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EDITED BY S. D. SAPARAMADU

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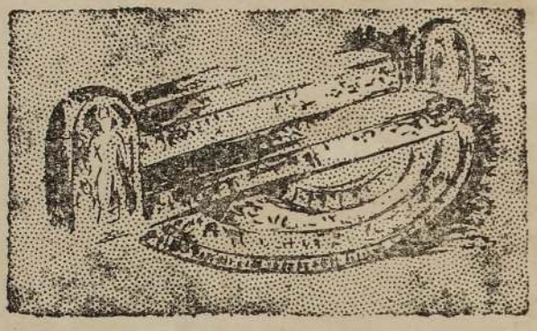
OUR ART & SCULPTURE



In the sculpture of ancient Lanka there lie enshrined remarkable records in stone. At Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa the moonstones and guardstones decorate the ancient monuments. The moonstone in the Queen's Palace at Anuradhapura is the finest — the Gal Vihara symphonies in stone depict an exquisite artistry and workmanship. The Art of the sculptor as represented by the gigantic statue at Aukana commands the respect of the world.

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NOTE

During the last few years Ceylon has gone through a series of important political changes. As a result for better or for worse, we have been called upon to undertake increasing responsibility for our future. That such a situation should encourage a widespread enthusiasm for our cultural heritage is natural. So far this interest has been emotionally powerful but intellectually sterile. For some centuries on the defensive, the national spirit has burst out with an entirely new aggressiveness. Consequently emotion has governed reason (instead of the other way about), and sentimentality has taken the place of rea ism.

In this context historical study becomes doubly important. Croce has emphasised well the contemporaneity of all history and there would be no better way of making a realistic assessment of our past in order to use it's traditional wisdom in directing our future than by a scientific and methodological study of Ceylon history. Hence this jonrnal and its justification. It offers an oppurtunity for serious discussion, that is discussion free from political partisanship and sentimental nationalism.

The greater part of the store of historical data available to the student of Ceylon history is as yet unused in scientific study. The earliest written records such as the Mahavansa which critically used could serve as a source of data or the Sinhalese and Pali works of a later period, have not been sufficiently utilised. The inscriptions of Ceylon, or rather what little have been edited in the forty years of *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, presenting the most reliable data is very much neglected, while the archives of Ceylon, Lisbon and the Hague contain invaluable Portuguese and Dutch documents which await the student of history. Some work on a scientific basis has already been done—with the University as the source of inspiration but much is left to be desired. It is our hope that this magazine would help in organising the available material and in doing so serve the general reader with work which is perhaps not very easily accessible. There is of course a pioneering task too, the attempt to preserve on paper our folk lore, myths, legends, customs and proverbs, which constitute such a rich index to the spirit of our people, and which are fast disappearing before the final onslaught of a new industrial culture. There is much work to be done in this field, and we hope it would attract intelligent study.

Finally, as regards the magazine itself, periodicals of this type have come and gone and have been known less for their achievement than for the fact of their existence. We have declared our aims, it is to be hoped that our venture would meet with the approval if not the approbation of its' readers, who ultimately will decide how long we will live and how happily.

THE CEYLON HISTORICAL JOURNAL

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July 1951

Edited By

S. D. SAPARAMADU

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We invite contributions of articles of historical interest with a special reference to Ceylon from our readers. Manuscripts and Books for review, as well as all communications ; regards subscriptions and advertising terms should be addressed to—

THE EDITOR,
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The Editor wishes to place here on record his gratitude and thanks to all those friends in the University without whose active help and advice this Magazine would not have been born.

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FOREWORD

"History is the record of all that man has ever thought and said and done." Since Man has inhabited this earth for at least a million years, the history of his struggles from those misty and almost impenetrable early beginnings when his very existence was threatened by physical elements and the monsters and dragons which lurked in every forest and lagoon to the present day of atomic bombs, high-heels and U.N.O. must be fascinating in its dramatic and tragic possibilities. Will this journey of Man and Woman ever end in their reaching the land of peace and harmony, love and concord, freedom from fear and disease, worries and want ? Or will they fall by the road-side and disappear from this world like the dinosaurs of the pre-historic age ?

History, looked at from this point of view, becomes vitally important to every man, and the Historians who accurately record and interpret the facts of this human progress become more important than physicians and surgeons in their efforts to help humanity by clearly indicating the factors which lead to decay and death or to a healthy and joyous life. But the accurate collection of data of human existence in this world and their analysis and interpretation is a difficult task. Kalhaṇa, the Indian historian has in the following lines tried to indicate some of these difficulties :—

Ślāghyah sa eva guṇavān rāgadvesa-vahiskrtā
Bhūtārtha-kathane yasya stheyasyeva sarasvatī

(Worthy of praise is that man of merit whose word like that of a judge, keeps free from love or hatred in relating the facts of the past.)—*Rājataraṅgiṇi*, I., 7.

In a world still dominated by family or professional interests, caste, religion, colour and race, it is difficult enough to be completely free from partiality or prejudice of any kind. But even if it was possible to be completely objective, the historian must farther have the technical qualities like that of a judge, enabling him to intelligently and laboriously sift and analyse evidence or primary sources before arriving at his conclusion or judgement. The technical equipment of a historian includes acquiring knowledge of languages, pre-historic archaeology, anthropology, geography, epigraphy (including paleography), numismatics, iconography, architecture, sculpture, painting, field-archaeology (excavation and exploration), etc., and above all he must acquire a capacity to suffer physical and mental discomforts with stoical fortitude.

The difficulties of the role of a historian do not end here. Historians must fully realise the profound significance of the Sanskrit aphorism :—

Satyam brūyāt priyam brūyāt
na brūyāt satyam apriyam

[Speak what is true and what is pleasant ; but never that which (even if true) is unpleasant.]

We have a story of a Muslim historian of the late Timurid period in India who used to work in profound secrecy during night. It is evident that in spite of great progress of culture and civilization, the attempt to tell unpleasant things which are nevertheless true, in large areas of the modern world, will quickly bring to the door of the historian poverty, exile, concentration camp or death. Even in the so-called democratic areas the truthful historian might find his bread and butter too thin if he comes into conflict with powerful vested interests, political, economic, social or religious.

In the circumstances, it is evident these students of the Department of History in the University of Ceylon and their friends who have undertaken to give utterances to historical truths by publishing a journal are taking a grave risk. But my experience in this country and contact with students of this University have convinced me that the ideal of serving humanity through blood and tears will attract many votaries. Neither Sri Lanka nor Bhārat have ever given a very high place to mere kings and princes, consuls and pro-consuls or rich *Sreṣṭhis* and prosperous *Gahapatis*, but in the records of these countries shine in golden letters the names of those who have accepted poverty and suffering in their search for truth and service to humanity. The success of this University will be judged not so much by its production of men and women who succeed in life by acquiring high position, wealth and power but by those alumni who in seeking truth and in giving utterances to it will risk all—wealth, comfort and even life.

H. C. RAY
Professor of History,
University of Ceylon.

Colombo
June, 1951.

NOTES AND COMMENTS

ON SOME ASPECTS OF THE BUDDHIST REVIVAL

One of the most significant features of the Asian nationalist movements was the considerable use made of religion to buttress the cry for political emancipation. With the successful culmination of the political struggle therefore, it would be natural to expect that religion would claim a greater degree of consideration from the new temporal power than formerly, the claims differing in intensity with the various countries and with the nature of the various religions in question. Islam and Hinduism, two religions which have a greater influence than Buddhism on the daily life and thought of the average person, and is consequently a stronger political force, has claimed that the State itself should be based on religious principles. This theocratic idea has been fully accepted in Pakistan, while the movement for a Hindu theocracy is a powerful political force in India. Indonesia too has its advocates of the Muslim State while in Burma one religion—Buddhism, enjoys the special protection of the State.

Ceylon too has not escaped from this general trend in Asian history. The legacy of identifying nationalism and political independence with religion has come down to us today in the form of a political movement seeking State help in reviving Buddhism. But Buddhism, a religion much more divorced from the life of the ordinary man, could not offer itself so potently as a political cry as did Islam or Hinduism in India, and consequently in Ceylon the tempo of the movement for an alliance between Buddhism and the State, for the use of the new independent political machinery to re-establish the *Sasana* is of a milder nature.

But though the nationalist movement created the link between religion and the State, the need for reform was bound to arise with the wider propagation of Western ideas and education. Two thousand five-hundred years after the death of its founder, the religion requires today more a resurrection than a revival. The Buddha is but a name, the tenets of the Dhamma have long since been discarded, though perhaps not forgotten, and the Sangha has on it the accumulated corruption of a thousand years. In the twentieth century the majority of the priesthood is not the near-republican, alms begging religious community of ascetics that the Buddha envisaged but a disunited set of worldly men, divided by caste and other considerations, each section with its heirarchy and separate coffers, and in all respects leading the lives of men of the world.

Emerged as we have from four and a half centuries of European domination, it would be natural and easiest to ascribe this decadence to the hostile actions of the foreigners. But not all the decadence of the *Sasana* could be explained away in this facile manner. Indeed when the first European came to the East in the person of the Portuguese, Buddhism in Ceylon was in its spiritual content no better off than today. The religion then was two thousand years old, and had lost all the vigour and appeal that had characterised its youth, the great debacle between the Maha Vihara and the Abhayagiri Vihara symbolic of the life and vitality that fired the early religion was now a thing of the past, concluded with an ostensible victory for the Maha Vihara though popular Buddhism had taken in much of the Mahayanist beliefs of the latter. In a static society which had itself lost the vigour and dynamism of its heyday, Buddhism too was a spent force, paid lip service to perhaps, but not observed. Folk beliefs and superstition tempered with Mahayanist and Brahmanical ritual and ideas was the religion of the day in 1505, and continued to be such in the country both in the Maritime Provinces under the foreign domination and among the " independent " Kandyans in the hill country. In the areas controlled by the Portuguese and Dutch, Buddhism or rather its establishments and temporalities did suffer much from the many acts of intolerance of the foreigner. In the independent hill-country however the eighteenth century saw a minor religious " revival " take place under the Nayakkar rulers. The revival was not meant to, nor did it establish the tenets of the Buddha, but was more in the nature of a re-ordering and rejuvenation of the organisation of the Buddhist Church.

With the coming of the British however the whole country was unified, and under the more dynamic civilisation of the West with its vigorous economic and social policies it was natural that Buddhism or rather its established church should suffer a set back. The vast territories of land of little value in the static society of the Kandyan State, which pious Kings had gifted to the Buddhist Church were alienated, justly or unjustly, and utilized for the economically more productive coffee plantations. The British also under their accepted ideas of liberalism, soon rightly or not divested themselves by degrees of their obligation under the Kandyan Convention of 1815 to protect and regulate the affairs of the Buddhist Church. Whether it was the inability of the British Government to provide a constitution for the *Sasana* on withdrawal of its support, or whether it was due to the absence of any remnant of life in the Church itself, Buddhism soon fell back into disorganisation and its temporalities suffered both at the hand of Government regulations as well as at the hands of the equally rapacious lay guardians. From this secondary position it was the nationalist movement that brought back Buddhism to the limelight.

But the present attempts to restore the religion to its former position, unfortunately seek not to establish the teachings of the Buddha on earth but to establish the Buddhist church as a temporal power. The aim of the movement is to get the State to sanction a constitution to regulate Buddhist activities and temporalities, to get the State to restore and make reparation for alienated lands, to further Buddhist education and obtain a guarantee from the State not to " engage itself in enterprises which are contrary to Buddhist principles and repugnant to the Buddhist public.". The corruption existing in the Sangha in blatant contradiction to the *Vinaya* rules are not considered of sufficient moment to be questioned, and little attempt is made to make Buddhism more widely observed among the people.

This superficial solution advocated has been aptly termed "State Religion", though its use as a political catchword has considerably decreased its connotations. The term however can be interpreted to mean that the State helps one religion to establish itself, and thereafter gives it its special protection. The conflict such an idea would have with the accepted democratic conventions is explained away by the fact that the Buddhist community forms the numerical majority of the people of the country.

But if State religion is conceived of as the protection and maintenance of one religion by the State to the exclusion of all others, then in the past Ceylon never had anything like a State religion. " My aim," says Asoka in one of his Rock edicts, " is to foster the essential teachings of all religious sects." Such a regime not only of tolerance but of actual participation in and encouragement of other religious faiths is one of the most characteristic features of Indian civilisation up to the Muslim conquests. This tradition of " fostering the essential teachings of other religious sects " was as much the policy of the Buddhist kings of Ceylon as it was of Asoka. The protection and maintenance of Buddhism had been the duty of the Sinhalese State as embodied in the person of the kings from ancient times, but it was not their only duty, this protection and maintenance extended to all other such religions as existed among the subjects of the State. Though the Chronicles written in an exclusively Buddhist tradition give only casual mention of non-Buddhist faiths receiving the support of the State and King, these passing references when taken together with the numerous insrciptions and the fact of the existence of flourishing Brahmanical shrines such as at Kataragama or Devinuwara, shows the real support other religions got from Buddhist Kings. This tradition of tolerance was so strong that the Kandyan Kings endowed and gave absolute freedom of worship to the Roman Catholics who went across Kandy on the Dutch accession, and

one King according to Knox even ordered that every freeholder in the land should contribute a *panam* to the maintenance of a mosque in Kandy.

The Buddhist revival of today laying its stress not on the spiritual but the more temporal aspects of the religion is conceived of as a revival from "above", a revival imposed by the secular power of the State, and not as one rising from below—from the main body of adherents of the religion themselves. The Pali Chronicles give ample instances of the attempts of several Buddhist Kings to impose revival from above, backed by all the coercive apparatus of the State. The reasons for their failure is not far to seek. Religion like most other traditional institutions cannot, except under very exceptional circumstances, be re-vitalised from above, it always has to be a desire from the body of adherents of the religion itself who seek improvement. Since the institution is based on the body of the people any reform imposed from above of which the people are unaware or do not countenance is bound to fail, and in most instances tradition is so strong that no change will be endorsed. So the fundamental need of the revival would be the building up in the Buddhist community itself of a desire for a change in the present order of things. Perhaps in no other way could this be better done than by realizing how very different the present traditional Buddhism is from the actual teachings of the Buddha as found epitomised in the Pali Canon.

Though the "Buddhism" of today is derived as much from Mahayanist and Brahmanical ritual and ideas, and folk beliefs as from the Hinayana, it claims to be based on the Pali tradition—on the Pali Canon committed to writing as long as two thousand years ago and preserved intact with little additions till today. Like the Catholic Clergy of the Middle Ages who alone knew Latin, and who alone interpreted the Scriptures to the people, the Buddhist Sangha till today has remained the sole repositories of Pali learning, and the reading and interpretation of the *Tipitaka* is done solely by them. This being so the Buddhist Monks like the Catholic Clergy of the Middle Ages can either corrupt the tenets of the religion in their interpretation to the people, or lay stress on other aspects of the religion, judiciously avoiding discussion of those topics of the *Tipitaka* which they themselves have violated. Thus though most of the actions of Buddhist monks, such as the acceptance of caste regulations in the Sangha, holding of land, handling of money, etc., are contrary to the teachings of the Master as written down in the Pali Canon, this is little realised by the Buddhist community today as the interpretation and exclusive knowledge of the *Vinaya* lies with the Sangha.

Indeed in the history of all religions, when the tenets of a faith are preserved in a language unknown to its believers, that religion is soon corrupted by its priesthood, in whose hands the interpretation and exclusive knowledge of the sacred language resides. Thus the early religion of the Vedas was in Sanskrit but in course of time with other dialects growing up, the knowledge of the language became centred round the Brahmin priesthood and they in time were able to build and ramify other edifices such as the idea of caste and their own social supremacy, which was not sanctioned in the original text but which were given out by them as sacred law. Similarly with the translation of the Bible into Latin, the Catholic clergy became the sole knowers of the language and the sole interpreters of the text, and were able to build up an immense edifice of political power and wealth which was expressly forbidden in the Bible. Similarly the Hinayana Monks of Ceylon by virtue of being the sole repositories of the Pali Canon and its interpretation, were able to introduce many insidious features which are at variance with the Buddha word.

The problems that confronted the religious reformers on the eve of the reformation in Europe are very similar to the problems that confront us today. How were the faults and tyranny of the Church exposed ? How were the mistakes of the Church made visible to the common man ? Opposition to the Catholic Church, especially in its political avarice had existed for a long time and several of the powerful Holy Roman Emperors did try to defy the power of the Pope, only to be crushed like Henry IV at Canossa. But though this opposition from " above " could not deter the Holy Father, once the new learning enabled Luther to give the German people a German translation of the Bible, which could be read from the pulpit and understood by the most ignorant peasant, the wrongs of the Church became a reality, its injustice was visible, and a revolt broke out against Rome which not all the strength of the Holy Father could crush or destroy. Tyndale gave the English people an English Bible and Cranmer an English Prayer Book, and though both were burnt at the stake for heresy they created a revolution in English thought. Thus the most striking feature of the European reformation was the fact that the new learning meant that the Bible need not necessarily remain in Latin, and that once it was translated into languages of common use then the difference between the word of Christ and the actions of the Church became plain for everyone to see.

Thus the needs of the religious revival in Ceylon are obvious. What is required is not the acceptance of a State religion by the secular power or an act helping to establish the Buddhist Church, but a revival from " below ", a revival based on a newer knowledge of what the Buddha really said and did, and of the rules he laid

down both for the Sangha and the laity. For this purpose what is required is a translation of the Pali Canon and Pali Prayers into Sinhalese and their wider propagation by a more understanding and genuine type of Sangha and lay reformer. A revival based on such a foundation of showing the Buddhist community how far removed is the traditional Buddhism they follow today from what the Master really preached, would have a lasting effect and will make this " revival " at least more permanent than the numerous other " revivals " enforced from above by the Sinhalese State and Kings in former times.

The main requisites for a more lasting Buddhist revival would be not only the translation from the exclusive Pali into Sinhalese of the *Tipitaka*, but also their wider propagation throughout the country. For this purpose perhaps the creation of more Buddhist educational institutions is essential, while the creation of a Chair for Buddhism in the University as asked for by the agitators for State Religion would be a positive advantage.

On the ability of even a re-vivified Buddhism based on a better understanding of the Buddha word, to bring society to that state of *Ahimsa* and non-tanha envisaged by many of the advocates of the Buddhist revival one can only be hopeful. Calvin too hoped to usher in the Kingdom of God on earth, but though he did not establish the teaching of Christ in Europe, he at least helped to break down and re-vivify the dead society into which he was born, to establish new conventions and introduce a new set of social relations, in the ultimate analysis bourgeois and of limited value perhaps, but one that has contributed greatly to human progress.

As to whether a Buddhist revival can usher in the Peace of the Sambuddha on earth one can only hope, as Calvin did. But if that revival is a genuine movement arising from the people themselves, on a better understanding of the Buddha word, then even though we may not be blessed with the Buddha's peace, we can at least be blessed with the re-vitalizing of the dead society that is the Lanka of the twentieth century.

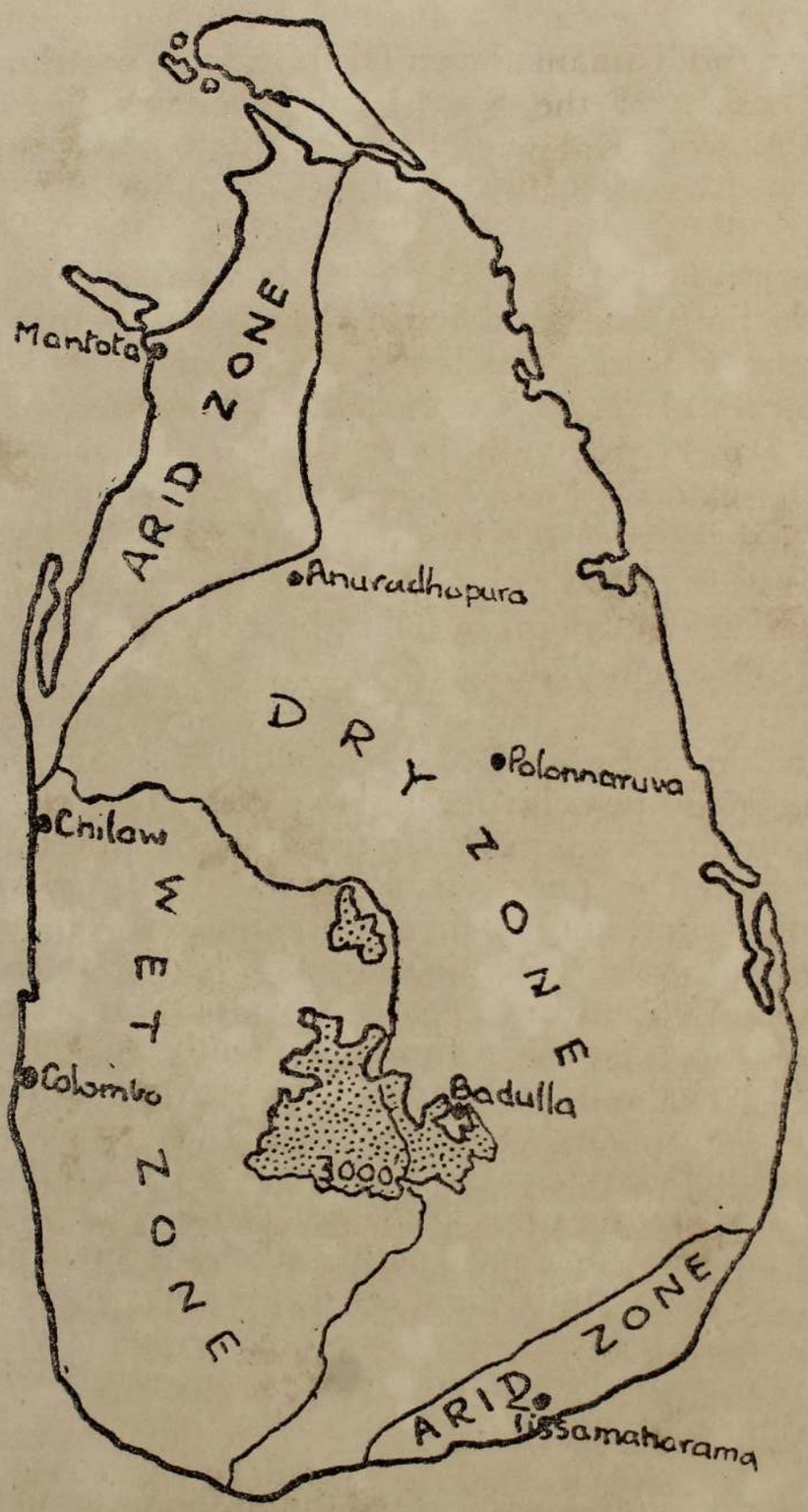
THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF SOME OF THE CAPITAL CITIES OF CEYLON

By S. F. DE SILVA

THE EARLIEST historical settlements of Ceylon were situated in the North-west and South-east of the Island, corresponding to what are known as the *Arid Zones* of the Island. The accompanying map indicates the situation of these zones. The North-west is a very flat land watered by the Mannar-oya, the Kala-oya, the Moderagama-oya and the Malwatu-oya. These rivers have built fairly extensive deltas. In the South-west, the arid region is more productive in that the soil is better and the rivers such as the Walave, the Menik-ganga, the Kirindi and the Gal-oya carried a greater volume of water than the rivers of the North-west. In both regions the climatic factor is perhaps the most influential element, in the environment. The year can be divided into a wet and a dry season, the former beginning about September and ending in January. This was followed by a short dry season in February and March. In April thunderstorms brought rain and this was followed by a long dry season from May to August. The rainfall was 25"–50" for the year, but it was unreliable and drought was most common, in fact exceeding 200 days each year. Such an environment was in many ways favourable to paddy growers. The deltas and the land on the banks of the rivers were flat and provided land naturally adapted to paddy cultivation. Paddy grows on lands that will hold water, and for this reason land which is naturally flat is a great help to the farmer. The rainfall regime too is favourable as the seed could be sown in the Wet Season (Sept.-Dec.) and the harvest could be gathered in the dry month of February. No paddy could be grown for the rest of the year as no rain fell. But the dry months of May to August were however very useful in preparing the high land for the cultivation of dry grains, pulses and oil seeds. The forests were fired and the dry air and dry wind fanned the flames which soon destroyed the forest. On clearings thus made, dry grains, pulses and oil seeds were grown in September and these were harvested in February. Thus the cycle of the year helps the utilization of low land for wet grain paddy and high land for dry grains such as millet.

Very soon the inhabitants realised that if the water of the September–December period could be stored, then it was possible to raise a second crop of paddy. The first was on land fed by the rain, the harvests of which were gathered in February. In April the storm rains helped to plough the fields and sow the seed. The growing plant would then be fed in the dry months of May to August by water from the storage tanks and as this supply could be regulated it was better for the paddy plant than the supply of rain

water which man could not control, to meet the needs of the paddy plants. The harvest from the tank fed fields were gathered in August. Thus irrigation enabled two harvests of paddy. These



MAP I. CEYLON SHOWING CLIMATIC ZONES

in turn supplied more food and more dues to the King and as the Sinhalese were primarily an agrarian people, their prosperity was closely connected with paddy cultivation and this in turn was losely connected with irrigation.

The first settlements made in the Arid Zone gradually expanded into the dry zone. Here conditions were better for an agrarian community. The rainfall was greater being on the average 50"–75" for the year. The incidence of drought was less, and the soils were more productive. The early Sinhalese thus occupied the present Anuradhapura and Tamankaduwa Districts and the alluvial plains of the great rivers of the South-East. Anuradhapura was the centre of the Nuwera Kalawiya Districts, the name being derived from the Nuwera-weva, Kalaweva and the Padawiya.

By 1215 the arable regions of the North and East were abandoned and a drift to the centre and South-West began. Anuradhapura and Polonnaruwa were abandoned and "rock citadels" were selected as places of refuge for the Kings who tried to stem the onset of the attacks of South Indian rulers. Such places were Yapahuva, Dambadeniya and Kurunegala. These are situated in a transition belt between the Dry and Wet Zones of Ceylon, and as these areas were not as rich as the Dry Zone itself, in the cultivation of grain, the kingdoms in the transition belt in the transition period, were feeble and poor.

The rise of the Kingdoms of Kotte and Sitawaka herald the coming of Sinhalese principalities in the Wet Zone, while that of Kandy indicates that a kingdom had been born in the Hill Country. The climate of the Dry Zone is in many ways quite unlike the Wet Zone. The latter is humid and rain falls almost all the year round. It is therefore not the climate for *grains* and in this region a former grain growing community was compelled to adjust its mode of life to alien geographical factors. In place of grain, the climate made possible the cultivation of palms, and as vegetation grew vigorously all the year round, plants whose bark, sap and leaf were useful to man would thrive in this region. Creepers and vines were also natural to the climate. In such an environment economic enterprise took the part of the production, not of food crops *but* cash crops. Cinnamon which grew wild provided an excellent cash crop and Ibn Batuta tells us that at Salwat (Chilaw) he saw bales of cinnamon awaiting shipment. Thus began the Island's *export economy* and with it the rise of *sea ports*. This change was strange to a paddy growing people such as the Sinhalese, who for centuries had practised a form of subsistence agriculture and who for centuries had little to do with trade across the seas. Beside this agricultural product, the Wet Zone was also rich in *gems* and these too became a most valuable article of export. *Gems and spices* fitted in most admirably with the trade of the 13th and 14th centuries as these could stand the transport over long distances in small ships. Being costly but not bulky these were *the* exports of the day.

Next came the *Arecanut* which had a market in S. India. This trade was at first in Muslim hands, but in course of time the Portuguese and the Dutch in their turn, made it a monopoly. Under the Dutch, the products of the *Coconut-palm*—coir, oil, vinegar and arrack, became articles of commerce. Under British rule, *Coffee* and later *Tea* and *Rubber* were added to the list of exports. The Portuguese were the first of the foreign rulers to make Colombo the capital of their possessions in Ceylon. Under an export economy Colombo continues as the capital to this day.

The Sinhalese established a free state in the Kandyan hills. The forests that encircled the central mountains became a wall of safety against the foreign invaders and by royal decree no roads were built into the Kandyan Kingdom. Maha Nuwera was the Capital and the great part of the Kandyans lived in the plateau below the 3,000 contour. The Kandyan Kingdom had its Wet and Dry Zone. The latter was east of a line joining Matale, Kandy (Maha Nuwera), Nuwara Eliya and Horton Plains. In this region the rainfall was seasonal and where night temperatures were not low paddy could be grown. The hill slopes had first to be terraced to provide the necessary flat land and on these two crops were raised. One was fed by the rains of September–December giving the harvest in February. The other was dependent on irrigation. In the rugged lands of the Hill Country no tanks were constructed, but the mountain streams were led by means of canals to the fields. One such canal took its origin in the Horton Plains and fed the fields in the Welimada Basin.

Cities were few in the days when society existed on the production of paddy. But as soon as cash crops became the basis of life, towns began to grow, first sea ports and then market centres. In the earlier type of society each village was self-dependent for food and any supplies of grain was for the payment of dues or for barter. Under such conditions towns would be few because the town dweller could live on the surplus of grain produced in the country. Where this surplus was small, towns were inevitably few. Thus in the period prior to 1017, Mantota was the great port and Anuradhapura was the great city. If we examine the location of Anuradhapura closely we shall find that it was in the *centre of a region of agricultural production.* The Nuwera-weva, Kala-weva and the Padawiya were the three great reservoirs and the Nuweragam-palata the Kalagam-palata and the Hurulu-palata were the sources of food production. This area is separated from the basin of the Mahaweli-ganga by a long line running from Matale east to Trincomalee.

The city itself was built on the left bank of the Malwatu-oya on a rock ridge. Perhaps this gave the city some degree of protection from flood, while the nearness of the river gave access to supplies of

water. Canals from the river led water to the left bank into the gardens to the South of the City. Later, when the city grew large, the " City Tank " or Nuwera-weva was built to supplement the water supplies of the Tissa-weva. The water in this tank was augmented by water from the Kala-weva which flows into it along the " Jayaganga ".

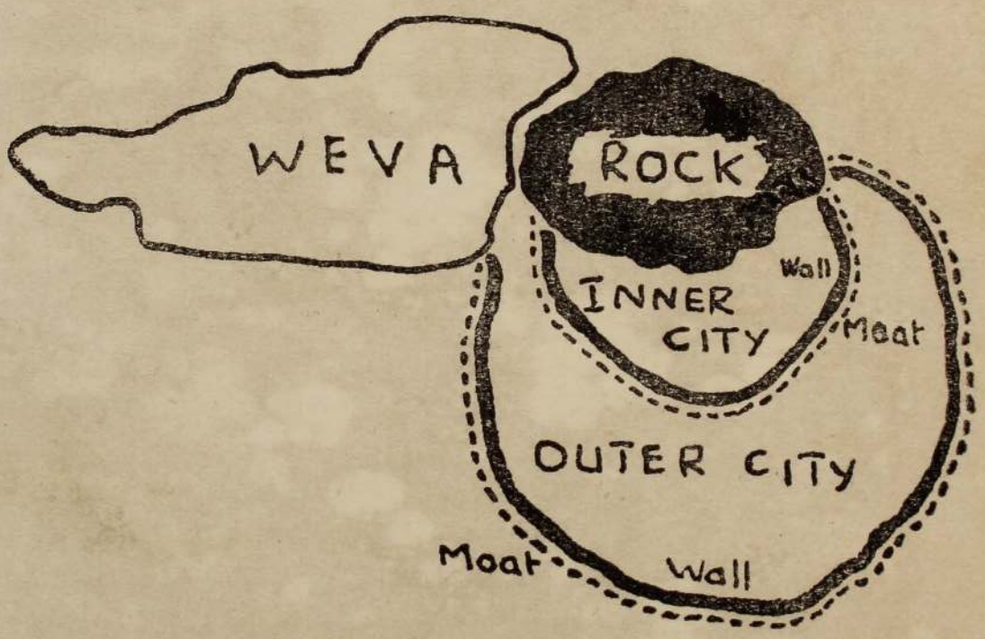
The plan of the city was simple. In the centre was the " inner city " protected by a wall and a moat. This was really not a " city " but the fortified section within which the King lived and the Temple of the Tooth was located. To the North, South, East and West were parks and gardens and in these in course of time, monasteries were built and religious buildings put up by pious kings. Most famous of these were the Mahamegha Garden to the South containing the Mahavihara. To the North was the Abhayagiri Vihara, in the West the " Western Monasteries ", with the Jetavanarama and Toluvila Monasteries to the East.

In the North, South, East and West of these outlying gardens were the " suburbs " of the city in which the common people lived. Fa-Hien who visited Ceylon in the 4th century A.D. tells us that the city had well paved roads with trees for the travellers' shade. At the great junctions were preaching Halls. In a separate quarter lived the foreign merchants of whom the sapoh (the Sabeans) had the finest dwelling houses. These were built of timber and had many storeys. We can also believe that there were special sections in the city for various traders. In these respects Anuradhapura resembled ancient towns in other parts of the world.

In 1017 Mahinda V was defeated and taken prisoner by the Cholians who made the Rajarata a part of their Empire. They were aware that the Sinhalese in Ruhuna would some day attempt to recover the Rajarata. To forestall such attempts and keep a watch across the river, the Cholians made Polonnaruwa their headquarters. It is reasonable to believe that a fortress stood here much earlier, for in the Gemunu story one reads of his army crossing the river at Magantota and storming the fortress of Vijitapura. Mahagamtota was his great " crossing place " across the river and Polonnaruwa is about four miles from the spot. The Cholians captured this city and held it till 1072 when it was captured by Kirti who became King as Vijaya Bahu I. From 1072 to 1215 Polonnaruwa was the Capital of the Kings of Ceylon. No doubt these Kings, including the strongest of them, Parakrama Bahu, had reason to fear attacks from the Barons of the Ruhuna, and Polonnaruwa continued to fill the role of a frontier capital. Peiping in China, Purushapura (Peshawar) and Indraprastha (Delhi) in India are similar capitals. But Polonnaruwa was more than a frontier fortress. It was also the centre of a region of agricultural

production. The heart of this was the great reservoir, the Parakrama Samudra, and canals had the water even as far as the Tambalagam Bay. The Tamankaduva, as this district is now called, has clays which are most suitable for paddy cultivation. It was the produce of this great basin that maintained the Royal City of Polonnaruwa.

From 1215 onwards the drift of people to the South-west began. Its first stage was the transition zone between the Deduru-oya and the Kala-oya and the capitals were in places such as Yapahuwa, Dambadeniya and Kurunegala. All these were " rock citadels " or places defended by nature. Natural rocks served as " castles " and these were made stronger by the addition of walls and moats. Yapahuwa is perhaps the best example of these fortress towns. The natural rock which rises like a castle above the plain was selected for the Royal residence. The approach to the rock was defended by an inner wall and moat and an outer wall and moat. Here is a map to illustrate it.



PLAN OF YAPUHUVA

It is interesting to speculate why the rulers of the Rajarata moved to the South-west. The transition zone between the Kala-oya and the Deduru-oya was part of an ancient principality the Maya-rata. In the 12th century A.D. it was known as the " Southern Country " and under Parakrama Bahu I as prince this area was highly developed. The climate is most suitable for paddy and is to this day a region of paddy cultivation. It is part of the Kurunegala District which has today the highest acreage under paddy. Thus when the Polonnaruwa Kingdom fell, there must have been considerable numbers living in the " Southern Country ". It was for this reason that the rulers moved into this part of the country after 1213. It may be asked why the rulers of Polon-

naruwa did not move into the Ruhunu-rata. The reason may have been that after 1215, the Ruhunu-rata had become a desolate region. Civil wars raged here from 1111 A.D., when Vijaya Bahu I died, to about 1160 A.D. The *Suluvamsa* tells the mournful

MAP II. CEYLON SHOWING ANCIENT IRRIGATIONAL SYSTEM AND PROVINCIAL DIVISIONS

tale of these civil wars and the ruin they brought to his people. It tells us how the rival princes, caused villages to be burnt, forest trees to be cut down, tanks to be breached and the people crushed as the " mill crushes the sugar cane ". If this is a true account one can realise why the Ruhunu-rata ceased to be what it was once, a prosperous region.

With the 13th century A.D. we come to the cities of the Wet Zone. Most of them arose as centres of defence against stronger powers and in the wet zone, forest, river and marsh provided fairly effective defences. Thus Kotte was selected because it was a hillock encircled by rivers and marsh—a kind of " Island of Ely ". Sitawaka was also a city protected by rivers and forests.

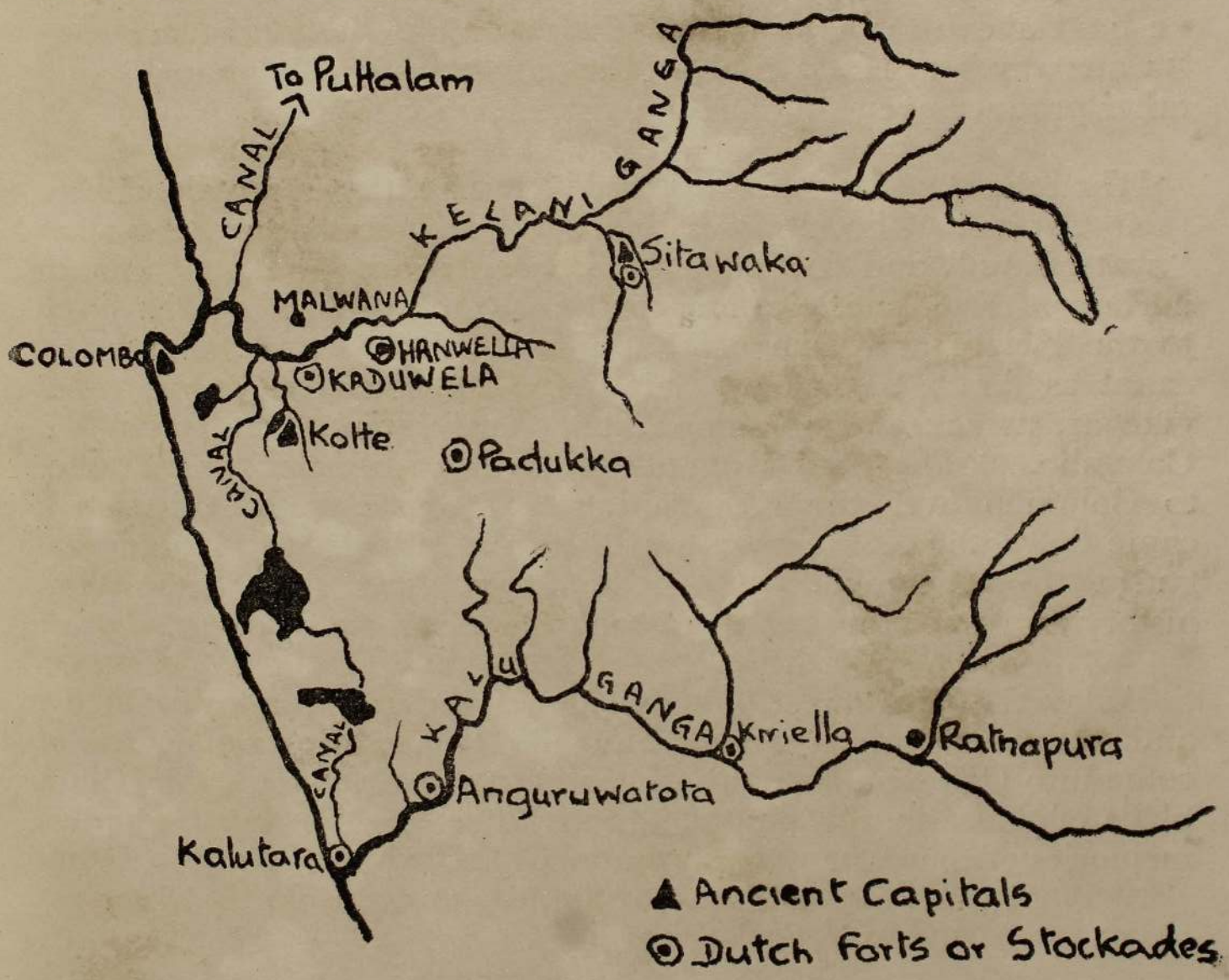
Kotte is representative of a Sinhalese capital built at a time when exports provided Kings with their revenue.

The city was built on a hillock rising above the flood waters of the Kelani and the land around it was marshy and impossible to traverse on foot. On either side of the hillock flowed the Kolannave-ela and the Diyavanna-oya, the latter broadening out to form a lake of still water. The two streams were joined on the south side by a deep moat so that the hillock was converted into an island. Thus the city was " insulated " against attacks but it was not isolated from the outer worlds. Under Parakrama Bahu VI, Kotte became the capital not only of the South-west but of the whole Island including Jaffna. Wealth came from the trade in cinnamon and for this reason Kotte had to have a port. Such a port was Kolontota now Colombo. Here merchants from the West, especially Muslims came here and set up their *Bangasalas* or " store houses " later called by the Europeans " factories ". Barges laden with cinnamon would sail down the Kolonnave-ela to the Kelani river and enter Kolontota *via* its distributories. One of these entered the harbour of Kolontota past the present Khan Clock Tower in the Pettah. Close to this is "Bankshall Street", which is a curious transformation of *Bangasala Vidiya*. Other distributories made their way to the sea, to the south of the present Fort past the Houses of Parliament.

Kotte was thus a " new type " of city, its geographical foundation being " defence " and " proximity " to ports. Cities which were the " centres of paddy cultivation " ceased to exist with the decay of the other agrarian society. A new society was slowly coming into existence. This was based on cultivation of commercial crops and the prospering of such a society is based on *trade*. The society that had grown in the Dry Zone with its basis on grain production now changed for any type of society dependent on the geographical possibilities of the Wet Zone. A new orientation was to take place

—from " an Indian " to a European, from a geographically East and North-east to a South-west. Ports of long ago such as Mantota disappear and harbours in the South-west came into prominence. Such were Chilaw, Negombo, Colombo, Beruwala and Galle. These own their rise to their harbours and to the supplies of cinnamon available in the neighbourhood.

The port of Kolontota became a capital when the King of Kotte on the advice and no doubt pressure from his Portuguese allies transferred the royal residence from Kotte to Kolontota. The King of Kotte, Don Juan Dharmapala sought the help of the Portuguese to defend Kotte against Mayadunne of Sitawaka. The Portuguese based their strength on sea power and they found that their forces defending Kotte could be surrounded and cut off from



MAP III. THE PRINCIPALITIES OF THE SOUTH-WEST REGION

their base of supplies, namely, Colombo. Accordingly Dharmapala and his Portuguese friends abandoned and destroyed Kotte and fell back on Colombo. The harbour of Colombo was small and was formed by a bay protected on the South-west by a small headland from which the present S.-W. breakwater begins. This headland became the first fortified spot held by the Portuguese. Later when the Kingdom of Kotte was bequeathed to them by

Dharmapala, the Fort was enlarged. Moats were constructed where to-day we find, in the North, St. John's Street, Kayman's Gate (Crocodile Gate), Gas Works Street, and in the Southwhere the present spill exists south of the Houses of Parliament. The construction of these moats and spills to keep a certain quantity of water, held up water on the east side to form the present Beira lake.

The Portuguese Fort of Colombo was not merely a military establishment. It had about 600 families of ranks, many artisans, and churches and convents. Round the Fort was low land covered with marsh and water, but rising above these were hillocks on which were the " parishes " of the City of Colombo. The town of Colombo owes its origin to the small harbour as well as to the hillock on which the city stands. This hillock enabled homes to be built above the level of the Kelani floods. The existence of a " waterway " to Kotte enabled the easy transfer of cinnamon and other produce over land which was marshy or forested.

When the Dutch in 1656 captured Colombo, they maintained it as their Capital. The city was linked up with productive areas by " waterways " and the Beira lake began its career as an inland harbour. From the Beira one could in Dutch times, travel by boat to the Kelani and then at Wattala (Pas Betal) travel North by canal as far as Puttalam. Salt, rice, dried fish, arecanut, coir, vinegar, arrack and cinnamon came down this " waterway " to Colombo. " Produce " from the Hanwella, Kaduwela areas came to Colombo over the Kelani-ganga. Produce from Ratnapura came down the Kalu-ganga and then *via* Bolgoda, the Panadura-ganga to Colombo. In this way Colombo began its history as a collecting centre of goods for shipment overseas.

Today the form has changed but the function remains. Goods and methods of transport have changed. Tea, rubber and coconuts come into Colombo by road and rail. Steamships have taken the place of the sailing ship and names such as the " Fort " are only memories of the past.

SANSKRIT CIVILIZATION AMONG THE ANCIENT SINHALESE

By O. H. DE A. WIJESEKERA

ACCORDING TO Malinowski the nature of the cultural process is " mixed borrowing and invention ". Students of Sinhalese culture will find ample illustration of the truth of this concept in analysing the institutions and beliefs of the Sinhalese people. It contains a salutory warning not only to those who would attempt to trace everything Sinhalese to the Aryan (or Dravidian) culture of India but also to the propagandists of the thesis that Sinhalese culture is a unique product, independent in its origin and isolated in its development. Apart from the question of historical derivation, the culture of the Sinhalese is a complex of several trends and influences, and in an assessment of its significance its multiplex nature must be given due consideration. All things considered, however, no one can gainsay the fact that Sinhalese culture is indebted more to the Aryan civilization of India than to any other, and of this influence the most conspicuous evidence is found in the part played by Sanskrit in the development of the literature, arts and sciences of the Sinhalese people.

Whatever be the historicity of the legend of Vijaya's conquest, it is not seriously disputed by any one today that those who were the pioneers of civilization in this Island were immigrants from North India, whether from the East or the West. The evidence of language, religious ideas, methods of civil administration, economic organization, etc., indicate with a fair degree of certainty that our ancient civilization was to a large extent influenced by some North Indian antecedent and is in many respects identical with the pictures of similar societies reflected in Sanskrit literature. Thus, it is with the coming of the Aryans that the history of Sinhalese civilization commences. Students of history credit them not only with the introduction of iron and settled forms of agriculture, principally the cultivation of rice, but also with the introduction of the system of village government which survives even today in the form of *gansabha* and village committees, as well as the system of central government which continued to prevail till the early days of British rule.

It can safely be inferred that with the introduction of Aryanism from India in the early period Brahmanism or Vedic religion and literature must have begun to exercise considerable influence on the life and thought of the people. And this is exactly the picture one gleans from the description of the era in the early literature. It is difficult to dismiss as meaningless the tradition, preserved in

the *Mahavamsa*, the Great Chronicle (3, 18–20), that young Pandukabhaya, when he was sixteen years old, was sent by his foster-father to study under a Brahmin named Pandula who is described as " an influential person, *versed in the Vedas* ". This is important as the first allusion to Vedic learning in the annals of Lanka and justifies the view held by many that before the introduction of Buddhism the most important single factor in Sinhalese civilization must have been Brahmanic Aryanism. Since the Vedic religion and literature are the direct precursors of classical Hinduism and Sanskrit language and literature, this might be taken in a general way as the earliest evidence for the influence of " Sanskrit " in Ceylon. This prevalence of " Sanskrit " learning during the time of Pandukabhaya cannot be regarded as a phenomenon wholly isolated from the social and economic organization of the country at that period. There are students of Sinhalese culture who regard the commencement of the building of irrigational tanks at this period as a matter of great economic importance, nay, even as an economic revolution, inasmuch as the emergence of an urban civilization is directly traceable to this enterprise. Considering the later tradition of the existence of Sanskrit manuals dealing with the technique of tank construction, it does not seem irrelevant to connect this knowledge of irrigation exhibited by the ancient Sinhalese with the spread of " Sanskrit " learning due to Brahmin teachers.

With the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon in the 3rd century B.C. cultural contacts between the Sinhalese and the North Indian Aryans were bound to increase. It is difficult to imagine that the first Buddhist missionaries brought only a religious message. Many elements of Aryanism must have been introduced at this period, particularly in the sphere of language and its study. The art of writing prevalent in North India at this time naturally came to Ceylon with these same immigrants and it is to the Brahmi characters that the early Sinhalese script is to be traced. The instrumentality of the Buddhist missionaries in the introduction of the knowledge of architecture and sculpture among the ancient Sinhalese is admitted by students of history. Dr. Mendis further says[1] " The Aryans, for instance, once settled here, did not long keep up their connection with their kinsmen in India. The *Bhikshus*, on the other hand, kept in touch with the Buddhist centres in India, and thus helped the people of Ceylon to benefit by the social and cultural movements that took place on the sub-continent."

That Brahmins were held in high esteem at this period in Ceylon can be inferred from the mention of a Brahmana Tivakka as being among the eminent persons and nobles who played an important

1. G. C. Mendis—*The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 19.

part at the festival of the great Bodhi-tree brought by Sanghamitta. (*Mahavamsa* 19,37; 54; 61). Even in the time of Vattagamani, during the latter part of the first century B.C. there were Brahmins powerful enough to have roused a political upheaval. When this king had ruled only for five months, says the *Mahavamsa* (33, 37–41), a young Brahmin, named Tissa, raised a revolt in Rohana, the seat of his clan, and was joined by seven Tamils from South India with their troops. The *Mahavamsa* dismisses this rebellion of the Brahmin Tissa without describing its consequences on the cultural and political state of the country. But as Dr. Adikaram points out, [1] the Pali Commentaries, fortunately for us, have preserved many valuable episodes giving an insight not only into the political and social unrest created, but also to the repercussions it had caused in the Buddhist religion, and into the reason which led to that most momentous event in the history of Theravada Buddhism, namely, the writing down of the Buddhist Canonical texts. The literature referred to describes in gruesome detail the effects of the "Brahmana-tissa" famine that followed for twelve years, till the rebel Tissa died and Vattagamani ascended the throne again.

Another important phenomenon which helped the spread of Sanskrit culture in Ceylon at this period is the growth of dissentient schools in the Buddhist Order. Until now the monks adhered to the Pali Canon and used that dialect for all religious purposes but now we find certain sects arising who derived their doctrines from Buddhist Sanskrit sources not unmixed with a good deal of Brahmanism. How the resident monks of the Abhayagiri Vihara in the closing years of the first century B.C. seceded from the Theravada with its purely Pali tradition is described in detail in the *Mahavamsa* (33, 80). The *Nikaya Sangraha* [2] adds that they accepted the teachings of the Dhammaruci Nikaya belonging to the Vajjiputtaka sect in India and that from that time the Abhayagiri school came to be known as the "Dhammaruci Nikaya". This schism, naturally introduced Sanskrit learning on a wider scale than hitherto and the *Samantapasadika* records a significant incident which throws much light on the power wielded by Brahmin Sanskrit scholars even among the Buddhist clergy during the next century. It relates how during the reign of King Bhatiya a dispute arose between the Abhayagiri and Mahavihara schools over a rule in the *Vinaya.* Either party tried to prove that its own interpretation was the correct one but could not come to a settlement. On receiving news of this dispute, the king is said to have appointed one of his ministers to decide the case. And it is significant that this minister was not a Buddhist ecclesiastic reputed for his knowledge of the Buddhist doctrine but a Brahmin named Dighakarayana, "wise and versed in various languages" who succeeded in bringing the

1. E. W. Adikaram—*Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, p. 73.
2. *Nikaya Sangraha*, Colombo, 1922, p. 11.

dispute to a close. Later history shows that the Abhayagiri school was greatly influenced by Mahayanism in which the Canonical texts were written not in Pali but in Sanskrit, and, perhaps at the time of this dispute this school was already adhering to the Sanskrit Canon. Another important fact emerges from a careful perusal of this story. It shows that among the king's ministers the most learned was a Brahmin. It is perhaps not too wide a guess to suggest that he was employed as minister because of his knowledge of Sanskrit language and literature. When we remember that a number of inscriptions in the medieval period refer to Brahmin Chaplains (*purohita*) of Sinhalese Kings, it becomes very probable that the Brahmin Dighakarayana held a function very much the same if not identical. If this be admitted, it is clear that Hindu ideas on polity and statecraft must have begun to exercise a profound influence already at this early period. The *Kandavuru Sirita* written in the thirteenth century A.D. attests to the prevalence of rites and sacraments derived from Hindu culture in the courts of Sinhalese monarchs.

A few centuries later Mahayanism became so popular in Ceylon that for a time it seems to have even eclipsed the Theravada tradition. At the time of King Mahasena (334–362 A.D.) a Mahayanist monk from South India called Sanghamitta, with the help of the king's own minister Sona, induced the king to cease from supporting the orthodox Sangha of the Mahavihara and even caused the Brazen Palace to be destroyed (*Mahavamsa*, 37, 10). As a result of this Mahayanism seems to have gained supremacy even for the time being. The *Mahavamsa* (37, 40–41) hastens to add that the same king later made amends by founding three Buddhist viharas at sites where stood temples of Brahmanical gods, one of which was in the village of the Brahmin Kalanda. From the foregoing it can be deduced that even in the ancient period of history various influences were at work indicating the important part played by Sanskrit language and Brahmanism in the development of the social, political and religious culture of the Sinhalese people.

The spread of Mahayana gave an added impetus to the study of Sanskrit and it is significant that in a Sanskrit inscription in Ceylon in the seventh century A.D. the author records his pious wish to become a Buddha—an ideal characteristically Mahayanist. Another inscription of the succeeding century discovered within the precincts of the Abhayagiri Vihara shows that its inmates were skilled in the use of Sanskrit in the classical style. The Sinhalese literature of the period, too, reveals acquaintance with Buddhist Sanskrit works such as Aryasura's *Jatakamala* and Santideva's *Bodhicaryavatara*. Writers of Sinhalese works began to follow Sanskrit models and the Sinhalese language was enriched by the

copious vocabulary of classical Sanskrit. As Dr. Mendis points out[1] the study of Sanskrit that now became prevalent had far-reaching results, for it increased the people's knowledge of secular subjects such as astronomy and medicine, music and architecture, law and politics.

This increase of Sanskrit influence on the secular aspects of Sinhalese culture was obviously the result of its revival in India under the Gupta kings. The influence of Hinduism too became more pronounced. In the seventh century there was a Hindu revival even in South India. The image of the Hindu God Vishnu now at the Mahadevala in Kandy is said to have been brought to Dondra in 790. It is easy to see how the Brahmin priests now came to be maintained even by the kings because of their popularity.

The literary works written in this period both in Pali and Sanskrit show unmistakable influence of Sanskrit. The Brahmin monk Buddhaghosa who came from India in the reign of King Mahanama (409–431 A.D.) had a profound knowledge of Sanskrit language and philosophy, as his Pali works show, and his presence in Ceylon must have promoted Sanskrit learning as well. The great Pali Chronicle of the sixth century, the *Mahavamsa*, shows the influence of Sanskrit both in language and style, and as Professor Geiger has pointed out[2] it is a veritable "*kavya*, subject to all the rules of *alamkara* valid in Indian literature".

It is in this early mediaeval period of Ceylon history that we find the composition of major literary works in Sanskrit by Sinhalese authors. The earliest extant is the famous medical treatise, *Sarartha Sangraha* by King Buddhadasa in the fourth century A.D. The work shows not only to what extent the medical and surgical knowledge of the Sinhalese depended on the standard Sanskrit works popular in India, but also how clever the Sinhalese were in mastering the sciences of the Hindus. But the greatest Sanskrit work composed in Ceylon is undoubtedly the *Janakiharana* or "The Abduction of Sita", attributed to King Kumaradasa (513–522). The fact that the authorship of this immortal poem is disputed should not blind us to the fact that whoever the author be, king or commoner, he was not an Indian but definitely a Sinhalese. Even at the end of this period we find the influence of Sanskrit scholarship on Sinhalese authors. The *Siyabaslakara* a work probably of the ninth century A.D. is almost an adaptation of the famous Indian work on *alankara*, the *Kavyadarsa* of Dandin.

During the Polonnaruwa period there was great literary activity due to the cultural revival under Parakramabahu the Great

1. G. C. Mendis—*The Early History of Ceylon*, p. 74.
2. Introduction to G. C. Mendis' *The Early History of Ceylon.*

(1153–1186). Although Sanskrit was not the medium for literary compositions, yet its influence is seen in works written in Pali and Sinhalese. The *Dathavamsa* by Dharmakirti is, like the *Mahabodhivamsa*, written in a Sanskritized form of Pali. To the same author is attributed the first part of the *Culavamsa*, which shows unmistakable influence of the Sanskrit *kavya* literature and the *alankara* technique. Furthermore, the author of the *Culavamsa* reveals a familiarity not only with the works of classical poets like Kalidasa but also with the technical treatises written in India such as the *Arthasastra*, Kautilya's famous work on the art of government.

Of the Sinhalese literary works of this period the *Sasadavata* and *Muvadevdavata* are the oldest extant specimens of poetical composition. Written during the first period of Queen Lilavati's reign (1197–1200) these clearly show how far Sanskrit models such as the *kavyas* of Kalidasa and his successors influenced Sinhalese poets. At the same time the monks cultivated the study of Sanskrit as their Pali works on grammar, prosody and lexicography indicate. For instance, Moggalana's Pali Grammar was based on the *Vyakarana* of Candragomin, and the glossary of synonyms, the *Abhidhanappadipika* follows the lexicographical technique of the Sanskrit *Kosa* of Amara.

It was not merely in the literary sphere that the influence of Sanskrit civilization was felt at this period. The arts and sciences were enriched by contacts with India. During the time of Parakramabahu the Great, a centre of music and dancing was inaugurated, called the "Sarasvati-mandapa", and it is recorded that the instructors in these subjects were specialists recruited from India. That there was an unbroken tradition of Hindu classical music in Ceylon right through the subsequent centuries is seen from innumerable references to its theory and practice in the Sinhalese works such as the *Sandesa* poems. With regard to other fine arts too we have evidence of the influence of Indian models and technique from the time of the Sigiriya frescoes which bear a striking resemblance to the wall paintings at Ajanta in Western India. The *Sariputriya*, a Sanskrit treatise on statutary, was very popular and shows the degree of adherence to Indian technique. There is also evidence that astronomical systems like the *Suryasiddhanta* were followed at the Vijayabahu Pirivena in the fifteenth century.

In this period not only did Mahayanist beliefs continue to spread but even Hinduism gained a firmer footing. Influence of Sanskrit Buddhism became more prominent in the twelfth century and for the first time a Sangharaja or Buddhist Patriarch came to be appointed in the person of Dimbulagala Maha Kassapa. One may say that Polonnaruwa scholarship with its emphasis on

Sanskrit started with him. It is to this tradition of Sanskrit scholarship that we owe the composition of the standard Sanskrit grammar, the *Balavabodhana*, in the twelfth century. In the time of Parakramabahu VI, the worship of Natha or Avalokitesvara came in to great prominence. The influence of Hinduism grew apace and the appointment of *purohitas* or Brahmin chaplains by our kings started at this period. That even educational institutions made provision for the recruitment from India of Brahmin scholars is seen from the inscriptions of the time of King Parakramabahu VI. The prestige of the Brahmins seems to have waxed stronger in the succeeding centuries. In the time of Sri Rahula a great Brahmin scholar Sri Candrabharati was working at the Vijayabahu Pirivena and composed a Sankrit *sataka* poem in honour of the Buddha. Other *satakas* were written in the Kotte period. The Sinhalese *sandesa* poems are imitations of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* and its successors in India.

Thus in the literary, artistic and scientific spheres the Sinhalese appear to have only continued the Sanskrit tradition. The influence of Indian civilization on these as well as on the political, social and religious life of the people (mainly through Brahminism, Mahayanism and Hinduism) must therefore be regarded as an important factor in the development of the culture of the Sinhalese nation.

IMPORTANCE OF MINOR SCULPTURE IN THE STUDY OF CEYLON HISTORY

By MARTIN WICKREMASINGHE

SIR A. CUNNINGHAM writing on Bharut sculpture said : " The subjects represented in the Bharut sculpture are numerous and vivid, and many of them are of the highest interest and importance for the study of Indian history."

There are very few students except the archaeologists who seek the aid of the ancient sculptural remains of Ceylon for the study and interpretation of our history. It is not sufficient to study sculpture. Sculpture should be studied to gain an imaginative insight to interpret the history of the ancient Sinhalese.

The scientific method will help a student to sift facts and figures from a mass of unverified historical and legendary material. But to interpret facts and figures and make intuitive inferences, something more than the scientific method is required. Without imaginative insight into the life of the ancient Sinhalese and a knowledge of the cultural and religious background in which they lived at different periods, their history cannot be adequately interpreted.

There are several sources which combine to give the powers of synthesis and interpretation to a student of the history of the ancient Sinhalese : The study of the life and the religion of the present day villagers ; ancient Sinhalese literature, and the inscriptions, sculpture and painting. The knowledge from these sources will create a certain sympathy or empathy without which it is rather difficult for a student to acquire a keen critical insight to interpret the history of the ancient people of Ceylon.

The history of a particular people is the picture of their collective life. This collective life could not be studied without a certain sympathy and the resultant insight. For this purpose, I believe, the minor sculptures, especially dwarf figures decorating pillar capitals and walls of shrines could be studied with greater pleasure and profit than the major religious ones such as the figures of Buddha, Bodhisattva and innumerable gods and goddesses. Professor Hocart finds evidence in the stone pillars with dwarf figure capitals to refute the suggestion that the Sinhalese had no artist masons of their own but borrowed them from India.[1]

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1. Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol. 1 part 3.

In making the major figures, sculptors had to conform to stereotyped rules and conventions. These figures could be studied as sculpture but not as a source from which to gain an insight into the secular life of the ancient Sinhalese. But that in carving the dwarf figures the same artists have not been bound by rigid conventions is evident from the figures themselves.

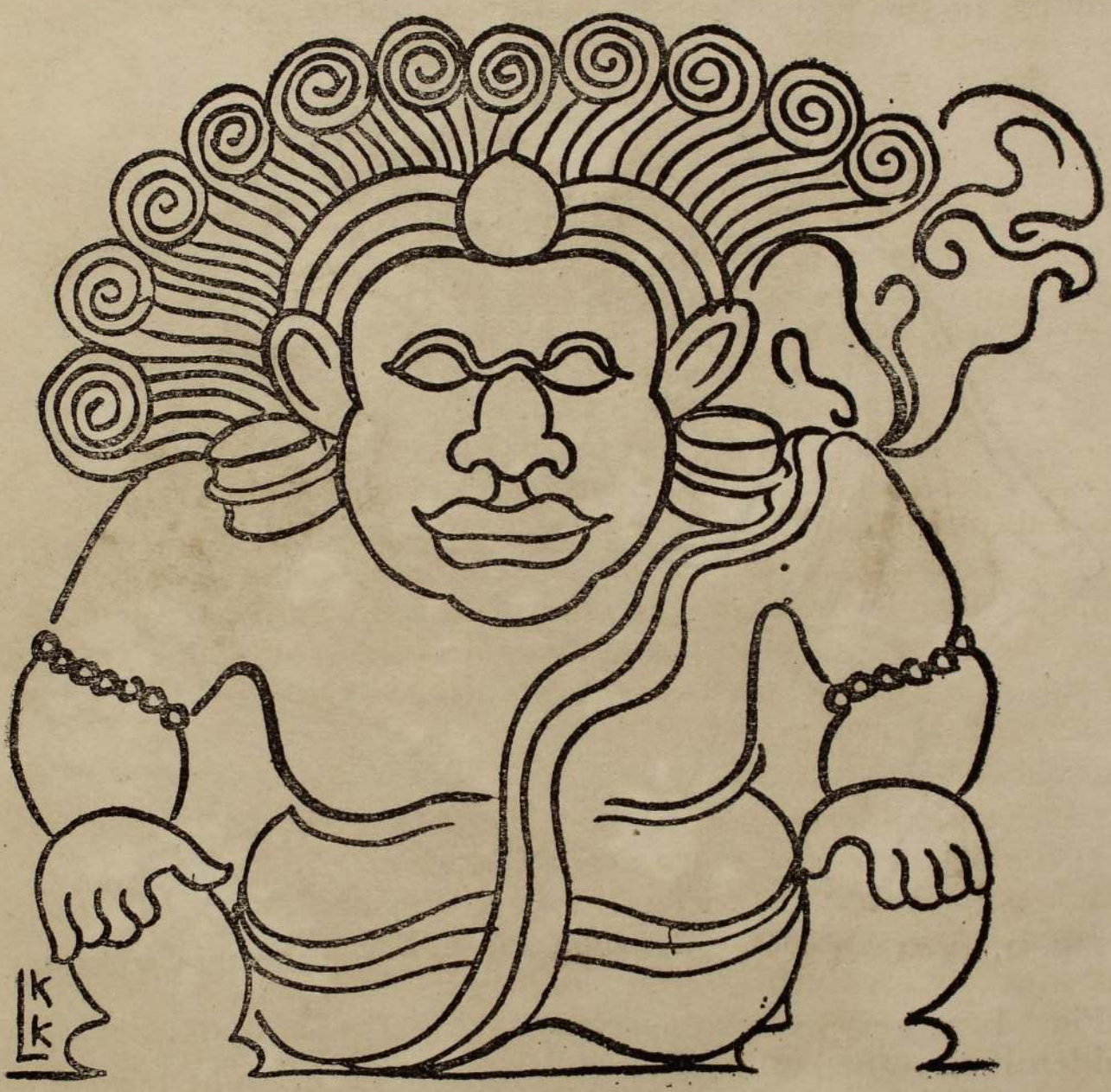

FIG. I. FROM STEPS OF BUILDING NEAR ARCHÆOLOGICAL BUNGALOW, ANURADHAPURA.

The ancient sculptors had to serve their patrons who employed them to make religious monuments. In making minor sculptures they have not been bound by very rigid rules and conventions as when making the figures of gods. As artists they availed themselves of the opportunity to express their creative talents freely in moods both vivid and boisterous. Professor Hocart referring to Polonnaruva sculpture says : " In contrast to the liveliness of dwarfs and dancers stands the frigidity of Buddhas ".[1]

1. Ceylon Journal of Science, Vol. 1 part 3.

The origin of the dwarf figure is in Hindu mythology. But the Buddhist sculptors were free to express their secular moods and emotions through them. These dwarf figures, except those of the guardstones, express human emotions and the rhythm of movement in dance, music and play. They are a source in sculpture from which we can gain an insight into the secular life of the ancient Sinhalese. In gesture, emotional expression, head-dress and rhythm no two figures are alike, unlike in major religious sculptures.

FIG. II. VATA-DA-GE, POLONNARUVA (ANURADHAPURA MUSEUM)

Fig. 1 represents a dwarf from the pillar capital from an unidentified ruined monastery at Anuradhapura. The pose of this figure can be identified with one of those of the present day Kandyan dancers. The Kandyan dance is called *Ves natuma* which can be literally translated into English as the masked dance. The present day dancer does not wear a mask but the dwarf figure looks like a masked dancer.

Fig. 2 is of a dwarf from Polonnaruva. Its pose can be identified with that of the present day low-country devil-dancer. He makes use of a pig-tail made of young coconut leaves attached to his own hair and in his dance he takes in his hand two sheaves of this artificial *konde* leaving the major sheaf hanging down on his back like tresses of hair. Polonnaruva dancer (fig. 2) represents, I believe, one of the poses of the present day devil-dancer whose dance was a regular item of the religious processions in the villages

until recently. The carved figure has in its hands folds of flowing drapery instead of the tresses of coconut leaves. Figure 3 represents the back view of the dwarf in the same pose.

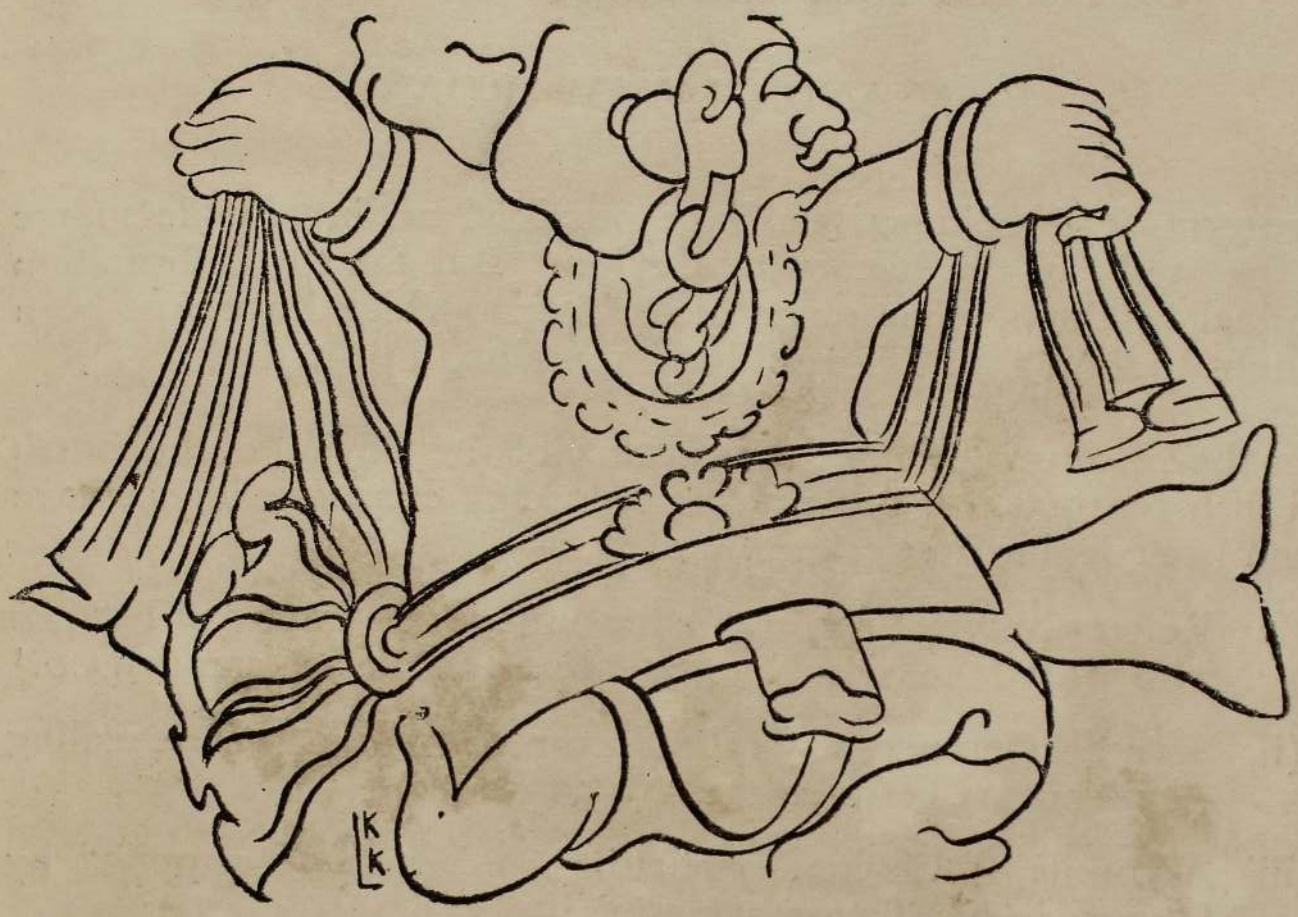

FIG. III. VATA-DA-GE, POLONNARUVA (ANURADHAPURA MUSEUM)

Amongst the dwarfs there are dancers, musicians with musical instruments, drummers, jugglers, acrobats, fighters with clubs and swords and wrestlers. They supply evidence to trace the history of classical dancing and music and the folk dances of Ceylon. I believe they are of more interest to the historian than to the student of sculpture.

NOTES ON SOME FOREIGN LITERARY SOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF FOURTH, FIFTH CENTURY A.D. HISTORY OF CEYLON

By ANANDA JAYAWARDANA

ACCOUNTS OF foreign writers have provided an invaluable source for the study of the history of Ceylon. But for the information supplied by them, some pages of its history which have now been brought to light would indeed have remained in the dark.

In the re-construction of the History of the Ceylon of the fourth and fifth century A.D. three pieces of foreign literary evidence have been of particular importance namely :—

(i) Reference to Ceylon in the account of the travels of Fa-hien who visited the Island in the first part of the 5th century A.D.[1]

(ii) Several references to Ceylon in the Chinese annals, revealing close contact between the two countries.[2]

(iii) Accounts of Ceylon, particularly of its trade supplied by Cosmas in his *Topographia Christiana*.[3]

Fa-Hien was one of the Chinese Buddhist Missionaries who set out from China in 399 A.D. (in the second year of the period Hing-shih, the Chi-hai year of the Cycle in search of "Disciplinary Rules".) Fa-Hien first came to India and after several years' stay there, arrived in Ceylon about the year 408 A.D. and stayed here for about two years in the pursuit of the object for which he came. On his return home he wrote an account of his travels. It contains descriptions of places of worship he visited in the several countries and also gives much information on the social and religious conditions of those countries. His account of Ceylon, particularly of Anuradhapura, where he is likely to have spent most of the time, forms one of the valuable pieces of evidence which gives the social and religious conditions of contemporary Ceylon.

References to Ceylon in the Chinese annals are of singular importance for the present period. Whereas the Ceylon Chronicles are completely silent on the relations between Ceylon and China,

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1. *Travels of Fa-Hien Giles* (Camb. Union Press, 1923).
   See also *Fa-Hien's Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Legge Oxford 1886) ; *Buddhist Records of the Western World* (Beal, London, 1884).
2. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Ceylon Branch)* XXIV ; (translation of *Sylvan Levi's Article in Journal Asiatique*, 1900).
3. *Christian Topography* (McCridle, London, 1897).

these annals reveal much religious intercourse between the two countries. Several embassies from Ceylon were received in the Chinese court.[1]

Besides this information that they offer, the Chinese references have helped to establish some valuable synchronisms for Ceylon.[2]

Cosmas, surnamed Indikopleustes, because of his wide travels in the Indian seas, was most probably an Alexandrian of Greek parentage, who came to the East on commercial pursuits. Once his travels were over, Cosmas abandoned his secular life and retired to the seclusion of the cloister where he was engaged in writing books on subjects like Geography, Cosmography, and Scriptural Exegesis. Of these the only extant work is the present one—*The Topographia Christiana*.

The time of Cosmas's writing is placed between the years 530 and 550 A.D.

McCrindle makes the following observations on the book :—

"The Christian Topography is essentially controversial, its professed design being to refute from scripture and common

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1. (i) The Chinese annals record the arrival in China after 10 years' delay *en route* of an embassy with an image of the Buddha from the King of Ceylon to the Emperor Hiao-ou-it (C 373–396 A.D.) of the Tsin dynasty in the course of the period 405–418 A.D. (*JRAS, CB.* XXIV, pp. 82, 107). The name of the Ceylon king is not given—Upatissa I, 370–412 A.D.

   (ii) Sending of a letter and presents by a Ceylon King Tsa-li-Mohanan (Kshatriya Mahanama)—Mahanama C 412–434 A.D.—428 A.D. to the Chinese Court (*JRAS, CB.* XXIV, pp. 89 ff).

   (iii) Two embassies from Ceylon bearing the products of the country are said to have reached China in 430 and 435 A.D. respectively (*JRAS, CB.* XXIV, pp. 75 f and 108).

   (iv) Mention is also made of the arrival of nuns from Ceylon in China for the ordination of Chinese women (Seng-chi-lio, Kao-deng-tchouan and Fo-tsou-T'ong-ki quoted by M. Paul Pelliot in *Bulletin de l'Ecola-Francaise d' extreme Orient*, Tome IV, 1904, p. 356 and referred to in *JRAS, C.B.* XXIV, pp. 107–108).

   (v) Embassies were sent to China perhaps in the reign of Kumaradhatusena C 515–524 A.D. (*Tenent's Ceylon I*, p. 620, 620 fn 4, see also *Culavamsa*, Translation II, p. XVII).

   (vi) The Chinese sources mention the receipt of a letter from the King Kia-che-kia-lo-ha-li-ya (Kasiyapa Kalaheraya) at the Chinese Court in the first year of Ta-t'aung (i.e., 527 A.D.), (*JRAS, CB.* XXIV, p. 85). Sylvain Levi opines that the royal name occurring in the Chinese annals corresponds either to Kassapa, the son of Upatissa II or to Silakala, the successor of Upatissa (*JRAS, C.B.* XXIV, p. 91 f). On the other hand both Codrington (*Short History of Ceylon*, p. 30) and Geiger (*Culavamsa* Translation I, p. 46 fn. 1) take the king mentioned in the Chinese work to be Kassapa I.

2. For detailed discussion see *JRAS, CB.* XXIV ; *Culavamsa Translation II* Introduction, etc., etc.

sense the impious pagan Cosmography . . . . The arguments with which Cosmas seeks to demolish this theory and to illustrate his own are absurd in the extreme, and were it not for the geographical, historical and other kinds of notices which are here and there incidentally introduced into its pages, his work would chiefly serve for amusement."[1]

The book has also been described as a " continent of mud " with a few " geographical and other fossils", which are of considerable interest.[2]

It is these " fossils " of Ceylon that have supplied us with valuable information regarding the Island. As appears from the excerpt from the *Topographia Christiana* quoted below, Cosmas describes Ceylon as the emporium of trade in the Indian Ocean :—

" . . . . As its position is central, the Island is a great resort of ships from all parts of India, and from Persia and Ethiopia, and in like manner it despatched many of its own to foreign ports. And from the inner countries, I mean China and other marts in that direction, it receives silks, aloes, clovewood, sandalwood and their other products and these it again passes on to the outer ports, I mean to Male, where pepper grows, and to Kalliana where copper is produced and sesame wood and materials for dress ; for it is also a great mart of trade ; and to Sindu, also, where musk or castor is got, as well as Androstachus and to Persia and the Homerite country, and to Adule. Receiving in return the traffic of these marts, and transmitting it to the inner ports, the Island exports each of these at the same time as her own products. Sindu is the frontier country of India for the river Indus, that is, the Phison, which empties itself into the Persian Gulf, separates Persia from India. The following are the most famous commercial marts in India :—Sindus, Orrhotha, Kalliana, Siber, Male which has five marts that export pepper ; Parti, Mangarouth, Salopatana, Nalopatana, Poudopatana. Then out in the ocean, at the distance of five days and nights from the mainland, lies Selediba, that is Taprobane. Then, again farther away on the mainland is the mart Marallo, which exports chank shells, then comes Kaber which exports alabandenum, then next is the clove country, then China which produces silk, beyond which there is no other land, for the ocean encircles it on the East.

Sieladiba being thus in a central position with reference to the Indies, and possessing the hyacinth, receives wares from all

1. *Christian Topography*, p. XIV.
2. *Cathay & Way Thither* (Yale, London, 1866), p. XVIII cf. *Christian Topography*, p. XX.

trading marts and again distributes them over the world, and thus becomes a great emporium . . . . ."[1]

Thus according to the testimony of Cosmas, Ceylon at this time, was the centre of an extensive entrepôt trade extending on the one side as far as China and on the other to Persia and beyond.

This evidence from Cosmas, however, is different from that supplied by the earlier writers who place the centre of trade in the Malabar coast and not in Ceylon. [2]

The accuracy of Cosmas' description may be doubted as he has nowhere stated he visited India or Ceylon.[1] It may be that he never visited the Island but based his account on information received from others. If that was the case, his description of the Island as a trade emporium of the East cannot obviously be regarded as too authentic. At the same time, it may be suggested that Cosmas has written what he actually saw in his wide travels in the Indian seas and as such his account of Ceylon only reveals a later development of trade in the Indian ocean in which the Island emerged as the centre of trading activity in the East. Further McCrindle thinks that :

" No one who reads his (i.e.) Cosmas' eleventh book in which he describes the Island of Ceylon and the ports, commerce and animals of India can doubt that he writes about these places from personal knowledge of them ."[3]

It may also be added here that there was an increase in the volume of Ceylon's trade at this time.

These works referred to above from our main foreign literary evidence and their importance, as has been told earlier, is that they supply information where the local accounts are most reticent and obscure. Their value is further enhanced in that they are contemporary records.

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1. *Christian Topography*, pp. 365–368.
2. Vide *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (Schoff, London, 1912), etc., etc.
3. *Christian Topography*, p. VI.

SECULAR EDUCATION IN THE PIRIVENA SCHOOLS

By INDURUWE PANNATISSA THERA

THE MODERN system of pirivena education in Ceylon is based on the system of elementary teaching imparted in the " pansala schools " of former days. The first modern type of pirivena was evolved out of a pansala school at the beginning of the nineteenth century at Pelmadulla, Sabaragamuwa, under the leadership of the late Ven. Induruwe Sri Sumangala Nayaka Thera of " Sripadasthana ". In 1841, his disciple, Ven. Walane Sri Siddhartha Thera established the first pirivena in the maritime provinces—the Parama Dhamma Chetiya at Ratmalana, and his students Ven. Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala and Ratmalane Sri Dhammarama Nayake Theras founded the Vidyodaya and Vidyalankara Pirivenas in 1873 and 1875 respectively.

The modern pirivena system, though evolved from the pirivena system of ancient days, differs from its prototype however in that the olden pirivenas were reminiscent of Nalanda and other similar institutions of India, and by no means seem to have confined their education to literature. *Rajaratnakara* informs us that the ancient institutions instructed the students in the following eighteen arts and sciences :—

(1) Grammar
(2) Poetry
(3) Oratory
(4) Languages
(5) Astronomy
(6) Law
(7) History
(8) Rhetoric
(9) Physics
(10) General Knowledge
(11) Counsellorship
(12) Dhamma (Religion)
(13) Sense Values
(14) Logic
(15) Spiritualism
(16) Philology
(17) Sports and
(18) Care of Elephants

Girls were also taught in most of these sciences together with singing and dancing.

> " Some of these pretended sciences may appear ridiculous to the European mind enlightened as it is with the truths of modern philosophy, but let it be remembered that such was the course of study in Ceylon when Europe was sunk in barbarism, and long before the trivium and quadrivium of the schools displayed the ignorance of the day ".—(W. KNIGHTON)

As in India, in Ceylon too, these institutions of learning were under the supervision of Bhikkhus. As Ludovici says :

" Under the Sinhalese kings long before the Portuguese secured their first foothold on the shores of Lanka, every district and every province had its public school and its college."—L. Ludovici).

The educated Sinhalese of ancient times had to be proficient in at least three languages. The Sacred Canon being in Pali, Pali was studied for the sake of religious knowledge, while Sanskrit was studied for a knowledge of the sciences such as Astronomy, Astrology, Medicine and Law. The Sinhalese vocabulary being largely derived out of Pali and Sanskrit, the knowledge of these two languages meant the acquiring of a better command over one's own language.

Primary Education : Hodiya

Primary education in the Pansala school was a three year course. At the age of five, the first letter of the Sinhalese alphabet, was taught to the child at an auspicious time. The Sinhalese alphabet or Hodiya included all the letters in the Pali and Sanskrit alphabets in addition to the purely Sinhalese ones. The aim of study being the grasp of all three languages, the alphabet was therefore a comprehensive one consisting of 52 letters. Thus though the two letters ri and li were never used in either the pure or mixed form of Sinhalese, still these were included in the Hodiya, lest these letters be foreign to the child when he comes to the next stage of repeating Sanskrit slokas. The arrangement of the letters in the alphabet was conditioned by the needs of the curriculum of the Pansala school.

In the teaching of the Hodiya, particular stress was laid on intonation. The method of the student reading and repeating the letters together with the teacher resulted in their proper pronunciation. To make pronunciation easy and distinct the auxiliary *Yanu* was used along with the letters, thus vowels were read as *Ayanu–Ayanu—Iyanu–Iyanu* and consonants as *Kayanu–Kayanu* and so on. When a student has mastered the sounds of phonetically classified vowels and consonants, he was introduced to the *Veli-pila* or sand board, for *Pillam kima.* In this process the teacher uses a piece of wood known as the *Ulkatuwa* and the pupil his middle finger rigidly held between the thumb and the first finger, and traces out the combinations of each consonant with all the vowel terms in turn. Thus the consonant " K " is repeated as *Ka-ka*, *Ki-ki*, *Ku-ku*, and so on : till ultimately the 500 sounds in the alphabet are turned out. This process is explained in *Vadan-kavi* in the following Stanza :—

පණිසක සොර සහ හස දෙව යි ත්තේ
එහි එක එක හසකුරු සඳම් ත්තේ
සොළසක සොරවූ කල ගණනි ත්තේ
නොව සැක පන්සිය සලකුරු ද ත්තේ

The second stage of *Pillam-kima* includes the spelling and formation of words in one process and commences with the Sanskritic auspicious term *Swasti-siddham*. Thus the formation and spelling of the first word *Swasti* was given as : *Swas-ki Sayanna saha vayanna benda liyaluye, me sayanna, me vayanna—Swas.*
ස්වස්–කි සයන්න සහ වයන්න බැඳ ලියාවූයේ මේ සයන්න, මේ වයන්න—ස්වස්

The intonative recitation of the formation of words in sing-song language appeals to the child and makes him interested in the work.

An efficient student at *Veli-pilla* or " Sand-board " is given a palm or talipot leaf, and a style or *Panhinda* with which he starts tracing letters starting from a large size and coming down to the standard writing of palm leaf.

This process is known as *Satahan-kepuma*. Speed and accuracy is judged in writing ola manuscripts, and the accepted standard is 30 words per minute. The child usually finishes the *Hodiya* before he reaches his sixth year.

Curriculum

The following verses of *Gana-Devi-hella* introduces us to the appointed course of study in the Pansala schools.

සෝඩියද ගෙණති නේ නම් ගමුත් කියමි නේ
කියා සිත් ලෙස දූ නේ සැහැලි පොත් කියමි නේ
පිල්ලම්ද කියමි නේ වදන් කවි කියමි නේ
වැල්ලේද ලියමි නේ බුද්දගජ්ජය දූ නේ

The first book read in the second year was the *Nam-pota*, a list of names that appears in the *Vihara Asna* of the Kandyan period. It gives a series of names, in all 260, of historical places, towns, caves, tanks, etc., and was a fillip to later studies in Ceylon history and geography, as each of these names bears some significance.

The second book prescribed was its correlator, the *Magul Lakuna*, which gives the 108 names of the auspicious signs on Lord Buddha's feet. The third book was the *Sahali* while the next was the *Gana–*

Devi-hella, a short poem on the God of Wisdom, which explains in 49 verses the prevailing method of education. Its collateral book *Vadan-kavi* explains in 74 verses, phonetically and methodically the alphabet and the various rules of pronounciation and orthography. The fifth and the sixth books in the series were the *Buddha-gajjaya* and *Sakaskada*; the former was a praise of Buddha in 40 verses and the latter a prose work, full of harsh Sanskrit onomatopœic words composed in the Dambadeniya period.

The third year of studentship begins with the introduction of *Satakas* or centesimally composed Sanskrit verses. A few of them were : *Namashtha* and *Navaratne*, *Vyasakara*, *Pratyaya*, *Bauddha*, *Surya*, etc. *Vrita-mala-khya* was also taught to illustrate the various metres of these verses. It was after this preliminary teaching that the study of languages, arts and sciences begins. In addition to the book learning, the teacher occasionally relates a story of religious or historical significance, and inculcates a further understanding of religion and tradition in the student.

ALAKESVARA, THE FOUNDER OF JAYAVARDHANAPURA KOTTE

By C. M. AUSTIN DE SILVA

IN THE middle of the fourteenth century, when Arya Chakkravarti, King of Jaffna was attempting to exercise his influence over Sinhalese territory, and when civil strife devastated the land, the figure of a remarkable warrior and statesman looms large in the pages of Ceylon history. He was the illustrious Nissanka Alagakkonara, more popularly known in his day as Alakesvara Prabhuraja. He was of noble lineage, hailing from the princely house of the Girivansa, an Aryan Kshatriya clan which had established itself in the city of Kanchipura or Conjeveram in South India. The village of Rayigama became their royal estate and habitat when Alakesvara's family came to settle down in Ceylon, in the reign of Parakramabahu V (1348–1360). The *Nikaya Sangraha* records that the king's Minister, Senalankadhikari Senevirat of royal lineage married a sister of Alakesvara, and she bore him two sons, namely, Vira Alakesvara and Vira Bahu Epa.

Alakesvara came into prominence and great repute in the reign of King Vikramabahu III (1347–1375). The *Mahavamsa* mentions: "There lived then at the time of Vikramabahu in the fair town known by the name of Peraddoni (Peradeniya), situated in the charming neighbourhood of the Mahavaluka-ganga, an eminent prince, sprung from the Girivansa, the discerning Alagakkonara by name, adorned with majesty, faith and other virtues, full of the desire to further the laity and the Order, of great might." In the capacity of Prabhuraja or Viceroy, Alakesvara wielded great power and influence. Considering the various political factors operating at the time, it was very necessary that a strong man like Alakesvara, "a man with the brain to think and the hand to strike," should have come to the helm of affairs in the State. To beat down the invading Tamils was the first thing that struck him, on assuming the duties of Prabhuraja. King Vikramabahu was responsible for creating this high office of State, to which he elevated Alakesvara, conferring on him full powers of Government. The Prabhuraja on receiving his charge, returned to Rayigama, his native village, which he made his headquarters for manœuvering military operations against the enemy. For realising his aim, he deemed it necessary to erect a strong fortress in the vicinity of Colombo, from whence he could keep the Tamils at bay. The fortress he constructed was Jayavardhanapura Kotte, so famous in our Island's history, and which stands to this day, a lasting monument to perpetuate the illustrious memory of Alakesvara. The *Nikaya Sangraha* gives a vivid description of this grand citadel so elaborately designed and securely fortified. "He issued commands through the obedient

and faithful chiefs in his service, and nigh unto the haven called Colombo, he caused a mighty deep and broad ditch to be dug, dreadful to behold, like the sides of a steep rock, right round the village Darugrama, which was situated in the midst of a lake and protected on all sides by a never failing stream of water, and he caused to be adorned with different devices like a creation of Visvakarma, the intervening spaces on the summit of the great rampart wall, which for the sake of stability had been built entirely of stone from the base of the ditch up to the coping on the wall. Thus he built a famous fortress called Abhinava Jayavardhana, well fortified with *idan-gini* (iron spikes), *pulimugan* (tiger-faced traps), *bhumiyantattu* (caltrops), *attala* (watch towers) and *vatta-vettam* (secret passages). He caused to be built on the summit of the great wall of the city for the protection of its four sides four separate holy places, dedicated to each of the four great god-kings who protect the four quarters of Lanka, Kihireli Upulvan, Saman-boksel, Vibhishana and Kanda Kumara, and he commanded that the temple services and festivals should be maintained without intermission, with every description of music, such as the music of the drum and pipe, and dancing and singing. Having filled it with all manner of riches he peopled the city with a great multitude."

How he routed the Tamil forces of Arya Chakkravarti and suppressed that ruler from the North is a clear demonstration of the military genius of Alakesvara. The King of Jaffna having advanced into Sinhalese territory captured seven ports and imposed a heavy tax on the inhabitants of those ports. Alakeswara challenged the high-handed action of the Jaffna King by hanging all his tax collectors. When Chakkravarti heard of this terrifying incident, he decided to avenge the Sinhalese by making a dual attack on Gampola and Kotte. Mustering strong 100,000 men from the Pandyan country as well as his own troops he swooped down, upon the land of the Sinhalese. The Tamil column that advanced towards Gampola was routed and utterly defeated by the Sinhala warriors of the Gampola Kingdom. Meanwhile Alakesvara lay waiting with his troops behind the walls of Kotte, awaiting the arrival of the enemy and the opportune moment to charge. Chakkravarti's forces intended for the capture of Kotte advanced by sea and landed in two divisions in Colombo and Panadura. According to Valentyn, a later Dutch historian, the enemy "clad in mail and fully armed" encamped at Colombo, Wattala, Negombo, Chilaw, etc. ; Alakesvara with "lightning-speed" fell upon the enemy, and routed a force of nearly five thousand Tamils at Mattamagoda. He next stormed their camp and inflicted a crushing defeat on the foe at Gorakana. Having destroyed their ships at Colombo, he marched to Panadura and struck a terrible blow on the remaining troops of Chakkravarti. This was a glorious victory for Alakesvara, and he returned in triumph to Rayigama.

The people welcomed him as a national hero and deliverer of the country from the menace of Tamil hordes. In recognition of his merited services for king and country, the five highest princely orders of the day, were conferred on him. They were : *Dipadhiraja*, Supreme Ruler of the Island ; *Mandalikaraja*, Provincial Ruler ; *Pradesaraja*, District Ruler ; *Antarabhogikaraja*, Ruler of a sub-district ; and *Anusasakaraja*, Supreme Counsellor.

King Vira Parakramabahu was succeeded by King Bhuvaneka Bahu V (1360–1391). And during his regime, Alakesvara continued to hold the high office of Prabhuraja. With the death of Bhuvaneka Bahu civil war broke out in the land. Prince Virabahu of Gampola and his elder brother Prince Alakesvara Vijaya Bahu of Rayigama both claimed the Kingdom of Kotte. A great battle was fought at Rayigama and Vira Alakesvara was defeated. He fled to India and returned with an army given to him by the king of Chola. In the encounter that followed, Vira Bahu of Gampola was defeated and Vira Alakesvara became King of Kotte assuming the new name of Vira Vijaya Bahu VI. Alakesvara was still the strong political figure, manouevering the machinery of government. The Prabhuraja too was himself, an aspirant to kingship, but he was aware that the time was not ripe enough for him to disclose his ambition.

About the year 1408, a Chinese Admiral landed in Ceylon demanding tribute to the Emperor of the Celestial Empire and attempted to erect a pillar of victory on the coast proclaiming Chinese suzerainty. Alakesvara would not hear of such a thing ; and he vehemently fought the Chinese and drove them back to their ships. In the reign of King Vijaya Bahu VI, to avenge the insult done to the Emperor of the Celestial Empire, a Chinese Admiral by name Ching-Ho came to Ceylon with an armed fleet. It was an opportune moment for Alakesvara to realise his aspirations to the crown. He secretly opened negotiations with Ching-Ho, and by means of artful strategy helped the Chinese to take Vijaya Bahu captive to China along with a number of Sinhalese princes and nobles. Alakesvara thus became supreme ruler of the Kingdom, and the Chinese acknowledged him King as tributary to "the Brother of the Sun". About the year 1411 A.D. Vijaya Bahu was released by the Chinese with instructions to return to Ceylon. On the very night of his return, the King was murdered within the city of Kotte, Alakesvara himself being aware of the plot.

It seemed now that the way was clear for Alakesvara to assume the title of King. His only rival was a young prince named Sri Parakrama Epana, son of Vijaya Bahu VI. At the time of his father's captivity in China, the great and good Vidagama Samī secretly fostered and tutored the young prince in his monastery at

Vidagama, although several attempts were made by Alakesvara to destroy his life. Tradition goes to say that every attempt was made by the Prabhuraja to win the good favours of Vidagama Sami who was then the supreme prelate of the Buddhist Church, with the object of becoming King of Lanka. Meanwhile this just and righteous prelate took action to restore the old line, by secretly introducing the young prince in hiding, to the people. It is said that every arrangement was made in connection with the coronation festivities of Alakesvara and on that great day clad in all the insignia of royalty he sat to receive the crown. When it came to the auspicious rite of girding him with the great Sword of State, Vidagama Sami handed the mighty weapon to the young prince who stood behind, and immediately it fell upon the neck of Alakesvara giving him the fatal blow. The sixteen year old prince was thereupon hailed King, as Sri Parakrama Bahu VI.

In those restless times, Alakesvara shone like a bright meteor in a dark sky. He was not only a famous warrior and statesman of distinction, but he was also a pious man, and endowed the Buddhist faith in manifold ways. The *Nikaya Sangraha* mentions : " And pleasing the hearts of men with the four moral virtues ; alms-giving, affability, promoting the prosperity of others, and loving others as one's self, he caused the ordination of priests for the benefit of future lives, and spending money lavishly in many thousands, constructed Maha Viharas of royal magnificence, such as the Sindurugiri Vihara, and established cloisters, naming them after his tribal names, such as, Kanchipurapurandara, Girivansasekhara, Nissanka Alakesvara, etc. Further he built separate viharas for the Maha Sangha living in villages and forests in the vicinity of his birthright, the city of Rajagrama (Rayigama), replete with all the good things requisite in a city, and coveted by a great number of various races. He accumulated great merit by offerings of the four sacerdotal necessaries." In this account we see the brighter side of his life—the real man in him endowed with those noble virtues which make life worth living. It must be remembered however that as a national hero Alakesvara falls in line with King Dutugemunu and Vijaya Bahu I, in the struggle for preserving and fostering the national independence of the Sinhalese.

PLANTATION ECONOMY AND COLONIAL POLICY IN CEYLON

By A. B. PERERA

CEYLON WAS known to the traders of distant countries from early times. It was familiar as Taprobane[1] to Greek and Roman merchants, who carried on an extensive trade with the Island. Arabs knew it as Serendib[2] and they traded with the Sinhalese for centuries; some even settled down in the Island. To the people of the East, Ceylon was known by the name of Lanka and so she remains to this day.

With the fall of the Roman Empire, the Eastern trade of Europe diminished and the importance of Ceylon suffered an eclipse. This condition soon vanished with the rising capitalism of the Italian city-states and Ceylon reverted back to her position as " the Tyre of Eastern and Southern Asia ".

In the era of commercial capitalism the Western Powers turned their attention to colonial expansion which meant the exploitation of peoples who were incapable of defending themselves against the armaments of the invaders. Thus, long before the development of nineteenth century imperialism, France, Portugal, Holland and England had extended their economic frontiers. In the East, these Powers became active from the time the trade routes were discovered.

The Portuguese were the first to arrive in Ceylon. This was in 1505. Through a career of pillage and conquest they made themselves masters of a great part of the Maritime Provinces. It has been said of the Portuguese that they aimed at " spices and souls ". Certainly, they ruled with a proselytizing zeal and a commercial sagacity which in the ultimate analysis means the absence of a colonial policy. Only in the scale of operations did they depart from the time-honoured mediaeval precedents of strict governmental control and emphasis on commerce rather than development.

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1. Ceylon was the usual term of their navigation and it was in these markets that the merchants from the more remote countries of Asia expected their arrival: Gibbon : *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,* Vol. I. p. 51, (Bury's Edition 1926).

2. Called Taprobana by the Romans and Serendib by the Arabs. It was discovered under the reign of Claudius and gradually became the principal mart of the East: Ibid footnote, p. 59.

All or almost all the land was held by service tenure, often military in character ; there was little revenue in cash.[1] Monopolies were established over cinnamon, arecanuts, pepper, gems, elephants and pearls ; other exports were cardamoms, ivory, various kinds of timber, musk, and small quantities of tobacco, silk, and tree cotton. The trade in these commodities was conducted under a mercantilist system based upon a ruthless military occupation.

The Portuguese ignored the prevalent religious sentiment and sought to impose a faith which was in fundamental contradiction to a religious tradition built up in two thousand years of recorded history. When dispossessed by the Dutch—a stronger military power—they left the Island in 1656, leaving Roman Catholicism and a community of half-castes. In the economic spheres, we can only credit the Portuguese with the introduction of chillies, tobacco, and a number of foreign fruit trees.[2] This seems poor return for a depopulated country, a failing agriculture and a miserable and ill-conditioned people. The Dutch, as commercial traders were without equal in their time. But unlike the Portuguese they made a genuine attempt to govern rather than occupy the Maritime Provinces and in a period of substantial peace, the Provinces recovered considerably from the effects of Portuguese misrule. The Roman-Dutch Law which the Dutch introduced to the Island, the canals and forts which they built, and the Dutch Burgher community are the monuments of their rule in Ceylon.

For nearly a century and a half they maintained a lucrative trade with Europe as well as with ports in India, the Near East and the Far East. The Dutch East India Company in Ceylon had monopolies over practically all the commodities in the Island. Cinnamon which had been the bone of contention with the Portuguese was the most important export. But pearls, elephants, pepper, arecanuts, jaggery, timber, arrack, choy-roots, cardamoms and cinnamon oil received almost equal attention. Coffee and indigo were cultivated but the export trade in these commodities was small.

The colonial policy of the Dutch was based solely on commerce, and was therefore necessarily selfish and oppressive. Whatever improvements they effected in the country were for the purposes of internal trade and exploitation. The system of forced labour prevailed throughout the Dutch provinces, and the poverty of the peasant and the artisan was very great. The education of the indigenous people was undertaken only as a corollary to the process of Christianisation, and the procedure of requiring the Protestant

1. Codrington : *A Short History of Ceylon* p. 125.
2. Ibid. p. 130.

faith before giving employment created a community of hypocrites. Moreover, the Dutch never rendered themselves immune from the social traditions inherited from the Portuguese.[1] In an atmosphere of peculation and greed, created by themselves, they sank lower and lower in the estimation of the indigenous population. A slave-ridden environment destroyed the growth of a healthy public life. They never won the attachment of the Sinhalese, nor were they able to strengthen their economic power by preparing themselves for an economic revolution as would have produced a rational economic organization and a command of broad markets. A more liberal policy towards the indigenous inhabitants might have saved them from the inevitable nemesis but they were unwilling to " adopt measures directed to the elevation and happiness of the native population ".[2] When compared with the activities of other European Powers in the East, it is surprising how the Dutch wriggled through modern history without losing the whole of their East Indian Empire.[3]

In Ceylon they soon fell a victim to the machinations that were taking place between England and the Kandyan Kingdom in the interior of the Island. Moreover, corruption and inefficiency in the political administration of the Dutch province hastened the end of a regime that was effete. The entanglement of the Dutch as an ally of Napoleon provided the British with a claim to demand the cession of the Island.[4]

With the exit of the Dutch, one phase in the economic history of Ceylon was ended. This phase witnessed the exploitation of the existing economic resources of the country. The Portuguese and Dutch in their own respective ways had been content with the profits they obtained from this exploitation. They were both birds of passage and birds of prey. As people who were not concerned with the niceties of colonial " development " they never claimed to have discovered the "arcana imperii". To them the finer points of colonial expansion were confined in the lesson that " the true riches of new-discovered lands are their inhabitants ".[5] Thus their economic dominion was founded upon the basis of " forced " and "slave" labour.[6] If as Philalethes[7] said : "The Portuguese were

1. *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol IV, p. 53.
2. Tennent. *Ceylon*, pp. 11, 50-59.
3. Clive Day, *The Dutch in Java;* Sir Stamford Raffles, *History of Java.*
4. Br. Parl Pap, 1831-32, XXXII; L. J. B. Turner, *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register* III. iv and VIII. ii.
5. Quoted Hobson. *Evolution of Modern Capitalism*, p. 12.
6. Hobson, op. cit. p. 12.
7. The History of Ceylon from the Earliest Period to the Year 1815. Philalethes was the Rev. Robert Fellowes (Lewis: *Ceylon Antiquary & Literary Register*, VIII. iii. pp. 214-215.)

more tolerant than the Dutch, and the Dutch were less tolerant than they ought to have been", nevertheless the ultimate reckoning would have come. The logic of facts drove the British from India to Ceylon and they wrested the Island from the Dutch not merely by force but through the aid of superior economic resources. The British had prepared themselves for an economic revolution which was to stress coal and iron as well as sea-power. The war with France, if it was a war of self-preservation was also a war for the preservation of British colonial interests. The real importance of Ceylon was recognised in her proximity to India and the consequent indispensability in the defence of India. By the Treaty of Amiens, all the British conquests overseas were restored to France, Spain and the United Provinces, except Trinidad (Spanish) and the Dutch settlements in Ceylon. Pitt, though he regarded the peace as precarious, pronounced the Treaty honourable. He declared that the retrocessions of the Cape and Malta were matter for regret ; but certain authorities held them to be of secondary value (a statement backed by the vigorous assertions of Nelson in the Upper House), and he believed Ceylon to be far more important than the Cape for the defence of India. As to the Mediterranean, that was a sphere of secondary import, when compared with the East and West Indies.[1] The opinion that Ceylon was essential to the defence of India was also shared by Lord Macartney and Lord Wellesley.[2] But the general imperial policy of Britain was based on the same economic principles on which the old empire had been governed ; and so it remained for a full generation. In this period the British colonial empire was a thing of shreds and patches. The lacuna that exists between the disruption of the old empire and the age of Huskisson is therefore explained, by the consequent obscurity in economic policy.

The conquest of Ceylon by the British took place in 1795–1796.[3] As the country was conquered by force so it was subjected by force.[4] Political stability was achieved after many military expeditions. There were three stages of settlement in the Maritime Provinces. The first period (1795–1798) was that during which the Island was administered as a dependency of the Madras Government of the East India Company. The second (1798–1802) was the period of dual control when authority was divided between Madras and

1. *Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, I. pp. 305-6.
2. *Records of the Cape Colony*, II, pp. 232-234; *Cambridge Modern History*, IX, p. 734.
3. L. J. B. Turner : *Ceylon Antiquary & Literary Register*, III. iv pp. 239-256 and VIII. ii. pp. 93-118 ; *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. IV. p. 401.
4. Ibid. III. iv and VIII. ii ; *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. IV, 401 ; Woolf, Imperialism and Civilisation, p. 12.

Colombo. This was terminated owing to the dissimilarity of the problems facing the two countries. The final stage was the period 1802–1811, when the Imperial Government established Crown Colony Government.[1]

In 1815 the conquest of Kandy[2] was accomplished and with the signing of the Kandyan Convention on the 2nd March, 1815, the sovereignty of the Island passed to His Britannic Majesty and Britain established herself as the Governing Power in and over the Island of Ceylon.

The British occupation ushered in an era of imperialist conquest and exploitation. The commercial value of the Island was recognised from the very beginning of the occupation, the years when Henry Dundas gave Ceylon his special attention.[3] He and his successors viewed the whole question of Ceylon with a cynicism that could hardly be justified by the most ardent protagonists of Imperial policy. The Colonial Office was determined to handle the Island as a business enterprise, tolerating the natives in so far as their activities were profitable to Britain. The agriculture and commerce of the Island were conducted as government monopolies, the chief sources of wealth being the cinnamon plantations and the pearl fisheries. The revenues on which the Colonial Office depended were the various rents on land and fisheries exacted from the natives, the sea and land customs duties imposed on imports as well as on internal trade, and the income from the postal service. Besides cinnamon and the pearl fisheries, the most important commodities from which revenue was derived were tobacco, salt, arrack, arecanuts, timber and spices. These sources were by no means neglected and it was no coincidence that Ceylon's first Governor, Sir Frederick North, held the same views as those in command at the Colonial Office. The minds of these men were obsessed with the idea of profit and their activities had one object in view, surplus.[4] In the first rush for wealth, these men even forgot the elements of public finance. Deficits were frequent, especially under North and his foolish extravagance retarded the development of the Island by several years. A man devoid of any

1. C. O. 54, 55 : March 13th 1801; C. O. 55, 61 : 1801 The Series C.O. 54, contains the despatches from the Governor to the Secretary of State and the miscellaneous correspondence with the Treasury, the Crown Agents and other departments ; the Series C.O. 55 (after 1837, C.O. 381, 26, 27, 28) contains the despatches of the Secretaries of State to the Governors. Both Series are in the archives of the Public Record Office in London.

2. The kingdom of Kandy which had existed as a separate political entity even during the Portuguese and Dutch eras.

3. C. O. 55, 61 : February 17th 1795 ; C. O. 55, 61 : December 30th, 1800 C. O, 55, 61 : March 13th, 1801.

4. C. O. 55, 61 : March 13th, 1801.

economic insight, his hopes, as were those of Dundas' of making Ceylon an *El Dorado* proved to be chimerical. Sir Thomas Maitland, his successor, in a classic despatch dismissed the dreams of these economic infants as to the possible riches of the colony " as ludicrous and romantic . . . . . as anything that is to be found in the Arabian Nights' Entertainments".[1] Although Maitland had a grasp of realities and succeeded in making drastic reductions in the expenditure, he was unable to show any marked profit. Deficits kept on recurring even under Sir Robert Brownrigg[2] and continued till the re-conquest of Kandy in 1818. In these years Huskisson[3] seems to have been the *deus ex machina* who intervened again and again to relieve the Island of its financial tangles. For the Island did indeed pass through some difficult years burdened with debt and an unfavourable trade balance. The average deficit for the years 1807 to 1817 centred round £100,000, and in 1818 it was doubled owing to the Kandyan revolt.[4]

Huskisson also submitted proposals[5] for the economic improvement of the Island and these were almost wholly adopted after careful consideration. An active inquiry into the possible sources of economy showed the disastrous results of the neglect of rice cultivation. The local production of foodstuffs was, therefore, encouraged[6] but no enthusiasm was shown to put this into practice. In 1820, one of Huskisson's most important measures—the stabilization of the currency—was achieved under his own supervision.[7] The Budget for 1819–1820 showed a marked improvement[8] and from this time may be discerned a visible change in the economy of the Island. The year 1819 also witnessed the arrival of Sir Edward Barnes,[9] who became Governor in 1820. With him we enter the period of the plantation system which has coloured so much of the subsequent history of the Island. The years 1820–1833 were years of intense activity, when Barnes laid the foundation of the modern system of communications and directed the minds of

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1. C. O. 54, 22: September 20th, 1806.
2. Governor of Ceylon, 1812-1820.
3. Huskisson was first at the Treasury. From 1812 to 1823 he was Colonial Agent for Ceylon and in this capacity proved himself the best informed man on the Colony. His hand may be discerned in the despatches C. O. 55, 61: December 30th, 1800 and C. O. 55, 61 : March 13th, 1801.
4. C. O. 54, 71 : July 23rd, 1818.
5. C. O. 54, 54 : July 11th, 1814.
6. C. O. 54, 58 : May 10th, 1815.
7. C. O. 55, 56 : September 18th, 1820; C. O. 54, 78 : July 26th, 1820.
8. C. O. 54, 74 : November 19th, 1819.
9. Barnes was Lieutenant Governor from the 1st February, 1820 to the 2nd February, 1822, and then Governor continuously from the 18th January, 1824 to the 12th October, 1831.

many towards coffee planting. With the consolidation of the political structure in 1833[1] the path was opened for the economic exploitation of the country. This economic exploitation was symbolised in the plantation system. In the main this implied a process of economic penetration which in the course of a century transformed the whole social structure of the country. This process was achieved by the British who were in no sense colonizers, but whose activities fall under the category of "domination".[2] The British in Ceylon never exceeded ten thousand, the majority of whom were proprietary planters and representatives of commercial interests. They succeeded in bringing the indigenous population under imperial rule and in doing so destroyed the indigenous economy and political institutions. This was the inevitable consequence of a policy that thrived on keeping the subject people in economic if not political servitude. But the end was achieved under the facade of "development", in which the plantations are the main element.

Since the designation "development" has been used with a variety of connotations, it may be stated that the term is used here to describe a process whereby capitalism became entrenched as the dominant force in Ceylon. When the British first came to Ceylon, a considerable part of the Island was a panaroma of hills and mountains. After a century of their rule, the forest and jungle had disappeared. The land is owned by British joint-stock companies and is planted with tea and rubber and a fair amount of cocoa ; the estates are controlled by Britons in the employ of these companies ; the labour on the estates consists of Tamils "indented" from India belonging to a different race and religion and speaking a different language. The political administration is mainly in the hands of English Civil Servants. The laws and ordinances of this administration, made and applied by Englishmen regulate minutely the lives of the inhabitants not only in matters of public order, but also of the ownership of land, agriculture, trade, industry, labour, religion, and education. The whole life of the country is completely revolutionized. The impulse towards that revolution was originally economic—the growing of coffee, tea and rubber by Europeans.[3]

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1. C.O. 55, 73, May, 29th 1834 ; C.O. 55, 74 : passim ; C.O. 55, 75, July, 29th 1833 C.O. 55, 77 : May, 6th 1835 ; C.O. 54, 127 : passim ; C.O. 54, 128 : passim C.O. 54, 130 : passim ; C.O. 54, 131 : Proclamation of the 1st October, 1833 ; C.O. 54, 135 : May, 1st 1834 ; C.O. 54, 140 : February, 10th 1835.
2. Jules Harmand : *Domination et Colonisation.* For a detailed study of the period vide C. R. de Silva : *Ceylon Under the British Occupation,* 1796–1833
3. cf. Woolf. *Imperialism and Civilization,* pp. 42–43.

In the period under survey, colonial policy always reflected the vagaries of plantation activities. And as the plantation system is so intimately bound up with imperialist conquest and exploitation, the ethic of this social category necessitated the destruction of a well-defined social system in the country. For it is an error to think that the indigenous inhabitants of Ceylon ever gave birth spontaneously to the present condition of things. Under the Sinhalese kings, the government of the country necessitated the people having a large control of local affairs. The institution through which this was effected was called the Gansabhawa. This was the village community, an administrative unit which coincided with a district, the whole country being divided into thousands of districts. These communities were in the nature of independent corporations or municipalities. Their functions were both civil and judicial. In the former sphere, the Gansabhawa exercised a wide jurisdiction relieving the central authority of many of the minutiae of government. In the latter sphere, it was responsible for all matters unless specially reserved by the king. For our purposes, the main point is that these village communities did exist, even after the Portuguese and Dutch occupations. It is not claimed for the Gansabhawa the virtues one finds in a modern democratic institution, but it would be unwise to deny the usefulness of this institution in a social system conditioned by a wide popular interest in governmental affairs. In the " domestic union " of agricultural and commercial pursuits, the Gansabhawa had performed a useful task for several centuries. The institution was so deep-rooted in the sentiments and habits of the people, that it formed an essential part of their life.

The British authorities, at first, ignored this indigenous system of self-government and finally destroyed it. If it was one of the tenets of Imperial policy to look on an Eastern people as only fitted to be ruled, it was not politic to destroy this institution after its value had been pointed out by the Commissioners of Eastern Inquiry.[1] Colonel Colebrooke in a letter dated the 24th September, 1832,[2] recommended the re-inauguration of the Gansabhawa, and in answer to critics he reinforced his arguments in a letter dated the 18th July, 1834 :

> " The village council or Gansabhawa . . . . . required but very little regulation to render it an efficient means of providing for the police of the country and the adjustment of petty disputes and cases."[3]

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1. The Colebrooke Commission, 1829-1831, C.O. 54, 122 : *Reports of Inquiry :* B.P.P. (H.C.) No. 374 : 1832.
2. C.O. 54, 122 : September 24th, 1832 ; cf. Skinner, Ceylon, pp. 234-235.
3. C.O. 54, 145 : July 18th, 1834.

The advice was given in vain, for the authorities refused to utilise and develop these self-working institutions. Not content with non-recognition, the local legislature discountenanced these organizations by Executive measures. The roots of native society were thus destroyed and social disorganization set in. The niggardly and half-hearted attempt[1] to resuscitate the village communities after a generation of political retardation only served to arouse suspicion in the minds of the people. The extent to which the planting interests were responsible for the destruction of this indigenous social system may be gathered from the fact that these interests dominated the government and worked for the dissociation of the common people from the government.

As it has been stated :

> " It would be easy to dispose of the merits of our rule with reference to them in a few cheap phrases about the blessings of British civilization, but the truth is that our rule has been less successful in promoting the welfare of the natives than in the realms of commerce. Our intentions have been good, but the administration has been insufficiently in touch with the people. Commercial and planting successes have over-shadowed the needs of the people ".[2]

The constant association of the planters and the commercial interests in governmental bodies was a *sine qua non* of political action. Even in the year 1885, the Government of Ceylon was an autocratic bureaucracy founded on an Order-in-Council and not till 1889 was any attempt made to widen the basis of nomination to the Legislative Council.[3] It is idle to speak of political advancement in the years which witnessed the growth and decline of the first plantation industry, coffee, and the rise of the new plantations—tea, cocoa and rubber.[4] Only in comparatively recent times have the indigenous inhabitants been associated with the central government, so as to represent other interests beside the European planting and commercial communities. But well into the twentieth century those who have represented native interests and those who have claimed to be representatives of native interests, belonged to a native landowning class.

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1. Ordinance No. 26 of 1871 ; C.O, 54, 467 : October 4th, 1871; C.O, 54, 474 : February 4th and 5th, 1872.
2. Justice Clarence: *Journal of the Royal Colonil Institute*, Proceedings 1895-1896, p. 333.
3. Cmd. 3131 of 1928, p. 12.
4. The next instalment of constitutional reforms was in 1911,Cmd.3131 of 1928 p.13.

But British colonial policy in Ceylon displayed an ingenuity which neither the Portuguese nor Dutch possessed, though her aims are traceable to the need for creating conditions that would respond to world commerce. Beginning with the efforts to protect life and property, the British established Executive and Legislative Councils, then Courts of Justice, and finally constructed roads, railways, bridges and harbours. If this was due to the inherent necessity of a predatory capitalism working in close alliance with the Government of the country, it nevertheless justified " development " in the eyes of the indigenous population. It may then be maintained that in Ceylon—

> " the colonial problem as between nation and nation, the colonial problem as between each dependent government and its own sphere of activity, has always been a problem in the domain of economics or more concisely, the problem of control and development of tropical dependencies alike in its international, in its national and in its internal aspects, rests and always has rested upon economic foundations ".[1]

The economic foundations were laid by the growing of coffee. The history of plantation coffee resolves itself into three phases. The first phase (1820–1850) witnessed the development of plantation coffee, the chief factor in the development being the construction of roads. This phase was characterized by the indulgence of Government officials in coffee planting and its disastrous consequences. The phase ended with the crisis of 1848 caused by the financial depression of 1845–1846 in England, and the wild speculation and the unsound management of estates in Ceylon.[2]

The second phase (1851–1870) marked the heyday of the coffee industry, in which Ceylon coffee fetched some of the highest prices in the markets of the world and was shipped to almost all the important countries. In this phase the roads were extended and perfected and a railway system was also established, thus solving the problem of cheap and efficient transport.[3]

The third phase (1871–1906) saw the decline of the coffee industry, for in 1868 there had appeared the leaf disease known as *Hemileia vastatrix*. Thereafter, the coffee crops were gradually destroyed until in 1900 the export of coffee became a negligible quantity. To save the millions sunk by them the planters turned

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39. Alleyne Ireland. *Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, Proceedings 1904–1905, p. 380.

40. I Vide the summary by C. W. Guillebaud in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. II. pp. 517–524.

41. Vide the Summary by C. W. Guilleband in the *Cambridge History of the British Empire*, Vol. II. pp. 743–750.

their attention to substitutes and for a time experimented with Liberian coffee and cinchona. The former failed ; the latter was attended with partial success for a brief period. Cocoa and tea were also tried and proved to be successful ; and towards the end of the century it was demonstrated that rubber also could be grown profitably. The third phase ended with the emergence of cocoa, tea, and rubber as the salvation of the planting resources of the Island.

The subsequent history of plantation economy in Ceylon is the history of the cultivation of these commodities.[1] These "new plantations" gained for Ceylon its place in modern world economy and despite the fluctuations of markets, have maintained their hold, as coffee once did. And it must be emphasised that the system on which these new plantation products were raised and continue to be raised, is the same (except for modifications due to technical improvements) as that on which coffee thrived.

The plantation system, therefore, lends itself to an analysis which stands the test of over a hundred years of development.

In Ceylon the plantation system was the typical unit for the raising of export commodities. The extent of the unit varied from about a hundred acres to a few thousand acres. A large force of dependent labourers was employed on each unit. The main characteristics of their labour were low pay, hard work and bad living conditions. The owners of the plantations were British and they depended almost exclusively upon foreign markets for the sale of its products.

The organization of the plantations was based on the capitalistic system of production and the *raison d'etre* of this capitalism is exemplified by three factors : to export the commodities derived from the plantations, to safeguard the profits derived from investments, and to develop in the indigenous territory a market for Britain's manufactures. The main problem that faced the planters was that of an adequate supply of labour. This—

> " modern riddle of the Sphinx, at which the various nations have guessed, each in its characteristic way",[2]

was solved by importing Tamil coolies from South India. The labourers were regarded as nominally free but the wage scale was so low that it restricted the liberty of the individual and kept him in semi-servitude. The plantation could afford to pay low wages

1. Lewis : *Sixty Four Years in Ceylon.*
2. A. G. Keller : *Colonization*, p. 580

as it exerted a restrictive influence on the purchasing power of local markets and had no adverse effect upon consumption abroad. Further, the plantation was organized with the objectives of large scale production and the accumulation of wealth. The planters regarded the unit not as a social or political agency but simply as a money-making institution. In this they had the help of the Government which proved elastic enough to permit laws and ordinances that led directly to the goal of profit. This desire for profit conditioned many things : the size of the plantation, wage scales, housing, labour recruitment, methods of marketing, and finally the social structure. The economic element dominated this system and the system thrived largely at the expense of the workers.

The two main trends we observe in the development of the plantation system are the technical improvements and the transformation of society. Under the former, we have the conspicuous influence exercised in the introduction of new tools, machinery, wage systems, standards of living, notions of sanitation, types of organization, fashions in clothing, methods of work and educational institutions and ideas. Under the latter we have already noted the destruction of the indigenous society. Consequent on this the inhabitants moved into a new environment and adjusted their ways to the new social philosophy. The changes extended beyond the bounds of the plantation areas and as capitalism entrenched itself there was effected a stratification of society in the whole Island. In the plantation areas there was a sharp differentiation between the upper class, represented by the owners and the higher (particularly the white) agents of the plantations, and the labouring class. As the line of cleavage between the upper and the lower classes was partly racial and partly economic, it became firmly fixed and individuals seldom passed from one to the other. This division runs through all phases of life, economic, social and political. The labourer may be completely free but he is considered of a lower order. The higher English employees may have been of low social origin in their native land, yet on the plantation they belonged distinctly to the upper class. These differences were emphasized and extended by their introduction into industrial and commercial enterprises, where employees were drawn largely from the rural labouring class and where the lowest foreign employee lords it over the native workers. The aristocracy was thus sharply separated from the servile class of labourers.

In such a social order there was little room for a middle class. The plantation largely marketed its own products, procured supplies, directly or indirectly, for its entire population. Hence the trader class was small and entirely dependent on the estate. As economic groups outside the plantations were limited, most of the population except the professional classes fell into one or the other

of the categories mentioned. Moreover, the plantation system, especially in the nineteenth century prevented the development of a middle class planting population, in that it crowded out the small-holding. This process of stratification resulted in political oligarchy in Ceylon.

In 1906, Ceylon, remained what it had been in 1796—a plantation colony—no more or less. But if the political evolution of Ceylon was delayed until the twentieth century, the economic evolution was almost complete. That this economic evolution was conditioned and determined by forces far removed from the ideals of political philosophers is now conceded by the protagonists of the Empire. Indeed, as a contemporary historian has observed :

> " Yet the people who by their courage, their tenacity and the sweat of their brow, made the Empire, were not all as may sometimes appear, political philosophers, mastered by a passion for freedom and possessed of an incurable love of making and listening to long speeches. The prevailing prices of tobacco, sugar, cotton wool, mutton, wheat and the innumerable other commodities in which they had invested their time and money were more vital to them than the contents of the latest despatch from Downing Street or sonorous pronouncements made in the local Legislature on the true nature of Responsible Government." [1]

Note: *It is hoped that this article will be the first in a series on the various phases of the economic development of Ceylon by Mr. A. B. Perera. Further instalments will appear in subsequent issues of this Journal.—Ed.*

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1. C. M. McInnes : *Introduction to the Economic History of the British Empire*, Preface p. 5.

BOOK REVIEWS

Studies in Revolution "—E. H. Carr. (*Macmillan*, 9*s.* 6*d.*)

The name of E. H. Carr has been associated in recent English periodical literature with the subject of Russia. His interpretation of Russian affairs has always shown an independence of judgment singularly unusual for a fellow-traveller. With his latest book, *The Bolshevik Revolution*—the first instalment of a massive work on Soviet Russia ; E. H. Carr has been deservingly awarded the recognition of a historian of authority. *Studies in Revolution* is a by-product of the intensive researches the author has been making for the purposes of this project. It is a collection of 14 essays published in various English journals during a period of four years, 1946–1949. Though not on a single subject the essays have a general unity of theme—the ideas and personalities that have contributed to the growth of European revolutionary thought from the French to the Russian Resolution.

For the first expression of intellectual dissatisfaction with the existing social system and the precipitation of those ideas which were to direct the social revolutions of the present century, the author goes back to Saint Simon, who receives the title of " precursor ". Saint Simon is modern and revolutionary in enunciating the sociological principle (although the term sociology was apparently the invention of his pupil Auguste Comte) in " his vision of the coming resubordination of the individual to society ", in his realization that after Descartes, Kant and Rousseau the religion of individual liberty had come to an end, Perhaps his only other important contribution to the progress of the revolutionary idea was the emphasis he gave to work. Babeuf and Rousseau had already done this, but it was left to Saint Simon to give it a central position in a system. " All men will work ", he said—it is no doubt the foundation of the modern Soviet precept : " He that does not work neither shall he eat."

The revolution of 1848 was a bitter disillusionment to those political thinkers who had harboured romantic visions of the future. Proudhon and the philosophy of anarchism grew from this mood of frustration and disillusionment. He and the man who might be called his co-founder, Bakunin, believed in revolution but were incapable of giving a strict formulation of a programme of action. Indeed when Bakunin ultimately did combine the anarchist principle with the idea of a party, anarchism came to be identified publicly with terrorism. So that beginning with a conspiracy against the State—consistent with its violent denunciation of political organisation—in practical politics anarchists (particularly in the Spanish Civil War) showed themselves as ruthless and as intolerant as those parties which they had condemned.

The political course of two other important thinkers were shaped by the revolution of 1848. Herzen, like Bakunin and Proudhon before him, bore a deep felt hatred and contempt for bourgeois democracy. Having seen the bourgeois use the proletariat to get what it wanted and then cross over to the other side of the barricades, Herzen concluded that the entire western system was corrupt at its centre. " The last word of civilization " he wrote to Mazzini " is revolution ". But what was to take the place of this civilization? Herzen had no answer. Anarchism had no appeal to such a rational and orderly a mind. Editing *The Bell*, his major achievement, Herzen passed from a vague radicalism to build a Utopian hope in the Russian peasant as a pioneer of socialism. He is thus called " the first Narodnik ".

Ferdinand Lasalle was more an agitator and pamphleteer than a systematic thinker. His meetings with Bismarck are important historically because they symbolize " the new and pregnant alliance between nationalism and socialism ". With his complete faith in Hegelian doctrine Lasalle could not possibly sympathise much with those thinkers who form the main socialist tradition. It is a loyalty to the nation state that separates Lasalle from them and one can speculate, the author adds, as to how far Lasalle is responsible for Hitler's national socialism and whether " socialism in one country " is not an unconscious tribute to the vitality of the Lasallean conception.

In these four essays the author has brilliantly portrayed the gathering momentum of the socialist idea. Springing from a confused discontent, from a horror of the perversity of the social system, the idea is at first submerged in the vague and chaotic expression of angry protest. Noble in its desire for change it is nevertheless condemned to futility for the protest was hardly ever based on a scientific diagnosis. Particularly noteworthy is the manner in which the author has given the right place and emphasis to each idea and figure in a pattern which takes shape and becomes clear only when we read the whole book. Taking these essays individually it can be said that the study of these varied historical personalities is both penetrating and imaginative. Too often do we read historians who are ready to explain the sum total of human achievement either by reference to an abstract law of history that determines all, or in terms of some personal eccentricity of the men involved. But whether they see human behaviour in the past and present through the eyes of History or Psychology thus deified, their understanding would lack that wholeness of comprehension realized by a few men who possess the rare gift of historical imagination. E. H. Carr is certainly one of them. Perhaps I exaggerate his talents. But it should be remembered that these are short essays and that his ability to respond intelligently to interplay of the

objective and subjective, of idea and event, shows both a sympathy for the subject he examines (most evident in his essay on Herzen) and a capacity for historical perspective.

It is this latter gift that is most clearly revealed in the essay on the Communist Manifesto. Recognising fully its debt both to its predecessors and contemporaries, the writer observes the essential difference between this document and earlier proclamations of this kind. With the Communist Manifesto socialist theory reaches maturity. No longer does the idea end in fantastic and sterile visions of a great future. From the Utopia conceived earlier, socialism becomes now a scientifically predictable and inevitable goal. Marx and Engels set out for the first time " a coherent scheme of revolution " a scheme in which " revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice march triumphantly hand in hand ". They were no ordinary philosophers setting out to explain the universe, they were realistic politicians determined to change it.

But neither its power of conception nor its remarkable originality of thought blinds the author to some of the glaring errors that appear in the manifesto seen after a hundred years. Marx made out a neat pattern of revolution in modern society, the feudal-bourgeois and the burgeois-proletarian struggle. By a study of British and French experience he had been able to predict this with certainty. Future events were to show however that such a generalisation was dangerously inadequate. Theoretical difficulty arose whenever a bourgeois revolution had not yet occurred, in Germany for instance, where the bourgeois instead of making an alliance with the proletariat against the feudalists—as Marxist doctrine expected —allied with the aristocracy to defend themselves against the growing militancy of the working classes. In Russia too where the bourgeois showed itself incapable of performing a revolutionary function, Marxist theory was compelled to compromise.

Similar difficulties were confronted in the application of the statements in the Manifesto as regards nationalism. Generalising again on the study of Britain and France, Marx identifies national sentiment with the bourgeois state. So that wherever the national spirit grew divorced from any State organisation, as in the Hapsburg Empire—the Manifesto shows a theoretical flaw which is revealed in sharper outline by the inconsistent positions taken by Marx and Engels on the several Eastern European questions of that time.

Finally the author finds another mistake in the attitude taken to the agrarian question. The basis of error is the same. The manifesto was framed to fit Western conditions, the task of revolution thus was the special privilege of the proletariat. In the more backward countries however the peasant played a vital role in

social change, and many years later both Marx and Engels were to realize how seriously they had underestimated his revolutionary potential.

For Professor Carr the Russian Revolution is the " culminating embodiment in history " of the Communist Manifesto. The next series of essays therefore examines the phenomenon of the Bolshevik Revolution in all its historical complexities. Here, again, he begins with the idea of revolution, its growth and the personalities associated with it. Starting as a reaction against the autocracy of Nicholas I, in the Decembrist conspiracy of the " conscience-stricken gentry " its intellectual background is covered almost entirely by the figure of Hegel. In Russia as in the rest of Europe the " forties " threw up several influential thinkers. Of these Belinsky should be remembered for effecting an important transition from Hegelian idealism to the materialism of Feuerbach, and in planting the revolutionary idea among the middle class intelligentsia.

At first this idea was disguised (mostly owing to rigid censorship) as literature and philosophical criticism. By the seventies and eighties however it passed from this sphere to that of political action and this transition is signalised in the founding of the Russian Marxist group in 1881 by George Plekhanov, the subject of a single essay under the title of " Father of Russian Marxism ".

After a lucid analysis of the tensions which formed the immediate background of the Russian Revolution (including an essay on the growth of the Bolshevik party) the author moves on to what is clearly the crucial essays in this section of the book—a study of Lenin and Stalin. Lenin's supreme achievement is the moulding of Russian foreign policy—the balance he cleverly made between the demands of world revolution and national interest. Criticizing Christopher Hill for denying that Lenin shared Trotsky's views on the immediate need of international revolution, Professor Carr points out shrewdly that the difference between Lenin and Trotsky was really a question of timing and tactics, not of principle. It was Lenin who helped to develop that dual conception of the role of the Soviet Republic—as " the spearhead of world revolution " and the " promotion of world revolution as the ultimate and necessary crown and reinforcement of the Soviet Republic ".

If Lenin is seen as the chief progenitor of the revolution Stalin is the product of the revolution in its later phase. As far as world history is concerned the course of Soviet Russia took a new turn with Stalin's seizure of power, for the synthesis that Lenin had made between the international and the national interests of the new

republic, was disturbed. In its new form the national interests were emphasized and socialism in one country became its theoretical justification.

Professor Carr's book deserves this lengthy summary because, as I said before, he is a fellow traveller with a difference. For all his evident sympathy for the Soviet regime hardly ever does he slip into the cliches of Stalinist argument. Thus stressing the national character of Stalin's work he adds : " the real charge against Stalinism is that it abandoned those fruitful elements of the Western tradition which were embodied in the original Marxism ".

Written in an easy prose and in a tone engaging and steady " Studies in Revolution " is clearly the work of a gifted historian. It is this very fact however that makes us feel a trifle disappointed on completing the work.

It is the peculiar characteristic of great historians that whatever they discuss, we feel the ever present awareness of the deepest human significance of the event or historical personality examined. Their standards of historical appraisal are always defined in terms of the larger patterns of human culture. Whether we call it the philosophy of history or merely historical method it is a sign of the readiness on the part of the writer to judge a situation with reference to its most basic issues. In writing on such a subject as the Russian Revolution this should be particularly so to a contemporary historian. It is not a matter of taking sides—E. H. Carr has already done so—but to possess that courage needed to face all those questions which necessarily arise in one's study of a problem.

The author is intelligent, therefore he has posed the questions himself : " Is Stalin the disciple of Marx or an oriental despot ? " " Has he—a second Peter the Great—Europeanized Russia or a —second Genghis Khan—made Russian part of a vast Asiatic Empire ".

Referring to Isaac Deutscher's recent book the author notes : " Mr. Deutscher sums up the difference between the Leninist and Stalinist revolutions by calling the first a revolution ' from below ' and the second a ' revolution from above '." Professor Carr's only comment on this is that " the distinction should not be pressed too far ". All the implications of a " revolution from above "—its brutalizing consequences on society as a whole, its transformation of a country to a virtual police state—these questions are left unanswered.

Indeed there is the whole question of revolution itself. It is an undemocratic process, can it be justified ? One should expect rightly a discussion on this level from a man of Professor Carr's

talent. A fascination with revolutionary power seems to have blinded the author to the less attractive features of social upheaval. So that what has been, is examined as if it were inevitable and the entire problem of alternate action is ignored.

Taken altogether, *Studies in Revolution* is a very interesting book. The first section is in its material educative, in judgment imaginative and intelligent. That this cannot be said of the whole book is one way of saying that Professor Carr is a good historian but hardly a great one.

M. D. DE SILVA.

The Legislatures of Ceylon, 1928-1948—By S. Namasivayam. (*Faber & Faber*).

Namasivayam's *Legislatures of Ceylon* is the fifth volume in a series of studies on Colonial Legislatures edited by Margery Perham and intended to describe the constitutional development of the British Colonial Empire. The first volume in the series is historical and deals with the development of the Legislative Council from 1606 to 1945 ; the second volume with the Gold Coast Legislature, the third with the Northern Rhodesian Legislature, and the fourth with the Nigerian Legislative Council.

The Legislatures of Ceylon purports to describe the development of the Ceylon Legislature from 1928 to 1948. The main emphasis in the book, however, is on the Donoughmore Constitution ; also throughout the book the bias is legal rather than historical.

The Donoughmore Constitution attempted to break away from " the frustrating stage of colonial government which confronts an irremovable imperial executive with an irremovable local opposition ". The nett result, however, was not wholly beneficial. For with the innovations of adult suffrage, dyarchy and the Executive Committee system the Donoughmore Constitution found itself in the familiar constitutional impasse between representative government and responsible government—a feature which appears to be inherent in colonial constitutional development. In spite of its inherent defects, however, Mr. Namasivayam concludes that the Donoughmore Constitution merits the highest place among all the Ceylon Constitutions of the era of British rule. The constitution proved workable and was worked without serious deadlocks for 16 years, he says, and it stood the strain of a world war. Again, its achievement was remarkable . . . . Ceylonisation of the public services made great strides under this constitution, and comprehensive measures of social and industrial legislation were undertaken.

If we accept the standard with which Mr. Namasivayam evaluates the Donoughmore Constitution—that a constitution must be judged by its records, there can be no quarrel with his conclusion that it was a success. His conclusion at least is logically irreproachable. Mr. Namasivayam's assumption, however is open to question. Bad constitutions have been productive of good results and *vice versa ;* and the success of most constitutions have depended in the last analysis, on the men who work them.

Mr. Namasivayam's advocacy of the Donoughmore Constitution has gone to the extent of defending the Executive Committee System which he characterises as a " qualified success rather than an unqualified failure ". Assuredly the Executive Committee System had its uses, but the principle which underlay it, indeed the principle which underlay the Donoughmore Constitution as a whole, that the State Council would govern, that Executive and Legislative responsibility would be entrusted to the self-same body, was a " constitutional heresy ".

The book has been written for non-Ceylonese as well as Ceylonese readers, and the latter will find much commonplace matter.

S. U. KODIKARA.

The Dutch Parish Registers (School Thombos) of Ceylon— Translated and edited by E. Reimers, Printed at The *Times of Ceylon. Price : Rs.* 2.50.)

Mr. Reimers' first instalment of his work is to be welcomed by the conscientious student of Ceylon history. His achievement serves a dual purpose. In the first instance he has delved into a chapter of Ceylon history which has hitherto been relatively ignored. He has demonstrated by his work what latent potentialities lie in this direction for the true understanding and analysis of the Dutch educational system and the particular context in which it worked. Secondly he has performed the invaluable service of ensuring the preservation of records, the originals of which are swiftly perishing or are liable to perish in the future.

As Mr. Reimers himself insists, his achievement is " intended to be an introduction to the educational policy adopted by the Dutch in administering the village schools in their territory, and particularly to their Parish Registers or School Thombos ". Apart from the main work, his introduction itself is instructive and indicates the true value of his work. Here he attempts to clearly show the extent of the existing registers and precisely how they were maintained. Detailed information is given as to the methods

adopted in keeping these registers and to the outlines followed in writing them up. For instance he says, " the entries are all in Dutch, in parallel columns under the headings, names of parents, names of children, ages in years and months at dates of Baptism, dates of entering schools, dates of leaving school, dates of marriage and dates of death or departure from village, reference being also given to the registers in which the names of those who had left their villages would subsequently appear " . . . . .

He demonstrates that the Parish population is classified and in such a manner that the organisation of the village was preserved and adapted to Dutch uses, so much so that the same routine of tenure continued, only now that it was rendered to the Dutch. He then proceeds to give copious details of the adaptations. The work has been most painstakingly carried out and is well worth serious study.

Mr. Reimers continues with a comprehensive account of the school organisation of the time, i.e., the number of school-masters, their grades and their particular duties, etc. The school curriculum is also dealt with in detail. It is interesting to note that the general education was religious in character, since the " doctrine of the Reformed Church was regarded by the Dutch as the leavening influence for all good government ". The importance of the school-master as the focus of intellectual activity in the village is also cleverly demonstrated. The general organisation of schools is next dealt with. A clear and well defined picture of the general organisation of the schools under the Scholarchical Assembly is presented as an indication of the near perfection of the Dutch Educational system as compared with contemporaneous institutions.

Comments follow on the Head Thombo, i.e., a companion of the Land Thombo. He demonstrates lucidly what potentialities lie in this direction for geneological research, and indicates just what precisely could be gathered from the names of the registered peoples.

In its entirety the work is invaluable in presenting the conscientious historian with a detailed description of the Dutch educational system. It is not only in this particular sphere that its value lies. The extracts of the Parish Registers are an important source for gleaning information regarding the social and cultural routine of the villages. It also gives indications of the economic status of the village generally and its particular individuals. Besides outlining an educational system the work serves the more important purpose of presenting the context in which the system worked.

The book also contains two photostats of the Karave and the Salagama flags, together with some pertinent quotations on them, including a letter written by Alexander Johnstone.

S. W. A. CONSTANTINE

Ceylon and Indian History—(By L. H. Horace Perera & M. Ratnasabapathy ; Publishers, W. M. A. Wahid & Bros., 233, Main Street, Colombo. *Price : Rs.* 7.50.)

This book is an attempt to deal with the history of Ceylon from the beginnings to the 15th century. The authors make a detailed survey of Indian history and show how the various layers of Indian civilization affected the history of this Island. This is the first attempt to give a connected and a detailed account of Ceylon and Indian history in the early periods and hence deserves much praise.

The book contains a large number of maps, drawings and illustrations, which facilitate historical study.

The book which runs into 326 pages is divided into 20 chapters dealing with the political, social, economic and cultural history of this period. It is interesting to note that nearly 15 chapters deal predominantly with Indian history. As the introduction to the work says, this is due to the fact that—"During this period till the arrival of the first European nation in 1505, the origins of our culture and civilization have been derived from India. And that if the history of India looms large in these pages it is but rightly so, for it forms the background of our civilization and explains its history." The authors do not confine themselves to a mere enumeration of events, names and dates in Indian political history, but give an elaborate account of the administrative systems, art, architecture, sculpture, economic life, religion and philosophy of the various Indian empires.

The treatment of the history of Ceylon is quite comprehensive and accurate. The authors deal with the political events, system of administration and government, economic, religious and cultural development of the country. Moreover, the authors give an estimate of the degree of Indian influence on this development.

The book is of great value to all students of the history of this country and above all to the students preparing for examinations, who were greatly handicapped by the absence of a book, which could give them the story of this Island and her neighbours in a concise form. This book serves to fulfill a long felt need of the student of Ceylon and Indian history.

N. B.