were, not uncommonly, supervised as absentee-landlords. Yet, besides the Kandyan *radala* families and some Low-Country Sinhala aristocrats, there was a sprinkling of new rich whose heart remained in the rural areas and who resided in their new manorial domains. Hettikankanagē James Perera Samarasekara (born 1855) of Talpitiya near Panadura provides a possible example; venturing into the Kandyan hills as a trader and toll-renter, he eventually purchased Edward Hill estate in Pussellawa District and set up a general merchant's store in Pussellawa town; it was at Edward Hill that he resided; (yet his life-style was obviously modelled on that of the European planters and his children were being educated at fashionable private schools in Kandy and Colombo).[72] Abraham Perera Goonetilleke of Halgampitiya near Veyangoda provides another example of a somewhat different type because of his origins in a family with official status and landed property: educated at Royal he took over his father's proprietary patrimony in 1897 and

concentrated on coconut planting for the rest of his career, while taking an interest in the Lanka Maha Jana Sabha in the 1920's and sponsoring Sinhalese cultural events.[73] Again, the lawyers, doctors and their like in district towns often had some of their lands in the vicinity and were able to visit them from time to time. If absentee ownership, Westernisation, and religious affiliations must be taken into account in assessing the degree to which such landowners retained links with the long-standing patterns of life and with the traditional cultural norms, however, so must the nature of their landed interests and the manner in which these were obtained, extended and retained. Residence in a distant centre would not necessarily preclude regular attention to rural land deals or land management. Inquiries on these lines would reveal that many members of the urbanised, Westernised elite devoted a considerable degree of attention to wheeling and dealing in land; that their interests were not confined to plantations but extended to small allotments and land-shares; and that they were influenced by an "ideology of status."

The ideology of status has been graphically illustrated by Gananath Obeyesekere.[74] In this view, norms of prestige, power and authority which arose from the pre-capitalist system of the era before British rule remained embedded in the cultural milieu of the Sinhala people. These traditional "norms provided an ideal for status aspirations which combined; prestige, power and authority in a single scheme of relationships." The relation between king and subject was a "high point" in this "institutionalisation of the 'feudal dyad'." The unequal relationship between landlord and tenant, governed as it was by "rights, duties and the performance of ceremonial" was another.[75] Such norms remained operative in British times, though receiving new manifestations and accretions. Under their influence, the emulative model for rural society was the position, status and lifestyle of a Goyigama *radala* lord. In rural Ceylon, therefore, the status honour of a *pelantiya* or family kindred group was assessed in terms of

(a) the area and extent of (its) control, (as manifest) in the lateral spread of the *pelantiya* through its marriage alliances;

(b) the quality of the offices (which it) controlled, that is, the status and prestige associated with office;

(c) the prestige of its ... non-resident patrilateral and affinal kin, who indirectly (brought) prestige to the *pelantiya*.[76]

The rise of *pelantiyas* and rural elites therefore involved such processes as strategic marriage alliances, the manipulation of family names and the acquisition of honorifics, the gaining of valued offices, manipulative land transactions, and emancipation from the need to cultivate the soil oneself. These practices were only too evident in the story of such families as the Rubasin Gunawardenas, the Panangala Liyanagēs, the Senanayake Dasilagēs, and the Wijenaikes. The Wijenaikes were the most prominent and successful of these *pelantiyas*; beginning from the mid nineteenth century, in six or seven generations this Goyigama

family had reached a position in the 1960's wherein their interests had extended beyond the Hinidum Pattu and its members were beginning to penetrate the higher reaches of society—a process which involved Western education and spatial shifts of some family members to urban centres.[77] What is particularly revealing in their story (and the other case-histories) is the degree to which these relatively affluent families participated in land transactions pertaining to land shares or to tiny plots of land which carried no economic value. In these instances, rational economic goals of profit maximisation were clearly absent. There were other ends in view however, deriving from "motives pertaining to power and prestige;" for the "control over tenants... [enhanced] the status of individuals and families in the power structure of the region."[78] On this point the comparison with the aristocratic ideology of feudal Europe is obvious. It recalls the fact that in eighteenth century France "to be a *seigneur* was a great thing;" and that however little material benefit they brought, feudal dues were valued as a symbol of authority, for "prestige and power over other human beings were valued more highly than material progress."

> Money was not everything, as Chateaubriand's father thought, in common with the rest of his class ... [Having rehabilitated his family fortunes and repurchased the family estates], his proud and authoritarian temperament found its greatest satisfaction in the meticulous exaction of his dues.[79]

George V. Taylor confirms what Behrens has to say:

> The aristocracy by tradition and the wealthy urban groups by emulation showed an incurable esteem for rural property.
>
> Both before and after the [French] Revolution, the social values of the old elite dominated the status-conscious men and women of the wealthy Third Estate. Avid for standing, they had little choice but to pursue it as the aristocracy defined it..... That is why [the merchants] so often diverted profits into the purchase of country properties and offices, and why so many of them, once enriched, converted their commercial fortunes into proprietary possessions.[80]

And both examples, that from eighteenth-century France as well as from British Ceylon, represent what Walter Neale has conceptualised as the ideology of land-in-order-to-rule, namely, land as an element in rural politics, providing an arena and a medium for control over clientele, faction and power (in contrast with a value system which sees land as an-estate-to-be-managed).[81]

The ideology of status was not confined to the social categories represented by the Rubasin Gunawardenas and the Wijenaikes. Much wealthier plantation owners, merchants, and gentlemen in the liberal professions continued to dabble in little properties and in the little gettings of little villages. In the period 1881-1922, for instance, Mr. & Mrs. J. P. Obeyesekere (the embodiment of Low-Country Sinhala aristocracy in British times) purchased from the Crown or from private hands about 3298 allotments or land shares.[82] The vast majority were small-

holdings or land shares. A good many were paddy fields. Though of different social standing, of course, the J. P. Obeyesekeres and Wijenaikes shared the similarity that they were working from a rural base. They were also Goyigama. The persistence of traditional norms in their cases may not be surprising. But the cultural influences were such that status-accumulation by these means remained an important goal for individuals drawn from the non-Goyigama, the urbanised, the gentlemen in the professions, the merchants, and graphite-mineowners, all more or less alike. In the case of many proctors and lawyers the very nature of their professions involved them in land transactions and provided them with opportunities for manipulative land transactions and acquisitions. On an impressionistic basis it would seem that a wide range of individuals sought to accumulate status in this manner. I provide two anonymous illustrations. XF was from a well-to-do Karava Christian family along the western coast. On completing his medical degree in England, he married into a very wealthy Karava family and built up a successful practice in Colombo at the turn of the nineteenth century. By 1917 he had also received or acquired 7 plantations with approximately 3227 acres (2037 acres under coconut and 720 under rubber), on which he lavished his attention.[83] Yet, during the 1910's he acquired at least 147 properties or land-shares in twelve different villages; most of these were below 10 acres, though a few were small plantations and the total acreage of these purchases amounted to 444 acres.[84] XP, on the other hand, was a Karava Buddhist arrack renter and merchant who also invested in cash crop plantations with some success. Besides assets which he may have transferred as dowries, when he died in the 1920's he left (i) a recently-acquired half-share in an arrack distillery; (ii) stock-in-trade worth Rs. 75,901; (iii) deposits and money due on arrack deliveries to the value of Rs. 50,027; (iv) promissory notes and bonds worth Rs 17,936; (v) a house in Colombo; (vi) an estate of 535 acres in Kandy District which had 412 acres under tea; (vii) a rubber plantation of 154 acres in Colombo District; (viii) another of 308 acres in Galle District; (ix) four smallholdings under rubber in Ratnapura District; (x) an uncultivated property of 98 acres in Matara District; and (xi) an interest in or outright possession of 165 allotments—68 in which the crop is specified, 21 with no cultivation, and 76 for which no details are given; of the 68 allotments, 24 were coconut properties and 24 were paddy fields.[85] Even if one allows for his need to control coconut trees so as to secure supplies of arrack, economic rationality could not explain his interest in all the smallholdings in item (xi).

The modern segment of the "middle class," were not as attached to the "capitalist attitudes" of careful reinvestment and profit maximisation as Kumari Jayawardena suggests (for the modern moderates). Status accumulation was also an important objective for the Sinhala merchant capitalists, graphite mine-owners, and planter-entrepreneurs. In other words, one found two different goals in co-existence: that of profit maximisation through the operation of business concerns and plantations on the one hand; and on the other, the maximisation of status, prestige, and power by gaining control over as much land and as many people as possible. In effect, many Sinhala merchants and capitalists were amphibians.

In this sense they also transcended tradition and modernity. They also confirm the argument presented by the Rudolphs that tradition and modernity must be treated heuristically as two parts of a continuum rather than two polar opposites with an unbridgeable abyss in-between.[86]

It is illustrative of these twin-objectives that many a plantation bungalow belonging to these Sinhalese elites was referred to as a "walauwa." Such bungalows were, in short, also a locus of prestige and power. Even those which were garnished with Western names and portrayed Western architectural forms and other accoutrements served this purpose. Within this rubric one can discern a spectrum of bungalows. H. J. Perera Samarasekera's "The Unique" in Pussellawa was at one end of the spectrum and not unlike the European planter's bungalow; while Dekirikawagē Don Paul's "Midland Cottage" at Bopitiya, W M. Fernando's "Laura Villa" at Marawila and D. C. G. Attygalle's "Colamunne Walauwa" at Kesbewa could be described as modernised *walauwas*, not very different from the model presented by those at Horagolla or Batadola.[87]

The ideology of status is also revealed in the value attached to traditional office and to the traditional titles which the British had (sagaciously) maintained. Throughout the nineteenth century, advancing families, Goyigama and non-Goyigama alike, exerted prodiguous efforts to become *mudaliyars*, i. e. holders of territorial chieftainships in administrative divisions.[88] In these efforts much cunning was employed and, at times, the competition for vacant posts was cut-throat and ferocious. Others sought such titular honorifics as that of a *mudaliyar* or *muhandiram* through conspicuous acts of benevolence or obsequious attention to Government's needs. It was with great pride that such individuals adorned themselves in their ceremonial regalia and had their photographs displayed; and the capitalists D. C. G. Attygalle, Don Spater Senanayake, Don Philip Tudugalagē Wijewardene, G. G. Philip Perera Senaratne, D. M. Samaraweera and H. J. Perera Samarasekera in Wright's *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* depict a widespread practice, if perhaps a declining one.[89]

The weight of tradition was also evident in the persistence of casteism and such practices as sorcery and astrological determination.[90] These norms and practices were not confined to the traditional elite. The seemingly Westernised and urbanised elites were influenced by these traditional devices and habits. Even Christian families came within their sway. Indeed, if one allows for a significant number of exceptions, religion was but a light garment for many individuals; several switched religion on marriage; it was much less of a barrier to marriage connections than caste or status.

In some measure, then, Westernisation and Christianisation was but a veneer within which, and sometimes with which, deep-seated traditional norms were worked out. Some practices were kept under cover, at least partially. Take caste sentiments, for instance. The weight of the British value system was such that it was intellectually fashionable to decry and deplore the caste system and caste

loyalties (in the English medium),[91] or to pass resolutions which criticised the use of caste in electioneering campaigns.[92] Yet the prevailing practices, even among the urbanised and Westernised elites, were a far cry from such pious postures.[93]

* * * *

Nor was the "modern elite group" socially homogeneous. Besides the attitudinal distinctions described by Kumari Jayawardena, there were several group rivalries. Rather than the distinction between the traditionals and the moderns, or the urban and the rural, one has to take note of the competition and conflict between several elite segments within the broader aggregate of the Ceylonese elites (or "Ceylonese middle class" as Kumari calls them). There were ethnic rivalries between the Burgher, Ceylon Tamil, Sinhala and Moor elites. There was fierce rivalry between the Kandyan elite and the Low-Country Sinhala elite on certain occasions.[94] There were rivalries between the Goyigama elite and the Karava elite, the Karava elite and the Salagama elite, and between the Vellala elite and the Karaiyar elite. There was also considerable enmity between the Goyigama Establishment elite and the Goyigama *arrivistes*,[95] with the former represented by such families as the Obeyesekeres, de Liveras, Bandaranaikes, Ilangakoons, Pieris Siriwardenas and Abeykoons, and the latter by such individuals and families as the Ganegoda Appuhamilagē Seneviratnes, Batuwantudawes, Hewavitarnes, Nanayakkaragē Silvas, Senanayakes, G. L. Rupasinghe, C. W. W. Kannangara, D. B. Jayatilaka and F. A. Wickremasinghe (of Galle). With such a variety of social segments, politics involved much coalitional activity and allowed room for many permutations in alliance and stance. The shifting complexity of politics was further compounded by splits and personal rivalries within the social segments and political groupings that have been delineated.

In this multi-centric and polyarchal situation, the young and militant nationalist, Alexander Ekanayake Goonesinha, found himself at a considerable disadvantage in the 1910's and early 1920's. He had no independent wealth to build up his own party.[96] He did not have a foothold in any one of the five elite segments which dominated the political scene at this stage, i. e. neither with the British, nor with the Goyigama *arrivistes*, nor with the Karava elite, nor with the Ceylon Tamil elite, nor with the Goyigama Establishment. Despite some attitudinal links with the Coreas and a few other radicals, he had no constituency which carried weight. Hence the limited effectiveness of the Young Lanka League in the period 1915-1922. Hence D. B. Jayatilaka's facile victory during a contretemps at a conference of the Ceylon National Congress in October 1920 – when Goonesinha's challenging voice was effectively crushed and the man humiliated.[97] In such circumstances the grievances of the urban working class provided him with a fertile seed-bed for the cultivation of a new political base. The Colombo working men became his constituency. They provided him with a means to challenge the leading Ceylonese elites. In speaking of Goonesinha's "bid for political prominence" (p. 281), Kumari Jayawardena would seem to recognise this, but it is a passing reference and her assessments elsewhere do not take note of

this motivation. To make this point is not to obliterate Goonesinha's other motivations or his achievements, both of which are so clearly illustrated by Kumari. One cannot but admire his persistence and his attachment to wide-ranging political ideals. He was undoubtedly "an aggressive nationalist and reformer" (p. 254). Even before 1922-23 (when he established closer links with the Colombo working men), he championed the cause of the underprivileged and demanded welfare measures, improvements in working class conditions, and an extension of the vote (pp. 225 ff). And in the 1920's he was

> a fighter against oppression, a determined opponent of the privileged classes and their moderate politics, and a dynamic man of action who gave the working class the militant leadership *they* were looking for (p. 254; emphasis added).

But it must also be added that the working class in turn gave Goonesinha a political base and a political status that *he* was looking for. With their assistance he was able to consolidate his place in the strategic corridors of power, or aspirant-power, within which his influence had previously been circumscribed or excluded.

Nor should it be forgotten that the politicians and elites in these strategic corridors were hammering away at office doors behind which sat white, imperial satraps. On this goal, all were agreed, even if they were not always able to act in concert. For this reason the coupling of the British and the Ceylonese elites in one conceptual category carries dubious value and is more misleading than helpful in an analysis of Ceylon politics in the early twentieth century. This is one marriage that must be annulled.

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FOOTNOTES

1. *The Rise of the Labor Movement in Ceylon,* Durham, North Carolina: 1972.

2. E. G. Sarath Amunugama, 1973, *passim,* espe. pp. 4-5, 12-13, 40-42, & 57-97; W. A. Wiswa Warnapala, [1974], pp. 16-19; Tissa Vitarana, "The Marxist Theory of Social Classes and its Applicability to Sri Lanka." paper read at a Marxist-Christian Dialogue arranged by Paul Caspersz, S. J., in early 1974; and G. C. Rodrigo, "The Rise of the Urban Classes", *The Nation,* 21 July 1972.

3. See Roberts, 1974b, pp. 552–54.

4. See Cobban, 1964 and 1970; C. B. A. Behrens, 1965; Colin Lucas, 1973; and "Class in the French Revolution: A Discussion," *American Historical Review,* vol. LXXII: 3, Jan. 1967, pp. 497-522.

5. But there is more than a suggestion that she views the two terms, "bourgeoisie" and "middle class," synonymously. It is the former term which she uses elsewhere (1971, pp. 199-200) in reiterating some of the arguments which have been referred to in her book.

   For an explanation of the meanings attached to the label "bourgeoisie" and certain changes over time, see George V. Taylor, 1967, pp. 469, 484, 489-90 & 495-96 and R. R. Palmer, 1971, p 265. Also see T. B. Bottomore, 1970, pp 16-21; Andre Beteille, 1972, pp. 1-18; and Z. A. Jordan, 1971, pp. 21-30, 145-58, 161 n 1, 165-68 & 279-90. For an attempt at a variant, telescoped definition in terms of (i) a nodal bourgeoisie within (ii) a bourgeoisie defined in a loose, non-Marxist sense, see Roberts, 1974a, espe. p. 2.

6. E. g. Colvin R. de Silva, [c. 1939], pp. 13, 15 & 17; Lerski, 1968, pp. 44-45; and *Hansard*, S. C., 1937, p. 3915; 1939, p. 2895. Cf. Andre Beteille's orthodox Marxist view of the middle class in his comments on the Justice Party in Tamilnad : "It was not a 'middle class' party for, besides professional people, there were in it landed and capitalist elements" (1970, p. 278).

7. As attempted by Sarath Amunugama, 1973.

8. E. g. G. C. Mendis, 1952, pp. 163-72 & 184 ff.; Ivor Jennings, 1953; S. Arasaratnam, 1964, pp. 164-72; and Robert Kearney, 1967.

9. Andre Beteille, 1972, pp. 4-6; and Z. A. Jordan, 1971, pp. 27 & 54-61.

10. Besides Jayawardena (1972, p. 73), this statement has been utilised by K. H. Jayasinghe, 1965, and Roberts, 1970b, p. 12 fn. 1.

11. As I have recognised and tried to elaborate on elsewhere (1974a, pp. 15-17).

12. J. Tyagaraja, "A Brief Survey of Some of the Activities of the L. C. P. A. during the Last 50 Years," *LCPA Golden Jubilee*, Colombo [1958?]; and H. McCallum to the Earl of Crewe, no. 346, 26 May 1909, in *Papers CHC*, 1927, pp. 5-6.

13. McCallum in *ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

14. From the minutes of the L. C. P. A. Committee meetings in D. N. A., Lanka 25.14/2.

15. From minutes and a newspaper cutting in *ibid.*

16. See report on the inaugural sessions of the Congress in the *CDN*, 15 December 1919. James Peiris was proposer and Armand de Souza seconder of, the motion, while Arthur V. Dias supported the proposal in Sinhala.

17. For a fuller discussion see Roberts, 1974d.

18. D. N. A., Lanka, 25.14/2

19. *CDN*, 28 October 1922.

20. Such themes, of course, received less attention than the demands for constitutional reform. This was as it should be (see Roberts, 1974d).

21. T. P. M., "An Open Letter to Sir John Anderson," *People's Magazine*, vol. II, 16 April 1926; and Muthukrishna, 1916. T. P. M. was probably T. P. Masilamany.

22. See S. Appadurai (comp.), [1929], espe. pp. 17-32, 36-43, 53 & 59; K. Balasingham, *Food Production*, Colombo: W. E. Bastian & Co., n. d. [1919?]; K. Balasingham, *Protection*, Colombo: Times of Ceylon, n. d.; S. Swaminathan (comp.), 1931; *Hansard*, L. C., 30 July 1930, pp. 1082-83.

23. *Hansard*, L. C., 23 July 1926, pp. 845-49, espe. 845-46.

24. G. K. W. Perera, 1925, pp. ii & 20-21. These views were originally published as articles in the *CDN*.

25. E. g. G. K. W. Perera, 1925; *Hansard*, L. C., 1926, pp. 845-49; George E. de Silva in November 1932 (*Hansard*, S C., pp. 3256-58); and speeches by C. W. W. Kannangara, O. B. de Silva and G. Robert de Zoysa at the Dec. 1930 Congress sessions (D. N. A., Lanka, 60/88).

26. This is a more integrated and rounded summary than the expressions of the politicians. For illustrations see the citations in fn 22-24 above; Oliver, 1957, chaps. 2 & 3; and *Sessional Paper XXII of 1934*, Report of the Central Banking Commission.

27. See K. Malalgoda, 1970, *passim*; Amunugama, 1973, *passim*; L. A. Wickremeratne. 1969, pp. 135-39; K. M. de Silva, 1973a, pp 201-02; and Roberts, 1974a, p. 10. Wickremeratne's observation that the Buddhist movement was "largely" in the hands of "the trader elements" (1969, p. 135) needs a more searching examination, however. Their role must be assessed with reference to the influence of (i) the Buddhist monks, (ii) the lay Buddhist literati from the professions, (iii) the Buddhist headmen and traditional landlord 'class' and (iv) Olcott and the Theosophists.

28. Wickremeratne, 1969, p. 135.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-39. The second quotation is from the *Sarasavi Sandarāsa* of the 10th August 1883.

30. Guruge (ed.), 1965, pp. 509-10 & 535; also see pp. 482-83, 494-95, 515 & 541.

31. E. g. *ibid.*, pp. 512 & 717-18; V. K. Jayawardena. 1972, pp. 116-20; S. Appadurai (comp.), [1929], pp. 28-31, 37 & 40-43; *Ceylon Economist*, 1919, pp. 66 & 99-104; *Hansard*, L. C., 1926, pp. 845-47; and H. Sri Nissanka's speech in December 1931 (D. N. A., Lanka, 60/89-90).
Significantly, among the other international examples that were cited, those of Germany and Turkey under Mustapha Kemal also received attention.

32. Amunugama, 1973, *passim*; V. K. Jayawardena, 1972, pp. 169-72; and Roberts, 1970a, pp. 80–83 and 1974c.

33. Roberts, 1970a, pp. 62-63 & 80 ff and 1974c; V. K. Jayawardena, 1972, pp. 174 318-21, 342, & chap. 7; K. M. de Silva, 1973b, pp. 390-91.

34. See report on the sessions in *CDN*, 19 Dec. 1931 or D. N. A., Lanka, 60/89-90.

35. A considerable amount of Crown land was also purchased by Ceylonese, especially the Ceylonese elites. As Lal Jayawardena has revealed (1963) a *few* of the critics of British land policy were regarded by the British officials as notorious land-grabbers. This may not apply to all the critics, but reveals that a measure of hypocrisy prevailed. It should also be noted that the Partition Ordinances were not subject to the same degree of criticism, though they were widely employed to seize land from villagers (see Obeyesekere, 1967, pp. 178 ff and Roberts. 1973a, p. 150).

36. Lal Jayawardena, 1963, pp. 19 ff and Wright (comp.), *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, p. 737.

37. *Op.cit.*, *Papers CHC*, 1927, p. 6 and W. T. Stace, "Notes on Life in Ceylon from 1910 to 1932," Mss. typescript at the Institute of Commonwealth Studies, Oxford.

38. Also see Lal Jayawardena 1963, chaps. 1 & 2; *Mudaliyar* A. Dissanaike, "The Land Settlement Policy under the Waste Lands Ordinance in Ceylon," *Ceylon National Review*, vol. 3 : 9, March 1910, pp 130-32; Guruge (ed.), 1965, pp. 495, 527-28 & 533-36; and S. R. Wijemanne *et al*, 1926. For references to speeches in the Legislative Councils see Henry Oliver, 1957, p. 14 fn. 3.

39. Kandyan National Assembly, [1927?] and B. H. Aluvihare, 1941, *passim*.

40. E. g. V. S. de S. Wikramanayake and C. W. W. Kannangara in *Hansard*, L. C., 1928, pp. 1725, 1801-08 & 1813-22; V. K. Jayawardena, 1972, pp. 318-20 and K. H. Jayasinghe, 1965, pp. 157-68

    Also see L. A. Wickremeratne, 1973, pp. 478-79; D. S. Senanayake's representations at the Colonial Office in May-June 1933 (CO 54/916, File 14264, Part I) and D. S. Senanayake's speech at the Congress sessions at Mirigama in 1940 (*Ceylon Observer*, 22 Dec. 1940).

41. See *Hansard*, L. C., 1928, 1623 ff.; S. U. Kodikara, 1965, pp 74-100; and Samaraweera, 1974, pp. 4-9.

42. Samaraweera, 1974, pp. 409. Also see Kodikara, 1965, pp. 91-92 and *passim*

43. E. F. C. Ludowyk, 1966, pp. 163-66 and Kodikara, 1965, pp. 75-77.

44. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike (comp.), *Hand-Book of the Ceylon National Congress*, 1928, p. 508 and Bandaranaike's speech at the "All-Parties Conference" on the 31st Oct. 1933 as reported in *CDN*, 1 Nov. 1933. The former is hereafter abbreviated to *Handbook CNC*.

45. An article in the *SamaSamajist*, vol. 1, Nov. 1937 quoted in Lerski, 1968, pp. 17-18.

46. *Sir Alexander Ashmore's Disparagement of Ceylonese; Monster Public Meeting at the Public Hall, Ceylon on Friday, November 23, 1906*, Colombo: The "Ceylon Independent," Press, 1906.

47. Ashmore to Allan Drieberg and others, dated 14 Nov. 1906, in *ibid.*, p. 19.

48. Cf. Boyd C. Shafer, 1972, pp. 275-76 and Peter Worsley, 3rd edn., 1971, pp. 24 ff.

49. This was realised and fought against by several political activists. See the quotations from Piyadasa Sirisena's writings in 1910 in Amunugama, 1973, pp. 211-12 & 267 and E. A. P. Wijeyeratne's address at the 1934 Congress sessions (D. N. A., Lanka, 60/93).

50. V. K. Jayawardena, 1972, p. 126 and personal knowledge of Galle folk-lore supported by Mrs. F. B. de Mel's reminiscences (Mss. typescript with Miss Rohini de Mel).

51. Information communicated personally by Dr. Rex Wambeck and Mr. Fitzroy H. Gunasekera.

52. Implicit in the use of such goals as "home rule" and "swaraj"; also see *Handbook CNC*, 1928, pp. 96, 182, 231 ff., 247-74 & 486-518. Also see *CDN* and *CML*, late Sept. and early Oct. 1922.

53. See *Ceylon Standard*, 14-18 August 1906 and Roberts, 1974c.

54. V. K. Jayawardena, 1972, pp. 200-01, 224 & 242 and Frederick Bowes, [c. 1924-1925], *passim*.

55. E. g. Author's interview with G. C. Miles, 8 Dec. 1965 and typed copy of a draft memorandum prepared by Miles c. 1934-35 explaining reasons for his resignation from the C. C. S.; and Stubb's comments on D. S. Senanayake in 1937 (Cowell's memo of 31 Aug. 1937 in CO 54/943/55541) and Cowell's remarks on Bandaranaike (29 August 1938 in CO 54/954/55541).

56. See Roberts, 1974d.

57. See report on the special sessions of the Congress in *CDN*, 16 May 1932.

58. Roberts, 1970b, pp. 41-15; Malalgoda, 1973, p. 192; and *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, pp. 896-98.

59. For some information see *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, pp. 723, 726, 779, 795-98 & 894-906; Samson Abeyesooriya, 3rd edn., 1928, pp. 20, 126 & 170; and Roberts, 1970a, pp. 86 & 91.

60. Examples would be L. C. de F. Samarakkody and one of his sons, Charles Henry, J. C. Amarasekera of Pitigal Korale, *Mudaliyar* J. C. H. Seneviratne of Marawila and *Mudaliyar* D. A. W. Gooneratne of Matara (see *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, pp. 531, 738-40, 744-45 & 770-71). Also see J. C. Van Sanden, 1936, *passim*.

61. In their literary and historical researches and writings these men were forging instruments of national self-respect and laying a seedbed for the further growth of national consciousness. Also see Michael A. Ames, 1973, pp. 155-56.

62. K. M. de Silva, 1973b, pp. 396-98.

63. See *T. Cent Imp.*, 1907, pp. 611-14, 588-91, 771-73, 651-53 & 706; and Samson Abeyesooriya, 3rd edn., 1928, pp. 183 & App. vi. For information on Samaraweera, Senaratne and the Sirimannes I am indebted to Messrs. Errol Jayawickrema (8 June 1974: interview), Bertram Serasinghe (6 Nov. 1973) and A. L. S. Sirimanne (27 May 1973).

64. The long-standing and substantial status enjoyed by the Dassenaikes and their connections with the de Sarams, de Liveras, etc. may have been eventually counterbalanced by the growing affluence of the Amaratungas; and their incomes could not have been anywhere near that (from about the 1890's) of the Senanayakes, though they had some coconut properties. D. J. Amaratunga had 652 acres of coconut in ten estates by the 1920's (see LCPA Register of Estates, c. 1920's), while L. A. Dassenaike had 237 acres of coconut in 1917 (*Ceylon Directory for 1917*). According to the *Ceylon Directory for 1927*, L. A. and John A. Dassenaike had 5 coconut estates, covering 318 acres, between them; while D. J. Amaratunga had 8 estates amounting to 799 acres, mostly under coconut but with some mid-country tea. For the Dassenaikes, see *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, pp. 528-30; S. Abeyesooriya, 1928, p. 43 and L. A. Dassenaike, 1923.

65. See *infra*, pp. 47-49. Cf. Edward Shils, *The Intellectuals and the Powers & other Essays*, University of Chicago Press, 1972, p. 377.

66. Patrick Peebles, 1973, pp. 300-01 & *passim* and genealogies of the de Fonsekas and Hännädigē Pierises.

67. *T. Cent. Imp*, 1907, pp. 722, 727 & 896. Also, Harry Ellawala married Adelaide Attygalle (Low-Country Sinhala "mudaliyar class") in 1905.

68. Kandyan men marry in *diga* (virilocal) or in *binna* (uxorilocal). The latter carried lesser status: *bahinawa* means "to descend." The use of this phrase here is technically invalid and must be regarded as a literary embellishment.

69. See Roberts, 1974b, pp. 566-67 & 569-71 and Obeyesekere, 1967, pp. 239-42; for details.

70. It has also been referred to by me (1974a, p. 11), but with qualifications.

71. *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, p. 588; and D. N. A. Lanka, old 33/1941.

72. *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907, pp. 836-37.

73. *Ibid*, pp. 651-53; Roberts, 1970b, pp. 44 & 47; and information communicated by Mr. K. N. O. Dharmadasa (whose home village is Mirigama).

74. 1967, chap. 9.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 215-17. Obeyesekere describes these norms as "feudal" but I have preferred the label "traditional".

76. *Ibid.*, p. 237.

77. *Ibid.*, pp. 241-43.

78. *Ibid.*, p. 215.

79. C. B. A. Behrens, 1967, pp. 39-40.

80. George V. Taylor, 1965, pp. 472-73 & 485.

81. Neale, 1969, pp 3-16.

82. Indenture of properties purchased by Mrs. J. P. Obeyesekere Snr. between 1881 and 1921 in *Dr. & Mrs. P. E. Pieris to P. E. Pieris Deraniyagala and Ralph St. Louis Pieris Deraniyagala Esquire; Power of Attorney*, Colombo: Mortlake Press for Julius & Creasy, 18 June 1935.

83. From compilations from Ferguson's *Ceylon Directory for 1917*.

84. From a notebook listing XF's interests in the possession of his grandson.

85. From schedules of his assets and liabilities prepared under the terms of the Estate Duty Ordinance (Mss. in my possession).

86. L. I. & S. H. Rudolph, 1967.

87. See photographs in *T. Cent. Imp.*, 1907.

88. Personal communication from Patrick Peebles. Also Peebles, 1973, pp. 298-300.

89. See *T. Cent Imp*, 1907, pp. 589, 612-13, 597 & 772 among many examples.

90. Common knowledge. Also see H. D. Evers, 1973, p. 113 fn 1; and Gananath Obeyesekere, 1975.

91. It is my suspicion that this may have been less so in the vernacular.

92. See *Handbook CNC*, 1928, pp. 608–09 & 778; the report on the Sinhala Maha Sabha conference of the 30–31 Dec. 1939 in *CDN*, 1 Jan. 1940; and H. W. Amarasuriya's speech at the 1931 Congress sessions (D. N. A., Lanka, 60/89-90).

93. See M. Wijesinghe, [1927], pp. 5-6 & *passim*; K. H. Jayasinghe, 1965, pp. 77-78, 135-36, & 318-21; Sir Ivor Jennings, 1948, p. 133; P. V. J. Jayasekera, 1969, *passim*; Roberts, 1969, pp. 25-27; Calvin A. Woodward, 1969, pp. 44-47 & 70 and Memo from the Kandyan Community to W. Ormsby Gore, 22 June 1937 in CO 54/943/file 55541.

However see T. W. Roberts, n. d. [1936?], p. 1 and K. H. Jayasinghe, 1965, p. 135.

94. *Handbook CNC*, 1928, p. 646; K. M. de Silva, 1973b, pp. 402-03; and *The Rights and Claim of the Kandyan People*, Kandy: Miller & Co., n. d. [1927?].

95. For illustrations, see P. V. J. Jayasekera, 1969, *passim* and *Hansard*, 11 August 1915, p. 406. Also supported by indications and anecdotes in interviews which I have conducted.

96. For sketchy information on this point, see Roberts, 1974d.

97. *Handbook CNC* 1928, pp. 238-39.

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A TAMIL INSCRIPTION FROM NILAVELI, TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

The subjoined inscription was brought to the notice of the present writer by Mr. N. Tambirasa of Sambaltivu and an inked estampage of it was taken on 24 July 1972, when the present writer and his former student Mr. S. Gunasingam were conducting an epigraphical survey of the Trincomalee District. The record is indited on a stone which is built into a temple structure and is now serving as part of the step of the *tīrtha* well at the northern entrance to the inner *maṇḍapa* of the Pillaiyar temple at Nilaveli (08.40. N, 81.12 E), north of Trincomalee. The inscribed stone is built into the step, with the inscription facing upwards, and, at the time of its discovery, a thin layer of cement covered a good part of the epigraph. With the kind permission of the temple priest, whose initial fears were dispelled by the tactful discourse given by Mr. N. Tambirasa on the importance of the record, the layer of cement was removed with ease. The letters are very clearly incised but unfortunately parts of the stone, at the beginning of the inscription and at the sides, had been chipped off before it was built in to form part of the step. Consequently, some lines at the beginning of the record and a few letters at the sides are missing.

The contents of this inscription were revealed by the present writer at a meeting of the Jaffna Archaeological Society in December 1972[1] and subsequently a rendering of the record in modern Tamil, together with comments, was published by him in August 1974.[2]

The inscribed surface covers an area of about 3′×2′. The inscription is in a good state of preservation. There are 14 lines of writing of which the first is only partially preserved. The second line, with the exception of the last word, is in Sanskrit, and presumably, the lines preceding it were also in Sanskrit. The Tamil portion of the inscription begins at the end of the second line. It is unlikely that there was another Tamil portion preceding the Sanskrit portion. It may, therefore, be possible to say that the entire Tamil portion of the record is preserved. A few letters in ll. 5 and 8 are missing but these can be restored by means of the context.

The record is inscribed in Grantha and Tamil characters. The Sanskrit portion is entirely in Grantha and certain Sanskrit proper names in the Tamil portion are also written partly in that script. The writing, both the Grantha and the Tamil, is earlier than that of the Cōḷa records of the Island and seems to belong to the tenth century.

As far as orthography is concerned, a few points may be discussed. There are, in the first place, a few terms which are unfamiliar and which consequently defy a proper decipherment despite the clear nature of the writing. Such words as *urākirikarma* (l. 4), *Kaṇukiri* (l. 5), *ettakampe* (l. 9) and *cāṭā* (l. 10) are not easily identifiable as Tamil words or terms occurring in contemporary South Indian inscriptions and hence their readings can be treated as only tentative. In the rest of the Tamil portion, the following orthographical peculiarities *vis-a-vis* the literary standard may be noted: 1. *Śāsvadaṃ* for *Śāsvataṃ* (l. 1) 2. *Koṇaparvada* (l. 1) for *Koṇaparvata*, 3. *Masya* (l. 2) for *Matsya*, 4. *Mūhādevaṟkku* (l. 2) for *Mahādevarkku*, 5. *Ūrrirukkai* (l. 6) for *Ūrirukkai*, 6. *Tēvālaiyam* (l. 5) for *Tēvālayam*, 7. *Mēṉōkkiya* (l. 5) for *Mēṉōkkiya*, 8. *Kīḻnōkkina* (l. 6) for *Kīḻnōkkiya*, 9. *Kōṇamāmalailē* (l. 9) for *Kōṇamāmalaiyilē*, 10. *Nīlakaṇṭarku* (l. 10) for *Nīlakaṇṭarkku*, and 11. *Panmāḻēśvarar* (ll. 12-13) for *Paṉmahēśvarar*.

As that part of the inscription dealing with the chronological details of the record is missing, its date cannot be precisely determined. On palaeographical grounds, it can be assigned to the tenth century. The language and format of the record are similar to those of the late Pallava and early Cōḷa records. The practice of inscribing records partly in Sanskrit and partly in Tamil generally belongs to the Pallava and early Cōḷa periods, although it is not uncommon in later times. Further, in this record which is a land grant, there are several stock phrases which occur as a rule only in the Pallava and early Cōḷa records.[3] The invocatory ending, calling for the protection of the grant by all the *maheśvaras*, is also a peculiarity of the early inscriptions. On account of all these factors, one is inclined to assign this inscription to the tenth century. If it were inscribed in the period of Cōḷa rule, it could not be later than the period of Rājārāja I. The absence of Cōḷa personal names and place-names leads us to this conclusion.

The purport of this record is very clear. It registers a grant of 250 *vēli* of land to the god of Masyakeśvaram (Skt. Matsyaka-iśvara) at Tirukkōṇamalai (Trincomalee) for the purpose of providing the requirements for the daily food offerings. The donor's name is not available in the Tamil portion.

The importance of the record lies in the fact that it refers to one of the ancient temples of Trincomalee, which has long been forgotten. It is also of interest because it supplies the earliest inscriptional reference to the place-name Tirukōṇamalai (Trincomalee). It also assumes importance as one of the earliest Tamil inscriptions so far discovered in Sri Lanka.

Trincomalee has been renowned for centuries as a place of Śaiva worship and pilgrimage. Hindu legends connect it with Puranic heroes and events. It is one of two places in Sri Lanka venerated by Śaiva saints and hallowed by their hymns during the Śaiva revival of the Pallava period (6th-9th centuries A. D.).[4] As early as the time of King Mahāsena (274-301), according to the *Mahāvaṃsa*, there were Brahmanical temples at Trincomalee. It is recorded that one of these temples was destroyed by Mahāsena and that a Mahāyāna structure was erected in its place.[5] The *Mahāvaṃsaṭīkā*, the commentary on the *Mahāvaṃsa*, elaborating on this, goes on to say that the destroyed structure was a Śivaliṅga temple.[6] Trincomalee, however, seems to have continued to be a place of Śaiva worship after Mahāsena.

It is not known whether the Śaiva temple destroyed by Mahāsena was the predecessor of the Kōṇēśvaram temple about which we hear from the seventh century onwards, or whether it was some other temple. The inscription from Nilaveli is the earliest available record relating to a Śaiva shrine at Trincomalee. The shrine referred to here is not the well-known Kōṇēśvaram but Masyakeśvaram. The name Masyakeśvaram (a variant of Matsyeśvaram) occurs in a late Tamil literary work, *Takṣiṇa-Kailācapurāṇam* (a *purāṇa* of the Kōṇēśvaram temple) as Maccakēcuram.[7] This form is also partially preserved in a fragmentary record of the eleventh century from Trincomalee.[8] According to the *Takṣiṇa-Kailācapurāṇam*, the name Maccakēcuram was applied to a part of the mount of Trincomalee. This work explains that this name was given to that spot as it was the place where Viṣṇu shed his fish-like body after taking the *avatāra* of Matsya (Skt. fish), a legend that is repeated in several Hindu *purāṇas*.[9] Whatever the origin of the name, it is now certain that there was a Śaiva temple named Matsyeśvaram at Trincomalee about a thousand years ago. Evidently it was not the same as Kōṇēśvaram.

There are three geographical names occurring in this record and all three are, in fact, different forms of the same name. They are: Śrī Koṇaparvadam, Tirukkōṇamalai and Kōṇamāmalai. The first is a Sanskrit rendering of the Tamil name Tirukkōṇamalai. The last one is a variant of this Tamil name. The two Tamil forms are still in use, the first in common usage and the other often in literary usage. Tirukkōṇamalai is the form that has been Anglicised as Trincomalee. The form Kōṇamāmalai occurs as early as the seventh century in the Tamil hymn of the Śaiva hymnodist Ñāṇacampantar[10]. *Kōṇa* is the main element in all these names. It is interesting to note that its Sinhala equivalent *Goṇa* occurs in early Sinhala and Pali works with reference to this place.[11] The Pali form of this place-name is Gokaṇṇa while the Sanskrit form is Gokarṇa.[12] The form Gokarṇṇa occurs for the first time in a Sanskrit inscription of the thirteenth century from Trincomalee.[13]

TRANSLITERATION

1. (S) ... (Śr) to ... (ta) sa ....
2. śāsanaṃ śāsvadaṃ sa(m)[bhoḥ Śrī] Koṇaparvvadaṃ Tirukkōṇa
3. malai Masyakeśvaram-uṭaiya Māhādevaṟkku nicca(l)a(ma) [ṭai*]
4. kku nivantamāka cantratittavar ceyta urākirikarma (k)
5. Kaṇukiri (kāṭumnī)rnilamum puṉceyyum pi(ṭi) [likaiyum*]
6. ūrrirukkaiyum (tē)vālaiyamum mēnōkkiya (ma)
7. ramum kī[(nō)kkina kiṇaṟum uṭpaṭa i(n)nilat(tu)
8. kk-ellai kiḻakku-k-kaḻi ellai teṟ(ke)llai [cūlakka*]
9. llu kuṭakku ettakampe ellai vaṭakk-el
10. lai (cū)lakkal-l-ākum cāṭā Kōṇamāmalai
11. lē† Nīlakaṇṭarku nilam iv-v-icainta peṟu)nāṉ
12. k-ellaiyil-akappaṭṭa nilam iruṉūṟṟu
13. aimpatiṟṟu vēli/ itu pa(n)māy(ē)
14. svarar rakṣai/[14]

TRANSLATION

1-6: May this edict be always beneficial! The Sacred Koṇa Mountain. The (meritorious) deed of *Uṟākiri* (?) performed to provide, as long as the Sun and Moon endure, the fixed requirements for the food offering to the Great God of Masyakeśvaram at Tirrukkōṇamalai, (namely the gift of the land of) Kaṇukiri (?), including the forest land, wet lands, dry land, *piṭilikai (?)*, the land adjoining this village and belonging to it, temples, the trees overground and the wells underground.

6-9: The boundaries of this land are: In the east the *Kaḻi* (shall be the) boundary; the southern boundary is the stone with the trident (engraved on it); in the west the *ettakampe* (?) (shall be the) boundary; the northern boundary shall be the stone with the trident (engraved on it).

9-12: This entire land is for the Nīlakaṇṭar at Kōṇamāmalai. The land within the said four great boundaries is two hundred and fifty *vēli* (in extent).

12-13: May this be protected by the many *Maheśvaras!*

COMMENTS

śāsvatam — Although this Sanskrit word occurs here in the sense of 'always' or 'permanently', it may be noted here that in Kerala it also stood for a land grant to an equal or superior non-Brahman (*Manual of Malabar and Anjem*, p. 307).

niccal — This word is derived from *niccam* < Pkt. *niccam* < Skt. *nitya* = permanently (*Tamil Lexicon*, IV, Madras, 1931, p. 2242). *Cf.* 'tēvarkku niccal naṭaikku' in an inscription from Kerala (*South Indian Inscriptions*, V, No. 775).

nivantam — This word, derived from Skt. *nibandha* = endowment, occurs in Tami inscriptions in the sense of 'fixed requirements of a temple'.

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* Restored.

† The *kompu* (◌ॊ) of this letter ◌ॊ is at the end of the previous line.

nīrnilam — Wet land. Same as *nan-cey*. *Cf.*, *nīr-nela* in the Telugu inscriptions.

puṉ-cey — Dry land.

piṭilikai — This word occurs in many of the Pallava and Early Cōḻa grants. Its meaning is obscure (*Thirty Pallava Copper Plates*, p. 29).

ūrirukkai — Land that adjoins a village and belongs to it. Same as *nattam*. (*Thirty Pallava Copper Plates*, p. 271.).

cūlakkal — Boundary stone bearing the mark of a trident indicating that the land belongs to a Śiva temple.

cāṭā — Complete, entire. (*Tamil Lexicon*, III, Madras 1928, p. 1357).

Nīlakaṇṭar — A name of Śiva.

vēli — A land measure. Same as *nilam* or *vāṭikā*. The *vāṭikā* is defined in the *Mayamata* as 5120 square *daṇḍa* (*daṇḍa* = 4 cubits) = 4.48 acres (D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, Delhi, 1966, p. 368).

mayēśvarar — Same as *mahēśvarar* = Saiva devotees. Also a group of such devotees having a hand in the management of a Śiva temple.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

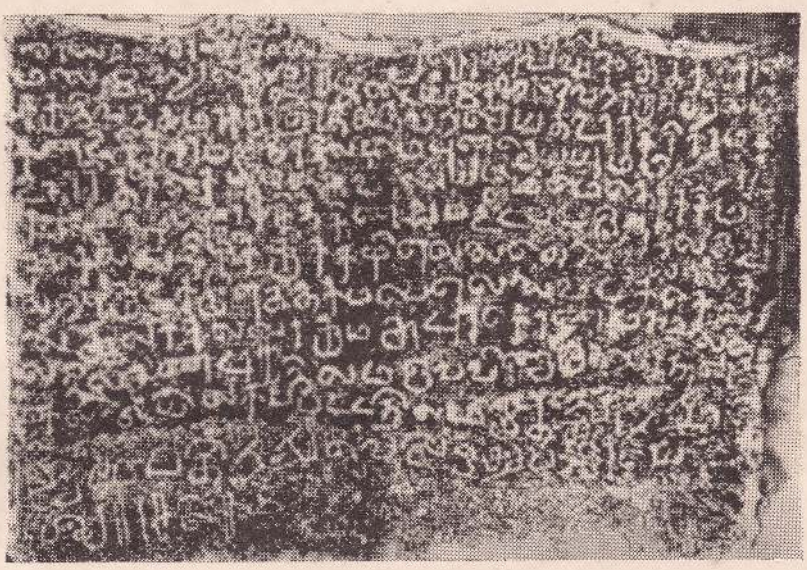
The author wishes to thank Mr. N. Tambirasa, Mr. S. Gunasingam and the priest of the Nilaveli Pillaiyar Temple for their assistance in taking an inked estampage of this inscription, and Dr. R. H. de Silva, the Archaeological Commissioner, for his kind permission to reproduce a photograph of the estampage in this article.

NOTES

1. This was reported in the *Ceylon Daily Mirror*, Jan. 5, 1973, p. 3, and in the *Times of Ceylon*, Jan. 5, 1973, p. 3. The discovery of the inscription was first reported in the *Thinakaran* and *Virakesari* on 30 July 1972, p. 1 (in both newspapers.)

2. கா. இந்திரபாலா, 'நிலாவெளித் தமிழ்க் கல்வெட்டு', *முத்தமிழ்* I, 1, கொழும்பு ஆகஸ்ட் 1974, பக். 9—14.

3. Cf., 'இவ் விசைத்த பெருநான் கெல்லைகளிலு மகப்பட்ட நிலன் நீர் நிலனும் புன் செய்யும் ஊரும் ஊனிருக்கையும்' in the Balur Copper Plates of Pallava Nrpatungavarman (T. N. Subramanian ed., *Thirty Pallava Copper Plates*, Madras 1966, p. 271) with ll. 4—5 and 10—11 of this inscription. The phrase 'மேனெக்கிய மரமும் கீழ்நோக்கிய இணறும்' is another stock phrase (E. Hultzsch ed., *South Indian Inscriptions*, I, Madras 1890, p. 89). The style in which the boundaries are described is also similar to that in the Pallava and early Cōḻa records.



NILAVELI TAMIL INSCRIPTION

(*Estampage : K. Indrapala*)

4. திருஞானசம்பந்த சுவாமிகள் அருளிச்செய்த தேவார திருப்பதிகங்கள், திருநெல் வேலி 1927 (சைவசித்தாந்த நூற்பதிப்புக் கழகம்) ப. 810.

5. W. Geiger (ed.), *The Mahāvaṃsa*, Colombo 1950, 35:41.

6. G. P. Malalasekera (ed.,) *Vaṃsattapakāsini*, II, London 1935, 37: 15-25.

7. P. P. Vaittiyalinka Tecikar (ed.), *Śrī Takṣiṇa Kailāca Purāṇam*, Pt. Pedro 1916, *Carukkam* 5, v. 42.

8. This inscription was also first copied in the course of the survey undertaken by the present writer and Mr. S. Gunasingam. Subsequently the text of the record was published by the latter. S. Gunasingam, *Two Inscriptions of Cola Ilankesvara Deva*, Peradeniya 1974, p. 22.

9. See note 6.

10. See note 3.

11. A. V. Suravira (ed.), *Pūjāvaliya*, Colombo 1961, p. 116; W. Geiger (ed.) *Cūlavamsa*, II, Colombo 1935, 83; 17.

12. W. Geiger, *The Māhavamsa*, 35:41.

13. S. Paranavitana, 'Fragmentary Sanskrit Inscription from Trincomalee' *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, V. 1, Colombo 1955, p. 173.

14. Owing to the difficulty of getting Grantha types, the Tamil–Grantha text of the record is regretfully omitted here. The Tamil portion of the inscription, after substitution of Tamil characters for the few Grantha letters in this section, is as follows:

2. ..... திருக்கொண
3. மலை மஸ்யகெஸ்வரமுடைய மாஹா தெவற்க்கு நிச்சல் ம[டை*]
4. க்கு நிவந்தமாக சந்திரா தித்தவற் செய்த உராகிரி கர்ம(க்)
5. கண் உகிரி காடு (ம் நீர்) நிலமும் புன்செய்யும் பி(டி) [லிகையும்*]
6. ஊர்நிருக்கையும் (தெ) வாலியமும் மெநொக்கிய (ம
7. ர்) மும் கிழ் (நொ) க்கிந கிணறும் உட்பட இந்நிலத்து
8. க் கெல்லை கிழக்குக் கழி எல்லை தெற்கெல்லை [சூலக்க*]
9. ல்லு குடக்கு எத்தகம்பெ எல்லை வடக் கெல்
10. லை [சூ] லக் கல் லாகும் (சா) டா (க்) கொணமாமலை
11. ல நீலகண்டர்கு நிலம் இவ்விசை (த்) த பெ(ரு) நான்
12. கெல்லையிலகப்பட்ட நிலம் இருநூற்று
13. ஐம்பதிற்று வெலி இது ப(ந்ம)ர(ஆ)
14. ஸ்வரர்ரகை

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A CENTURY OF TAMIL POETRY IN SRI LANKA

AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE

1972 saw the centenary of a little known poet of Jaffna 'Turaiyappapillai'- who is better known and remembered as the founder of Mahajana College in Tellipallai. In the historical background of our recent past, Turaiyappapillai's educational contribution came to be esteemed higher than his undoubted literary merit and achievements. Probably the man himself worked harder on his projects for the school than on his poems and plays-which he wrote with an ease and dextrousness that is considered 'traditional' by some selfconscious modern poets. In fact Turaiyappapillai did turn out many songs for different occasions at the request of others. He did what behoves a person of his position - a learned man in a village to do-wrote all kinds of verses for every occasion-from addresses of welcome to elegies. All this Turaiyappapillai did, but he also wrote a few poems that were quite different-poems that were new to his audience.

T. A. Turaiyappapillai was born in 1872 and died in 1929. Although he had developed an interest in poetry rather early-in the 1880's while he was a student at Jaffna College, his first book of poems appeared only at the beginning of this century (1901). In his preface to *Kūtaraca, Mañcari*, a collection of lyrics, the poet wrote:

> "The nature of my present work is such that I think no apology is needed for offering it to the public. I claim it to be unique, at least as far as Jaffna is concerned; for, without

following the beaten track of composing lyrics on personal, religious or dramatic themes, which have had, at any rate, a portion of their share of attention at far worthier hands than mine and in spite of the thought that praising God is the noblest use to which the poetic genius of one can be put, my muse has preferred to sing on subjects of moral and general utility, the verses which can be used irrespective of creed ....". The poet then went on to say that his attention was drawn "to the great need there was in Jaffna for a number of lyrics of this kind; on the subject of social and literary interest, treated in a liberal and progressive spirit" and that there "was a new and appreciative audience in the modern educated Jaffna which wanted a poet of modern temperament, talents and views".

I have quoted this rather lengthy passage from his preface for the simple reason that it adumbrates a number of features that characterize modern Tamil poetry in Sri Lanka.

Perhaps the most important characteristic of this poetry is its conscious break with the past—at least in the utilization of words if not in attitudes. When Turaiyappapillai claimed his work "to be unique, at least as far as Jaffna is concerned," and to have been sung "without following the beaten track", he was in effect proclaiming a manifesto of a new school of poetry. It is in that sense that his work marked a break in the tradition of Tamil poetry in Sri Lanka. (In passing it is worth mentioning that Turaiyappapillai was a contemporary of Subramania Bharathi, that great National Poet of India, and could be compared to him in certain respects. There are, in fact, quite a few features common to both the poets, especially in their patriotism and zeal for social reform.)

It is for these reasons that I have chosen Turaiyappapillai as a landmark in considering modern Tamil Poetry in Sri Lanka. The century beginning from his birth is a convenient and well rounded date to discuss the subject.

I mentioned the conscious break with the past which the poet attempted. There was also another aspect to this movement. It is generally well known that from about the 13th century onwards many literary works in Tamil were produced in Sri Lanka, especially in Jaffna, where several schools existed. Although we find in these works vague notions of the country in which they arose, namely Sri Lanka, and notwithstanding the fact that some of them were works of outstanding merit, and constitute part of our literary heritage, they were by and large imitations of works in South India. For, merely because books were written by Tamils who were in Sri Lanka, it does not follow that the works themselves portrayed or reflected the life and thoughts of the people in Sri Lanka. I do not specifically think of nationalism here, for this was a pre-Nationalist period in any case, but of the type of literature that had no particular concern with the historic sense, which in itself is a by-product of man's place in time and conditioned by the here and now. Furthermore, the medieval works were inherently

antithetical to individuality or originality. The immediate surroundings of the poets had no real significance. They had no need for them. A kind of strict adherence to certain themes and styles was all that was expected of the old authors. Poetry had ceased to be socially relevant or artistically experimental. It was almost entirely repetitive and derivative. Formulae had superseded true creativity.

It is in this context that Turaiyappapillai's professed novelty or modernity assumes its real significance. One of his best works is the *Sutēca Kummi*. *Sutēca* means one's own country and *kummi* is a poem composed in a metre adapted to the *kummi* dance — the dance performed with clapping of hands to time and singing, especially by girls. The *kummi* dance is, of course a universal and very popular folk dance all over the world under different names. It could even be called the basic folk dance giving ample scope for group participation. Now, almost all the poems composed in the *kummi* metre before Turaiyappapillai (both in South India and Sri Lanka) were religious in character and content. In using this traditional metre for an entirely new theme—the secular theme of nationalism and ardent patriotism—the poet was certainly being true to his credo of writing verses on "subjects of social and literary interest, treated in a liberal and progressive spirit."

There were also other areas of revolt. He used the colloquial in his poems and plays with a boldness that was a rarity in his time. Looking back, one can see the important innovations made by the author of *Sutēca kummi*:

(1) To admit into the classical diction of poetry the language of day to day speech.

(2) To use old tunes and metres for new themes and content.

(3) To treat contemporary social and national problems in poetry and thus give it a utilitarian function.

(4) To consciously broaden the readership of poetry and to reach out to the people as a whole.

These were significant changes in the history of Tamil poetry, and it is increasingly becoming evident that Turaiyappapillai had played an important role in this transformation. And yet neither Turaiyappapillai nor even Navaliyur Comacuntara Pulavar who came after him really penetrated the life of the Tamils in Sri Lanka, as the modern poets, yet a while. Perhaps influenced by his English education and as a result of his deep involvement in the social demands of his time, Turaiyappapillai used the language of common speech, and folk metres and tunes to activate, what he called, 'the educated classes' of his time. But ironically enough, his preoccupation with contemporary themes on the one hand and his

attempt to use traditional metres on the other, seem to have been at least in his case working in opposition and the poems failed to generate the kind of interest the author very much wished for.

The reasons for this failure are manifold and complicated, but one point may be mentioned in passing. The bulk of the readers of poetry at this time came from the middle class, and they were greatly influenced by revivalist sentiments and purist tendencies that were the mainsprings and hallmark of the language-oriented renaissance. As such they viewed with disdain the zealous attempts of Turaiyappapillai to introduce the spoken idiom into the hallowed diction of classical poetry. Whatever the reasons might have been, the fact remains that early attempts to modernize the language of poetry met with opposition and disinterest. This was a pity since it delayed the modern movement by a few years.

As a consequence, a reaction set in, and a more literary and semi-classical diction began to be cultivated, while the concern with social themes remained somewhat unchanged. This movement, if it could be called one, produced another major figure—Comacuntara Pulavar from Navaly in Manipay. Like Turaiyappapillai he too was bilingual — i. e. he knew English and Tamil (perhaps Sanskrit and Pali, too) and was quite sensitive to modern problems. Besides, he wrote most of his poems in the twenties and thirties of our century—a period that witnessed a more developed national awakening than that of Turaiyappapillai. It is said that Comacuntara Pulavar composed several thousand poems. He was no doubt prolific. But a very large portion of them were derivative and traditional. His main achievement was his capacity to capture the very soul of Jaffna in his verses. He was steeped in the village life of Jaffna and some of his best poems are *vignettes* of the daily life in that region, with a real strength and honest simplicity of their own. His poems for children have a special place in our literature. And he was a pioneer in this branch. Such simple themes like the school holiday, or the scarecrow or a picnic were made into exquisite poetry by him and have remained some of the favourite songs of our children.

Back in the thirties he had composed an original poem titled *Ilaṅkai-vaḷam*— "The Bounty of Lanka". Here for the first time perhaps we get an integrated view and vision of a united Mother Lanka. Having been a school teacher and perhaps with his experience of taking children on picnics, Comacuntara Pulavar has written the poem in the form of a conducted tour of Sri Lanka. Almost all places of historical and tourist interest are described. His treatment of the Botanical Gardens has a charm that lingers in the mind. He says that Mother Earth had endowed this unique garden so that it would be a miniature world in itself showing all the flora in one place. This is a new born child, and the Mahaweli gently flows around it nourishing it with its water and breeze. It is true that several poets before Comacuntara Pulavar had sung of the Mahaweli

and Kataragama in their works. Sinnatampi Pulavar, for instance, had in his *Parālai Vināyakar Paḷḷu*, a poem noted for its "classical finish and literary polish", extolled the scenic beauty and grandeur of Sri Lanka. (The Paḷḷu poem is considered one of the ninety-six varieties of early Tamil poetry. The poem abounds in dramatic situations, partly arising out of the conflicts between the two wives of the *paḷḷan*. Although the poem has a set pattern as far as metre and matter are concerned, the characters hail from different places according to the inclinations of the poets. In the *Ñāṉa Paḷḷu*, for example, the man is from Jerusalem and the woman from Rome. Thus, the *Paḷḷu* poem had provided ample scope for the Tamil poets to describe Sri Lanka.) These poems depict the first phase of the evolution of Ceylonese Tamil Literature. Needless to say they had many limitations and shortcomings. Although local scenery was incorporated into these poems, one cannot say that a single unmistakable type had emerged. Certainly the names did make a change. But the change was only in the outward appearance, in the attire and costume. The dominant spirit itself was the same as in the literature of South India. Besides, these poems did not treat the lives of individuals or groups in any concrete manner. For instance, although the name of a village in Jaffna was mentioned the peasant or landlord described in the poem was no different from his counterpart in South India. In other words the people were set types and had no particular relationship to the places mentioned. This was partly due to the nature of the literary forms themselves and partly the way in which these early authors viewed reality. The literary forms mentioned above were largely derivative and inspite of their apparent popularity and rusticity looked upon the epic and romance for sustenance.

But it was Comacuntara Pulavar who saw the whole country—not as a conglomeration of places—but through the life of its people. Although Comacuntara Pulavar did not possess the reformist zeal of Turaiyappapillai, he did have a humanist approach to life that often manifested itself in his poetry.

In the wake of Comacuntara Pulavar we have a number of poets, especially Nallatampi, Saravanapavan, Pulavarmani Periyatampi and Venthanar, who continued the political tradition of Turaiyappapillai. Periatampi Pillai's *Ilaṅkai Maṇi Tirunāṭu* Glorious Mother Lanka, written in the 30's, was a clarion call to Nationalism.

But the real breakthrough occurred in the mid-fifties when a band of young poets, notably Mahakavi, A. N. Kandasamy, R. Murugaiyan and Sillaiyur Selvarajan introduced into their poems the concept of social consciousness with a sense of urgency and passion which has since then remained the main trait in our poetry. This has also set our poets apart from their counterparts in South India whose social commitment is much less than that of our poets. (Besides, the predominance of the D. M. K. in South India has diverted the concern of many a poet into racial myths and linguistic chauvinism resulting in puerile jingoism). But this idea of social commitment should not be over-emphasized. For the best of our modern poets

Mahakavi and Kandasamy (both of whom have lamentably passed away) and Murugaiyan have a deep grounding in classical poetry. This has enabled them to experiment boldly with words and metres and search for a truly modern idiom appropriate to their expression. The fact that they were also exposed to modern poetry of the west, gives a new dimension to their works making their creations, in the words of a fellow critic, "provocative, wide-ranging, psychologically penetrating and technically skillful."

In recent years some of the younger poets have popularised the recitation or presentation of their poems in public platforms commonly referred to as *kavi-araṅku*, where several hundred people listen to the poems with rapt attention. Very often the poems are concerned with the burning issues of the day, both national and international. The most successful of these poets are able to communicate to the listeners involved ideas and intellectual concepts through words that are both contemporary and effective. S. Maunaguru, M. A. Nuhuman, V. Kantavanam, Puthuvai Ratnadurai and S. Jeyapalan may be mentioned in this respect.

Fortunately for contemporary Tamil Poetry in Sri Lanka, some of the leading poets are also able critics and along with other literary scholars, a new school of literary criticism has been flourishing in the very recent past. Thus the creative process has become inseparable—as it should be—from the critical process which is its best guarantee. I began this note with Turaiyappapillai, who until recently was respectfully referred to as a pioneer in education. It was during the centenary celebrations that the critics revalued his poetry and other writings and established his reputation as a serious literary personality. The present writer himself has contributed towards this revaluation—a revaluation that has helped towards the understanding of our modern literary movement more clearly and in proper perspective. Here is proof of the active role played by critics in the growth and evaluation of modern Tamil poetry in Sri Lanka.

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THE TRIAL AND EXECUTION OF KADAHAPOLA KUDA UNANSE:

AN EPISODE IN THE "REBELLION" OF 1848*

On 14 September 1848, Viscount Torrington, governor of the British colony of Ceylon reported to the Secretary of State for the Colonies, the third Earl Grey that "an influential priest" had been shot in his "full robes" after trial by Court Martial. Nobody reading this despatch at Whitehall could have known that the governor was reporting what was, in effect, the most notable example of a miscarriage of justice during the period of martial law in the Central highlands and the Seven Korales in the aftermath of the riots that broke out in those areas in 1848. The trial by court martial of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé on 25 August 1848[1] and his execution received considerable publicity in the island both during and just after these events. Very soon it was to figure prominently in the catalogue of charges levelled against Torrington by his critics in the colony and in Britain.

Reduced to its essentials the trial of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé had four points of controversy: the nature of the evidence and the character of the witnesses against him at the trial; the charges on which he was tried, convicted

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and executed; Torrington's rebuff to H. C. Selby, the Queen's Advocate who sought to intercede on behalf of the *bhikkhu* after the latter's conviction; and the manner of his execution.

The two main witnesses against Kadahapola Kuda Unansè were the Palamakumburas, father and son. Contemporary observers of these events unhesitatingly described Palamakumbura Basnayake Nilame and his son Kiri Banda as unsavoury characters, professional informers in fact. The son, Kiri Banda had been a policeman in 1843—4, and served as a government spy in the "abortive rebellion" of 1843; father and son had helped in apprehending some of the ring leaders in the conspiracy of that year. In 1848 they were contenders for the Rate Mahatmayaships rendered vacant by the dismissal of five Kandyan chiefs in early July on the grounds that they had done little to "counteract the false impressions" by which the "people of their districts had been misled" with regard to the taxes due to be introduced at that time. Though there was some suspicion attaching to the Palamakumburas themselves as active promoters of the demonstration of 6 July and they were suspected of inciting the people on this occasion,[2] they nevertheless retained the confidence of C. R. Buller, Government Agent at Kandy, and he strongly recommended the elder Palamakumbura as an "excellent, faithful, trustworthy [man]" for the vacancy in Lower Dumbara.[3]

After the outbreak of rebellion the Palamakumburas were presented with an excellent opportunity for demonstrating afresh their usefulness to the government, and thereby obtaining confirmation for the elder Palamakumbura to the post to which he had been recommended by Buller. All the energies of the officials were now devoted to the capture of the pretender. There was a rumour that he was in hiding near Madamahanuvara in Dumbara, a location celebrated in the days of the Kandyan kings as the retreat of rebels and pretenders to the throne. The Palamakumburas joined in the search in the certain knowledge that the government would welcome their assistance in view of their record of service in 1843 which showed that they were experts at the job.[4] When they received the news that a *bhikkhu* was residing in Kahalla near Katugastota they concluded that he might know the whereabouts of the pretender, especially because the *bhikkhu* frequented the Dumbara region in his quest for alms. The *bhikkhu* was Kadahapola Kuda Unansé.

He was invited to the house of the Palamakumburas, to preach *bana*. This invitation he accepted with great reluctance. His suspicions were confirmed when he found that from the very outset of his visit, his hosts were more interested in questioning him about the pretender, than in the purpose for which he had been invited. But the *bhikkhu* denied any knowledge of the "king", whereupon the Basnayake Nilame's threatening tone changed, and he adopted the pose of an adherent or potential adherent of the pretender. Kadahapola Kuda Unansè was not impresaed. But he stood silent, and this silence was interpreted as a wish for

a pledge of secrecy before the truth could be revealed. This pledge the younger Palamakumbura gave on his own initiative, and perhaps thinking that the *bhikkhu* might well subsequently deny the information given under the persuasion of his oath, the elder Palamakumbura summoned one of his servants to bear witness.[5]

Kadahapola Kuda Unansé was not impressed by all this, and he certainly had no intention of revealing any information on the pretender to these strangers. But he did speak tongue-in-cheek of an illustrious ruler, powerful and beneficient, deeply concerned for the welfare of the people, and of Buddhism, who lived in a delightful locality, secure from any attack, surrounded by armed soldiers, and protected by a fort with high stone walls. The Palamakumburas listened with avidity, in the hope that this was a prelude to a revelation of the location of the pretender's place of concealment and were acutely disappointed to find that it was a reference to the governor at Colombo, rather than to the pretender who they believed was in hiding at Madamahanuvara. Worse still, their pride was hurt that an obscure *bhikkhu* was thus leading them on in mocking terms, in ridicule and irony, without any regard for the gravity of the subject they were thus discussing or any respect for their status and position as Kandyan chiefs and persons of standing in their community. They dismissed him with a threat to visit his insolence with a punishment he did not expect and would not relish.

In the meantime the Palamakumburas did not relax their efforts to capture the pretender. But during martial law they still feared to go on this search on their own, lest their enemies give information against them and seize them in the company of the pretender, which, they had good reason to fear, might lead to their own conviction by courts martial. So they went to Staples, the District Judge of Kandy, and Buller the Government Agent, and asked for formal permission to organise and lead a search for the pretender. Staples, it would appear, was not inclined to give his support to this venture and asked instead that the Palamakumburas do so on their own responsibility, but Buller, though inclined at first to be suspicious himself, yielded to their arguments. When he heard Palamakumbura Basnayake Nilame say in the presence of Colonel Drought, the commander of the garrison at Kandy, that he knew the pretender's hideout and that a *bhikkhu* was his informant, this seemed to carry conviction, and Buller sanctioned the search.

A party of soldiers of the 15th Regiment[6] was ordered to organise the search with Palamakumbura Basnayake Nilame as their guide. Buller himself went on the expedition. After a tiring march they were led to a cave at a place near Madamahanuvara in Dumbara where it was believed the pretender and his followers were concealed. A search of the cave revealed nothing of any importance. This apparent failure to reach the pretender did not daunt the wily Palamakumbura who turned his attention now to the *bhikkhu*, Kadahapola Kuda Unansè. He explained to Buller that this *bhikkhu* had been his informant and that the

search for the cave near Madamahanuvara was on the basis of information supplied by the latter. The failure to locate the pretender was skilfully explained away: first by narrating incidents relating to the bhikkhu's presence at the Palamakumbura's house on 18 August embellished with Palamakumbura's version of the conversation the *bhikkhu* had with them, and more diabolically, by suggesting (and convincing Buller of it) that Kadahapola Kuda Unansé was privy to the pretender's concealment, and that he alone could have tipped off the quarry at the approach of the search party. The story carried conviction. A search party was sent to Kahalla, where Kadahapola Kuda Unansé was seized, hand-cuffed and brought to Kandy, and subsequently tried by court martial.

Palamakumbura's version of his meeting with the *bhikkhu* given at the latter's trial teemed with flaws. Set against a background of executions and confiscations of property under martial law it seemed utterly implausible that a *bhikkhu* should have spoken to a complete stranger and urged him to lend support to a fresh rebellion. Why should Kadahapola Kuda Unansé have proposed this to the Palamakumburas, when on Palamakumbura's own evidence he had begun by expressing his distrust of at least one of them? The *bhikkhu* could hardly have been so naive as not to notice the danger of confiding a secret to more than one person. The entry of the Palamakumbura's servant to the picture renders it all the more suspect. Why did the *bhikkhu* not call upon him to take the oath? If he had his suspicions of the Basnayake Nilame's son, what good reason could he have had for showing greater trust in a servant? Again, why was the elder Palamakumbura absolved from the oath when he was as much a stranger to the *bhikkhu* as the son?

Nor is it easy to reconcile the *bhikkhu's* professed anxiety for a fresh rebellion, with his promise to reveal the hiding place of the pretender. If he was so anxious to help organize a fresh rebellion he could hardly have done worse than to betray the "pretender" in the last rebellion. If the Palamakumburas believed this, they were being incredibly naive, and Buller himself even more culpable for being taken in so easily by their story.

Critics of the government pointed out other flaws in the story: that even if the whole of the evidence against Kadahopola Kuda Unansé was true, it was nowhere suggested that he was ever called upon, or failed to point out the pretender's hiding place, or that he knew of the cave visited by the military under Buller's leadership and the guidance of the Palamakumburas. The evidence shows that he was at that time at Kahalla nearly twenty miles away from Medamahanuvara; he was arrested at Kahalla. Again if the expedition was undertaken upon a revelation obtained by means of a strategem, nothing could be more likely to lead to failure than an expedition with a military escort. Two persons with the experience and guile of the Palamakumburas were most unlikely to follow a party of soldiers with a blow of trumpets in search of the pretender, the clue to whose concealment had been obtained from a person in the neighbourhood, and under the obligation of an oath of secrecy.

Buller, as was inevitable, rose to the defence of the Palamakumburas. He testified on their behalf at the court martial, and at great length in 1849 after the execution of Kadahapola Kuda Unansè had become a matter of acute embarrassment to the government, and one which was being vigorously exploited against Torrington. The inevitability of his doing so sprang from the fact that he had given his backing to the Palamakumburas on this venture, and to let accusations against them go unanswered would seriously undermine his own position in this episode. Set against his own record in 1843,[7] the acceptance without positive efforts at rebuttal of the view that the Palamakumburas were unprincipled adventurers, would have led to awkward questions about Buller's facile receptivity to stories from such sources.

It seems possible that Kadahapola Kuda Unansé might well have heard of the hiding place of the pretender, but he was not likely to reveal it to a person whom he had so little reason to trust as Palamakumbura Basanayake Nilame, especially when he had been taken to the latter's residence under false pretences. The Palamakumburas had used every effort to extract this information from him and failed.

This, however, does not mean that the *bhikkhu* actually knew of the pretender's hiding place, that he had actually seen it, or even less, that he was personally known to the pretender. Significantly enough the pretender, when captured, was subjected to a thorough cross-examination by the military authorities, and great pressure was used to implicate Kadahapola Kuda Unansé (who by this time had been executed) and hopes were held out to the pretender that by so doing he would please the authorities. But he denied all knowledge of the Kahalla *bhikkhu*.[8]

Again there is the question of the prisoner's alleged confession just before his execution. In answer to the question whether he had anything to say, he is reported by Capt. Fenwick, head of the firing squad on the occasion, as saying "I am guilty of being with the king. I am a poor man, and meant no harm; as I was afraid so I went." If he 'confessed' in English (which seems most unlikely) he might well have failed to convey to Fenwick what he really meant to say. and if in Sinhala Fenwick might well have misconstrued him Besides even if Fenwick had reported the confession accurately it could still not amount to an admission of guilt to the charges on which he was convicted.[9] H. C. Selby, in his evidence before the Parlimentary Committee on Ceylon, dismissed this confession with the comment that:

> "It does not appear to me to be a confession of the charges alleged against him. It appears to mean this, that he had been sent for by the king, and that being afraid, and being a poor man, he went to see the king."[10]

One other point needs mention. Upon hearing the sentence of the court, the prisoner had pleaded that he hoped

> "the British Government will do me the justice to inquire into the particulars of my case. I am to be killed; that may not be of much consequence. Yet it will be of importance to know the character of those by whose evidence all this happened. I am a poor man, and beg that the whole matter may be investigated ....."

That investigation was never attempted. Indeed Torrington refused to consider the postponement of his execution which was urged in the hope that it might enable the government to make those investigations.

As for the Palamakumburas, whatever certificates Buller may have given them about their character and integrity, very few knowledgeable observers at the trial believed their evidence. On 4 December 1848, *The Colombo Observer*, remarked:

> "No person now doubts the priest's entire innocence, the principal witness against him, is disowned by his country, and is wandering about the streets of Kandy as if he were demented. The whole story he got up is disbelieved indeed was disbelieved by almost every person who was capable of judging, who witnessed the court-martial."

The charges on which Kadahapola Kuda Unansé was tried were: "First, for directly, or indirectly holding correspondence with rebels, and not giving all the required information in his power which might lead to the apprehension of a proclaimed rebel, he the prisoner professing to know his place of concealment on or about 17 August 1848.

"Second, for administering, or conniving at the administration of a treasonable oath to Kiri Banda (Palamakumbura) on or about 17 August 1848."

These were vague, obscure and uncertain, for they gave no accurate notice of an offence. The prosecution did not provide the names of the "rebels" with whom he was accused of being in correspondence, nor was the name of the proclaimed rebel mentioned. This information he was not given, despite the fact that he had no defence counsel to help him at the trial.

The court had to determine, on the basis of the available evidence, whether the un-named party with whom the prisoner was alleged to have corresponded was a rebel; and, more important, whether the prisoner knew him to be a rebel. There was no evidence on these points. There was a third question arising from these two - that by such correspondence he was guilty of some treachery to the British Government. On this point all that Palamakumbura had stated was that in his opinion the prisoner was privy to the pretender's concealment, and that he alone could have given the alarm at the approach of the party that went in search of him to the cave at Medamahanuvara. As for the second part of the charge that of "not giving all the required information in his power which might lead to the apprehension of a proclaimed rebel ...", a crucial point was that the prisoner had professed to know the pretender's place of concealment. But

it was not stated, much less proved, that he had wilfully suppressed the information he had on this, assuming, of course, that what he professed was necessarily the truth. There was no evidence at all that he actually knew where the pretender was hiding. Indeed he could not have known this with any accuracy for the pretender might have been constantly on the move.

The second charge, that of administering a treasonable oath, could hardly have been, even if proved, a capital offence. The weakness of his charge was summed up by the Queen's 'Advocate, H. C. Selby thus:

> "The words are very vague and indefinite: there is nothing charged beyond this, that he (the priest) administered a treasonable oath; what the administering of a treasonable oath is I should not very well know if I were put upon my trial upon that charge."[11]

But the prisoner was found guilty on both counts, on the basis of evidence which would hardly have sufficed in a civil court.

The fact is that he need not have been tried by a court martial. When he was brought to trial the country was perfectly tranquil, and there was not the slightest impediment to the functioning of the ordinary civil courts. Besides, the officers of the Supreme Court had already assembled in Kandy to open a special sessions of that tribunal in a part of the town which had been declared free from martial law for that purpose. Indeed the special sessions of the Supreme Court commenced on 25 August, the date of Kadahapola Unanse's trial.[12] Had Kadahapola Kuda Unansé been tried before the Supreme Court he is hardly likely to have been found guilty of these charges, even assuming that a trained lawyer would have framed charges as diffused and vague as these, and on the basis of such tainted evidence as was produced. Assuming that the Queen's Advocate would have consented to a commital for trial before the Supreme Court on the same charges or something approaching them, they would not have been treated as capital offences, and the prisoner, if he were found guilty, would have suffered a term of a few years' transportation. The four *bhikkhus* of the Dambulla vihara charged with high treason, on an offence much more precise and serious[13] than the charges laid against Kadahapola Kuda Unansé, were acquitted by the jury, and the acquittal had the endorsement of the Chief Justice.

At the time of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé's trial, the Queen's Advocate H. C. Selby was in Kandy. The trial was on 25 August, the day after the meeting at Kandy of the Queen's Advocate and the Governor and the latter's most influential advisers, where Selby had expressed strong opposition, on the grounds of their essential illegality, to the proclamations issued by Drought on 8 August, and Tennent, Torrington's Colonial Secretary, on 18 August regarding the confiscation of property.

Independent witnesses at the trial, especially those with a knowledge of Sinhala, were convinced that an innocent man had been convicted on the evidence of two men of tarnished reputation. These witnesses had no doubt that the

bhikkhu was a victim of a diabolical plot. J. A. Dunuvila, a lawyer and scion of a well-known Kandyan family (one of his brothers was L. B. the Superintendent of Police at Kandy), Jayatilake, an interpreter of the District Court at Kandy, a man who had served the British since their accession to power, and Smith, a proctor (very likely a Burgher), were among those who had grave doubts about the trial of Kadahapola Kuda Unanse Smith conveyed their doubts to the Queen's Advocate. Selby was receptive to their arguments—at the best times he had little faith in the courts martial—and he agreed to speak to the Governor on the matter.[14]

This he did on the afternoon (about 4 p m.) of the 25 August, by suggesting to Torrington that he postpone the execution of the *bhikkhu* scheduled for the morning of 26th August, until further enquiry.[15] Torrington reacted to this with hostility and with characteristic brusqueness and impulsiveness.[16] Selby stated that Torrington's reply to his plea was "By God, if all the proctors in the place said that the man is innocent, he shall be shot tomorrow morning." Torrington had added that he would rather be tried by the gentlemen who sat upon that court martial than all the Judges of the Supreme Court: "A court martial is the fairest court in the world, and besides the prisoner had confessed his guilt"[17]. Selby left with the comment that he was not himself aware of the circumstances of the case, and had only reported what Smith had stated to him; and that he did not question the wish of the officers in court martial to act fairly.

On the same day Selby on meeting the Chief Justice conveyed the gist of his encounter with the Governor on the *bhikkhu's* trial, and repeated the terms of the Governor's refusal. The Chief Justice himself had heard of the trial and sentence and was going to see Torrington about it, when Selby dissuaded him from doing so by explaining what had happened earlier in the day when he had met the Governor on the same mission.[18]

The news of Torrington's rebuff to Selby spread quickly and was soon public knowledge. Whether the source of information was Selby himself, or the Governor's friends is a matter of doubt, but it is more likely that the latter were responsible. The Governor's intemperate dismissal of the Queen's Advocate's plea for a postponement of the *bhikkhu's* execution became a matter of prolonged controversy and was used against Torrington by his critics both in Ceylon and England.[19]

Torrington denied that he had used the words attributed to him by Selby, and all his efforts were directed to this end; indeed all the evidence he sought to produce was also with this purpose. (At no stage did he deny that he had rebuffed Selby on the matter of the postponement of the *bhikkhu's* execution.) The most dramatic of these denials was his emotional speech in the House of Lords in 1851[20] where he declared

> "... I had the good fortune to have two gentlemen with me at the time I was alleged to have used that language, Colonel Drought and another gentleman;[21] and they are both ready to state that I never, in their presence

made use of the language imputed to me. I never was alone with the Queen's Advocate on that occasion, and I now distinctly state to your Lordships most solemnly, and on my honour that I never made use of such an expression, as has been attributed to me, or of any improper expressions on the subject."

It was a speech that went down well with their Lordships.[22]

But no one who has read Torrington's private correspondence with Grey during the period of his administration of the government of Ceylon - and especially after the outbreak of the "rebellion" would find the denial convincing. In letter after letter he made, to the great embarrassment of Grey, the most irresponsible and intemperate criticisms of senior officials of the day, criticisms which were based on little foundation save his own varying personal prejudices. This embarrassed others as well. C. J. Mac Carthy the Auditor General who watched him at work gave Grey a sober and unvarnished account of the Governor's actions. It is noteworthy that Torrington himself, in a letter to Selby, conceded that:

"I may have used some strong expressions with respect to the Proctors, because I believe they have done a great deal of mischief."[23]

Selby was *persona non grata* with Torrington at this time, and meeting him just after the Queen's Advocate had cast doubts on the proclamations issued in Kandy— these had the Governor's endorsement — Torrington was in no mood to give heed to advice from the letter in a matter which he believed was clearly outside the Queen's Advocate's range of official duties and functions.

The probability that Torrington did make these remarks to Selby is strengthened by the letter from Torrington to Oliphant in which the Governor gave vent to his obvious disappointment and chagrin not merely at the result of the trials before the Supreme Court, but also at the Chief Justice's impassioned plea for clemency towards the seventeen men convicted before the Supreme Court.

"... I regret to have to state that before the civil courts the convictions have been fewer than I could have wished, and certainly less numerous than the clearest evidence appeared to warrant ... On the other hand, the cases brought before the courts martial have invariably led to convictions, and the effect of the speedy decisions in these instances have (sic) been highly salutary, inasmuch, as it served to impress upon the inhabitants, that in the event of open resistance to the law, the Government possessed a greater power than the law itself, or rather more summary and more certain in its operation than the ordinary process of the legal tribunals." [24]

The execution of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé *in his robes* proved to be even more controversial than the rebuff given by Torrington to Selby. It was an error of judgement, and one which paid little heed to the sensibilities of the Buddhists. It would appear that the condemned *bhikkhu* had asked that he should not be shot in his robes. But the request was turned down.

His execution in his robes attracted immediate and vehement criticism, and not in Ceylon alone. Thus *The Madras Crescent*, in its issue of 9 September 1848 condemned it in no uncertain terms.

> "This reprehensible act," the journal declared, "savours more of insatiable vengeance than the vindication of law rule, and is more dishonourable to those who ordered it than to him who suffered the disgrace. James the Second hated as well as feared the Duke of Monmouth, but he did not oblige him to go dressed in his ducal robes and coronet to execution."

Torrington's defence of his position on this issue was consistent. When his action in executing Kadahapola Kuda Unansè in his robes attracted criticism both in Ceylon and Britain, he sought to buttress his case by citing a letter from Simon Sawers who had been Revenue Commissioner in the Kandyan Provinces in the early 1820's, a formidable authority on the Kandyan kingdom.[25] This letter dated 1st August 1823 related to the conviction of a *bhikkhu*, Kahavatta Unanse on a charge of high treason. Sawers recommended his execution so as to make "an example without regard to the pretended sanctity of the yellow robe." What Torrington neglected to mention was the fact that after sentence of death had been pronounced, the principal Kandyan chiefs and *bhikkhus*, and a large group of people waited on Sawers, and represented to him the disgrace that would attach to the Buddhist religion if the convicted man was hanged in his yellow robes. They urged that he be disrobed before execution. This request was immediately referred to government and it was acceded to.

Then again Torrington submitted a written memorandum by some of the leading *bhikkhus* of Malwatta and Asgiriya in support of his position on the execution of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé. This memorandum was obtained through the good offices of Ernest de Saram, the Governor's Maha Mudaliyar, who distinguished himself, after the rebellion, in organising the preparation of petitions and memoranda from people in various parts of the country declaring their support for and loyalty to the government. The memorandum of the *bhikkhus*, though drafted with the aim of supporting Torrington's position, contained a statement very damaging to the case which they sought to defend. Thus they declared that "... a priest having committed a crime or treason, when punishment is imposed, his robes are taken off, even forcibly, if the person who awards the punishment is a Buddhist.."[26] The concluding clause of this statement appears to be no less important than the rest, but its significance escaped the attention of Torrington and his advisers.

In September 1848 Torrington had reported the execution of the *bhikkhu* in a most matter-of-fact tone thus: "an influential priest" had been shot in his "full robes".[27] Subsequently he sougt to argue that the execution of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé in his robes was not really a matter of deliberate design. In his despatch to Grey of 19 April 1849 he referred to the executed *bhikkhu* as an "unordained priest", a "vagrant perfectly unconnected with the Malwatta establish-

ment", and his robes "the common dress he had on".[28] This theme he returned to in his speech to the House of Lords on 1 April 1851 when he stated that the *bhikkhu*

> "had no other dress than one yellow garment, the badge of his priesthood, in which he was taken, that had he been not executed in that garment he would have been executed naked; and that to have taken off his robes would have been in the eyes of the people to have deprived him of his office."

But in the congenial atmosphere of the House of Lords Torrington made a most significant admission:

> "if his robes had been taken off he would have suffered as an individual and not as a priest. The rebellion having been principally excited by the priests, it was necessary, when the offence of treason was clearly established against one of that body, to make an example of him, and to execute him as a priest for the purpose of showing that the priestly character and robes did not confer any exemption from the consequences of such grave crimes."[29]

NOTES

1. There are two important sources of information on the trial: the minutes of evidence at the trial by court martial in C. O. 54/263; and the summaries of evidence on the trial published in the newspapers of the days, especially in *The Colombo Observer*. There are also James Alwis's articles in his Sinhalese History series published in *The Ceylon Overland Observer* in 1876. There were four articles devoted to the case of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé, published on 23 May, 30 May, 6 June and 7 June 1876. These articles were based largely on the newspaper reports of the trials published in 1848.

2. See the statement of J. A. Dunuvila, the Kandy Proctor, on the trial and execution of Kadahapola Kuda Unansé, dated 18 December 1849, printed in the appendix to Henderson's *A History of the Rebellion in Ceylon during Lord Torrington's Government*, (London, 1868 ; see also the evidence of H. C. Selby in *British Parliamentary Papers* (hereafter B. P. P.) 1851, 36 VIII Part I, pp. 88-90.

3. See Buller's letter to Bernhard 10 July 1848 printed in *B. P. P.* (1851) 36 VIII *Part* II *Appendix*, *p.* 91.

4. Many officials believed that the pretender in 1848 had been among the leading conspirators in 1843. James Alwis (in *The Ceylon Overland Examiner* 23 May 1876) shared this belief. Thus he assumed that the pretender in 1848 had been convicted in 1843 for his role in the "abortive" rebellion of that year. The elder Palamakumbura had been instrumental in the capture of Chandrajoti Unansé.

   There is no firm evidence to support Alwis's assumption. It is very likely that he came to this conclusion from an excessive reliance on statements made by Torrington and Tennent that the pretender in 1848 had played a prominent role in the affair of 1843.

5. The elder Palakumbura claimed that the *bhikkhu* was suspicious of the son, Kiri Banda. Hence the need for the oath which was taken on a *bana* book (a book of sermons).

6. Captain Wingfield who led the group of soldiers on this mission subsequently served on the court martial which tried Kadahapola Kuda Unansé.

7. During the abortive "rebellion" of 1843 Buller was Government Agent of the Central Province. Governor Collin Campbell accused him of being credulously receptive to reports of seditious activity brought to him by chiefs.

8. See, *The Colombo Observer*, 27 September 1848.

9. The evidence of H. C. Selby in *B. P. P.* (1851) 36 *VIII Part I* p. 82.

10. *ibid*.

11. The evidence of H. C. Selby in *B. P. P.* (1851) 36 *VIII Part I*, p. 82.

12. Though the sessions commenced on 25 August, the trials before the Supreme Court began, in fact, on 4 September.

13. They officiated at the ceremony of "coronation" of the pretender.

14. The evidence of H. C. Selby in *B. P. P.* (1851) 36 *VIII Part I* pp. 81-85. Selby had not been present at the trial.

    Smith had also told Selby that the President of the court martial had asked the lawyers present to defend the prisoner, and had turned particularly to Wilmot the proctor for the prisoners in the civil court, but they had all declined to do so.

15. Selby, *ibid*., p. 85, made the point that he did not go to the Governor in his capacity of Queen's Advocate. Strictly speaking it was not the Queen's Advocate's duty to interfere in matters relating to courts martial.

16. *ibid*., pp 81–85.

17. Selby *ibid*., p. 82. argued that Torrington, when he said that the prisoner had confessed, was not referring to the "confession" made to Fenwick on the morning of the execution, but to the defence which the man had made at his trial. However, Torrington in his private letter to Grey 14 October 1849 in the Grey MSS states quite categorically "There has been much talk about the execution of the Priest! he confessed to the officer who carried the sentence into execution. I have it in writing." But the statement to Fenwick was not a confession of guilt.

18. The evidence of H. C. Selby, in *B. P. P.* (1951) 36 *VIII Part I* pp. 83-85 the evidence of Sir A. Oliphant *ibid*., pp. 604-6, 731-2.

19. Torrington sought to fight his way out of the difficulty he had placed himself in, by making an issue of the allegation that Selby had divulged the

gist of a confidential conversation to persons not entitled to receive it. See, particularly Grey MSS, Torrington's private letter to Grey, 9 October 1849. See also, the evidence of J. E. Tennent, in *B. P. P.* (1851) 36 *VIII Part I* pp. 258-9.

20. *Hansard*, 3rd Series, Vol. CXVII (H of Lords) 1 April 1851. Column 870 ff. Earlier Torrington had conveyed the denial to Grey in a private letter of 9 October 1849. *Grey MSS. op. cit.* and Tennent in his evidence before the Committee stated that Torrington repudiated having used those words. See the evidence of J. E. Tennent *B. P. P.* (1851) 36 *VIII Part I* pp. 258-9

21. The gentleman referred to was W. D. Bernhard, Torrington's own Private Secretary.

22. ed. Strachey L. and Fulford R. *The Greville Memoirs*, Vol. VI (1938), pp. 289-90.

23. The most positive evidence against Torrington would be his own private letter to Grey of 9 October 1849, written after Grey had indicated to him how Torrington's original despatch on the execution of the *bhikkhu* had created a very bad impression in the House of Commons when Peel had drawn attention to it. He stated: "...When all the respectable people concur in the propriety of the sentence ... it is very unlikely that I should place much value on that expressed by Mr. Selby, who meeting a low blackguard Proctor or two in the street, men the scum and pest of the colony and [of] the worst possible character ... rushes half-mad into my office on a matter which under no possible circumstance, could be part of his duty and tells me a man is innocent because one or two people who refused to defend the prisoner say he is not guilty ..."

24. C. O. 54/251 Torrington to Grey 164 of 14 September 1848.

25. See, Grey MSS. Torrington's private letter to Grey, 10 September 1849.

26. C. O. 54/258 Torrington to Grey, 55 of 14 April 1849, transmitting the notes of evidence taken before de Saram on matters relating to Kadahapola Kuda Unansé's execution. Two statements were obtained from Udumulle Nayaka Unansé described as "the Chief priest" of Asgiriya and Parakumbura Nayaka Unansé, "the second chief" of Malvatta. The latter stated that: "... a priest would rather prefer to be executed in his robes than in a layman's or any other dress... The man having been shot in his yellow robe is no shame to us we do not consider that any indignity to our order was intended by that circumstance; ..."

27. C. O. 54/251 Torrington to Grey, 164 of 14 September 1848.

28. C. O. 54/258 Torrington to Grey, 55 of 14 April 1849.

29. Torrington's speech of 1 April 1851 in the House of Lords, *Hansard 3rd series, CXVII* column 870.

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THE BRAHMI INSCRIPTIONS OF SRI LANKA:

THE NEED FOR A FRESH ANALYSIS

The earliest inscriptions of Sri Lanka are those referred to as the Brāhmī inscriptions. As almost all of them are found in caves once occupied by hermits, they are also called the Brāhmī cave records. An important physical feature of these caves is the drip-line cut on the brow to prevent rain water flowing into them. It is below this drip-line that the records are, as a rule, incised. These epigraphs are at a high elevation, usually beyond the reach of a person standing on the ground. They are in most cases well preserved. Some are, however, slightly damaged due to cracks on the rock surface resulting from exposure to the vagaries of the weather. While there is a concentration of such records in the Anuradhapura District, they are to be found in several other parts of the Island as well.[1] This fact doubtless enhances their value for the study of Sri Lanka's ancient past.

Since 1903 similar records have been found in South India, too.[2] Owing to the efforts of Iravatham Mahadevan, a serious line of research into these South Indian Brāhmī inscriptions has been commenced recently.[3] While there are as many as 2000 such epigraphs in Sri Lanka, only about 80 or so have been discovered so far in South India, mostly in Tamilnadu. Yet there are certain important parallels between these two groups of records. Hence there is the need for a comparative study of these inscriptions. So far very little attention has been paid by scholars for this comparative approach.

The recent study undertaken by Iravatham Mahadevan has shown the difficulties that a scholar is beset with when he has to depend solely on the estampages, photographs and eye-copies of such records supplied by different persons. It is indeed to be regretted that in Sri Lanka even eminent scholars like Paranavitana relied mainly on the estampages supplied by others at different times for their conclusions. As a result of this type of study, the value of the voluminous monograph of Paranavitana relating to these records is somewhat diminished. This is quite evident from some of the obvious errors made by the learned Professor in his monograph.[4] Therefore, in the study of the Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka intensive and extensive fieldwork is a *sine qua non*, however hazardous it may be. It is impossible to say on the basis of the data from an estampage whether a particular stroke is a part of a letter or merely the reproduction of a fault or cleft in the rock. It is all too easy to miss a medial sign where it exists, or even to imagine one where none in fact occurs. The nature of the rock surfaces also adds further difficulties. These inscriptions have been exposed to the extreme effects of the tropical climate for well nigh over 20 centuries and have suffered ravages. The rock surface itself has been badly affected and has flaked off in many places resulting in cracks, fissures, clefts and depressions, all of which are impartially reproduced by the estampages, which however leave out in some cases, the letters which are either worn paper thin or found in the pockets of the depression. In these circumstances, it is hazardous, to say the least, to venture with any confidence on a reading of these inscriptions from reproductions taken from the estampages.[5] The use of the photographs are even worse, owing to their reduced scale, which makes them not of much value for an accurate decipherment of the engravings. Exploration and site study must hence be the *desideratum* of our epigraphists.

Besides, Paranavitana has also lamented that the Department was not equipped with facilities for storing the estampages, photographs and so on.[6] Moreover these estampages taken by the Department must be made freely available for the study of other scholars who are interested in this field so that their viewpoints too may be taken into account before a final conclusion is reached about them. Unfortunately, the estampages are not so easily accessible for other research students to scrutinise—a serious shortcoming indeed. Consequently, the Brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka have been hitherto studied by only a few scholars. It may be noted here that not all the results of the studies undertaken by these scholars, with the exception of those of Paranavitana, are available to everybody.[7]

The other problem in this context is that of the origin of the Brāhmī script itself. So far scholars like A. H. Dani[8] have maintained that the Brāhmī inscriptions have been written from the left to the right. This is supposed to have been the general rule. But in Sri Lanka Paranavitana[9] has shown clear cases of thirty-nine inscriptions which are written from the right to the left. In addition, there are eight records of which one line is written from right to left, while the other is from left to right. These, he contends, may be cited as examples of the boustrophedon style of writing. Could this be taken as the work of different types

of engravers? Or, was this a peculiarity of the Brāhmī writing in Sri Lanka unlike in the neighbouring sub-continent? Or, could this be a variety of Brāhmī, which failed to keep its particular identity when it was superseded by Asokan Brāhmī introduced mostly by the Buddhists? These are some of the problems that still remain unsettled as far as the earliest records of Sri Lanka go.

While commenting on the language of these inscriptions Wilhelm Geiger had the following comments to offer: "The language of the Brāhmī inscriptions is of the same type as the Middle Indian Prakritic dialects both in phonology and in morphology. I therefore call it Sinhalese Prakrit."[10] Paranavitana says that it could be classified as Proto-Sinhalese which in time developed into modern Sinhalese. He fixed the date for this metamorphosis as the 7th century A. D. For a long time, scholars were not agreed as to the language of the South Indian Brāhmī records. In recent years Kamil Zvelebil expressed the view that the language itself is a jumble of Prakrit and Tamil forms and represents "a strongly hybridised Tamil, an epigraphical jargon of Buddhist Bhikkhus and/or Jaina *munis*".[11] According to K. V. S. Ayyar this is the "earliest known written Tamil".[12] But the recent researches of I. Mahadevan have shown that the Brāhmī inscriptions of Tamilnadu are in Tamil with a small proportion of Prakrit words (largely Tamilised) in their vocabulary.[13] If the language of the Brāhmī records of Sri Lanka is the earliest form of Sinhalese, could it then be contended that the same script was used to write different languages? If so, with what modifications?

Even in the case of the Brāhmī records of Sri Lanka the prevalence of the non-Aryan element cannot be totally dismissed. This is to be seen in several names of donors, as well as in the words of non-Aryan, including Tamil, origin in the records. The word *marumakane* is admittedly of Dravidian origin. The word *parumaka*, the feminine form of which is *parumakalu* or *parumakali*, seems to be also of Dravidian origin. That there were contacts between Sri Lanka and South India at this time is clearly shown by the epigraphic and literary evidence. Comparative palaeographical analysis of the records, of the two countries is also imperative for a proper study of the origins of the Brāhmī writing. For instance, there is a remarkable similarity between the *a*, *i* and *ma*, found in the records of Sri Lanka and those of Tamilnadu. These forms are different from that of the Asokan characters. Such characters as *u*, *e*, *ka*, *ca*, *ta*, *pa*, *ya*, *ra* in the South Indian Brāhmī are very similar to those in the inscriptions discovered at Vessagiri and Ritigala in Sri Lanka. The South Indian *ḷa* also occurs in inscriptions at Erupotana and Periya-Puliyankulam, as pointed out by K. V. S. Ayyar[14] and H W. Parker,[15] although Paranavitana reads this as *lu*. Such random instances of the similarities between the Brāhmī records of Sri Lanka and Tamilnadu show the need for a new analysis to be attempted in respect of these early epigraphs.

A fresh line of research, too, should be pursued to ascertain whether the Dravidi Script mentioned in *Samarayanga-Sūtra*, *Pannavana-Sūtra* and *Lalitavistara* was the progenitor of the South Indian Brāhmī, which was adopted by the Tamils. This is particularly important since there is a contention amongst scholars that

the Brāhmī writing existed before Asoka with, of course, many regional varieties of them. If the Southern variety was the Dravidi form of writing existing in the Tamil country, and if the Tamil Brāhmī originated from it, the similarities between the Brāhmī of South India and Sri Lanka, and the close connection between the latter and the Pandya country also have to be taken into consideration in any serious study of these inscriptions. Prof. P. E. E. Fernando,[16] on the other hand, is of the opinion that the Southern form of Brāhmī would have been first introduced into Sri Lanka from South India, and was later superseded by the Asokan Brāhmī. Therefore, the idea that the Brāhmī script came with Buddhism has to be carefully reviewed in the light of these varying views expressed by distinguished research scholars who have attempted a study of the Sri Lanka and South Indian records.

The above account would show that we need yet another assiduous look at the questions relating to the Brāhmī inscriptions. Initially our Brāhmī inscriptions have to be chronologically fixed — this is essential for any research. Unlike in Tamilnadu, hardly any research has been done on the graffiti found on pot-sherds. Unfortunately, only a few inscribed pot-sherds have so far been unearthed in Sri Lanka whereas many more have been discovered in Tamilnadu. At the time of the excavations at the citadel of Anuradhapura[17] only 2 pot-sherds inscribed with Brāhmī letters belonging to the 2nd cent. B. C. were found. Pot-sherds with Brāhmī letters have also been discovered by Parker at Tissamaharama.[18] Recently a pot-sherd with a graffiti has been found at Kantarodai.[18a] Further excavations at the megalithic sites in Sri Lanka are likely to bring to light more and more evidence of this nature. When more such records are brought to light, there will then be no doubt a need for a comparative study of the script of the graffiti on pot-sherds with that of the Brahmi epigraphs engraved on rocks. This will certainly prove to be invaluable to understand more about these epigraphic records. Till then a first step may be taken in this direction with the few pot-sherds that we have.

Another interesting proposition stems from the study undertaken by B. B. Lal.[19] He suggests that the graffiti signs found on megalithic pot-sherds have a similarity with the characters of the Indus Script as well as with those of the Brāhmī Script. In Sri Lanka, too, there are megalithic sites. If further excavations are done at these sites, they are bound to be fruitful. For, if at these sites pot-sherds are found with graffiti signs, they may afford another clue which could be helpful to researchers in their attempts to solve the problems relating to the origin, development and nature of the Brāhmī Script.

The ancient coins of Sri Lanka have not been studied in a scientific way. The monograph by H. W. Codrington[20] on coins, though outdated, still remains as the one and only dependable source book in the field. As in India, here, too, there is much room for a comparative study of the script of the inscriptions with the legends on coins. More and more numismatical research should help towards

a better analysis of the script used in Sri Lanka and this should be done without further delay. Such a study, in turn, is likely to throw some light on the Brāhmī script of Sri Lanka, although at the moment, owing to the absence of Brāhmī legends on coins, this study may not throw any direct light on the subject.

In connection with the date of the introduction of Brāhmī into Sri Lanka, Buhler admits that the Brāhmī alphabet was introduced here before the time of Asoka by Indian colonists.[21] Prof. Paranavitana also subscribes to this point of view.[22] Prof. L. S. Perera[23] has assigned the date 3rd century B. C. to these inscriptions, while Dr. Saddhamamgala Karunaratne[24] places them in the 2nd century B. C. Referring to the date of the earliest Brāhmī inscriptions of Tamilnadu, Mahadevan[25] assigns them to the 2nd century B. C., while Prof. T. V. Mahalingam[26] is inclined to think that this writing would have begun some time earlier than the 3rd century. Therefore, a new line of research has to be undertaken to ascertain the correct chronological sequence of the Brāhmī epigraphic records. The importance of this need not be over-emphasised.

In view of the differing points of view advanced by eminent scholars on the question of the origin, development and nature of the Brāhmī Script, there is no doubt that there is a great need for an analysis to be undertaken afresh in this field, keeping in mind that not only a comparative study of the epigraphic records in Sri Lanka and India is essential, but also the use of the other scientific elements of archaeology to give us a better and accurate understanding of this controversial and complicated subject is even more important. The fact that Prof. Paranavitana has not done exhaustive field work and had evidently relied more on estampages, leaves room for other research scholars to pursue further the work he had commendably begun. If work of this nature is done more systematically and scientifically then alone would there be true light thrown on the origins of the Brāhmī Script of Sri Lanka.

Furthermore, the need for a deeper study of the Brāhmī Script and the inscriptions becomes inevitable in view of another important factor. The Brāhmī epigraphs in their contents are primarily Buddhistic. However, little research of an archaeological nature has been done on Buddhism in South India, especially in the deep South, and the type of connections it would inevitably have had with Buddhism in Sri Lanka in the early period. To surmise that there were such connections would not be wrong at all because of the proximity of Sri Lanka to the southern part of the mainland. It is evident that Buddhism did flourish once in those areas of South India. An investigation into this aspect is called for owing to the fact that, as in the case of the Brāhmī records of Sri Lanka, some of the records in South India have a Buddhistic content, although the Jaina matter is predominant there. Such a scrutiny would certainly illuminate the research into the origins, growth and nature of the Brāhmī inscriptional script and this could only be done by a fresh analysis of this complex subject. There is no doubt that this is urgently needed.

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NOTES

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3. Ibid ; Mahadevan, I., "Corpus of the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions", *Seminar on Inscriptions*, Madras 1966, pp. 57-73.
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6. Paranavitana, S., *op. cit.*, p. (v)
7. Dr. W. S. Karunaratna's valuable thesis on the Brahmi inscriptions, namely *A Critical edition of unpublished Brahmi inscriptions of Ceylon*, (Cambridge 1960), to cite an example, is still awaiting publication.
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SIGIRI VERSES

I

The golden ones within their mountain niche
Vouchsafe no speech
Except the gaze of those unmoving eyes.

II

'But how shall I read that smile? Ah
How did your heart become a stone?'
'I smiled but to greet you.
The king who won me is gone.'

III

As you stand there
Brightening the summit with your radiance,
I cannot contain myself,
Oh long-eyed noble-coloured one.

IV

A water-lily flower over her ear
Her tender, upswung, heaving breasts confined
By a band of shining gold, herself all gold
This lady of Sihigiri.

V

Is it not to delight love's devotees
That these nymphs have been painted here?
I have come to you, O long-eyed ones,
As the gentle breeze to the moonlight.

VI

The splendour of the mountainside
Imaged for me the postures of the nymphs
In heaven. My hand leaped
To grasp a girdle in dalliance.

VII

This golden beauty snares
All who but look;
Her hair is heavy with garlands, she wears
A blue *tilak* between her long eyes.

VIII

The moonstone wall gleams but in your radiance!
Now that they've come into our hands
Let's dally with them endlessly.

IX

We climbed and looked: among the golden ones
Was one whose cloth was loosened at the waist.
Will she be mine?

X

Little honey-heart, golden one,
All you demanded I have done;
I am intoxicated!
Please tell the golden one
What I have said.

XI

There is no death till she herself should will it,
There is no life if I am banished hence;
Abject, enslaved: would it not be better
To throw myself from the rock?

XII

She whose smile shows teeth like melon seeds
Whose downswept hair is like a cool dark cloud
She draws me to her with a gentle smile.

XIII

Lovely this woman, excellent the painter!
She will not speak, but when I look
At hand and eye
I do believe she lives.

XIV

Golden-skinned, a gold chain on her breast,
A *veena* in her hand,
She speaks to no one for her lord is dead.

XV

Champak and lotus buds held in her hands,
She looks at me, I seem to know her thought:
But when I look at her she will not speak.

XVI

A petal from her ear has leaped to her breasts
In one bound; thus it speaks
Though she herself is dumb.

XVII

She returns look for look
With eyes like blue water-lilies.
But she has lingered long on the mountain —
The stone has gone into her heart.

XVIII

This gazelle-eyed one
Hurling herself to death for her beloved —
Will she not be honoured
As Truth is honoured by those upon the Path?

XIX

Who would not yield to such delights
Those rosy palms, that rounded shoulder,
That golden necklace, those copper-coloured lips
And those long eyes?

XX

When I think of you my heart aches,
My blood rages, I cry aloud. Your waist
Fetters me utterly.

XXI

Like swans who have seen a lake I hear her word,
Like a bee that sees the full-blown lotuses
My bewildered heart finds comfort.

XXII

The breeze blew gently, cool with dewdrops,
Fragrant with perfume; jasmine and water-lily
Were bright in the spring sunshine.
Despite all this, my mind in tumult
From the sidelong glances of the golden ones,
I swooned upon the rock.

XXIII

We, being women, sing on behalf of this lady;
'You fools! You come to Sihagiri and recite
These verses hammered out with four-fold efforts.
Not one of you brings wine and molasses
Remembering we are women!'

XXIV

O Gods for dalliance with one like this!
'You may admire my hands, if it gives you pleasure.'
Thus she denies me her lips, disdainfully cruel.
'These flowers around my neck, are they not beautiful?
— May you find happiness!'

XXV

Women like you
Make men pour out their hearts;
My body thrills to you, its hair
Stiffening with desire.

XXVI

Be not enamoured of dalliance;
Pleasure is the path to pain and pain is pleasure.

XXVII

Though I speak in jest, try to see things as they are:
Would an elephant that has broken its chains
Waste its strength on the petals of a water-lily?

XXVIII

I am a novice from the monastery of
Hunagiri.
The person who has been spoken about lives here.

I place wakefulness of mind on guard
At the door of hearing.
But I see her radiant smile, and
I am afraid; my mind
Trembles exceedingly.

XXIX

There are those who know that Samsara is a desert,
That it is not easy to be human.
Do not ruin yourself
By desiring these women.

XXX

Infatuated with form, you desire her embrace:
Desire will fail, infatuation itself
Fall like a stone. In their abundant splendour
See, rather, the store of their Merit.

XXXI

'The king is angry with us', they think,
The long-eyed ones with tender lips
Standing on this rock
In the sky.

XXXII

My lord's not dead, he comes
Anguished with absence,
Now, yes now, my friend! Come, women, come,
Lean out and look,
My lord is come!

XXXIII

A *vatkola* flower entangled with a blue *katrola* flower,
A golden one beside one blue as *mahanel:*
I will remember them when evening falls.

XXXIV

Swollen by the autumn moon, the ocean
Beats against islands, banks and cliffs
Fruitlessly, is humbled. Is this not the fate
Of all deluded ones?

XXXV

You've had this golden vine of a woman to look at:
Now you say — 'The man who praises women:
Does he not put the fire on his head
After warming himself at it?'

XXXVI

Gold will not buy back the girl you had
Long ago; and here, today,
What have you gained?
The sky has been yours —
In a dream.

XXXVII

The wind raged, bringing down the trees
In their bud-time beauty —
Thousands, hundreds of thousands;
The curlew shrieked, the torrents
Roared down the *Maleya* mountains.
But the night glowed tender, the leaves
Copper colour, in the sheen
Of innumerable fireflies.
O long-eyed one,
I read your message, but
What does it hold for me?

Adapted from the prose translations of
Professor S. Paranavitana
Sigiri Graffiti, Vol. II,
Oxford University Press, London, 1956.

NOTES

Tilak: (VII): a mark drawn with coloured paste on the forehead.
Veena: (XIV): a large musical instrument of the string family.
Vatkola: (XXXIII): *Luffa acutangula*, a creeper with a yellow flower.
Katrola: (XXXIII): a blue flower; modern Sinhala *katarolu*.
Mahanel: (XXXIII): the blue water-lily, *Nymphaea stellata*.
Maleya: (XXXVII): the old name for the central hill country.

The Paranavitana numbers are given in Arabic numerals below:

I — 26	XI — 23	XXI — 484	XXXI — 514
II — 270	XII — 331	XXII — 249	XXXII — 564
III — 347	XIII — 559	XXIII — 272	XXXIII — 334
IV — 467	XIV — 19	XXIV — 320	XXXIV — 466
V — 175	XV — 21	XXV — 69	XXXV — 672
VI — 104	XVI — 515	XXVI — 525	XXXVI — 609
VII — 25	XVII — 207	XXVII — 39	XXXVII — 595
VIII — 145	XVIII — 131	XXVIII — 88	
IX — 351	XIX — 216	XXIX — 99	
X — 381	XX — 278	XXX — 540	

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SOME ASPECTS OF THE SYNTAX OF THE INSCRIPTIONAL TAMIL OF SRI LANKA

1. Introductory

The purpose of this paper is to describe certain aspects of the syntax of some of the Tamil inscriptions of Sri Lanka within the framework of transformational grammar. The transformational theory of syntax assumes that every language has a set of simple sentence patterns which forms the basis of all other complex structures. This set of simple sentence structures has been termed 'deep structures or underlying structures'. A simple structure is transformed into a more complex one by a number of operations or 'transformations'. As I have suggested elsewhere[1], the syntax of the inscriptional Tamil can be described within the above-mentioned framework. The deep structures or underlying structures of inscriptional Tamil may not be different from that of the normal written or spoken Tamil. The differences among these three styles lie only in their surface stuctures. If we assume that a grammar assigns to each sentence that it generates both a deep structure and a surface structure and it system atically relates the two analyses, then the grammar of Tamil should have three sets of transformational rules and one of them will convert the common deep structures of Tamil into the surface structures of inscriptional or documentary Tamil. The surface structures of the normal written or spoken styles of Tamil will be derived by the other

two sets of transformational rules (T-rules). A systematic formulation of the T-rules of inscriptional Tamil is not undertaken in this paper. But certain interesting surface structures of inscriptional Tamil are noted and their transformations are discussed.

The observations made here are however not restricted in the application to Sri Lanka inscriptions alone. They may be found to apply to Indian Tamil inscriptions too though the inscriptions taken for study are all from Sri Lanka. The inscriptions that are under investigation are found in the following sources:

(a) *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. IV.

(b) Indrapala, K. *Epigraphia Tamilica*, 1971.

(c) Velupillai, A. *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions*. Part I + II 1971 and 1972.

(d) Gunasingham, S. *Kaḷḷiyaṅkāṭṭuc Ceppēṭukaḷ*, 1970. *Tirukkōṇēsvaram*, 1973.

There are some more Tamil inscriptions that have not yet been edited. The present analysis is made only on those inscriptions that are properly edited.

Inscriptional Tamil has its own style of language. Thus we have many interesting surface structures which we do not normally find in the written or spoken Tamill. Let us consider the following sentence:

(1) Nārāyaṇaṉ Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ iṭṭa kallu 'Stone, laid by Nārāyaṇaṉ Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ'

This sentence is formally related to the following set of sentences that occur in spoken Tamil:

(2) avaṉ pēciṉa pēccu 'The speech he made'.

(3) avaṉ pōṭṭa cattam 'The noise he made'

(4) avaṉ viṭṭa aṭi 'The kick he gave'

We are aware that the sentences (2), (3) and (4) are transformationally related to (5), (6) and (7) respectively:

(5) avaṉ pēccu pēciṉāṉ 'He made a speech'

(6) avaṉ cattam pōṭṭāṉ 'He made a noise'

(7) avaṉ aṭi viṭṭāṉ 'He gave a kick'

Thus our inscriptional sentence (1) can be regarded as transformationally related to (8):

(8) Nārāyaṇaṉ Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ kallu iṭṭāṉ
'Nārāyaṇaṉ Tiruccirṟampalamuṭaiyāṉ laid the stone'

The next step then is to postulate that sentences (1), (2), (3) and (4) are derived in one way, namely, from structure of roughly the form:

(9) $N_1 + N_2 + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{finite} \end{bmatrix}$

The following transformational rule operates on this basic form to derive the Spoken sentences (2), (3) and (4) only when the speaker intends to exibit disgust or wonder etc.:

$$(10)\quad N_1 + N_2 + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +\text{finite} \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow N_1 + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ -\text{finite} \end{bmatrix} + N_2$$

This trasformational rule does not operate on the basic structure to derive either surface sentences in written Tamil or spoken forms which do not express intentions of disgust, wonder etc. In written Tamil the sentences (2), (3) and (4) can occur only when each of the following is completed as found here by a finite verb or a noun:

(11) avaṉ pēciṉa pēccu kēṭṭatu

(12) avaṉ põṭṭa cattam kēṭṭatu

(13) avaṉ viṭṭa aṭi nōkutu

But in inscriptional Tamil sentences of the form (1) are common.

2. **Concordance**:

Tamil exhibits concordial relationship between the subject and the verb of a sentence. That is, the subject and the verb agree in person, number and gender. Mostly the personal pronouns, *nāṉ* 'I', *nām* 'we', *nāṅkaḷ* 'we', *nī* 'you', *nīr* 'you (equal)', *nīṅkaḷ*, 'you (singular honorific)', and 'you (plural)', *avaṉ* 'he', *avaḷ* 'she', *avaṅkaḷ* 'they (masculine only)', *avaḷukaḷ* 'they (faminine only)', *avar* 'he (honorific singular)', *ava* 'she (honorific singular)' and *avayaḷ* 'they' are used as subjects in colloquial Sri Lanka Tamil. The verbs of such subject nominals take certain pronominal terminations to agree with the nominals. The following can be cited as examples to illustrate subject-verb agreement:

(14)	nāṉ vantaṉ	'I came'
	nām vantam	'We came'
	nāṅkaḷ vantam	'We came'
	nī vantā	'You came'
	nīr vantīr	'You came'
	nīṅkaḷ vantiyaḷ	'You came'
	avaṉ vantāṉ	'He came'
	avaḷ vantāḷ	'She came'
	avaṅkaḷ vantāṅkaḷ	'They (Mas.) came'
	avaḷukaḷ vantāḷukaḷ	'They (Fem.) came'
	avar vantār	'He (Hon.) came'
	ava vantā	'She (Hon.) came'
	avayaḷ vantiṉam	'They came'

In normal speech, if a noun other than the personal pronoun occurs as the subject of a sentence, then it is regarded as occurring in the third person. If any one of the following: *tampi* 'brother', *Senthūran* which is a proper noun or *maram* 'tree' occurs in a sentence, then it is regarded as occurring in the third person singular. But if the speaker addresses a person directly he uses a verb which carries the second person singular termination. Compare (15) and (16):

(15) tampi pōṟāṉ 'Brother is going'

(16) tampi eṅka pōṟīr 'Brother where are you going'

A person addressing an audience can refer to himself by name and report whatever he wants to say—in direct speech. The verb that he will use will carry the first person singular termination. Such a sentence can take the form of either:

(17) nāṉ Caṇmukam colkiṟēṉ
'I, Shanmugam saying'

or (18) Caṇmukam colkiṟēṉ
'Shanmugam saying'

In conversation it is generally the rule to use the first and second person personal pronouns to refer to the participants i. e. the speaker and the hearer. While it is possible exceptionally that the name may be used in addressing the hearer, in referring to the third person one may always use either a noun or a third person pronoun. From this licence to use noun or a personal pronoun in referring to the third person whereas in the first and second persons the preferred form is to use the personal pronoun, it may reasonably be inferred that in Tamil the positive markers of the category of person are the first and second persons. The third person seems to be a negative unmarked member This is also to be noted that the third person referred to is not necessarily a participant in the utterance situation.

In the case of inscriptional Tamil, an important peculiarity is the use of subject nominal with first person terminations. While this is the dominant practice, the first person personal pronouns are also seems to be used exceptionally. In all the inscriptions taken for study in this paper I have come across only one such use (19) of the first person personal pronoun:

(19) pīṭum cīrum āyavum uṭaiyam nām

Sentences (20), (21) and (22) are instances to illustrate the occurance of subject nominals with first person termination:

(20) kallum palakaiyum nāṭṭiṉōm patiṉeṇ pūmi vīrakoṭiyōm

(21) Kumārakaṇṭtup pēṟūṟōm .... tirunontāviḷakkum vaippōmānōm

(22) Ayittaṉēṉ eṉ jīvitam puttastānattukku iṭṭēṉ

The subject nominals *Patineṉ Pūmi Vīrkoṭi* in (20) and *Kumārakakaṇattup Pērūr* in (21) acquire the first person plural termination *ōm* and the subject nominal *Ayittaṉ* in (22) acquires the first person singular termination *ēn*. This usage is not found in the normal written or spoken Tamil of Sri Lanka. This can be taken as a feature peculiar to documentary Tamil. The surface sentence (19) has the first person pronoun *nām* and the surface sentences in (20), (21) and (22) have subject nominals with the first person terminations *ōm* and *ēn*. We may now relate these surface sentences with their underlying deep structures. In sentence (19) the verbal form *uṭaiyam* possesses the prenominal termination *am*. The phonological realization of this termination in the verb is governed by the pronominal element *nām* which is the subject of sentence (19). In sentences (20), (21) and (22) we do not have such a pronominal element in their surface forms. In these cases it is therefore necessary to postulate an abstract-pronominal element which will control the rules governing the phonological realization of the pronominal terminations in both the subject nominal and the verb. If, for example, we postulate the first person singular pronominal element *nāṉ* for the following deep structure form:

(23) *nāṉ* Ayittaṉ puttastanattukku iṭṭ

The abstract pronominal element postulated in the deep structure form (23) will trigger off the rules that will attach the pronominal termination *ēn* to the verb and will get deleted finally. If this abstract element is followed by a subject nominal, then it will get deleted either after realizing the pronominal termination *ēn* to the subject nominal or after realizing the markers of person and number to the verb. Thus the deep structure form in (23) will have the following derivations:

(24) nāṉ Ayittaṉ-ēn puttastāṉattukku iṭṭ-ēṉ

(25) Ayittaṉ-ēṉ puttastāṉattukku iṭṭ-ēṉ

Since we do not have in the inscriptions taken for study here sentences that show second person subject-verb concordance, I will now pass on to an examination of sentences that exhibit third person subject-verb concordance. In the case of the third person sentences, the pronominal element postulated for the deep structure can be either one of the third person pronouns or a numeral noun such as *oruvan, orutti, oruvar* etc. Thus a surface sentence,

(26) itukku ācaippaṭuvāṉ taṉ tāykku ācaippaṭuvāṉ

can transfornationally be derived from two basic sentences such as:

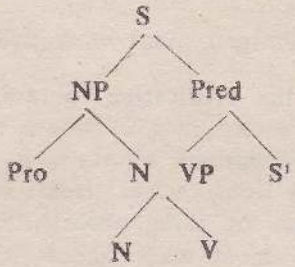
(27) avaṉ itukku ācaippaṭu

(28) avaṉ tāykku ācaippaṭu

The pronominal element postulated in the deep structures of (27) and (28) is *avaṉ*. This will cause the rules that attach the features of third person singular number (these features will phonologically realize as *ān*) to the verb to operate.

Since the underlying sentence (28) is embedded into (27), the rule that deletes the abstract pronominal element can only be ordered after the embedding transformation. In these cases, pronoun *avan* in (28) is reflexivized as *tan* and then the pronominal element *avan* in (27) gets deleted.

The deep structure that is assigned for surface sentences cited above can be shown in the following tree diagram:



Various transformational rules operate on this deep structure to assign various surface type sentences:

I. *Concord Transformation* (*T-rule* 1)

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{Pro}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{Sg}\end{bmatrix}_1 + \begin{bmatrix}\text{N}\\ \text{Sub}\end{bmatrix}_2 + \text{N}_3 + \text{V}_4 \rightarrow 1 + 2 + 3 + \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\ +\text{finite}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{Sg}\end{bmatrix}$$

II. *Subject Pronominalization* (*T-rule* 2)

$$\begin{bmatrix}\text{Pro}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{sg}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{N}\\ +\text{Sub}\end{bmatrix} + \text{N} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{sg}\end{bmatrix} \rightarrow \begin{bmatrix}\text{Pro}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{sg}\end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{N}\\ \text{Sub}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{sg}\end{bmatrix} + \text{N} + \begin{bmatrix}\text{V}\\ +\text{1st}\\ +\text{sg}\end{bmatrix}$$

III. *Pronominal Element Deletion* (*T-rule* 3)

$$\underset{1}{\text{Pro}} + \underset{2}{\overset{\text{N}}{\text{Sub}}} + \underset{3}{\text{N}} + \underset{4}{\text{V}} \rightarrow 2 + 3 + 4$$

Needless to say that T-3 is ordered only after T-1 and T-2. Further, T-1 is obligatory tranformational rule whereas T-2 is optional. By allowing T-2 to apply optionally, we allow generation of sentences like:

ivai nimantam ceyvittēṉ Araṅkaṉ Rāmēcaṉ

where the subject nominal is not pronominalized and:

Ayittanēn eṉ jīvitam puttastāṉattukku iṭṭēṉ

where the subject carries the person and number marker.

IV. Subject—Predicative Phrase Permutation (*T-rule* 4)

In the inscription under investigation, we come across sentences where the subject and the predicative phrases are permuted. Compare[2], for example, the sentence:

(29) Kumārakaṇattup Pērūrōm... tirunontāvilakkum ... vaippōmānom

with

(30) ..... palakaiyum nāṭṭiṉōm Patiṉeṇ pūmi vīrakoṭiyōm

The object and the verb (i. e. the predicative phrase) are placed after the subject in (29). But this order is reversed in (30) where the object-verb appears before the subject. Apart from considerations of style, it may perhaps also be suggested that a motive for this versions arises from a need to establish a topic-comment distinction. The person or thing about which something is said can be referred to as *topic*, the statement made about this person or thing can be referred to as the *comment* (cf. Lyons, 1968: 334—34). Thus in sentence (29) the topic announced is *Kumārakaṇattup Pērūrōm* 'we of kumārakaṇattuppērūr' and the comment is *nontāviḷakkum vaippōmānōm* 'made arrangements for burning one perpetual lamp'. In sentence (30) the topic is *Patiṉeṇ Pūmi Vīrakoṭiyōm* and the comment is *palakaiyum nāṭṭiṉōm*. If one wants to emphasize the comment, the order *comment-topic* may be used. In sentence (30) the *comment* is placed before the *topic*. This permutation may have been made to emphasise the object-verb. This phenomenon in inscriptional Tamil grammar acquires an optional transformational rule to derive such permuted sentences. This rule (i. e. T-rule 4) should be ordered to apply only after T-rule 1, T-rule 2 and T-rule 3:

T-rule 4

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{N} \\ \text{Sub} \\ \propto \text{ person} \\ \beta \text{ Num.} \end{bmatrix} \quad + \text{N} + \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ \propto \text{ person} \\ \beta \text{ Num.} \end{bmatrix} \quad \rightarrow \quad 1,\ 3,\ 2$$

1 2 3

3. Adjectival Transformation

The following type of sentences occur very often in Tamil inscriptions:

(31) Eḷunāṭaṉ kaṇṭan yakkan iṭṭa tirununtāvilakku

(32) Pālippōṭi Tampippōṭi nāṭṭiya tūṇ

The surface structure forms of (31) and (32) can transformationally be derived from the underlying deep structure:

$$\begin{bmatrix} \text{Pro} \\ + \text{ 3rd} \\ + \text{ sg} \\ + \text{ Mas} \end{bmatrix} \quad + \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{N} \\ + \text{Sub} \\ + \text{Mas} \end{bmatrix} \quad + \text{ N } + \quad \begin{bmatrix} \text{V} \\ + \text{past} \end{bmatrix}$$

The transformational rule (i. e. T-rule 5) that attaches features of adjectival participle to the $\begin{bmatrix} V \\ +past \end{bmatrix}$ can be ordered before the T-rule which assigns features of person and number to the verb.

T - rule 5

$$\begin{bmatrix} Pro \\ +3rd \\ +sg \\ +Mas \end{bmatrix} + \begin{bmatrix} N \\ Sub \\ +Mas \end{bmatrix} + N + \begin{bmatrix} V \\ +past \end{bmatrix} \rightarrow 1 + 2 + \begin{bmatrix} 4 \\ V \\ +past \\ +adj\ part \\ +finite \end{bmatrix} + 3$$

1 2 3 4

Thus the sentences (31) and (32) are derived from the underlying sentences:

(33) avaṉ eḷunāṯaṉ kaṇṭaṉ yakkaṉ tirunuṇṭāviḷakku iṭṭ

(34) avaṉ pālippōṭi Tampippōṭi tūṇ nāṭṭ

where they emerge into their surface forms. Here the verbs are attached with features which will phonologically realize as adjectival participles and the object-verb order is permuted.

The *Pro* element *avan* in all sentences (33) and (34) will get deleted by T-rule 3. T-rule 1 will not apply to any of these sentences as the verb carries the feature -finite]. T-rule 1 assigns features of person and number only to a verb which carries [+finite].

4. The 'verb to be'

The Tamil inscriptions of Sri Lanka consist of sentences such as:

(35) teṟku matil kailavaṉṉiyaṉār upayam

(36) nellukku araivāci ellai

In these sentences the predicative Noun phrases (NPs) *Kailavanniyaṉār upayam* (35) and *ellai* (36) are directly combined with the subject NPs *teṟku matil* (35) and *nellukku araivāci* (36) respectively without any verb. Traditional Tamil grammarians have postulated an optional verb *aaku* 'become' for this kind of sentences[3]. Lyons has (1968: 322-23, 388-99) suggested that what is generally referred to as the 'verb to be' in English and in other languages, is a grammatical element, devoid of meaning, which serves only to 'carry' the markers of tense, mood and aspect in the surface structure of sentences. In the case of sentences (35) and (36) they do not need the verb *aaku*. But in more literary-like written Tamil, one may insist that they be rendered as:

(37) teṟku matil Kailavaṉṉiyaṉār upayam ākum

(38) nellukku araivāci ellai ākum

But in the inscriptions, the sentences which have the subject and predicative NPs directly combined do not have the verb *aakum*. But this verb appears in the

inscriptional Tamil when such sentences are conditional or are in the optative mood. Consider for example the following sentence:

(39) ..... paavattil pōkak kaṭavar ā ka-v-um

Here the verb *aaku* 'become' serves to 'carry' the optative mood marker. This sentence (39) can also be rendered without the verb *aakavum* and yet it will convey the semantic content intended by the inscriber. This shows that that the verb *aaku* is a grammatical element devoid of meaning and serves only to 'carry' the markers of tense, mood and aspect. Therefore, the verb *aaku* can be taken as a 'surface structure verb.'

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I wish to thank my friend S. V. Kasynathan for reading through the earlier version of this paper.

FOOT NOTES

1. See, Sanmugadas, A. *Cāsanat Tamil*. Paper presented to the Annual Archaeological Seminar, Jaffna Archaeological Society, 1974

2. Compare sentences :

   i. Ayittanēn ..... Puttastānattukku iṭṭēn.

   ii. innilañ ceytu kututtēn,..... Iḷaṅkō Veḷanēn.

3. see, Nannul, Sutra 34.

REFERENCE:

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வி. சிவசாமி
இலங்கைப் பல்கலைக் கழகம்
யாழ்ப்பாண வளாகம்

ஒல்லாந்தர் காலத்திய யாழ்ப்பாணத்தின் பொருளாதார நிலை — சில குறிப்புக்கள்

காலம் :

இலங்கையின் வட பகுதியிலுள்ள யாழ்ப்பாணம், அதனை அடுத்துள்ள வன்னிப் பிரதேசங்களாகியவற்றை யடக்கியிருந்த யாழ்ப்பாண இராச்சியத்தினைப் போத்துக்கேயர் 1621இலே முற்றுக அடிப்படுத்தினர். பின்னர், டச்சுக்காரர் இதனை கி. பி. 1658இலே தமது ஆதிக்கத்திற்குட்படுத்தி 1796வரை ஆட்சி செய்தனர். ஒல்லாந்தர் யாழ்ப்பாணமுமடங்கிய இலங்கையின் கரையோரப்பகுதிகளையே இக் காலப்பகுதியிலே கட்டுப்படுத்தியிருந்தனர். கண்டியரசு இலங்கையின் சுதந்திரக் கோட்டையாகத் தொடர்ந்து நிலவிற்று.

யாழ்ப்பாணத்தின் முக்கியத்துவம் :

தமது ஆள்புலங்களிலே முக்கியமான ஒன்றுகவே இலங்கையினை டச்சுக்காரர் கருதினர். ''(டச்சுக் கிழக்கிந்திய) கம்பனியின் ஆள்புலங்களிலே இலங்கைத்தீவு விலைமிக்க மாணிக்கம் போன்றது. கடவுள் இருபையினுலே போத்துக்கேயராகிய எதிரிகளிடமிருந்து விடுவிக்கப்பட்டுள்ளது. இறைவனின் திருவருட் துணையுடன் இதனை எல்லாவிதமான இடையூறுகளிலிருந்தும் நன்கு பேணிப் பாதுகாக்கவேண்டும்..... புத்திசாலித்தனம், புத்திசாதுரியம் வாய்ந்த ஆட்சிமூலம், சமாதானத்தை ஏற்படுத்த வேண்டும்'' என ஆரம்பகால உயர்தர டச்சு அதிகாரியொருவர் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.[1] தமது ஆதிக்கத்திற்குட்பட்டிருந்த இலங்கையின் (தென்மேற்குத் தாழ்ந்த பிரதேசம், வடபிராந்தியம், பின் கிழக்குக் கரையோரம்) ஒரு முக்கியமான பிராந்தியமாகவே யாழ்ப்

பாணத்தினை அவர்கள் கருதினர். ''யாழ்ப்பாணம் மிக முக்கியத்துவம் வாய்ந்த ஓரிடமாகும். கம்பனியின் நலத்திற்காக அதனைப் பாதுகாக்க வேண்டும் ..... பிற இடங்களிற் போலன்றி இங்கு கம்பனியின் இறைமையுரிமை திட்டவட்டமாக ஆட்சேபத்திற்கிடமின்றி ஏற்பட்டுள்ளது.''[2] தென்மேற்கு இலங்கையின் தாழ்ந்த பிரதேசங்களிலே கண்டியரசர் இறைமையுரிமை கோரி வந்தனர் என்பது குறிப்பிடற்பாலது.

யாழ்ப்பாண நிருவாகப் பிரிவுகள் :

டச்சுக்காரர் நிருவாக வசதிக்காகத் தமது ஆள்புலங்களை மூன்று கொம்மாண்டரிகளாக (பெருமாகாணங்களாக) வகுத்தனர். அவற்றுள் ஒன்றுதான் யாழ்ப்பாணக் கொம்மாண்டரி. இதிலே, யாழ்ப்பாணக் குடாநாட்டில், வலிகாமம், வடமராச்சி, தென்மராச்சி, பச்சிலைப்பள்ளி, தீவுகள் ஆகிய பழைய பிரிவுகள் தொடர்ந்து நிலவின; வன்னிப்பகுதி வன்னியராலே கவனிக்கப்பட்டது.[3] வன்னியர் கம்பனிக்கு ஆண்டு தோறும் திறை கொடுத்து வந்தனர். டச்சுக்காரர் காலத்திலே நிலவிய யாழ்ப்பாணப் பொருளாதார நிலைமைகளையும் அபிவிருத்திகளையும் பற்றிச் சுருக்கமாக ஆய்வதே கட்டுரையின் நோக்கமாகும்.

ஐரோப்பியச் சூழ்நிலை :

டச்சுக்காரர் பின்பற்றிய பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கைபற்றிக் குறிப்பிடுமுன் சமகால ஒல்லாந்தின் பொருளாதார நிலை பற்றியும் குறிப்பிடுதல் நன்று. ''ஐரோப்பிய நாடுகளிலே, ஒல்லாந்திலே மட்டும், பின்னர் இங்கிலாந்திலும், வர்த்தக நடுத்தர வகுப்பினர் அரசியலிலே செல்வாக்குப் பெறக்கூடிய வலுப் பெற்றிருந்தனர். நிலப் பிரபுக்கள், வியாபாரிகள், கப்பலோட்டிகள் ஆகியோரின் கூட்டு முயற்சியாலேதான் (ஸ்பானிய ஆதிக்கத்திலிருந்து) ஒல்லாந்து விடுதலை பெற்றது. ஒல்லாந்திற் போன்று வேறு எந்நாட்டிலும் வர்த்தகத்தொழில் நன்மதிப்புப் பெற்றிலது.''[4] மேலும், ஒல்லாந்து தனது தொழில், விவசாய மூலங்களை அபிவிருத்தி செய்தும், ஐரோப்பிய வர்த்தகத்திலே முதல் தரமாக ஈடுபட்டுள்ளது.[5] 17ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலே, கடல் மட்டத்தின் கீழிருந்த 40 விகித நிலத்தின் பெரும் பகுதியினை மீட்டு நவின முறைப்படி ஒல்லாந்தர் விவசாயப் பெருக்கம் செய்தனர்; இவ்வகையில் அவர்கள் ஏனைய நாடுகளிலே வாழ்ந்த முன்னேற்றமான நிலப் பிரபுகளுக்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக இலங்கினர்; ''வடிகால்முறையிலேற்படும் பிரச்சினைகளைத் தீர்ப்பதற்கு டச்சுப் பொறியியல் அறிஞரின் உதவியினைப் பிற ஐரோப்பியர் நாடினர்''[5a] மேலும், இலாபத்தினை இலக்காகக் கொண்ட டச்சுக் கிழக்கிந்திய வர்த்தகக் கம்பனியின் முகவரான இவர்களுக்குக் குறைந்த செலவிலே கூடுதலான இலாபம் பெறுதலே பிரதான நோக்கமாகும். இதற்காக எத்தகைய வழிவகைகளையும் கையாளுதற்கு இவர்கள் பின்னின்றிலர்.

யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் ஈடுபாடு :

யாழ்ப்பாணம் பலவகையிலே, ஒல்லாந்தினை ஒத்திருந்தது. குறிப்பாகக் கடலோடைகள், அடுத்துள்ள தீவுகள், முதலியனவற்றைக் குறிப்பிடலாம். யாழ்ப்பாணக் குடாநாட்டினையடுத்துள்ள தீவுகளைத் தமது ஊர்ப்பெயர்களால் டச்சுக்காரர் அழைத்தனர். எடுத்துக்காட்டாக காரைதீவு (அம்ஸ்ரெடாம்), தன்னித்தீவு (லீடன்), புங்குடுதீவு (மிடில்பேர்க்), நயினாதீவு (ஹார்லெம்), அனலதீவு (ரொட்டடம்), நெடுந்தீவு (டெல்வ்ற்) முதலியனவற்றைச் சுட்டிக்காட்டலாம். இவற்றையடுத்துள்ள கடல்களை உப்பு ஆறுகளென இவர்கள் அழைத்தனர். ஏற்கனவே குறிப்பிட்டவாறு யாழ்ப்பா

ணத்தினை அவர்கள் நன்கு விரும்பினர். ''17ஆம் நூற்றாண்டுப் பிற்பகுதியிலே (1660—1680 வரை) மொத்த வருமானம் ஒரே மாதிரியின்றி வேறுபட்டு வந்தது: இக்காலப் பகுதியிலே 200,000—300,000 (டச்) கில்டர் கிடைத்தது. இலங்கை, தென்னிந்தியப் பண்டகசாலைகளிலிருந்து கிடைத்த வருமானத்திலே சுமார் 1/3 பகுதி யாழ்ப்பாணக் கொம்மாண்டரியிலே கிடைத்தது. கொழும்பு, காலி, கொம்மாண்டரிகள் தொடர்ச்சியாக வரவிலும் பார்க்கச் செலவுகள் கூடுதலாகக் கொண்டிருந்தன: யாழ்ப்பாணக் கொம்மாண்டரியிலே மட்டும் 100,000—200,000 (டச்) கில்டர் மேலதிக வருமானம் பெற்றனர். எனவே, இதனை மிகப் பெறுமதியுள்ள ஆள்புலமாகக் கருதினர். ஆகவே, இதன் மூலவளங்களைப் பயன்படுத்தி வினைபொருளுற்பத்தியினைப் பெருக்குதற்கு ஒல்லும் வகையால் முயற்சித்தனர்.''[6] சில வேளைகளிலே வரவு செலவுத் திட்டத்திலே குறைவு ஏற்பட்டது. கோர்னேலியஸ் சைமன் காலத்திலே (1707) அவருக்கு முன் நிலவிய பற்றுக்குறை நிவர்த்தி செய்யப்பட்டு லாபம் பெறப்பட்டது.[7]

பொருளாதார அபிவிருத்தியிற் கவனம்:

17ஆம் நூற்றாண்டு முடிவிலே, யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே தேசாதிபதியாகக் கடமை யாற்றிய ஹென்றிக் சுவாடக்ரேன் தமது குறிப்பேட்டிலே (1697இல்) முதலிலே சிக்கனத்தையே வற்புறுத்துகிறார்.[8] டச்சுக்காரரின் நிருவாகத்திலே சிக்கனம் முக்கிய மான இடம் பெற்றிருந்தது. சுயநலம் கருதியாயினும் நாட்டின் பொருளாதார அபிவிருத்தியிலே கவனம் செலுத்தினர். போத்துக்கேயரைப் போலன்றித் திட்ட வட்டமான பொருளாதாரக் கொள்கையினைப் பின்பற்றினர். சமகாலச் சுதேச பொருளாதார அமைப்பிலே தமது நோக்கத்திற்கேற்றவாறு மாற்றங்கள் செய்தும் செய்யாமலும் தன்னைப் படுத்தினர். இயன்ற அளவு கூடுதலாக வருமானம் பெறுதற்காகத் தோம்புகளை[9] நன்கு தொகுத்தனர். மனிதனுக்கு இன்றியமையாதவற்றில், உணவு, ஆடை ஆகியவற்றிலே பற்றுக்குறை காணப்பட்டது. இக்குறைபாட்டினை நிவர்த்தி செய்தல் அவர்களின் பிரதான நோக்கங்களில் ஒன்றாகும். இதற்கு உள்நாட்டு மூலவளங்களை நன்கு பயன்படுத்த முற்பட்டனர். ''மூலவளங்களை உள்நாட்டிலே வைத்து உற்பத்தியினை அதிகரிக்கவேண்டும். (வெளியே போகாது) பணம் இந்நாட்டிற்குள்ளேயே நிலவக்கூடிய வகையிலே இதன் வினைபொருளுற்பத்தியினைப் பெருக்கவேண்டும். இவ்வாறு செய்தால் இந் நாட்டிற்குத் தேவையான பொருள்களுக்குக்குப் பிற நாடுகளிலே தங்கியிருக்கத் தேவையில்லை. இவற்றிற்கான வழிவகைகள் உள்ளன. அவற்றை நாம் கடைப்பிடிக்கவேண்டும். இதற்குச் சமாதானம் நிலவவேண்டும். ஏனெனில், மக்களின் பணத்திலே பெரும்பங்கு வெளிநாட்டரிசியினை விலைக்கு வாங்குவதற்குச் செலவாகின்றது[10] என ஆரம்பகாலத் தேசாதிபதிகளிலொருவரான றைக்கிளவ் வான்கோவன்ஸ் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளமை கவனித்தற்பாலது. இலங்கையிலே விவசாயத் தன்னிறைவு ஏற்படுத்தலாமெனவும், இதனால் பெரும் செழிப்பு ஏற்படுமெனவும், டச்சு ஆதிக்கம் வலுப்படுமெனவும் வான்கோவன்ஸ் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.[11] ஈழத்திலே கம்பனியின் நோக்கங்கள் நிறைவேறுவதற்கான வழிவகைகளிலே விவசாயமும் ஒன்றாகும்.[12] எனவே, விவசாயப் பெருக்கம் அவர்களின் தலையாய நோக்கங்களுள் ஒன்று என்பது வெள்ளிடைமலை. இக் கொம்மாண்டரியின் வினைபொருளுற்பத்தியினை அதிகரிக்க முயன்றனர். இங்கு அரிசிக்கும், புகையிலைக்கும் ஆரம்பத்திலே பெருந்தொகையான பணம் வெளியே சென்றதாம்.[13] இப்போக்கினைத் தடுத்துப் பொருளாதார நிலையினைச் சீர்ப்படுத்த முயன்றனர். மேற்குறிப்பிட்ட இரு பொருள்களிலும், பற்றாக்குறை ஏற்படுதற்குக் கவனமற்ற நிருவாகக் கொள்கையும், மக்களின் சோம்பற்றனமுமே காரணமென வான்கோவன்ஸ் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார். இலங்கையிலுள்ள நிலங்களை நன்கு பயன்படுத்தினால் யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே மட்டுமன்றி

டச்சுக்காரரின் ஆட்சிக்குட்பட்ட இலங்கை முழுவதற்குமே தன்னிறைவு ஏற்படுத்தலா மென்பர். உணவுப் பற்றாக்குறை பெரிய பிரச்சினையானவொன்றும். இதனை நிவர்த்தி செய்வதால், கம்பனிக்கும் மக்களுக்கும் நன்மையேற்படும். நெல் உற்பத்தியினை அதிகரிப்பதற்குத் தென்னிந்தியாவிலிருந்து மாடுகளை இறக்குமதி செய்தனர். விவசாயப் பெருக்கமேற்படக் கம்பனிக்கு நன்மைகளேற்படும். நெல் உற்பத்தியினை அதிகரிப் பதனாலே சோழமண்டலக் கரையிலிருந்து ஆடை நெய்வோர், சாயம் போடுவோர் இங்கு வந்து ஆடை உற்பத்தியினை அதிகரிப்பர் எனவும், இதன் பலனைப் பிறநாடு களிலே அரிசிக்கும், ஆடைக்கும் தங்கியிருக்கத் தேவையில்லை எனவும், வருமானம் அதிகரிக்கும் எனவும் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது.[14] விவசாய விஸ்தரிப்பிற்காகப் பழைய நீர்ப் பாசன மூலங்களை இங்கும் திருத்தினர். நீர்ப்பற்றாக்குறையினாலே குளங்களை ஒருசாரார் சுவீகரிக்கத்தொடங்க அப்போக்கினைத் தடுத்து அவற்றினைப் பொதுச்சொத்தாக் கினர்.[15] புதிய சிறு குளங்களும் அமைக்கப்பட்டன. தமது தாய்நாட்டிற்போன்று, யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலும் வேறு சில இடங்களிலும் கடல் நீரினாலே பாதிப்புற்றிருந்த நிலங் களை மீட்டு விவசாய விஸ்தரிப்பினை ஏற்படுத்த முயற்சித்தனர். யாழ்ப்பாணக் கொம்மாண்டரியின் நடுவிலுள்ள கடலினாலே பெருந்தொகையான நிலங்கள் பயிர்ச் செய்கைக்கு உதவாமற் போயின என்பதன் உண்மையினை டச்சுத் தேசாதிபதியான சிரேய்டர் உணர்ந்தார். இக்கடலினை அளந்து ஆயுமாறு விசேட விசாரணைக்குழு வொன்றை அவர் நியமித்தார். இதற்கு அணைகட்டுவதனால் கடல் நீரிலிருந்து நிலங்களை மீட்கலாம் என யோசனை தெரிவிக்கப்பட்டது. ஆனால், இதுபற்றிக் கருத்து வேறு பாடுகள் நிலவின. தமக்குப்பின் வந்த தேசாதிபதி வான் எக் விரும்பினால் இதுபற்றிக் கூடுதலாக ஆராயுமாறு ஆலோசனை கூறியுள்ளார்.[16] ஆனால் துரதிர்ஷ்ட வசமாக இத் திட்டம் செயற்படுத்தப்படவில்லை. இன்று இக்கால யாழ்ப்பாணக் கடலேரித் திட்டத் திற்கு முன்னோடியாக ஆக்கபூர்வமான நடவடிக்கையாகும். இந் நூற்றாண்டு முற்பகுதி யிலே திரு. பாலசிங்கம் அவர்கள் யாழ்ப்பாணக் கடலேரித் திட்டம் பற்றிக் கூறி யுள்ளமை நினைவுகூரற்பாலது. தற்பொழுது இத் திட்டம் ஓரளவாவது செயற்பட ஆரம்பித்துள்ளமையும் குறிப்பிடற்பாலது. டச்சுக்காரர் நிலங்களை அளவிட்டு மக்களைப் பயிர்ச்செய்கையிலே தூண்டிவந்தனர். "பயிரிடப்பட்டால் என்ன, பயிரிடப்படா விட்டால் என்ன நிலங்கள் அனைத்தும் அளவிடப்பட்டு மேற்பார்வை செய்யப்படல் வேண்டும். ஏனெனில் பல வயல்களைப் போர்த்துக்கேயரின் துன்புறுத்தலாலும் மக்கள் கைவிட்டிருந்தனர். இவற்றைப் பயிரிடுவோரை ஊக்கப்படுத்துமுகமாக அவர்களுடைய நெல்விற்குத் தென்னிந்தியாவிலே விலைக்கு வாங்கும் நெல்லிற்குக் கொடுக்கப்படும் அதே விலையினை வழங்கவேண்டும்,[16a] எனக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளமை கவனத்திற்குரியது. போர்த்துக்கேயர் காலத்திலே பயிர்ச்செய்கை நன்கு கவனிக்கப்படவில்லை என்பதற்கு இதுவும் ஒரு சான்றாகும்.

சில வேளைகளிலே யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே பெருங்கஷ்டம் ஏற்பட்டது. "நாம் பெற வேண்டியனவற்றைச் செல்வனே பெறவேண்டுமாயின் மக்களின் உணவினைக் கவனிக்க வேண்டும்" என யாழ்ப்பாணத் தேசாதிபதி சுவாடெக்ரேன் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.[17] இவருக்கு முந்திய அந்தோனி பவில் ஜோன் காலத்தில் 120,000 பேரும், இவர் காலத்திய மக்கட்தொகைக் கணக்கெடுப்பின்படி 169,299 பேரும் இங்கு வாழ்ந்த தாக சுவாடக்ரேன் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்[18] ஆனால், சிலர் வரிகளுக்கும் அடிமைத் தனத்திற்கும் தப்புவதற்காகத் தலைமறைவாகி விட்டனராம். அவர்களைச் சேர்த்தால் சனத்தொகை மேலும் அதிகமாகும். இங்குள்ள உணவு மக்களுக்குப் போதாது; இங்கு சனத்தொகை அதிகமாக உள்ளதாகவும் உணவுத் தன்னிறைவு ஏற்படுத்தற்குத்

தடைகள் இருப்பதாகவும் ..... மக்கள் பழைமையான முறைகளிலே கொண்டிருந்த பிடிவாதத்திளுலே மேற்குறிப்பிட்ட குறைகளை நிவர்த்திசெய்ய முடியாதுள்ளதாம். எனினும், முயற்சித்து இவர்களைத் திருத்த வேண்டும்.[19] இங்கு விளைவிக்கப்படும் நெல் மூன்று மாதத்திற்கு மட்டுமே போதும். ஏனைய ஒன்பது மாதங்களில் மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குக் கிழங்கு வகைகளையும், மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குப் பழவகைகளையும், மூன்று மாதங்களுக்குத் தேங்காயினையும் மக்கள் பயன்படுத்துகின்றனராம்.[20] எனவே, கூடுதலான நெல் உற்பத்தியில் இவர்கள் கவனம் செலுத்திலர் எனக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது. இக் குறிப்பினை அப்படியே முற்றுகக் கொள்ளாவிடினும், அதில் அக்கால யாழ்ப்பாண மக்களின் பிரதான உணவு வகைகளும், அவற்றின் முக்கியத்துவமும் தெளிவாகின்றன. நெல் பற்றுக்குறையினைத் தவிர்ப்பது டச்சுக்காரரின் பிரதான நோக்கங்களிலொன்றும். தென்னிந்தியாவிலிருந்தும், பின் திருகோணமலை, மட்டக்களப்பு ஆகிய இடங்களிலிருந்தும் நெல் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டது.[21] யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் இறக்குமதி அரிசியை உண்ணப்பட்டால் அது மிக வெட்கமாகும். ஏனெனில் கடவுள் பரந்த நிலத்தினையும் அதனைப் பயிரிடுதற்குப் பல மக்களையும் தந்திருக்கிறார் எனக் கூறப்பட்டுள்ளது.[22] அக்கால யாழ்ப்பாண மக்களின் சோம்பற்றனம்பற்றிச் சுவாடெக்ரேன் போன்றோர் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளனர்.[23]

தென்னிந்தியாவிலிருந்து பெருந்தொகையான அடிமைகள் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டனர். அவர்களில் ஒரு பகுதியினர் யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே விலைக்கு விற்கப்பட்டனர். யாழ்ப்பாணத்தவர் இவர்களை விலைக்கு வாங்கிப் பயன்படுத்தியதிலிருந்து இங்கு நிலவிய செழிப்பு நிலையினை ஊகிக்கலாம் என்பர்.[24] இங்கு கிடைத்த அரிசியினை விட ஆண்டு தோறும் 2000 லாஸ்ற் அரிசி தேவைப்பட்டது.[25] தமது நோக்கம் நிறைவேறுதற்கு நெல், பருத்தி, புகையிலை ஆகியன பயிரிடுதல் அதிமுக்கியமாகும் என ஆரம்ப காலத்திலேயே டச்சுக்காரர் கருதினர்.[26]

பருத்தி :

பருத்தி உற்பத்தி நன்கு வற்புறுத்தப்பட்டது. கைலாயவன்னியன் ஆண்டுதோறும் பெரும்தொகையான பருத்தி கொடுப்பதாக வாக்குறுதியளித்திருந்தான்.[27] பருத்திச் செய்கை மூலம் போதிய அளவு ஆடைகளுக்கான நூல் கிடைக்குமென வற்புறுத்தப் பட்டது.[28] நெசவு தொழில் இழிவானதெனக் கருதப்பட்டமையாலே பலர் ஈடுபட்டிலராம். 17ஆம் நூற்றுண்டின் நடுப்பகுதியிலே 1600 நெசவுத் தொழிலாளர் மட்டும் வாழ்ந்தனராம்.[29] இதனாலே பெரிய பற்றுக்குறை நிலவிற்று. இதனை நிவர்த்தி செய்தற்குத் தென்னிந்தியாவிலிருந்து தொழிலாளர்களைக் கொணர்வித்தல் மட்டுமன்றி, உள்ளூர் மக்களையும் இதிலீடுபடுத்த விரும்பினர். சோழமண்டலக் கரையிலிருந்து நெசவாளர்களை வருவித்தனர்.[30] இங்கு வாழ்ந்த பல சாதியினரும் இத் தொழிலில் ஈடுபடுதற்கு ஊக்குவித்தனர். அவ்வாறு ஈடுபட்டவர்களுக்கு விடுதலையளித்தனராம்.[31] இங்கு வாழ்ந்த உயர்சாதியினரும் இத் தொழிலில் ஈடுபட வேண்டுமென ஒல்லாந்தர் வற்புறுத்தினர்.[32] குறிப்பாகப் பூநரிப்பகுதியிலிவர்களைக் குடியிருத்த விரும்பினர்.[33] 'வினன்' புடைவை உற்பத்தி முறையினைத் தூத்துக்குடி, சோழமண்டலக்கரைப் பிரதேசம் ஆகிய இடங்களிலிருந்து யாழ்ப்பாணத்தில் உட்புகுத்த முயன்றனர். ஆனால், இம் முயற்சி பலனளிக்கவில்லை. தடிப்புள்ள புடைவைகளுற்பத்தியிலும் டச்சுக்காரர் முயற்சித்தனர்.[34]

சாயவேர் :

யாழ்ப்பாண வருமான மூலகங்களி லிதுவுமொன்றாகும்.[35] இதிலும் அவர்கள் பெரிய லாபம் ஈட்டினர். காரைதீவிலும், மன்னாரிலும் மிகச் சிறந்த சாயவேர் கிடைத்தது. இவ்விடங்களிலே கிடைத்தனவற்றைத் தமது தாய்நாட்டிற்கு அனுப்ப ஒதுக்கி வைத்தனர்.[36] நெடுந்தீவிலும் சிறந்த ரகச் சாயவேர் கிடைத்தது.[37] யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே சிவப்புப் புடைவைச் சாயம் போடுதல் மிக லாபகரமான தொழிலாகும். இதற்காகச் சாலைகள் அமைக்கப்பட்டிருந்தன. சாயம் போடப்பட்டவை பெருந்தொகையாகப் பட்டேவியா, ஒல்லாந்து முதலிய இடங்களுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்யப்பட்டன.[38] டச்சுக் கப்பல்களுக்காகக் கம்பியும், கயிறும் உற்பத்தி செய்யப்பட்டன. அடிமைகளும் நெய்தல், பட்டுநூற்பூச்சி வளர்த்தல், சாயம் போடுதல் முதலியவற்றி லீடுபடுத்தப்பட்டனர்.[39]

மல்பரிச்செடி :

டச்சுக்காரர் யாழ்ப்பாணத்திலே மல்பரிச் செடியினை உண்டுபண்ணிப் பட்டுநூற் பூச்சி வளர்த்தற்குரிய பரிசோதனைகள் செய்தனர்.[40] ஆனால், இத்திட்டம் வெற்றி யளிக்கவில்லை.

புகையிலை :

புகையிலை உற்பத்தியும் நன்கு கவனிக்கப்பட்டது. இறக்குமதிப் புகையிலையிலும் பார்க்க உள்ளூர்ப் புகையிலை உயர்ரகமானது. ஆரம்பத்திலே பற்றுக்குறை நிலவிற்று. ஆனால் புகையிலை உற்பத்தி அதிகரித்தது. இஃது அதிகரிக்க இறக்குமதிப் புகையிலைக்கு 30 விகித வரி விதித்தனர்.[41] இதனால் உற்பத்தி அதிகரித்தது. எனவே, ஏற்றுமதி செய்தனர். பெரும்பாலும், மலையாளதேச வியாபாரிகள் புகையிலையினை விலைக்கு வாங்கினர். இதிலே பெரிய இலாபம் கிடைத்தது. நாகபட்டினத்திற்கும், ஒல்லாந்திற்கும் புகையிலையிலொருபகுதி ஏற்றுமதி செய்யப்பட்டது.[42] மிகுதியினைச் சுதேசிகள் விலைக்கு வாங்கினர்.[43]

பனம் பொருள்கள் :

டச்சுக்காரருக்கு முக்கியமான பிற பொருள்களிலே மக்களுக்கு இலாபம் கிடைத்தது. இத்தகைய பொருள்கள் பிற இடங்களிலில்லை. உதாரணமாகப் பனம்பொருள்களைக் குறிப்பிடலாம். சோற்றிற்குப் பதிலாக மக்கள் இதன் பழத்தினைப் புசித்தனர். இப் பழம், இதிலிருந்து பெறப்படும் பனாட்டு, சீனி, கிழங்கு, பாய், ஓலை, மரம் முதலிய பொருள்களையும் குறிப்பிடலாம். இப்பொருள்களுக்குச் சோழமண்டலக் கரையிலும், தொண்டியிலும் பெரிய இலாபம் கிடைத்தது.[44] இதைவிடத் தேங்காய், தேங்காய் எண்ணெய், வேம்பு முதலியவற்றையும் விற்றனர். தென்னை மர வரி 1696இலே நீக்கப்பட்டது. தென்னைத் தோட்டங்கள் விஸ்தரிப்பு ஊக்குவிக்கப்பட்டது; மக்களின் செழிப்பிற்கு இஃதும் ஒரு காரணமாகும்.[45] மேற் குறிப்பிட்ட பொருள்களின் விலை அதிகரித்தது. வியாபாரம் முன்னெயிலும் மும்மடங்கு அதிகரித்தது. பருத்தித்துறைக்கும் ஊர்காவற்றுறைக்குமிடையிலுள்ள கரையோரங்களிலே கப்பல் தொகையும் அதிகரித்தது.[46] பனைவளம் கரி பெற்றனர்.[47] பனை மரத்தில் ஒரு பகுதியினை டச்சுக்காரர் தமக்கெனக் குறைந்த விலைக்கு வாங்கிக் கொழும்பிற்கு அனுப்பினர்.[48] டச்சுக் கிழக்கிந்தியக் கம்பனியின் பணியாட்களுக்குக் கோழி, பால், தயிர், செம்மறியாடு, வாழைப்பழம், வெற்றிலை முதலியன விற்றும் மக்கள் இலாபம் பெற்றனர்.[49] தொழில்களிலீடுபடுவதற்கு நல்ல வாய்ப்புக்களிருந்தன.[50] மக்கள் முன்னைய

சில காலங்களிலும் பார்க்கச் செழிப்புடன் வாழ்ந்தவர். அவர்கள் துன்புறுத்தப்பட்டு நன்கு சுரண்டப்படுவதாகக் கூறப்படுதல் பொய்யுரையென யாழ்ப்பாணத் தேசாதிபதி (1697) ஹென்ரிக் சுவாடெக்ரேன் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.[51] ஆனல், இதுபற்றி நன்கு ஆய்தல் அவசியமாகும்.

யானை :

வன்னிப் பகுதியிலே நெல், பருத்தி முதலியனவற்றுடன் குறிப்பாக யானை திறையாகக் கிடைத்தது. இது பிரதான வருமான மூலம் ஒன்றாகும். தென்னிலங்கை யானைகளும், வன்னி யானைகளும் வடக்கே, குறிப்பாக, யானைஇறவு, காரைதீவு முதலிய இடங்களுக்குக் கொண்டுவரப்பட்டுத் தென்னிந்தியா, கோல்கொண்டா முதலிய இடங்களுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்யப்பட்டன. காரைதீவுத் துறைமுகத்திற்கு ஊடாக யானை ஏற்றுமதி செய்யப்பட்டது. இதுபற்றி வண. போல்டேயஸ் சுவாமிகளும் குறிப்பிட்டுள்ளார்.[52] இன்றும் காரைநகரிலுள்ள யானைப்பாலம் என்ற இடம் இதனை நினைவூட்டுகின்றது.

முத்து, சங்கு :

முத்துக் குளிப்பு மன்னார்க் கடலில் நடைபெற்றது. சங்கு யாழ்ப்பாணக் கடல்களிலே கிடைத்தது. இப்பொருள்களிரண்டும் தென்னிந்தியாவுக்கு ஏற்றுமதி செய்யப்பட்டன.

டச்சுக்காரின் தனியுரிமைப் பொருள்கள் :

வியாபாரப் பொருள்களிலே முக்கியமானவற்றினை — யானை, சாயவேர் போன்றவற்றினைத் தனியுரிமையாக்கினர். சீலை வியாபாரத்திலே 20 விகிதம் கொடுத்துத் தனிப்பட்டவர்களையுமீடுபடுத்தினர். வேறு சிறு வியாபாரமும் செய்தனர். இக்கால வெளிநாட்டு வியாபாரத்திலே தென்னிந்தியாவும் இலங்கையும் ஒரு பொதுவான பொருளாதாரப் பிராந்தியமாகவே விளங்கின.[53] இலங்கையிலிருந்து யானை, முத்து முதலியன விற்கப்பட்டு அரிசி, புடைவை என்பன பெறப்பட்டன.

பிறவருமான மூலங்கள் :

இவற்றிலே பலவிதமான வரிகள் அடங்கும். இதற்கு எடுத்துக்காட்டாக 1696ஆம் ஆண்டைய பிரதான மூலங்களையும், வருமானத்தையும் குறிப்பிடலாம்.[54]

		றிக்ஸ்டொலர்
1.	நிலங்கள், மரங்கள் தோட்டங்கள் முதலியனவற்றிலிருந்து பெறப்படும் வரி	16,348.3.4¾
2.	1/10 விகித வரிகள் (விளைபொருள்களில்)	8,632.7.3¾
3.	தலைவரி	5,999.1.0
4.	ஒவ்விதிவரி	865.2.0
5.	அதிகாரிவரி	1,178.3.0½
	மொத்த வருமானம்	33,020.10.2
	மன்னார் வருமானம்	879.10.2
		33,900. 9.0

இவ்வரிகள் பெரும்பாலும் ஏலத்திலே விடப்பட்டன: மேற்குறிப்பிட்ட மொத்த வருமானத்திலிருந்து, மேஜரூல், கஜால் [55], வருமானம் சேகரிப்பவர், கணக்கப்பிள்ளை முதலியோரின் செலவுகளுக்கு 1375.8.1½ றிக்ஷ்டொலர் கழித்தால் 31,645.2.½ றிக்ஷ்டொலர் வருமானமாகும். யானைக்கு அடுத்தபடியாக இதுவே முக்கிய வருமான மாகும்.

குதிரை :

ஒல்லாந்தர் நெடுந்தீவிலும், இரணதீவு, பாலதீவு ஆகிய இடங்களிலும் குதிரை லாயம் ஏற்படுத்தியிருந்தனர். அராபிய, பாரசீக, யாவகக் குதிரைகள் வளர்க்கப் பட்டன.[56] இம் முயற்சியில் எதிர்பார்த்த அளவு பலனில்லை. குதிரைகள், குறிப் பாகத் தென்னிந்தியாவிற்கு ஏற்றுமதியாயின.

தெருக்கள் :

நாட்டின் பல இடங்களிலும், தெருக்கள் அமைக்கப்பட்டன. பெரிய தெருக்கள் குறிப்பிட்ட அகலத்திற்கு அமைக்கப்பட்டன[57]. இத்தெருக்களைச் சுதேசிகளே பேண வேண்டுமெனக் கூறப்பட்டது. பொதுவாகத் தெருக்களிற்கூடக் குடியானவர் தமது வேலிகளை அமைத்தனர். வீழ்பொருள்கள் அதிகரித்தபடியாலே, மழைக்காலம் ஆரம் பிக்க எல்லா நிலங்களும் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டன. யாழ்ப்பாண நிலங்களின் விலை முன்னையிலும் மூன்று, நான்கு அல்லது ஐந்து மடங்கு உயர்ந்தது. ஆகவே தெருக் களை முன்னைய அகலத்திற்கு விடவேண்டுமென மேலதிகாரிகள் திசாவிற்குக் கட்டளை யிட்டனர்.[58] இன்றும் டச்சுக்காரர் பெயரினை நினைவூட்டும் ''டச் ரோட்டுகள்'' சில உள்ளன.

துறைமுகங்கள் :

பருத்தித்துறை, கொழும்புத்துறை, காரைதீவுத்துறை, ஊர்காவற்றுறை முதலியன இக்காலத்திலே முக்கியத்துவம் பெற்றிருந்தன. குறிப்பாகத் தென்னிந்திய வியாபாரத்தினிலை பிரபல்யமுற்றன.

முடிவுரை :

இவ்வாறு டச்சுக்காரர் பல வழிகளிலே பொருளாதார நன்மைகளைப் பெற முயன் றனர். இப்பிராந்தியப் பொருளாதார மூலவளங்களை நன்கு பயன்படுத்திப் பெரிய லாபம் பெறக்கூடிய வகையிலே செயலாற்றினர். இவர்கள் தன்னலப்படுத்தற்காக மேற்கொண்ட நடவடிக்கைகளாலே பொது மக்களிற்குக் கஷ்டங்கள் பல காலத்திற்குக் காலம் ஏற்பட்டன. ஆனால் இவர்கள் மேற்கொண்ட ஆக்கபூர்வமான நடவடிக்கைகள் எமக்கு இன்றும் எடுத்துக்காட்டாக இலங்குகின்றன.

அடிக்குறிப்புக்கள் :

1. *Instructions from the Governor General and Council of India to the Governor of Ceylon* 1658—1665. Tr. by Sophia Pieters, Colombo, 1908, p. 3
2. மேற்படி
3. பனங்காமம், கட்டுக்கரைமூலை, மேல்பத்து, முள்ளியவளை, தென்னைமரவடி, கரு நாவற்பற்று என்பன ஒல்லாந்தர் கால வன்னிப்பங்களாம்

4. Heaton Herbert, *Economic History of Europe*, New York 1948, p. 257
5. மேற்படி ப. 274—281
5அ. மேற்படி ப. 281
6. Arasaratnam S. 'Trade and Agriculture Economy of the Tamils during the latter half of the 17th century', *Tamil Culture*, Vol. IX, No. 4, 1961, p. 372
7. *Memoirs of Cornelius John Simons to his successor Hendrich Becker*, Tr. by Sophia Anthonisz, Colombo 1914, p. 5
8. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon Commandeur of Jaffnapatam* 1697, Tr. by S. Pieters, Colombo 1911, p 5
9. இவை ஹுஸ்ட் தோம்பு (குறிப்பிட்ட இடத்திலுள்ள குடும்பங்கள், தொழில்கள் முதலியன பற்றிய விபரங்கள் அடங்கியது), நிலத்தோம்பு (குறிப்பிட்ட இடத்தின் நிலவியல்பு விளைவுகள் முதலியன கொண்டது) என இரு வகைப்படும்.
10. *Memoirs of Rykloff Van Goens* (1663—1675) Tr. by E. Reimers, Colombo, 1932, p. 17. அரிசிப் பற்றாக்குறை 18ஆம் நூற்றாண்டிலும் நிலவியது.
Memoir of Julius Stein Van Gollenesse (1743—1751) Tr. by S. Arasaratnam, Colombo 1974, p. 88
11. Arasaratnam S., *The Dutch Power in Ceylon*, Jambattan, 1958, p. 130
12. i. Arasaratnam S., மேற்படி
ii. *Instruction from the Governor General*, p. 4
13. மேற்படி ப. 97
14. மேற்படி ப. 97
15. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon* p. 87
16. *Memoir of Jan. Shreuder* (1757—1762) Tr. by Reimers, Colombo, 1946 p. 61
16அ. *Instructions from the Governor General* .....p. 96
17. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon*, p. 30
18. மேற்படி ப. 16
18அ. மேற்படி ப. 91
19. *Instructions from the Governor General* ..... p. 12
20. மேற்படி ப. 97
21. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon* p. 31
22. *Instructions from the Governor General* ..... p. 97
23. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon*, p. 30.
24. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon* p. 30
25. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon*, p. 30
26. *Instructions from the Governor General* .....p. 96
27. மேற்படி ப. 97
28. *Memoir of Ryckloff Van Goens*, p. 1
29. *Instructions from the Governor General* ... p. 12
30. மேற்படி ப. 12—13

31. மேற்படி பக்கம் 13
32. மேற்படி பக்கம் 13
33. மேற்படி பக்கம் 13
34. *Instructions from the Governor General*, p. 102
35. *Instructions from the Governor General*, p. 18
36அ. மேற்படி, ப. 100
36ஆ. *Memoir of Jan. Shreuder* p. 58
37. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon*, p 82
38. *Memoir of Cornelins John Simons*, p. 8
39. *Instructions from the Governor General*.....p. 114
40அ. *Memoir of Rykloff Van Goens*, p. 16
40ஆ. *Memoir of Van Imhoff*, Tr. by S. Pieters, Colombo, 1911, p. 52
41. *Instructions from the Governor General* p. 98
42. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon* ..... p. 32
43. *Memoir of Jan Shreuder* p. 80
44. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon*, p. 31
45. மேற்படி பக்கம் 33
46. மேற்படி பக்கம் 31
47. மேற்படி பக்கம் 36
48. மேற்படி பக்கம் 34
49. மேற்படி பக்கம் 33
50. மேற்படி பக்கம் 32
51. மேற்படி பக்கம் 32
52. Baldaes Phillipus, *A True and Exact description of the Island of Ceylon*, *Ceylon Historical Journal*. Vol. VIII., 1958—1959, p. 338
53. Arasaratnam S. மேற்குறிப்பிட்டது, ப. 148
54. *Memoir of Hendrich of Zwaadecroon*, p. 16—17.

தலைவரி:- எல்லாச் சாதியினரையும் சேர்ந்த வயது வந்த ஆண்கள் தத்தம் சாதிக் கேற்றவாறு கூடுதலாகவோ, குறைவாகவோ கொடுப்பதாம். மன்னர் காலத்தில் இவை பொதுத் திறைச்சேரிக்கு விடப்படும்.

ஒவ்விதிவரி:- வியாபாரம் அல்லது தொழிலால் வாழ்க்கை நடத்தும் சில சாதியினர் கொடுக்கின்ற வரி. இவர்களுக்கு ஊழியத்திலிருந்து விலக்கு அளிக்கப்படும்.

அதிகாரிவரி:- வேளாளர் கொடுத்த வரி. இவ்வரி அரசர் காலத்தில் அவரின் செலவிற்குப் பயன்படுத்தப்பட்டது.

55. மேஹருல்: நீர்ப்பாசன வசதிகளைக் கவனிக்கும் அதிகாரி.
கஜால்: பொது நலத்திற்காகச் சம்பளமின்றிப் பணிபுரியும் தொழிலாளர் குழு.
56. i. *Memoir af Cornelius Simons* (1707) p. 5
ii. *Instructions* ..... p. 103
57. *Memoir of Hendrich Zwaadecroon* p. 87
58. மேற்படி பக்கம் 87—88.

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CANKAM LITERATURE AND ARCHAEOLOGY

Cankam literature is the name given to the earliest extant Tamil literature[1]. Some refer to this as the 'Literature of the Three Kingdoms'.[2] While assessing the importance of this literary corpus as a source for ancient history, Nilakanta Sastri said: "the poems of the Cankam Age are very realistic and prima facie trustworthy and do not share the demerits of the literature of a more fulsome age"[3]. Its secular character has been emphasized by many and it has been used as the basic, if not the only, source for the reconstruction of the early history of the Tamils[4].

This acceptance should lead us to another enquiry, viz., the reason, in terms of the history of literature in general, why this is so free from literary exaggerations and fictitiousness that characterises the highly ornate literary expressions of later times.

Pursuing the hints provided by Siddhanta and Vaiyapuripillai, Kailasapathy made an exhaustive literary analysis of this corpus with reference to the Homeric epics and had found that in theme, bardic tradition, and techniques of verse-making Cankam literature is unmistakably and genuinely 'heroic' in character.[5]

What does this term "heroic literature" imply to a student of history?

An analysis of the heroic literatures of the world reveals that those were/are all invariably (a) oral literature, (b) the literary expressions primarily of bards (later conventionalised), and (c) epics of considerable length. At the outset they originate

as expressions of a pre-literate society and flourish in conditions when the art of writing is not fully developed. These are preserved by a near-perfect mode of poetic transmission.[6]

Among people who had reached a considerable degree of state organization but had no system of writing, the bard (the singer of heroic poems) occupied an important place in the transmission of tradition, which the rulers of such people valued most.[7] As Vinsina argues, oral tradition is one important form of historical methodology.

This perhaps explains the inherent trustworthiness of the Cankam Corpus. In post-Cankam Tamilnadu, especially in the Pallava or the Cola times, royal transmission of tradition was better organized and the role of the poet had changed thoroughly.

But this advantage the Cankam literature possesses is not an absolute one. Kailasapathy's work, significant in terms of Tamil and Comparative Literary Studies, is yet the only work on the subject and there are many problems arising out of this 'heroic' characterization which remain unsolved.

The Tamil heroic literature has certain features, which mark it out rather clearly from the better known examples of that genre:

(1) There is no heroic epic of any sizeable length as the *Iliad* or the *Odyssey*. There might have been certain epics in existence but for the reference to one, *Takaṭūr Yāttirai*, we do not hear of any.

(2) The extant corpus has been anthologised in a highly conscious literary pattern. We have evidences to show that the extant anthologies were made by poets on royal initiative. The *Tokuttōṉ Tokuppittōṉ* tradition[8] raises certain fundamental issues relating to the function of literature as envisaged by the monarchs of that period. It is likely that many poems from the literary genres were compiled and that some literary forms in toto would have been left unchosen for preservation. *Tolkāppiyam* refers in *Ceyyuḷiyal* (116—9) to forms of literary expressions like *Nūl*, *Urai*, *Pici*, *Mutumoḻi* and *Mantiram*.[9] There is also reference to *Aṅkatam* (Satire). Of course one could point out a few satirical remarks in Cankam literature. But the major forms mentioned above are all lost to us now.

(3) It is significant that the highest limit Tolkappiyar prescribes for *akaval*, the most employed bardic metre, is only thousand lines, which is hardly enough for a full bardic epic.

(4) An overall view of the whole thing tends to suggest that political motivations seem to have played a significant role in the preservation of the Cankam texts. *Puram* literature is manifestly political and even in *Akam* literature there is a very high incidence of political allusions.

(5) We do not have any evidence that could enlighten us on the practice of bardism and the transmission of the bardic art in Tamilnadu.[11]

For a social historian answers to these problems are rather important for only those would highlight the socio-political character of Cankam literature.

Nevertheless, we should first note the historical meaning of a heroic age[12].

Heroic literature, by and large, is the product of an age of history in which collective tribal authority is supplanted by the authority of a single hero (or heroes) and his associates to whom the entire tribe submits itself. The newly formed authority leads to the beginnings of either a feudal or a mercantilist rule. In the rise of the hero who symbolises all the virtues of collective tribal authority; we see also the beginnings of the dissolution of the tribal authority and the emergence of the king or the monarch as the sole owner of all lands (directly or by delegated authority) under him. The hero, starting from a position of *primus inter pares* emerges as the sun that outshines the lesser stars.

The foregoing discussion reveals that the Cankam literature can depict only one aspect—a major one no doubt, of the history of the period.

Thus one has to turn to other forms of available historical evidences to supplement the literary evidences so that a full, historical picture of the period might emerge.

Archaeology provides that other necessary evidence. Excavation Archaeology provides, as it were, a time-table of cultures in sequence giving us an insight into pre-historic and proto-historic periods. "Yet even in the study of the earliest literate communities archaeology is bound to play an ancilliary, if not a subservient role, where any considerable bulk of inscriptions has survived, since these give an insight into the mentality of early societies more direct than material things can ever do"[13]. Thus for a comprehensive study of the period depicted in Cankam literature we need the assistance of epigraphy and numismatics besides archaeology proper[14].

Archaeological corroboration of literary evidence, especially like Cankam literature which has not been arranged in an undisputed chronological sequence, enables us to relate the literary evidences to the different phases of the cultural growth of the country. It has already been shown that the *Tiṇai* concept which is so basic to the study of Cankam literature does really refer to the pre-historic cultural and ecological organization of South India.[15]

It is generally accepted that Cankam literature, by and large,[16] depicts a period ranging from 100 B C. to 250 AD.[17]

It is possible that while being contemporaneous with certain political developments, it has also preserved memories of a prehistoric past. Thus this literary corpus should be viewed against the breakdown of the various phases of culture as given by the archaeologists. The most recent authoritative study on this subject is the work written by Bridget and Raymond Allchin[18] and they indicate the following culture phases:

The Early Stone Age

The Middle Stone Age

Neolothic Chalcolithic Age

Iron Age (and Beginnings of History)

To scholars whose main speciality is not Early South Indian society, an extensive apology like the above for the use of archaeological evidences may sound rather unusual. To them, we are forced to confess that there are certain scholars in this area of study, who feel that one should not start with the assumption that Cankam literature needs corroboration for acceptance as history.[19] The foregoing extolling of the virtues of archaeology is for the benefit of such scholars.

Let us first turn towards the most interesting fact of how archaeology helped to settle the date of Caṅkam literature.

Caṅkam literature, does not have much internal clue to its own chronology.[20]. This put away many scholars from handling it as an indisputable source. The Gajabāhu synchronism was at first used to give it a reliable chronological basis. But the reference to Gajabhu was in Cilappatikāram, a work of the late 5th or early 6th century AD. (It is now accepted that Cilappatikāram, though late must have preserved a correct historical memory of Gajabahu's visit to India it could not have been a contemporaneous record.[21]) Kanakasabhaippillai then tried to determine the chronology of the Cankam texts by highlighting the references to foreign trade found in the Classical Geography and Travel. Vaiyapuripillai himself thought that the classical testimony provided a better basis for the chronology of Cankam literature.[22]

It was the archaeological excavations, which provided unassailable grounds for finally fixing the date of Caṅkam literature. The Arretine ware, which is limited to a period between AD 20-50, found at the Arikamedu excavations put to rest the question of any further doubt on the date and the dependability of the Caṅkam texts. The 'drama" of the discovery and identification of the Roman Arretine ware at Arikamedu and Virampatnam has been very graphically described by Wheeler in his *Still Digging*[23].

Systematic work on the megaliths of South India, which was began as far back as 1944, also helped to demonstrate the historical trustworthiness of the Cankam classics. K. R. Srinivasan's now famous article on "The Megalithic burials and Urn fields in South India in the light of Tamil literature and tradition"[24] brought home the fact that this literature does possess some accurate historical data.

Though Professor Subrahmanian would like to hold on to the sovereign supremacy of Cankam literature as the only source of History much water has flown under the bridge of Indian Archaeology since Casals and Wheeler. It is

no longer feasible or profitable for any scholar to view evidence in isolation. The need today, especially for the social historian, is to integrate all these evidences into one historical whole. Such a process of integration would enable us to view the problems relating to each of the sources (archaeology and literature) in better light and get an overall picture of the social development of the period.

In this process of getting an integrated history, we have to take, besides literature and archaeology, closely allied subjects like Epigraphy and Numismatics. As Lal has observed "no account of historical archaeology would be complete without a pointed reference to important inscriptions and coins."[26]

By relating archaeology and allied sources to Cankam literature we will be in a position to throw light on the following aspects:

(a) Archaeological confirmation of the geophysical background depicted in Cankam literature.

(b) Delineation of the literary evidences to fit into the archaeologically determined phases of cultural growth.

(c) Archaeological corroboration of certain literary evidences.

(d) The development of the art of writing in the period depicted in Cankam literature.

Cankam literature is based on the poetic tradition of 'Aintinai'. 'Aintinai' refers to the five-fold classification of the geophysical area of Tamilnadu. In my paper on "Early South Indian society and economy—The Tinai concept"[26], it has been shown that this five-fold division arises from a basic four-fold division of the area into hilly region, pastoral and plateau regions, littoral region, and riverine or agrarian region. It has also been amply demonstrated that this division reflects the pattern of development postulated by the archaeologists. In fact the process could be reversed and an authoritative statement be made that Cankam literature provides micro-level proof of the fact that 'throughout the Indian Sub-continent distinct cultural groups at very different levels are to be found living together in more or less close proximity to one another'[27]. Cankam literature provides us with the information that these geophysical units though lying adjacent to each other, were so varied in their economic and social organisation that they would be described as different worlds in themselves.[28]

The archaeologial framework viewed against the background of literary evidences reveals that the different Tinais illustrate the different modes of production. The archaeologically-oriented view of the literary evidences also reveals the tribal setting of pre-historic Tamilnadu and shows how centralised monarchs could rise on the river basins of Kāveri, Vaikai and Periyār.

Historically speaking the significance of such a corroboration lies in the unravelling of the uneven character of the economic, social and political organisations of Tamilnadu. The recognition of the uneven development is important because in terms of archaeology, it means that differing culture phases were existing side by side. The pre-historic archaeological evidences brought to light so far are material evidences to prove the historicity of the Tinai Concept.

Basing their findings primarily on archaeological evidences and without referring to any of the literary evidences, archaeologists have this to say about the early Middle and Late Stone Age in Tamilnadu:

"The palaeolithic tools are found in the *Kortalayar* basin near Madras and particularly in places like Attirampakkam, Vadamadurai, Pundi etc... Palaeolithic men around Madras not only lived on the open river banks but also perhaps in the natural rock shelters and caves. A huge natural cave which once served as the habitat of these people had been discovered in the hill ranges near the village of Gudiyam in the Kortalayar Valley. Recently as many as sixteen rock shelters, two of them yielding human tools, have been located in the hill-range.

The next two succesive stages in the prehistoric culture sequence were the Middle Stone Age and the Late Stone Age... Tools apparently belonging to the Middle Stone Age have been found recently at a few places like T. Pudupatti Sivarakottai in Tirumangalam Taluk of Madurai District. They are found on the banks of a stream named Marattar.

In the Late Stone Age... the tool techniques underwent further specialisation in accordance with the changing pattern of human wants and smaller and finer tools were made in a variety of shapes like the blades, points, awls or bores, arrowheads etc. Some of the earliest microlithic sites in India are found in Tirunelveli District. They are found in the sand dunes locally called Teris in places near the coast like Sawyerpuram, Megnanapuram, Kulathur, Nazarethe etc. in Tirunelveli district where a hunting or fishing people settled in the vicinity of the coastline sometime in the early part of the Holocene, i. e. around 4000 BC"[29].

"... in Southern India the change from Middle to Late Stone Age, that is from the flake to the microlithic tradition, appears to have been a process of continuous development rather than of sudden change".[30]

"The dunes (the teri industry referred to in an earlier paragraph) were in the process of formation when the first hunters, or more probably fishermen camped among them ... There is of course no reason to suppose that the dunes were only inhabited when the sea was at a higher level than at present; they provide a sheltered camping place within the reach of the

sea and of lagoons and estuaries suitable for fishing and fowling. Fishing communities on the coasts of India still live in situations of this kind, building their huts among sand dunes which are far from stable, in order to be near their fishing grounds..... The Late Stone Age or 'Mesolothic' Industries of India must be associated with people much like the modern 'tribal' groups in more remote regions who live (or lived until less than a century ago) primarily by hunting and gathering, only sometimes augmenting this by trading with more advanced communities or by going out to work for them."[31]

These descriptions will bring to memory the literary descriptions of the Kurinci and Neital habitats. Kurinci was a food gathering civilisation. The Karupporul (environmental aspects) given in the commentaries of *Tolkappiam* for Kurinci and Neital, are as follows:

Kurunci: Diet: Millet, Bamboo, rice
Economic Activity: obtaining honey,
digging yams,
driving away birds that peck the corns of millet
Sources of Water: Streams and fountains

Neital: Diet: Food bought by the sale of fish and salt
Economic Activity: Fishing, salt production and sale of fish and salt.
Sources of Water: Wells and fountains.[32]

It has also been established that the primary social organization especially in these two regions was based on tribal grouping.[33]

Archaeological evidence relating to the Neolithic Chalcolithic phases is also amply corroborated by literary evidence. Raman says the following about the Neolithic culture phase of Tamilnadu.

"The next landmark in the pre-historic sequence of culture is known as the Neolithic or the New Stone Age. This was the period when momentous changes occurred. Man, who was till now a foodgatherer, became a food producer and introduced agricultural operations. He began to have settled society, domesticated some of the animals and used earthenware vessels. His stone implements underwent a corresponding drastic change to meet the demands of a new economy. Fine polished Stone axes, adzes, grinders, pounders etc made of black basalt were used. A large collection of such polished stone axes has been made from the region along the Shevaroy hills in Salem District. A few stray Neoliths have come from Madurai and Coimbatore districts. But it is the North Arcot Salem belt that has yielded a number of sites yielding Neolithic axes and a pottery of coarse grey ware associated with it..... The Carbon 14 test made on the charcoal specimens found in the excavation (at Paiyampalli in N. Arcot District) has placed the Neolithic period about 400 B. C."[34]

Allchins say this :

> "The southern Neolithic culture is associated from the beginning with people possessing herds of cattle (Bos Indicus), sheep and goats developing in course of time a stone blade industry.[35]

Allchins has earlier shown that the ashmounds excavated at Utnur and Kupgal belong to Neolithic habitations and were really the remains of the burnt cattlepens[36]: In his effort to establish the pastoral character of the southern Neolithic culture Allchins cites Cankam literature as invincible evidence.

> "Before we turn to the modern ethnographic evidence, it may be well to mention the remarkable picture of the pastoral groups given in the early Tamil Sangam literature, dating from the opening centuries of this era.[37]

He quotes the lines 147—196 from Perumpaṇarṟupaṭai to substantiate his thesis. An anthropological analysis of the conduct code and economic activities ascribed to Mullai Tinai reveals the fact that Mullai culture had shifting agriculture and pastoralism as its major economic activities.[38]

Thus we can, with no difficulty, relate the Mullai culture to the Neolithic one But it should be remembered that the Neolithic culture was not spread throughout Tamilnad. Whilst certain areas were progressing with the Neolithic phase certain other areas were stagnant.

This is what Raman, in his article on "Distribution Patterns of Culture Traits in the pre and proto-historic times in Madurai Region", has to say:

> "so in the present state of our knowledge we can say that the impact of the Neolithic cultural movement on the southern and eastern districts of Tamilnadu was negligible. By and large, this area, like the major portion of Kerala, should be considered to have been in the cultural backwaters when the new cultural impulses and technical advances in tool making did not penetrate and much less leave an impact. Were they still steeped in the microlithic stage, leading a semi-nomadic foodgathering stage, quite unaware of the new ideas of settled society, pottery making, food production or agricultural operation that swept the westerly tracts? It seems probable that Neolithic people preferred having their habitats near the foothills and the plateaus to the coastal plains."[39]

This archaeological observation demonstrates once again the already mentioned uneven character of the development of the various regions.

Coming to the megalithic Iron Age phase, we see that K. R. Srinivasan has already shown the Cankam literary evidences for the megalithic burials. But with more excavations done it is now becoming increasingly clear that the chief factors that link up the megalithic culture are "the nature of interment or burial, the grave goods, the iron objects, the Black and Red pottery etc.. [40]

The discovery of the use of Iron in the megalithic burial complex had prompted Allchins to call those "the Iron Age Graves". The problem of the megalithic burials led to an interesting discussion on the origins of Dravidian civilization in India.[41] But here our problem is to relate them to a particular culture sequence and to see whether there is literary corroboration for such a placing.

Allchins suggest that "the South Indian graves appear as a developing complex with several streams of influence combining in them"[42] Some like the grave types of Central Asia, Iran Caucausus and the stone cist graves with or without portholes found in Levant and South Arabia are external whereas the development of the indigenous Neolithic chalcolthic burial customs of Deccan is purely internal.

While discussing the use of iron in South India, which is associated with this culture. Allchins says that iron must have been introduced into South India at a fairly early date. Their discussion on the implications of this runs as follows:

> "The cultural implications of so great a duration... have still to be investigated. The thinness of the occupation levels in the settlements so far excavated is perplexing and leads one to expect that the period saw a steady increase in population and hence a need to extend the area under cultivation. In the earlier phase agriculture was probably of a shifting kind and it may be that there were a few permanent settlements. The house furniture, if it could be assigned to graves early in the series, might indicate that the first users of iron in South India were at least part nomadic. *Certainly the excavated settlements do not give much indication of any major change in the way of living accompanying the arrival of iron. One is left with a feeling of remarkable conservatism among the population of South India throughout the period. There can be little doubt that many of the traits already established in the Neolithic period peristed right through the Iron Age*".[43]

It is not easy to get evidence within the Caṅkam corpus to infer anything about the foreign influences in the burial complex But we certainly do have evidence to show that agriculture was of a shifting kind and that even in the more fertile regions the pattern of agriculture tended to be stagnant after some time.[44] Archaeological evidence helps us to place the pattern of cultivation in a truly historical perspective.

The discussion on the Iron age also raises the question of the Roman contact. The excavations at Arikamedu, Kunnatur, Alagarai and Tirukkambuliyur reveal that at all these sites a period coinciding with Roman trade imports and producing a predominantly red pottery is preceded by one in which the characteristic pottery is black and red similar to that of the graves.[45]

This archaeological finding indicates that the period of Roman imports stimulates a cultural efflorescence not seen earlier. Allchins raises the question of the possible impact of this new impetus on the flowering of the early South Indian civilization which finds its echoes in the Caṅkam poetry. From the point of Caṅkam literature

it could be said that the new impact was seen only in the commercial metropolis like Pukar and Maturai. *Pattinappālai* and *Maturaikkanci* refer to the urban affluence and commercial prosperity of these areas and the commanding influence of the merchants. Within Cankam poetry one can easily single out those references which indicate urbanism from the outlying tribalism. The continuity of this urban civilization could be seen up to the period of *Cilapatikāram*. *Kalittokai* and *Paripātal*, which belong to a period between the Cankam works and *Cilapatikāram*, reveal the salacious urban life seen at the Pandya capital. In all these important centres it is the commercial class that seems to dominate. There is evidence to show that they controlled the entire foreign trade except the pearl fishery. It is also interesting to note that the trading interests were associated with Jainism and Buddhism.[46]

It is important to mention that much of the information relating to the mercantile activities and affluence comes from the ephigraphical evidences, viz, from the Tamil Brahmi Inscripitions which fall within this period.[47]

Having thus seen how the evidences in Cankam literature corroborate the culture phases brought to light by archaeological excavations, we must now turn to some of the historical data given in that literary corpus.

The foremost of such archaeological evidences come from the excavations done at Kaveripumpattinam, the ancient Pukar. In presenting these facts one cannot do better than quoting Raman extenso:

> "The explorations and excavations, conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India since 1962, have clearly established that, in spite of the constant duel between the land and the sea, the ancient city had not been fully engulfed and at least a few portions of it are still lying buried. Surface explorations on the beach revealed the vestiges of ancient habitations like the ring wells, pottery, brick-bats and beads strewn about the place The ring-wells were covered by sand. Habitation-sites going back to the time when the city was at the zenith of its glory, have been plotted at places like Vanagiri, Neidavaal and Kilaiyur. Square copper coins bearing the royal crest of the Cholas, viz., the tiger on one side and the elephant on the other, blackand-red postsherds and beads of semi-precious stones were found on the surface of the sites. Rouletted-pot pottery of both grey and black fabric were also found. A Roman coin was found in the site called Vellaiyan Iruppu. Several beautiful terracotta figurines were found at places like Melapperupallam, all showing that these places were once the centre of early culture and activities.
>
> "Detailed excavations done at three places resulted in the discovery of three monuments of outstanding importance in the history of Tamilnadu. They are a brickbuilt wharf at Kilaiyur, a water reservoir and a Buddhist monastery."[48].

The glories of Pukar are referred to in *Akananuru* 110, 181 and 190, *Patirrupattu* 73, *Pattinappalai* and *Purananurum* 30.[49] It is important to observe the

historical memory preserved in place names as Vellaiyan Iruppu (the abode and the whitemen). Perhaps this refers to the Roman colony at Pukar.

R. Nagaswamy in his paper "Archaeology and Epigraphy—A Survey," has brought to light certain archaeological data that confirm literary evidences:

"A brick structure resembling a dyeing vat, also noted at Arikkamedu was found at Uraiyūr. It was probably used for dyeing clothes. That Uraiyūr was famous for its cotton industry in early times is known both from Tamil literature and foreign notice".[50]

Nagaswamy reports that the excavations at Korkai, yielded, besides megalithic pottery, a rare piece of polished sherd. Some experts are of opinion that this sherd is a variety of the Northern Black polished Ware associated with the Mauryas. If this is so, it is the first time that an NBPware has been discovered in Tamilnadu..... But there are other experts who hold this to be a special type of rouletted ware. Since experts differ, furthur excavations would probably throw more light on the subject'.[51]

It is of course common knowledge today that Caṅkam literature refers to the Maurya invasion of Tamilnadu (*Akananuru* 69, 251, 281;) The polished sherd, if identified as a form of the ware will only confirm the literary evidence.

While discussing how archaeological discoveries have helped to confirm the historicity of Caṅkam literatura it is important to bring to the notice of the world of scholarship that the archaeological excavations which have thrown light on "the antiquity and gold mining methods of ancient India", especially in the Deccan help us to understand in full economic perspective a poetic convention found in this literature.

Akam poems of the Caṅkam corpus speak of the separation of the hero from his betrothed wife. "Separation to earn wealth" (Pouṟvayiṟpirivu) is one of the forms of separation. In the poems dealing with this type of separation the purpose of the journey that separates the lovers is referred to as "ceyporul" (earned wealth). This is distinguishable from the other cause for separation viz, "Ventu Vinai" (Task), which was quite often a military assignment by royal command. "Ceyporul" is essentially economic and has no political associations.

The destination of those who undertook such journeys to make wealth has not been specifically mentioned, but the indications are that it was beyond the Venkata Hill, the northern boundary of the then Tamil speaking region. (*Akananāru* 83, 211, 213, 265, 393). Specific mention is made in some cases that they have gone to a region where a different language was spoken (*Akananāru* 215, 349, *Kuruntokai* 11). The 69th poem in *Akananāru* states categorically that the route taken was the one by which the Maurya armies came. There is of course no specific mention of the type of wealth earned but *Akananuru* 3 says that the aim of the journey was to bring ornaments for the wife.

Allchins in his paper "Upon the antiquity and methods of Gold Mining in Ancient India"[53] refers to the Ancient Gold mines of Hutti and Kolar. "To sum up the archaeological evidence from the Hutti field, the assemblage and C—14 dates combine to indicate that the mines were being worked during the first centuries of the Christian era"[54]. After discussing the literary evidences in works like *Arthasastra*, he concludes thus: 'That the high period of mining in South India should correspond with the last centuries of the Christian era is made all the more probable by the great expansion of the local settlements of the period, and by their relative dwindling and poverty soon after"[55].

This coincides strikingly with the accepted dates for Caṅkam period. It is also important to note that in post Caṅkam literature, 'porulvayirpirivu' was only a conventionalised literary device in *Akam* literature and never a social reality.

It is probable that the journey for earning wealth in which the hero had to cross the Venkata Hill and go into a different language region had really something to do with the gold-mining at Kolar and Hutti in the Mysore district which lies beyond the northern boundary of Tamilnadu.

Besides these evidences, which are strictly archaeological, there are many contemporary epigraphic records which confirm Cankam literary evidences. Reference is made here to the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions. With the general acceptance of the reading of these inscriptions by Iravatam Mahadevan these have become very trustworthy records of the period. In his paper "Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions of the Sangam Age"[56]. Mahadevan brings together all the necessary epigraphic references and shows that these records corroborate much of the information we have had from the literary source. Besides Mahadevan, Mylai Ceeni Venkatasamy, R. Nagaswamy and R. Panneerselvan have worked on this field. The Brahmi Inscription found in the cavern of Aranattarmalai near Pukalur in Karur taluk "marks a milestone in the history of the Tamils. The geneology reconstructed purely on the basis of the literature is now confirmed by this inscription at least partially... The inscription now proves that the historical information found in the *patikam* prologues and colophons of *Patirrupattu* are dependable and factually true".[57] As Mahadevan says "the Pukalur inscriptions dated with the help of Arikkamedu graffiti will henceforth serve as the sheet-anchor of the Cankam chronology"[58]. The Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions also help us to get an insight into the political, social and economic conditions of Tamilnadu, its relationship with Sri Lanka and to the commercial and religious conditions prevailing during that period.[59]

The discussion on the Tamil Brahmi Inscriptions leads us on to the problem of the Art of Writing in Cankam period.

Mahadevan concludes that his "study leads to the following conclusions (I) Tamil became a written Language for the first time in C 2nd C. B. C., by the adaptation of the Brahmi script to the Tamil phonetic system. (II) The

orthography of written Tamil was experimental during the first two centuries of its existence. Thereafter it settled down to practically the classical system. (III) Once writing was introduced in the Tamil Country it spread rapidly resulting in an efflorescence of literary activity in the early centuries of the Christian era (C. 2—3) centuries AD)[60].

The problem now is to know whether the Cankam literature which has a highly stylized poetic convention, could have been written in a language, the orthography of which was experimental at the time of writing. It is here that the "heroic" characterization of this corpus became useful. Heroic literature is orally transmitted by bardic traditions without recourse to writing. As has been shown by Kailasapathy, Cankam literature reveals amply the techniques of oral verse making through the various formulae and their repetitions. There is also ample evidence for improvisation and substitution.[61] Therefore there could have been a great oral tradition in existence which was being committed to writing in and after the Cankam period. The Tolkutton-Tokupatton tradition now becomes meaningful in that it may denote a conscious activity on the part of monarchs and poets to put down in writing a treasury of oral verses. And this incidentally settles one of the problems raised at the beginning of this paper.

It is of immense interest to note that while Allchins was raising the problem of the relationship of the Roman trade imports to "the flowering of the early South Indian civilization which finds its echoes in the poetry of the 'Sangam' period"[62], Mahadevan was providing the answer to it (in the very same year 1968), without knowing that Allchins had raised it, by stating "The religious and cultural ferment generated in the Tamil country by the Buddhist and Jaina creeds and the enormous, perhaps, sudden increase in prosperity on account of the Indo-Roman trade must have triggered a rapid development of the written language around the turn of the Christian era"[63]. It is a well known fact of history that commerce is an important factor in the growth of the art of writing.

Thus the jig-saw pieces fall into their places; literature and archaeology corrobrate each other.

It is perhaps fitting to end this discussion with an inquiry into the historicity of the legends' relating to the Cankam tradition.

The traditional account of the Cankam as given in *Iraiyanār Akapporul Urai* says that there were three Madurais, all seats of the Pandyan Kings.[64] Nagaswamy in his paper already refirred to says;

> "The main aim of the survey at Madurai was to locate the ancient Madurai as there were differences of opinion regarding its location. Avanipuram a suburb of Madurai, was held to be the site of Old Madurai by some scholars. We have carefully examined the place at various points and could find no surface indications to justify this claim. We examined enother site, now called Old Madurai near Pandimuni temple .. The Magnometric survey conducted at the site proved positively that it could not be the Old Madurai ... "[65]"

Kudal of the first Caṅkam and Kapāṭapuram of the middle Cankam were maritime cities. Clarence Maloney suggests that "the legends refer to Uttara Maturai.....South Madurai was probably at the mouth of the Tambraparni river perhaps near the present village of Korkai" and goes on to say that 'the city of Kapatapuram, the legendary site of the Middle Sangam, also must "have existed because it is referred to in several Sanskrit works. If it was the same as Alaivay, it would be identifisble with modern Tiruchendur... These cities, could well have been destroyed by floods, as the legends say, because the Tambraparani river frequently changes its course in the delta, gauging a new channel because of the monsoon rains in the Western Ghat,'.[66]

But as it stands scholars do not tend to take this legend given in *Iraiyanar Akapporul Urai* as even a remote indication of true historical events[67].

Perhaps only Under-Water Archaeology could throw light on this!

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Post Script: *This Paper was written in* 1975. *As such, many details, especially of excavation archaeology are not up-to-date.*

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BHATTANĀVĀ OR BATORUVA

A series of stone troughs found in the ancient monasteries of Anurādhapura and Mihintale in Śrī Laṅkā have been referred to as *bhattanāvās* or *batoruvas* meaning rice canoes, *Kändaoruvas* meaning gruel canoes and *galnāvās* meaning stone canoes. These are of two basic types, the big ones that are formed from large slabs of stone and a smaller variety hewn out of a single rock. These two types are usually found together in the refectories of the major monasteries.

Five large stone troughs and four small examples have been found so far in the ancient *dānasālās* of Śrī Laṅkā. The large once are at three of the five major monasteries that surround the walled city of Anurādhapura and the other at the town centre beside the ancient royal palace. The three monasteries when counted clockwise beginning from the north are the Abhayagiri, Jetavana and the Mahāvihāra. The Mirisavāṭi refectory must have had a large trough which has since been destroyed. It is likely that the Dakkhiṇavihāra also had such a *dānasālā* together with a *batoruva*, but this area has in recent years, been submerged by modern settlements and except for the stūpa there are few remains to be seen on the surface. Further excavations can most certainly throw new light on this establishment. The fifth large *batoruva* is at Mihintale in the refectory located on the middle plateau which is situated between the major stūpas of Ätvehera, Mahāsāya, Selacetiya, Giribhaṇḍacetiya (?) and the Kaṇṭakacetiya. Of

the four small troughs is at Mihintale and the rest in Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Mirisavāti at Anurādhapura. It is likely that even the other refectories had small troughs. The *Mahāvaṁsa* records that there was more than one canoe at the Mahāpāḷi, the refectory at the city centre. "The canoes (nāvāyo) in the Mahāpāḷī Hall be left to the Damiḷas .. "[1]

One of the large troughs at the Mahāpāḷī have been definitely called a stone canoe *(galnāvā)* in one of three 10th century inscriptions found on the *batoruva*. The 10th century inscription reads, "The stone boat *(galnāvayi)* caused to be constructed by Salavaḍunā, who guards the relics at the Damasaṅguṇu-gē (Dhammasaṅgaṇī House)."[2] The second inscription on the same *batoruva* identifies this refectory to be the Mahāpāḷī that is constantly referred to in the *Mahāvaṁsa* and *Cūlavaṁsa* when it states: "To this Mahāpāḷī shall be taken at the rate of one *pata* (Skt. *prastha*) of paddy from each sack brought into the city; the Kuli being not levied."[3] These two inscriptions have relevance to this study, (a) to establish the name of the building as the Mahāpāḷī and (b) to identify the stone trough as the *galnāvā*. Further, we have evidence from the 7th century to equate the canoe at the Mahāpāḷī with the term *bhattanāvā* a rice canoe as the *Cūlavaṁsa* states: "He enlarged the Mahāpāḷī Hall and set up a canoe *(bhattanāvaṃ)* for the gifts of rice."[4] These two references to the Mahāpaḷī from an inscription on the stone trough and another from the *Cūlavaṁsa* within three centuries of each other establishes beyond doubt as to the identity of the large vessels at the refectories of the major monasteries of Anurādhapura and Mihintale as rice canoes or *batoruvas*.

Another question that requires investigation is the need of a second, but smaller, vessel of stone at these refectories. Such small troughs are seen at Mihintale, Abhayagiri, Jetavana and Mirisavāṭi *dānasālās*. Their location in relation to the larger vessel suggests a close relationship and the obvious conjecture is that the little vessels contained the curry of the monk's meal. Such a proposition is certainly in keeping with the *Vinaya* instructions as stated in the *Suttavibhaṅga*: "A large (begging-) bowl means that it takes half an *āḷhaka* measure of boiled rice, or a quarter of that quantity of uncooked rice or a suitable curry."[5] This aspect of curry with rice is repeated with every other type of begging-bowl in the *Vinaya* description. As such curry with rice was part and parcel of the standard meal laid down in the code of conduct for a monk.

The *Vinaya* also sets out the definition of curry thus: "Curry means: there are two kinds of curry, bean curry, kidney-bean curry, that may be conveyed by hand. Almsfood with equal[6] curry should be accepted. Whoever out of disrespect accepts also much curry, there is an offence of wrong-doing."[7] The proportions in serving curry are also listed. "One should not cover up the curry or the condiment with conjey, desiring something more. Whoever out of disrespect covers up the curry on the condiment with conjey, desiring more, there is an offence of wrong-doing."[8] The *Vinaya* even cites an instance when young recluses had eaten curry and boiled rice and were seen around the refectory in a boisterous mood.[9]

The proportions of rice to curry is also suggested in the following text. "..... only one bowl of the capacity of an *āthaka* and one helping of curry and condiments,....."[10]

The obvious query raised by any visitor to the refectories at Anurādhapura and Mihintale is to find out the number of monks that were fed from a *batoruva* filled to capacity. In this regard the *Vinaya* sets out clearly the type and size of a begging-bowl a monk was entitled to use. We believe that the maximum quota that could have been fed at these *dānasālās* could be calculated by working out the number of bowl-volumes contained in a *batoruva*. With this in mind we record here the definition and size of a standard begging-bowl as stated in the *Vinaya*. "Bowl means: there are two (kinds of) bowls; an iron bowl, a clay bowl. There are three sizes for a bowl: a large bowl, a medium-sized bowl, a small bowl. A large bowl means that it takes half an *āḷhaka* measure of boiled rice, a quarter of that quantity of uncooked rice or a suitable curry. A medium-sized bowl means that it takes a *nāḷika* measure of boiled rice, or quarter of that quantity of uncooked rice, a suitable curry. A small bowl means that it takes a *pattha* measure of boiled rice, a quarter of that quantity of uncooked rice, a suitable curry. (A bowl) greater than that is not a bowl, (a bowl) smaller (than that) is not a bowl."[11]

Thus the *Vinaya* sets out three distinct volumes for begging-bowls, *āḷhaka*, *nāḷika* and *pattha* or *āḍhaka*, *nadika* and *prastha* measure respectively in Pāli and Sanskrit. Monier-Williams defines *āḍhaka* as "..... a measure of grain = $\frac{1}{4}$ *dron* = 4 *prasthas* = 16 *kuḍavas* = 64 *palas* = 256 *karshas* = 4096 *māshas;* = nearly 7 lb. 11 ozs. avoirdupois;....."[12]

Thus an *āḷhaka (āḍhaka)* is equal to nearly 7 lbs. 11 ozs. or its equivalent in cubic capacity pertaining to grain. We have physically converted this weight of rice grain to cubic capacity and it equals 141 British fluid ounces. The British equivalent of 160 fluid ounces is equated with 277·42 cubic inches.[13] Hence, one *āḷhaka (āḍhaka)* is equal to 244·48 cubic inches. According to this equation a *large bowl* that has half on *āḷhaka* measure of boiled rice has a *maximum cubic capacity of* 70·5 *British fluid ounces or* 122·24 *cubic inches* or a quarter of this volume of uncooked rice,[14] which is 30·56 cubic inches or 15·3 in weight. This is about the food equivalent of two grown-up men or four young persons' mid-day meal. As such the capacity of this begging-bowl is twice or more than the requirements of a single monk.

Thus the smallest bowl of capacity *(prastha)* listed in the *Vinaya* and equivalent to a quarter of the larger bowl is probably just adequate for a single monk. Monier-Williams defines *prastha* as, "..... weight and measure of capacity = 32 *Palas* or = $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *Āḍhaka;* or = 16 *Palas* = 4 *Kuḍavas* = $\frac{1}{4}$ of an *Āḍhaka;* or = 2 *Śarāvas;* or = 6 *Palas;* or = $\frac{1}{16}$ of a *Droṇa*,....."[15] Even the tax on rice brought into the city of Anurādhapura, seems to have been counted on this measure of a *pala* or *prastha* (or the minimum equivalent of a monk's meal per day) which revenue the Mahāpāḷī enjoyed.[16]

On the other hand it is interesting to see why the *Vinaya* specified large sizes of begging-bowls for monks, beyond the meal capacity of an average recluse. A likely explanation is that the *Vinaya* rules provided for elderly monks, who were unable to beg due to age or ill health and so depended on juniors to collect their food. A few relevant quotations are as follows: "Now at that time monks brought back sumptuous alms-food for ill monks. The ill monks did not eat as much as expected, (and) the monks, threw these away."[17] Another passage from the *Vinaya* suggests that food was brought for other monks of the order by the rest. "One monk went into the village for alms. The other monk, taking his friend's portion of the hard foods distributed to the order, putting his trust in him, ate it."[18]. We find that a monk at the Vessagirivihāra collected sufficient alms in his bowl to feed the king, two queens and the prince when they were fleeing from the capital.[19]

These instances from the Buddhist texts clearly indicate that the begging-bowl used on certain occasions had to be a large vessel sufficient to contain food for more than one person. However, there does not seem to be any restriction as to which of the three sizes of bowls the monks preferred to use as seen from the following extract. "Now at that time monks were invited by a certain potter who said: 'if these masters need a bowl, I (can supply them) with a bowl.' Now at that time monks, not knowing moderation, asked for many bowls. They asked or large bowls for those who had small bowls, they asked for small bowls for those who had large bowls."[20] But the Master ruled that a monk should not have more than one bowl.[21] With such a rule operative it is likely that monks preferred a larger bowl to a smaller one. However, the monks were not allowed to receive more almsfood than they could consume as the *Vinaya* clearly lays down that: "One should accept almsfood at an even level. Whoever out of disrespect accepts heaped-up almsfood, there is an offence of wrong-doing."[22] The objects to be received at a piṇḍapāta are also mentioned.[23]

For purposes of this study we have measured the capacities of the *pātras* used by the monks today in Śrī Laṅkā,[24] which are of two sizes (see plate 1 Nos. 2 and 3). The larger vessel has a capacity of 170 British fluid ounces or 294·76 cubic inches. The smaller bowl holds 149 British fluid ounces or 254·59 cubic inches. These, when compared with the largest bowl type specified in the *Vinaya* of a capacity of 70·5 British fluid ounces or 122·24 cubic inches, are obviously much bigger. In fact, the Burmese bowl that is popularly used in Śrī Laṅkā is still larger in size, having a volume of 180 British fluid ounces or 312·09 cubic inches (see plate 1. No. 1). Along with these we have calculated the capacities of three similar *pātras* found in excavations in Śrī Laṅkā from the early centuries of the Christian era with volumes not remote from the bowls of the present day. The vessels, Nos. 4, 5 and 6 in plate 1 have volumes 115·02 British fluid ounces or 199 cubic inches, 273.97 British fluid ounces or 474 cubic inches and 113·29 British fluid ounces or 196 cubic inches respectively.

Thus, when comparing the three bowl sizes specified in the *Vinaya* of the 4th century B. C. with the three *pātras* of the early Christian era in Śrī Laṅkā

and the modern *pātras* of two distinct sizes, the larger vessel described in the *Vinaya* seems to be of reasonable size for a begging-bowl, this being used for more than one purpose.[25] Hence, we proposed to use the volume of such a vessel which is 122 cubic inches to measure the bowl-capacity of the *batoruvas* at the various major monasteries at Anurādhapura and Mihintale (See plate II. No. 1—Mahāvihāra, No. 3—Mahāpāḷī, No. 5 Jetavana, No. 7—Mihintale and No. 9—Abhayagiri). The chart given below will indicate the maximum number of monks that were fed from these *batoruvas* in the various refectories. In these calculations we have assumed the full capacity of a bowl in relation to the full volume of the *batoruvas*. In practice, however, each vessel would have an equal percentage of surplus void. This will balance the equation without radically changing the conclusions.

Monastery	Capacity of *Batoruva* nearest to 1000	Bowl capacity or the number of monks that were fed— Nearest to 100	Number of monks mentioned to have resided in the 5th cen. by Fā Hsien
Mihintale	310 000 cubic inches	2,500	2,000
Abhayagiri	704,000 ,, ,,	5,800	5,000
Jetavana	377,000 ,, ,,	3,100	—
Mahāvihāra	481.000 ,, ,,	3,900	3,000
Mahāpāḷī	418,000 ,, ,,	3,400	—

The relevant references from FāHsien of the 5th century concerning the resident-monk population of each monastery are given here. "Forty le to the east of the Abhayagiri-vihāra there is a hill, with a vihāra on it, called the chaitya, where there may be 2000 monks."[26] "..... a monastery, called the Abhayagiri, where there are (now) five thousand monks,"[27] "..... a vihāra called the Mahā-vihāra, where 3000 monks reside"[28] Any monk from Anurādhapura or outside was served at the Mahāpāḷī refectory which stood beside the palace, and this figure of non-resident monks has been loosely conjectured by the same writer as five or six thousand.[29]

It would be pertinent to record the volumes of the small stone troughs found alongside the *batoruvas* at these major monasteries (see plate II. No. 2—Jetavana, No. 4—Mihintale, No. 6—Abhayagiri and No 8—Mirisavāṭi). We had suggested earlier that these smaller troughs were to contain the curry. When the volumes of these are compared to the larger vessels meant for rice a ratio of 10% to 27% is seen which may suggest that the quantity of curry served at each meal was equal to such a proportion.

Monastery	Capacity of small stone troughs probably used for the curry	Capacity of corresponding *batoruvas*	Percentage capacity of curry containers to *batoruvas*
Mihintale	85,800 cubic inches	310,000 cubic inches	27%
Abhayagiri	119,700 ,, ,,	704.000 ,, ,,	17%
Jetavana	37,300 ,, ,,	377,000 ,, ,,	10%
Mirisavāṭi	46,700 ,, ,,	— — —	—

Another practical aspect that needs consideration is the time factor involved in serving, for example, the five thousand monks of the Abhayagiri-vihāra. If the *batoruva* is treated as a self-service table with the stone troughs measuring 59 feet in length the two sides provided a service area of 118 feet. Thus leaving 2 feet to each monk, fifty nine monks could serve themselves every minute. Such a time programme would require eighty five minutes to enable the five thousand monks to serve themselves. Since the monks had to complete their meal before mid-day they would have had to start serving the food by nine O' clock each morning The monks could then take alms to their residences and consume it at a convenient time.

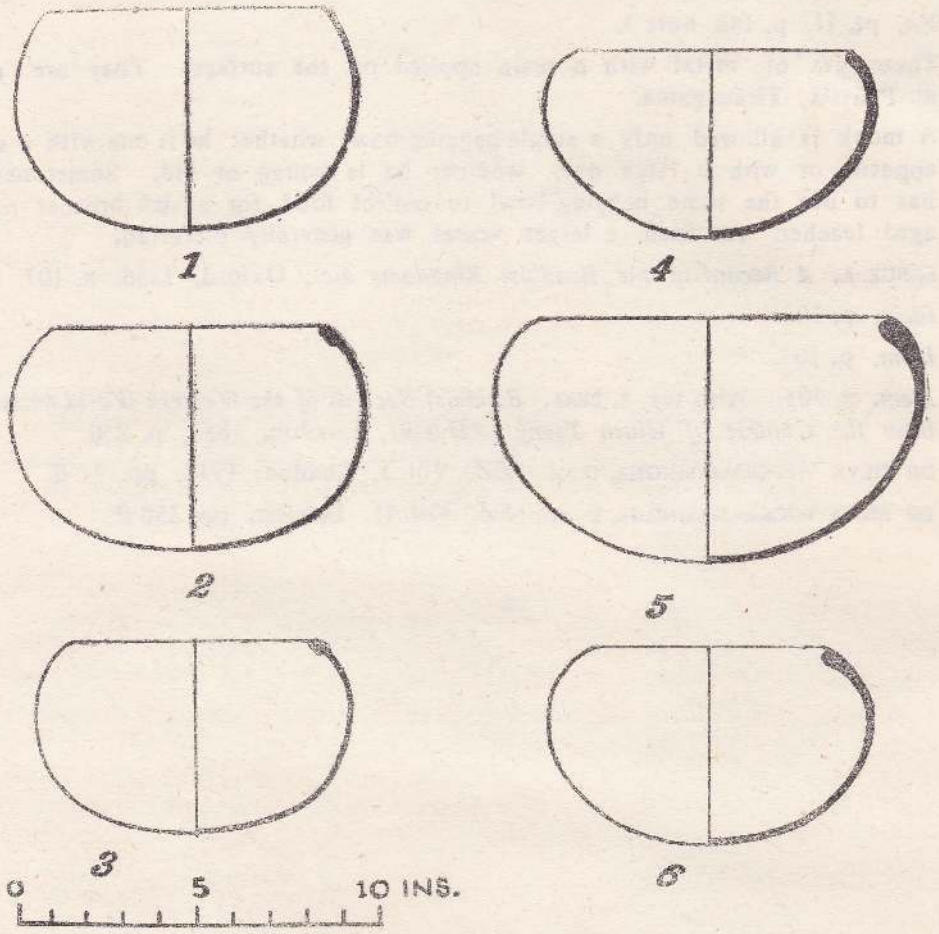
We are confident that these cursory observations on the *batoruva* of the Śrī Laṅkā monasteries of old will, raise sufficient functional problems like the storage of grain, the cooking of the rice and curry, sanitary aspects of the *dānasālās*, the use of the premises for the morning gruel as well as the mid-day meal, and many such questions that need to be answered. An analytical study of Mahinda IV inscription at Mihintale[30] and in a general way the Galvihāra inscription[31] could probably throw some light on a few of these queries.

FOOTNOTES

1. *Cūlavaṁsa*, tr W. GEIGER, Colombo, 1953, *(Cv)*, ch. 44 v. 134.
2. *Paranavitana, S.*, Inscriptions on the stone Canoe within the Citadal, Anurādhapura, *Epigraphia Zeylanica, (EZ)*, Vol. III, p. 133.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Cv*, 42.67.
5. *Vinaya-piṭaka (Book of the Discipline)*, tr. I. B. HONER, London, 1957 *(Vn)*, pt.. III, p. 214.
6. Equal here means proportionate.
7. *Vn*, pt. III, p. 127.
8. *Idem*, p. 131.
9. *Vn*, pt. IV, p. 57.
10. *Idem*, p. 329.
11. *Vn*, pt. III, pp. 213—214.
12. MONIER-WILLIAMS, M., *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1964, p. 134.
13. VAN HAGEN JUDSON, L., Measures and Weights, *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, London, 1955, p. 136.
14. We cooked 32 ounces of BG 11 par-boiled rice and this produced 137 ounces of cooked rice or a little over four times the uncooked volume.
15. MONIER WILLIAMS, M., *A Sanskrit—English Dictionary*, Oxford, 1964, p. 699.
16. *EZ*, vol. III, p. 133.
17. *Vn*, pt. II, p. 327.
18. *Vn*, pt. I, p. 100. Also see *Vn*, pt. IV, pp. 59 ff.
19. *Mahāvaṁsa*, tr. W. GEIGER, Colombo, 1950, *(Mv)*, 33. 47—49.
20. *Vn*, pt. II, p. 118.

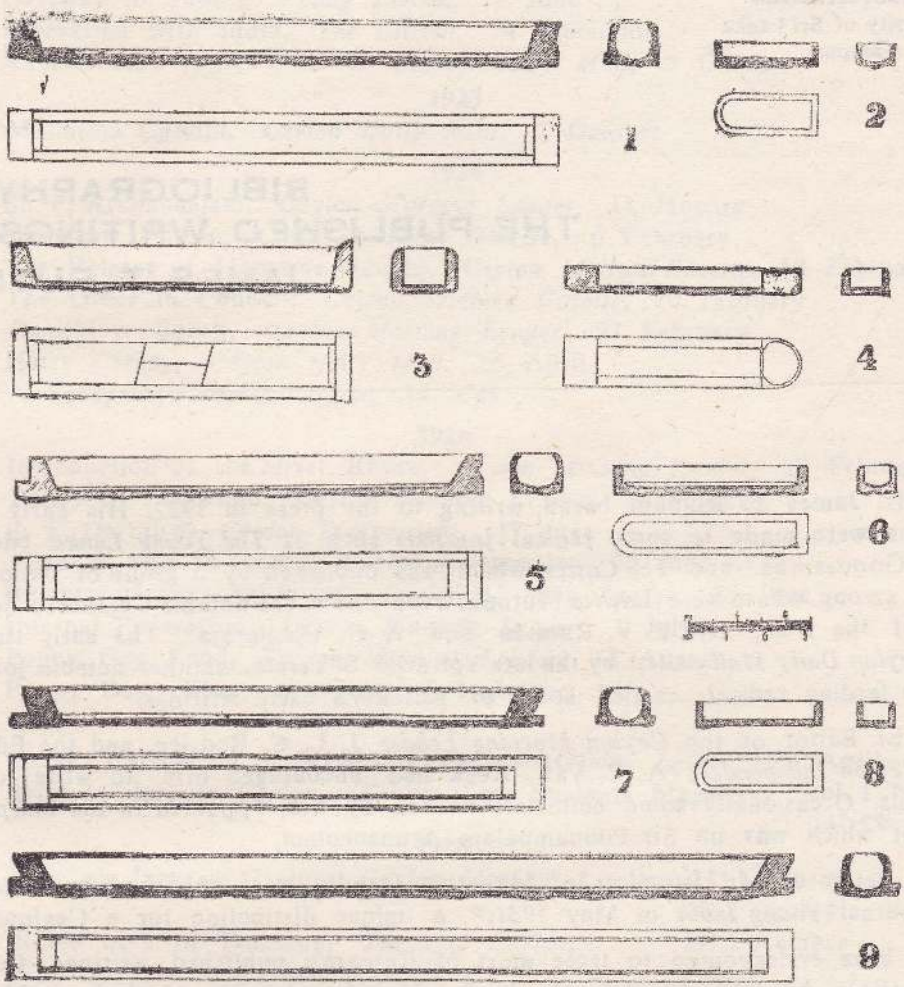
21. *Idem*, p. 114.
22. *Vn*, pt. III, p. 128.
23 *Vn*, pt. II, p. 148 note 3.
24. These are of metal with a resin applied on the surface. They are made at Panvila, Tirānagama.
25. A monk is allowed only a single begging-bowl whether he is one with a small appetite or with a large one, whether he is young or old. Sometimes he has to use the same begging-bowl to collect food for a sick brother or his aged teacher. As such, a larger vessel was generally preferred.
26. LEGGE. L, *A Record of the Buddhist Kingdoms etc.*, Oxford, 1886, p. 107.
27. *Idem*, p. 102.
28. *Idem*, p. 107.
29. *Idem*, p. 105. Also see S. BEAL, *Buddhist Records of the Western World translated from the Chinese of Hiuen Tsang (AD 629)*, London, 1885, p. 250.
30. DE ZILVA WICKRAMASINGHE, D M., *EZ*, Vol. I, London, 1912, pp. 77 ff.
31. DE ZILVA WICKRAMASINGHE, D. M., *EZ*, Vol. II, London, pp. 256 ff.

PLATE I



1. Large *pâtra* used in Burma today
2. Large *pātra* used in Śrī Laṅkā today
3. Small *pātra* used in Śrī Lankā today
4. Small *pātra* used in ancient Sri Laṅkā
5. Large *pātra* used in ancient Śri Laṅkā
6. Small *pātra* used in ancient Śri Laṅkā

PLATE II



1. *Batoruva* at Mahāvihāra
2. Small trough at Jetavana
3. *Batoruva* at Mahāpāḷi
4. Small trough at Mihintale
5. *Batoruva* at Jetavana
6. Small trough at Abhayagiri
7. *Batoruva* at Mihintale
8. Small trough at Mirisavaṭi
9. *Batoruva* at Abhayagiri

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BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE PUBLISHED WRITINGS OF JAMES T. RUTNAM

Mr. James T. Rutnam began writing to the press in 1922. His early contributions were made to some radical journals such as *The Young Lanka* edited by A. E. Goonasinha and *The Citizen* which was published by a group of nationalists, active among whom were Lawrie Muthukrishna one of the notable Ceylonese journalists of the time, Dr. E. V. Ratnam and A. C. Chellaraja. The early issues of the *Ceylon Daily Mail* edited by the late Valentine S Perera, another notable journalist and a leading radical, carried some of Rutnam's early writings.

The Editor of the *Ceylon Morning Leader* J. L. C. Rodrigo, and the Editor of the *Ceylon Independent* A. P. Van Reyk had encouraged him to write to their journals. Occasionally some editorials written by him appeared in the *Independent*, one of which was on Sir Ponnambalam Arunachalam.

A letter of Mr. Rutnam to Mahatma Gandhi was published by Gandhi in his journal *Young India* in May 1931,* a unique distinction for a Ceylonese.

I have endeavoured to trace most of Rutnam's published writings from the early 1922s, but unfortunately the back numbers of some of these publications do not appear to be available even at the Archives. I have seen a few press-cuttings, one entitled 'The Independence Ideal' published in the *Ceylon Daily News* with no date of publication, and two others with headings 'The Dream of a Ceylon University and its Realisation' and 'Exit Civis Brittanicus Sum'. These give no clue to the journals or dates of publication but all seem to belong to the twenties or early thirties.

To the best of my ability I have listed below some one hundred and twenty-seven titles which reveal the author's wide and varied interests covering politics, social justice, humanism and historical research.

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125. Bishop Kulandran & his Colleagues, *Morning Star*, 19 September

1975

126. Union Hostel (1925), *Ceylon Observer Sunday Magazine*, 8 June
127. Sirima Bandaranaike, *Tribune*, 19 July

APPENDIX A

CORRESPONDENCE WITH MAHATMA GANDHI

(*From the Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*
Vol. XLVI (1931) pp.77, 109 and 110.)

Letter to James T. Rutnam

Borsad,
May 3, 1931

Dear Friend,

I am publishing your letter and a brief reply to it in the forthcoming issue of *Young India*. I hope that the reply will satisfy you and those friends who had any misgivings about my attitude.

Yours sincerely,
(sgd) M. K. Gandhi

James T. Rutnam, Esq.
St. Xavier's
Nuwara Eliya (Ceylon)

116. FOREIGN MISSIONARIES AGAIN

Dear Mahatma,

..... A friend of mine gave me a copy of the *Madras Catholic Leader* of the 26th March, and it is there that you are reported to have given expression to the ...remarks..... "*Every nation's religion is as good as any other. Certainly India's religions are adequate for her people. We need no converting spiritually.*"

I am a Christian, but I certainly am against Christianity being brought as an instrument of Imperialism. But as a message of love and fellowship, who will deny it a place in Indian life? In this great struggle for swaraj, are we not fighting for liberty, liberty to worship our God as we please, liberty to convince our fellows who are willing to be convinced by us, liberty to be convinced by our fellows who can convince us? ... ... Is India so bigoted as to think that within her are confined all the riches of the world, all the treasures of knowledge and human experience? ...

Religion, I deem, is a matter between an individual and his own conception of right conduct. Religion belongs to the great realm of thought and personal experience which knows neither boundaries nor nations ... But I would like to know, if you made those remarks, what you meant by them, for I confess they are a mystery to me.

St. Xavier's
Nuwara Eliya, Ceylon
11th April, 1931

I remain,
Yours respectfully
James T. Rutnam

I do not know that in reply to this letter[1] I need do more than refer the writer to my article in *Young India*.[2] It might be as well to add that in mentioning Hinduism, Islam, Zoroastrianism, etc. as India's religions, I had no desire to claim them as India's exclusively or to exclude Christianity. The issue was Christianity on the one hand claimed as the one true religion and other religions on the other being regarded as false. In joining issue I contended that the great world religions other than Christianity professed in India were no less true than Christianity. It was thus neither relevant nor necessary for me to assert before Christian missionaries and their protagonists that Christianity was true.

Moreover, with my known partiality for the Sermon on the Mount and my repeated declarations that its author was one of the greatest among the teachers of mankind I could not suspect that there would be any charge against me of underrating Christianity. As for Christian Indians, I count among them many warm friends and I have had no difficulty whatsoever in establishing friendly touch with the Christian masses wherever I have gone. Nor is there any fear of my estranging even the foreign missionaries among whom I claim many personal friends. The attack against me has therefore surprised me not a little especially because the views I have now enunciated have been held by me since 1916, and were deliberately expressed in a carefully written address read before a purely missionary audience in Madras and since repeated on many a Christian platform. The recent criticism has but confirmed the view, for the criticism has betrayed intolerance even of friendly criticism. The missionaries know that in spite of my outspoken criticism of their methods, they have in India and among non-christians no warmer friend than I. And I suggest to my critics that there must be something wrong about their method or, if they prefer, themselves when they will not brook sincere expression of an opinion different from theirs. In India under swaraj I have no doubt that foreign missionaries will be at liberty to do their proselytizing, as I would say, in the wrong way; but they would be expected to bear with those who, like me, may point out that in their opinion the way is wrong.

Young India, 7-5-1931

1. Of which only excerpts have been reproduced here.
2. Vide pp. 27—9.

APPENDIX B

(From the Ceylon Daily News, Saturday March 11, 1944)

MEMBER FOR NUWARA ELIYA UNSEATED

UNDUE INFLUENCE AND INTIMIDATION

Holding that there had been general intimidation and undue influence in connection with the by-election for the Nuwara-Eliya Seat in the State Council, Mr. Justice Hearne delivered his judgement yesterday in the Nuwara Eliya election petition case setting aside the election of Mr. M. D, Banda.

The petition was filed by Mr. James T. Rutnam, one of the unsuccessful candidates.

In the course of his judgement Mr. Justice Hearne said: "I have seen and heard the witnesses called by the petitioner and after listening to the witnesses called on the other side, I am left with the firm conviction that the former deposed, not to 'imaginary incidents', but to incidents of which they were victims."

Undue Influence

The Judge held that undue influence was committed by two of Mr. Banda's agents, Dingiri Banda Samarakone and Kiri Banda Samarakone. With regard to these two the Judge held that agency had been established.

As regards the situation at Wellagiriya, the Judge states: "It is impossible to conceive of a more astounding situation. Unmitigated hooligans had taken full control of affairs. They were deciding who were to be permitted to vote and who were to be turned away and they were doing this, it is to be noted, almost at the very portals of what has been called "the voters' hall of freedom", the polling booth...

"A further question was put in cross-examination which suggested that what had happened at Wellagiriya was that the Sinhalese claimed precedence over the Tamils and went up the steps leading to the polling station. But this would not condone their conduct. On what was their claim based?

"Pompous Ideas"

"The arrogation to itself, by any class of voters, of priority over any other class is completely devoid of legal sanction and the sooner Mr. Banda's supporters disabuse their minds of all pompous ideas of precedence the better for them and for him. However deserving he may be of a seat in the State Council, that is most emphatically not the way to get him there.

"The state of affairs that existed for a time at Maturata, another polling station," said the Judge, "may best be described as aggressive obstruction.'

Continuing the Judge says:— "Mr. Beddewela's arrangements to hold a meeting at Gonagama were frustrated, the organisers were intimidated and one of them was rather seriously assaulted. In the course of his evidence Mr. Banda made the suggestion that Mr. Abeygunasekera, the member for Nuwara Eliya who had resigned, had supported the candidature of Mr. Beddewela solely for the purpose of helping Mr. Rutnam by splitting the Sinhalese vote. Assuming this was or was thought to be the case, it provided a motive for the opposition by Mr Banda's supporters to Mr. Beddewela's meeting. The entry made by the Aratchi in his diary was that Mr. Beddewela had arrived to hold a meeting and was not allowed to do so. All his perjury in the witness box could not explain that entry away. The Revd. Saranapala did not commend himself to me as a witness of truth, while the evidence of Newton Wickremasinghe was clearly false.

Interference

"In his evidence Mr. Banda admitted that the two Samarakones and Ratnayake were at Wellagiriya on polling day and 'there was interference with labourers on the score that they were attempting to personate'. He explained that by 'interference' he meant that labourers were 'admonished not to vote if they had no vote'. They were told 'those of you who have no vote cannot vote here. If you go and vote we will see that you are prosecuted'.

"But D. B. Samarakone would not have such language attributed to him. According to him he merely cautioned Indian labourers, presumably in their own interests, to see that they had been duly registered as voters before proceeding to record their votes. 'If you have votes' he claims to have told them 'go forward and vote. If you are not registered be careful.' I do not know whether his assumption in Court of the role of gentle counsellor to Indian labourers was more facetious or impertinent. I do not believe a word of his evidence.

"Kiri Banda Samarakone's evidence was that he had playfully removed Arunachalam's rosette, that he was then struck on his back with a stick and that he in turn slapped his assailant. That was all that happened. In his manner and hesitations, in his evasiveness and contradictions, he showed quite clearly that he is a person with no regard for the truth. The statement he made which I believe is that the account he gave to the Police when he was questioned as a tissue of falsehood. So was his evidence in Court.

"E. U. B. Ratnayake was a pathetic figure. He walked into the witness box, raced through the story which he and Kiri Banda Samarakone had conspired to tell and, when he was confronted with two previous statements made by him to the Police collapsed. 'They were lies' he faltered 'but now am speaking he truth'. To the Police his defence had been an alibi.

Agency Established

"It is clear to my mind that D. B. Samarakone, K. B. Samarakone and E. U. B. Ratnayake were actively engaged in canvassing votes for Mr. Banda and in generally promoting his interests. If there was no other evidence in the case, and there is, I would accept the evidence of Mr. Gomis and of Arunachalam as being conclusive on this point.

"But were these three rapscallious agents of Mr. Banda in the sense that, in furthering his election, they were acting with his authority, express or implied? Did he ask them to work for him or, alternatively, did he have knowledge that they were working for him and accept their work? To use the language in a reported case 'Did he to some extent put himself in their hands and make common cause with them for the purpose of promating his election?'

"The respondent stated that he asked them for their votes and also asked them to canvass the votes of their relatives. Limited canvassing of this nature would not, of course, give rise to a presumption of agency. He denied he was aware that they were working in his interests in any other way, if indeed they were. He made the claim that he selected as his agent 'only people well known to him' and those 'who would carry out instructions exactly.'

"If this claim is, generally speaking, the truth he certainly made an exception in the case of Radin Silva

"Canvassing affords premises from which a Judge, discharging the functions of a Jury, may conclude that agency is established. On a full consideration of the evidence relative to canvassing as well as of the rest of the evidence ineluding the distribution of 'identity carde' and leaflets, I hold that in the case of D. B. Samarakone and K. B. Samarakone's agency has been established.'

Intimidation

With regard to intimidation the Judge said:— "I hold that there was gross intimidation, that it was widespread in the area where Mr. Rutnam had good reason to count upon heavy voting in his favour, and that it may well have prevented a majority of the electors from returning the candidate whom they Preferred."

On the question of costs, the Judge said that he would hear Counsel on a subsequent date and fix the amount.

Mr. C. S. Barr Kumarakulasingham with Messrs. T. D. L. Aponso, Vernon Wijetunge, J. G. T. Weeraratne and A. Muttusamy, instructed by Mr. G. A. Nissanka, appeared for the petitioner.

Mr. E. G. Wickramamanayake with Messrs. H. W. Jayawardene and G. T. Samarawickrema, instructed by Mr. C. E. Jayawardene, appeared for the respondent.

[A full Report of the judgement was published in New Law Reports. Vol. XLV pp. 145 to 155]

The Election took place on 16 October 1943. Mr. M. D. Banda polled 12,652 votes. Mr. Rutnam polled 11,093 votes.

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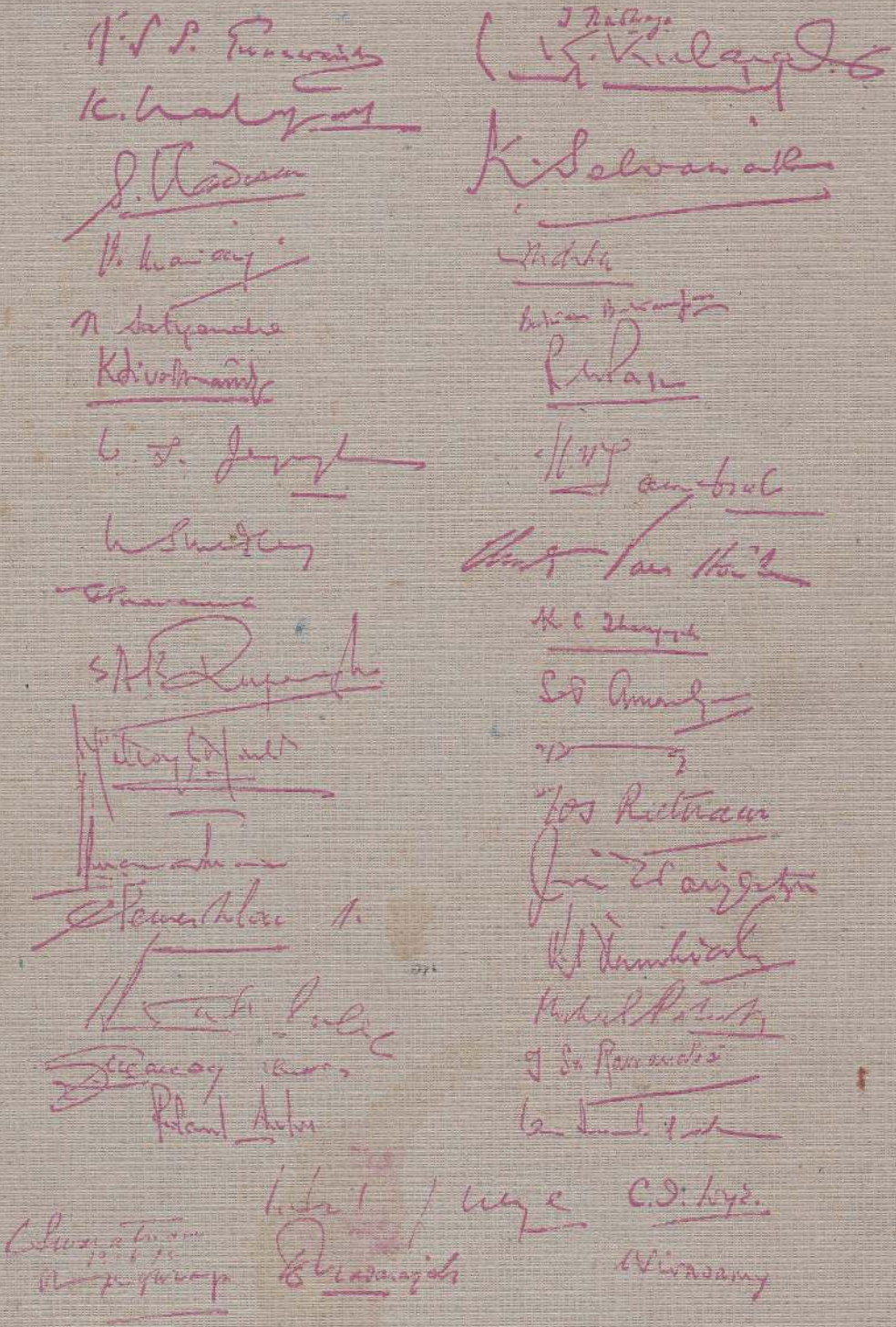

Autographs of some of those present at the Banquet held to felicitate Mr. James T. Rutnam on the Seventieth Birthday at the Inter-Continental Hotel, Colombo on 15 June, 1975.