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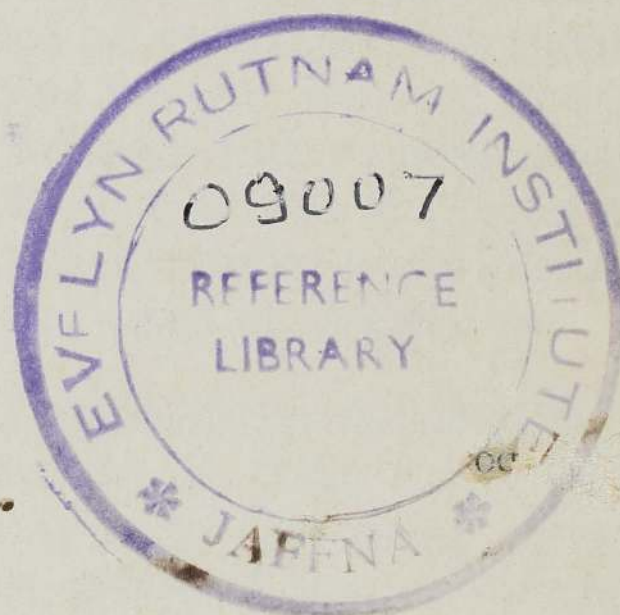
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# Ceylon and Malayasia in Mediaeval Times

By S. PARANAVITANA

Ceylon is situated at the south-western corner of the Bay of Bengal which, on its eastern side, washes the shores of the Malay Peninsula and the northern half of the Island of Sumatra—lands which are the home of people of Malay race. Should one sail directly eastwards from the eastern coasts of Ceylon, the first land that one would meet after passing the Andamans is the Malay Peninsula; similarly, a mariner sailing westward from a port in the Malay Peninsula or the western coast of northern Sumatra would touch land on the eastern or southern coast of Ceylon. It may, therefore, be inferred that the people of Ceylon and those of the Malay lands would have come in contact with each other in ancient days if they took to seafaring. It was only in certain periods of their history that the Sinhalese people had engaged themselves in seafaring<sup>1</sup>; on the other hand, the Malays have always been intrepid sailors. Geographical considerations would thus lead one to the conclusion that the history of the Sinhalese and that of the Malays would have been influenced by each other, but the only instance hitherto recognised of historical contact between the two peoples, before the settlement of the existing Malay community in Ceylon at a time when the people of Malayasia as well of Ceylon were reduced to playing a passive or subordinate role under conquerors from the West, was the episode of Candrabhānu's raid on Ceylon.

The two unsuccessful attempts of Candrabhānu the Jāvaka, the first in the eleventh year of Parākramabāhu II (1247 A.C.) and the second in or about that monarch's twenty-sixth year (1262 A.C.), are well-known to students of Ceylon history, and need not be dwelt upon at length here. Numerous were the speculations offered by scholars interested in the history of Ceylon, as well as of Malayasia, with regard to the identity of Candrabhānu, the region he hailed from and the significance of his raids on Ceylon for the history of south-eastern Asia.<sup>2</sup> These speculations were set at rest by the great French savant Georges Coedès who, in 1918, published the text of a Sanskrit inscription from Vat Hva Vian in Jaiyā, in his well-known work *Le Royaume de Çrīvijaya*<sup>3</sup>, and later, in the paper *A propos de la chute du Royaume de*

1. C. W. Nicholas in *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol. XVI, pp. 78-92.

2. See, for example, N. J. Krom's paper *De Ondergang van Crīwijaya* in *Med. Kon. Akad. van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde*, Deel 62, Serie B. No. 5, pp. 8-9 (156-7).

3. *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient (BEFEO)*, XVIII, 1918, pt. 6.



*Crīvijaya*<sup>4</sup>, published in 1927, identified the king 'Śrī Dharmarāja bearing the epithet of Candrabhānu' of that inscription with Candrabhānu of the historical writings of Ceylon.

The Jaiyā inscription<sup>5</sup> is dated in Kaliyuga 4332, i.e. 1230 A.C. According to the *Cūlavamsa* as well as the *Pūjāvalī*, Candrabhānu first raided Ceylon in the eleventh year of Parākramabāhu II<sup>6</sup> whose accession, according to the contemporary *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravamsa*<sup>7</sup>, took place after 1824 years had passed from the Enlightenment of the Buddha, i.e. 1236 A.C. Thus, Candrabhānu first came on the Ceylon scene in 1247 A.C. The date of his second expedition against Ceylon, in which he lost his life, has not been expressly stated, but it can be inferred to have taken place after Parākramabāhu II had entrusted the government to his son, Vijayabāhu, in his twenty-second year, and before the occupation of Polonnaru by that prince in the twenty-sixth year,<sup>8</sup> i.e. between 1258 and 1262 A.C., but closer to the latter date than to the former. It is not improbable that a ruler who figures in an inscription of 1230 was the leader of an expedition in or about 1260; chronological considerations, therefore, are not a barrier to the identification of the Malay ruler Candrabhānu of the Jaiyā inscription with Candrabhānu, the Jāvaka king referred to in the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvalī*. But, as the Jaiyā inscription gives 'Candrabhānu' more as an epithet than as a personal name, it is not impossible that the Malay ruler who invaded Ceylon was a son and successor of the Dharmarāja of that inscription. If the king who set up the Jaiyā inscription is held to be the same as the Jāvaka king who endeavoured to conquer Ceylon in or about 1260, he must have been well over sixty years of age at that date; to lead an expedition across the seas might perhaps be an undertaking too strenuous for a man so advanced in years.

The Candrabhānu of the Jaiyā inscription is described as the 'Lord of Tāmbraṅga'. This agrees with the *Hatthavanagalla-vihāravamsa* which states that Candrabhānu came from the Tambaliṅga country. Chandrabhānu is described in this work as 'a lion in prowess unto the rutting elephants who are the kings of many other countries, whose impetuosity could not be resisted by any one, who had deluded the whole world by a show of service to the world and the religion, who possessed an abundant military train, who was determined on taking

4. *Bijdragen tot de Taal-land-en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie*, Deel 83, pp. 459-472. The present writer was the first to draw the attention of Ceylon scholars to this identification in his *Religious Intercourse between Ceylon and Siam in the 13th-15th centuries*, read before a meeting of this Society on November 14, 1932. (*JRASC B*, Vol. XXXII: No. 85, pp. 190ff).

5. The text and translation of this inscription are given in *The History of Śrī Vijaya* by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, pp. 133-134.

6. *Cūlavamsa*, chapter 83, v. 36 and *Pūjāvalī*, 34th chapter, B. Gunasekara's translation, p. 43.

7. P.T.S. edition, p. 31.

8. *Pūjāvalī*, XXXIV, edited by Mābōpiṭṭiye Medhaṅkara-thera, p. 48.



possession of the sovereignty of Laṅkā, who came from the Tambaliṅga country and was accompanied by feudatory kings'.<sup>9</sup> This description, particularly the reference to feudatory rulers, would call to one's mind a potentate like the Maharaja of Zabag, whose might and wealth have been extolled by the Arab geographers, rather than a local ruler of obscure origin who had but recently shaken off his allegiance to his suzerain of Śrī Vijaya, as Candrabhānu is generally held to have been by historians.<sup>10</sup>

The Sinhalese translation of the *Haṭṭhavanagalla-vihāravamsa*, known as the *Elu Attanagalu-vamsa*, written in Śaka 1304 (1382 A.C.) gives the name 'Tambaliṅga' in the Sinhalese garb of 'Tamaliṅgam';<sup>11</sup> the translation made in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI in the first half of the fifteenth century gives the name as 'Tamaliṅgomu'.<sup>12</sup> The *Rājaraṭnākara* of about the sixteenth century, while omitting the name of the leader of the invading forces, mentions that he was king of Tamaliṅgomu<sup>13</sup> and the *Daṁbadeṇi-asna*, of which the date is not known, gives a long account of the vanquishing of the king of Tamaliṅgamu by Parākramabāhu II. According to this source, there were three foreign invaders of Ceylon in the reign of Parākramabāhu II, among whom the king of Tamaliṅgamu was the most formidable; he is said to have landed at Tammannā, on the north-western seaboard of the Island.<sup>14</sup> The *Daṁbadeṇi-katikāvata* mentions the Yāvakas, together with the Draviḍas and Keralas among the foes whom Parākramabāhu II had to deal with, but does not mention Candrabhānu by name, nor does it state from where the Yāvakas came.<sup>15</sup>

The name 'Tamaliṅgamu' also occurs in the *Pūjāvalī*, not in connection with the invasion of Candrabhānu, but in a statement which records that a very saintly *thera* named Dhammakitti, who lived in the country of that name, was invited to Ceylon by Parākramabāhu II.<sup>16</sup> In the *Cūlavamsa*, the name of the country from which Dhammakitti-thera came to Ceylon at the invitation

9. *Neka-desa-mahīpāla-matta-mātaṅga-kesari-vikkmaṁ duratikkamaṁ loka-sāsana-saṅgaha-karaṇa-vasena vaṅcita-sakala-lokaṁ sampanna-bala-vāhanaṁ Laṅkā-rajja-gaḥaṇatthikaṁ Tambaliṅga-visayāgataṁ atisāhasaṁ Candabhānu-manujādhipaṁ sasāmantāṁ antaka-bhavanam upanīya.*

*Haṭṭhavanagalla-vihāravamsa*, P.T.S. Ed., p. 32.

10. See, for example, Sir Roland Braddell in the *Journal of the Malayan Branch, Royal Asiatic Society (JRASMB)*, Vol. XXIII, pt. iii, pp. 33ff.

11. *Elu Attanagalu-vamsa*, edited by P. Āriyaratna, Colombo, 1932, p. 45.

12. *Elu Attanagalu-vamsa (Vīdāgama)*, edited by Galagama Saraṇāṅkara Thera, Colombo, 1953, p. 66.

13. *Rājaraṭnākara*, edited by P. N. Tisera, Colombo, 1929, p. 37.

14. *Daṁbadeṇi-asna*, edited by D. D. Ranasinha, 1917, pp. 3-6.

15. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka, *Katikāvat-saṅgarā*, p. 8.

16. *Pūjāvalī*, 34th chapter, edited by Mābōpiṭṭiye Medhaṅkara Thera, B.E. 2476, (*Pv.* XXXIV), p. 33.



of the Sinhalese king is given as 'Tambarat̐tha'.<sup>17</sup> The Sinhalese name 'Tamalingamu' being thus the equivalent of the Pali 'Tambalinga' as well as 'Tambarat̐tha', it follows that the Tambalinga country was also known as Tambarat̐tha. In fact, 'Tambarat̐tha' appears to be an abbreviation of 'Tambalingarat̐tha'. According to the *Pūjāvalī* as well as the *Cūlavamsa*, Parākramabāhu II is said to have sent costly presents to the king of Tambarat̐tha to persuade him to send Dhammakitti-thera to this Island. The name of the king of Tambarat̐tha is not given in this connection, and it is not certain whether this religious mission took place before or after the first armed conflict with Candrabhānu, but the arrival of Dhammakitti in Ceylon is mentioned after the narration of the events connected with the first invasion by Candrabhānu. The king to whom presents were sent for the sake of Dhammakitti-thera can be no other than Candrabhānu. The conclusion, therefore, is that, not long after the first armed conflict between Ceylon and Tambalinga, normal peaceful relations between the two countries were resumed. It was perhaps on the same occasion that, as stated in the *Jinakālamālinī*, a sacred Buddha image was taken from Ceylon to Dharmarāja-nagara.<sup>18</sup> This might even have been included among the 'religious gifts' sent by Parākramabāhu II to Tambarat̐tha.<sup>19</sup>

Though there were, owing to some reason or other, hostilities between Ceylon and Tambalinga (Tambarat̐tha) in the reign of Parākramabāhu II, there was a long tradition of peaceful co-operation in religious, and perhaps also in economic, matters between the two countries. We are informed by a fragmentary slab-inscription of Sundaramahādevī, consort of Vikramabāhu II (1111-1132), that a great dignitary of the Ceylon Saṅgha, by name Ānanda, was instrumental in purifying the Order in Tambarat̐tha.<sup>20</sup> This Ānanda-thera, eulogised in the epigraph as 'a banner raised aloft in (the firmament of) Laṅkā', appears to be identical with Ānanda who was the teacher of the two well-known Pāli authors Vedeha and Buddhappiya. In the twelfth century, Sinhalese authors who wrote in Pāli appear to have been concerned with the winning of the approbation of scholars in Tambarat̐tha as well as of those in Ceylon and South India.

17. *Cūlavamsa*, chapter 84, vv. 11-16.

18. *JRASC*, XXXII (No. 85), pp. 192ff.

19. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 84, vv. 13-14. The two classes of presents are referred to as *dhamma-pābbhata* and *rāja-pābbhata*, which Geiger translates as 'religious gift' and 'princely gift'. The *rāja-pābbhata* must have meant the presents for the king, for without the consent of the ruler of the country concerned, it was not possible in those days to obtain a religious teacher from any country.

20. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, pp. 67-72. The portion of the text referring to Tambarat̐tha, which has been left with a lacuna in the reading published there, is now proposed to be read as *yo Tambarat̐tha-yati-suddhita-thera-bhūto*. For this Ānanda-thera, see *The Journal of the Greater India Society*, Vol. XI, pp. 17-25.



Buddharakkhita, the author of the ornate Pāli poem, *Jinālaṅkāra*, at the end of the commentary which he himself wrote to that poem, refers to himself as 'who has received the consecration at the hands of eminent scholars in Laṅkā, as well as in the Coḷiya (country) and the Tambaraṭṭha'.<sup>21</sup> Anuruddha-thera, the author of three widely studied Pāli Buddhist texts, states at the end of his *Paramatthavinicchaya* that he was born at Kāvīra-nagara in the Kāñcīpura country, and wrote that work while residing at a city named Tañja in Tambaraṭṭha.<sup>22</sup> Some Pāli scholars, identifying Tañja with Tanjore, would take Tambaraṭṭha as a region in South India, but there are many place names in the Malay Peninsula of which the word *Tanjong* (meaning 'Cape') forms the first element. There was, in fact, a Tanjong-pura somewhere in the Malay Peninsula, which would very well have been the Tañja-nagara referred to in the *Paramatthavinicchaya*. There is also a Tanjong Tembeling.<sup>23</sup>

In view of the religious and other contacts which this region had with Ceylon, and for the bearing which it has on the ensuing discussion, it is very important to determine the exact location of Tambaraṭṭha, but there is no unanimity among scholars with regard to the matter. As an inscription referring to a 'Lord of Tāmbraliṅga' has been found in that area, Professor G. Coedès has taken Tāmbraliṅga to have been the region of which the centre was Ligor, the ancient Dharmarāja-nagara, Nakhon Si Thammarat in vulgar parlance.<sup>24</sup> Sir Roland Braddell, however, after an exhaustive examination of references to Tan-mei-lou and Tan-ma-ling, as the name appears in Chinese writings, has given very plausible reasons for locating Tāmbraliṅga further south, in the Kuantan area, where an important tributary of the Pahang river still bears the name of Tembeling, and the headland at its mouth is named Tanjong Tembeling.<sup>25</sup> Sir Roland's identification has been accepted by Professor Nilakanta Sastri,<sup>26</sup> but O. W. Wolters, who has recently

21. *Laddhābhiseko vara-paṇḍitehi*  
*Laṅkātale Coḷiya-Tambaraṭṭhe*  
*Jinālaṅkāra-vaṇṇanā*, edited by Vālipaṭanvila  
 Dīpaṅkara Thera and Baṭapolē Śrī Dharmapāla Thera, Alutgama,  
 1915, p. 290.

22. *Setṭhe Kañci-pure raṭṭhe Kāvīra-nagare vare*  
*Kūle sañjāta-bhūtena bahussutene ñāṇinā*  
*Anuruddhena therena anuruddha-yasassinā*  
*Tambaraṭṭhe vasantena nagare Tañja-nāmake*  
*Paramatthavinicchaya*, edited by Devānanda Nāyaka Thera, Colombo,  
 1926, p. 337.

23. *JRASMB*, XVII, part iii, p. 45 and Vol. XXIII, pt. iii, p. 22

24. G. Coedès, *Les Etats Hindouises d'Indo-Chine et d'Indonesie*, p. 72.

25. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Malayan Branch (JRASMB)*, Vol. XXIII, pt. II, pp. iff.

26. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. *A History of South India*, map facing p. 194



written a paper on Tāmbraṅga, favours Professor Coedès' view.<sup>27</sup> The references to Tambaratṭha in Ceylon writings indicate that it was a flourishing centre of Theravāda Buddhism in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries; there are important monuments of that faith still preserved in the Ligor region, whereas the archaeological remains brought to light in the Kuantan area are neither very outstanding nor of a Theravāda Buddhist character.

According to Ceylon history as at present accepted, the invasions of the Island by Candrabhānu of Tāmbraṅga were not related to any event which took place before or after them, and it was only in this period that the Malay people influenced the course of the political history of Ceylon. But, if a certain detail with regard to Candrabhānu's attack on Ceylon, given in the *Rājāvalī*, is properly understood, in its bearing on statements relating to other events in that work itself as well as in other historical writings, Candrabhānu's attempt to secure the sovereignty of Ceylon for himself would be seen as the result of a long historical process, and that the people from Malayasia had played a very important part in the history of this Island. The rest of this paper will marshal that evidence and attempt to interpret it.

While the *Cūlavamsa* and the *Pūjāvalī* state that the bulk of the soldiers under Candrabhānu were Jāvakas, the *Rājāvalī* has it that he landed in Ceylon with an army of Malalas. In the account of the fighting, too, Malala as well as Tamil soldiers are said to have been slain.<sup>28</sup> The same people, the Malalas (20,000 of them) were, according to the *Rājāvalī*, led by Māgha who, in 1213, sacked Polonnaru and brought about the end of the Sinhalese kingdom in the Rājaraṭṭha. It is, of course, possible to argue that the *Rājāvalī* is a late work, and that its evidence identifying Malalas with Jāvakas, as it is not supported by earlier sources, has to be rejected. But, it is not impossible that the *Rājāvalī* had recorded, in this instance, a genuine tradition, not noticed in the earlier writings. Such a view of the matter becomes all the more plausible when we consider that the statement of the *Rājāvalī* with regard to the nationality of Māgha's soldiers is in accord with the *Pūjāvalī*, written less than sixty years after Māgha's sack of Polonnaru, at a time when its author could possibly have himself seen Malala soldiers against whom the Sinhalese of his day waged a life and death struggle. According to the *Pūjāvalī*, Māgha landed in Ceylon

27. *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London, Vol. XXI, pt. 3, pp. 587ff.

28. *Rājāvalī*, edited by B. Gunasekara, Vāsala-mudali, pp. 44 and 45. The printed texts of the *Rājāvalī* give the name *Malala* as *Malla*, and Gunasekara translates the word as 'able-bodied men'. The Sinhalese letter *la* being usually written in manuscripts with a pronounced flourish towards the right, two *la*'s coming one after the other can be easily mistaken as joined together. In the *Pūjāvalī* (34th chapter) too, the word *Malala* has been read by Gunasekara as *Malla*, while the critical edition of the text by Ven'ble Mābōpitiye Medhankara-thera (p. 25) gives the correct reading *Malala*.



with 24,000 Malalas,<sup>29</sup> and among the enemies against whom Parākramabāhu II had to fight, there were Malalas, as well as Tamils and Jāvakas. Māgha is said to have had under him an army of 40,000, consisting of Malalas and Tamils.<sup>30</sup> As the number of Malalas had been earlier given as 24,000, they formed the majority of his troops. In order to decide whether the *Rājāvalī* is trustworthy when it refers to the soldiers of Candrabhānu, as well as of Māgha, as Malalas, it is necessary for us to examine the references to these people in the historical and other writings of Ceylon, and form a conclusion as to who were meant by that name.

The *Nikāya-saṅgraha* informs us that Vīrabāhu Āpa, in the latter part of the fourteenth century, had to defend the Sinhalese people and Buddhism against the attacks of Tamils, Malalas and Yonakas.<sup>31</sup> This reference does not help us in deciding who the Malalas were, and where they came from. The reference in a poetical work is more illuminating. Śrī Rāhula, the celebrated Sinhalese poet of the fifteenth century, in his *magnum opus*, the *Kāvyaśekhara*, describes a scene in which he imagines the kings of different lands as coming to Benares, bringing as presents to the Bodhisatta, born once as a wise Brahmin, the characteristic products of their countries. Among these was the Malala king, bringing with him cardamoms, betel-leaves of Malaya, pepper, nutmeg, cubeb and precious stones.<sup>32</sup> The specification of the betel brought by the Malala king as that of the Malaya country (*mala-bulat*) helps us to equate Malala with Malaya. In fact, the phonetical change which the word 'Malaya' has undergone in assuming the form 'Malala' is exemplified by a number of parallel instances, e.g. S. *valalu* from Skt. *valaya*, S. *salelu* from Skt. *salaya* and S. *alala* from Skt. *ālaya*.<sup>33</sup> But the name 'Malaya' is applicable to Malabar on the south-west coast of India as well as to the Malay Peninsula, and most of the commodities given as at the disposal of the Malala kings are well-known as the products of both these regions. But the cubeb<sup>34</sup> (S. *takul*, Skt. *takkola*) is included in ancient Tamil literature among the commodities brought in ships to South India from regions in the Malay Peninsula.<sup>35</sup> It is, therefore, justifiable to take the Malalas as people of the Malay Peninsula, even though

29. *Pūjāvalī*, 34th chapter, edited by the Ven'ble Mābōpiṭiye Medhaṅkara Sthavira, 1932 (*Pv.* XXXIV), p. 25.

30. *Pv.* XXXIV, pp. 32 and 33.

31. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, edited by M. Kumaranatunga, B.E. 2478, p. 28; *Ibid*, translated by C. M. Fernando, Colombo, 1908, p. 28.

32. *El-biju mala-bulat miris dāpala takulut  
gena miṇi-pañḍuru vat diṭṭi no lasa vā ena Malala-kāt*  
*Kāvyaśekhara*, Canto X, v. 118.

33. *Sigiri Graffiti*, Vol. I, p. xciii; Rule cxvii.

34. *Vide* the masterly discussion of the word *takkola* and its significance by Sylvain Levi in his well-known paper *Ptolémée, le Niddesa et la Brhatkathā* in *Etudes Asiatiques*.

35. Nilakanta Sastri in the *Journal of the Greater India Society*, (JGIS) Vol. XI, pp. 26-28.



there is evidence in the historical writings of Ceylon, which, on its face value, seems to support their identification with the inhabitants of Malabar.

More decisive evidence regarding the identity of the Malalas is furnished by a reference to them in the *Kokila-sandesa*, as interpreted by its old paraphrase (*Sanne*). This poem, in describing the city of Yāpāpaṭuna (Jaffna) during its military occupation by the forces of Parākramabāhu VI in the middle of the fifteenth century, states that soldiers of Tamil, Malala, Doluvara (Tulu) and Sinhalese nationality were to be seen on its streets.<sup>36</sup> The old *Sanne* of the poem glosses *Malala* with *Malayūra*. This *Sanne*<sup>37</sup> is said to have been written in Śaka 1695 (1773 A.C.); if at that date the author of the *Sanne* furnished this information about the Malalas from his own awareness of who they were, and whence they came, it would indicate that the Malala people were migrating to Ceylon even so late as that. But it is more likely that, as is the usual practice of annotators, the author of the *Sanne* had copied this gloss from an earlier writer dating back to a period during which there was intercourse between Ceylon and the land of the Malalas.

‘Malayūra’ as the name of a people or of a land also occurs elsewhere in Sinhalese literature. The *Butsaraṇa*, a Sinhalese prose work attributable to the twelfth century, in enumerating examples of various peoples and their languages, names the Malayūra, together with Demaḷa (Tamils), Yon (Yavanas), Baṁburas (Barbra), Aramaṇa (Talaings of Lower Burma), Kamboja (Khmers), Jīna (Chinese), Kākas, Nakka-vāra (the people of the Nicobar Islands) and Sahavāsi.<sup>38</sup> The *Saddharmaratnāvalī*, of about the thirteenth century,<sup>39</sup> which is mainly a rendering into Sinhalese of the Pāli *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*,<sup>40</sup> has ‘Malayuru’ and ‘Malayurupāru’ for ‘Suvanna-bhumi’ in the Pāli text. The Sinhalese ‘Malayūra’ and ‘Malayuru’, are obviously the same as ‘Malaiyūr’, the name of one of the places captured by the Coḷa naval expedition against the kingdom of Śrī Vijaya in the reign of Rājendra Coḷa.<sup>41</sup> The element *pāru* added to the name as found in the *Saddharmaratnāvalī* is probably the same as the Malay *bāruh*, ‘sea’ or *baruh*, ‘plain flat country’ found in place names like ‘Kalah-bar’ and ‘Baruas’ which, in the opinion of J. Przyluski, is

36. *Kokila-sandesa*, verse 251. *Demaḷa Malala Doluvara Simhala balaya*.

37. Edited with the text of the poem by P. S. Perera, and published by the Vidyasagara Printing Works, Colombo, 1906, p. 95.

38. Ven’ble Sorata Nayaka Thera’s edition of 1953, p. 5.

39. The *Saddharmaratnāvalī*, edited by Rev. Bentota Saddhatissa Thera, Colombo, 1952, p. 939. Sir D. B. Jayatilaka’s edition (p. 850) has the reading *Malayuru-pāvuru* with a variant *-pāyuru*.

40. P.T.S. Edition, Part IV, p. 50.

• 41. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Second Edition, p. 215.



cognate with *Bharu* in the Indian name 'Bharu-kaccha'.<sup>42</sup> The evidence furnished by the *Kokila-sandesa*, its old paraphrase, the *Saddharmaratnāvalī* and the *Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā*, when properly co-ordinated, leads one to the conclusion that the Malalas were the people of Malayūra, which in the twelfth or thirteenth century was believed by the Buddhists of Ceylon to be the same as Suvannabhūmi mentioned in the Pāli writings. Suvannabhūmi is usually taken to be Lower Burma,<sup>43</sup> but there are scholars who would take it as identical with Suvarṇadvīpa which included the Malay Peninsula and the Island of Sumatra.<sup>44</sup> The identification of Suvannabhūmi with Malayuru in the *Saddharmaratnāvalī* proves that, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the former was not taken by the Sinhalese scholars to be the same as Lower Burma, which was well-known to them as Aramaṇa at that time. With regard to the location of Malaiyūr, which was also known as Malāyu in ancient days, there has been much discussion, notably by G. Ferrand in his *Malaka le Malayu et Malaiyūr*.<sup>45</sup> Colonel G. E. Gerini suggests its location at the southern end of the Malay Peninsula, 'precisely on the northern shore of the Old Singapore Strait where, besides the Malayu river, time-worn traditions of a Malaya country and people confront the enquirer'.<sup>46</sup> But most scholars agree in taking Malaiyūr as Jambi in Southern Sumatra.<sup>47</sup> The people of either of these two places are, and were, Malays.

The Malalas or the Malayūras, consequently, were Malays. The *Rājāvalī* thus is quite correct in describing Candrabhānu's soldiers, elsewhere called Jāvakas, as Malalas, for even today the Malay people are called Jā-minissu by the Sinhalese. Another reason that may be adduced in support of the equation Malala—Malay is that, in the vicinity of Hambantōṭa in the Southern Province, are a number of places having names with *Malala* as one of the elements, e.g. Malala-lēvāya, Malalaoya, Uḍa Malala and Palle Malala. Hambantōṭa, which is the principal Malay settlement in Ceylon today, has received its name from the fact that it was a port (*toṭa*) to which Malay sailing vessels (*hamban*=Malay *sampan*) used to come in ancient days, and the places at which these Malay immigrants settled obviously received the names given above. The present Malay people at Hambantōṭa cannot trace their history further back than the early days of British rule in Ceylon, but the name 'Hambantōṭa' and the other names of places beginning or ending with 'Malala' do not appear to be of recent origin.

42. *JGIS*, Vol. I, p. 95.

43. Sir Chas Eliot, *Hinduism and Buddhism*, III. p. 50.

44. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 47ff; *JRASMB*, XV, pt. iii, pp. 91-93.

45. *Journal Asiatique*, 1918.

46. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, I p. 533-4

47. G. Coedès, *Les Etats*, etc. p. 138.



Candrabhānu who invaded Ceylon with a force of Jāvaka or Malala soldiers being conclusively proved to be a prince from the Malay Peninsula, the inference that Māgha, who similarly brought with him an army of Malala warriors, was also a Malay from the same or an adjoining region, seems justifiable. But the *Cūlavamsa* states that he came from Kalinga and he is called Kalinga Māgha or 'the Kalinga king named Māgha'<sup>48</sup>. A further inference from this would be that the Malay regions have been called 'Kalinga' in the Sinhalese historical writings. In this connection, we may quote R. C. Majumdar who, in discussing the benefits resulting from the rise of the Śailendra power, says: 'The introduction of a new kind of alphabet which has been called the pre-Nāgarī script, and the adoption of a new name Kalinga for Malayasia, at least by the foreigners, may also be traced to the same source'.<sup>49</sup> On this, more anon.

While the *Cūlavamsa* has it that Māgha came from Kalinga, the *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa* states that the enemies who destroyed the Polonnaru kingdom came from Jambudīpa.<sup>50</sup> If 'Jambudīpa' denotes here, as it normally does, the Indian sub-continent, the statement is vague. If, as we have inferred above, the soldiers of Māgha were people from the Jambi area in Sumatra, they might have been described as having come from Jambidīpa.<sup>51</sup> If this text originally had the reading *Jambidīpa*, copyists of a later generation, to whom a place name 'Jambi' was not known, but were familiar with 'Jambudīpa', might very well have considered it to be a mistake, and altered it to what is now found in the manuscripts and printed editions of the *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa*.

The earlier of the two Sinhalese versions of this work, dated 1382 A.C., has the reading *Jambudvīpa-pradeśayen* in place of *Jambudīpa* of the Pāli original as now accepted.<sup>52</sup> This expression *Jambudvīpa-pradeśa* is nowhere found in Ceylon literature where the Indian sub-continent is clearly meant by it. On the other hand, an authoritative Sanskrit work dealing, among other things, with the geography of the world as known to the ancient Indians, uses the expression 'Jambudvīpa-pradeśa' as the designation of a particular region, and that precisely the one from which we have concluded Māgha to have inflicted himself on Ceylon. The *Vāyupurāṇa*, in its section dealing with the geography of the world (*bhuvana-vinyāsa*), describing the regions to the south of the Bhārata-varṣa, states that there are six

48. *Cūlavamsa*, chapter 80, vv. 58, 59 and 73; *Pv.* XXXIV, p. 25; *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, op. cit., p. 22.

49. R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, pt. I, p. 153.

50. *Pacchatthisenā Jambudīpā idhāgama*, P.T.S. Edition, p. 30.

51. The extension of the name of a region to the whole island is paralleled by the use of *Samudra* from which *Sumatra* is derived.

52. *Elu Attanagalu-vamsa*, op. cit., p. 42.



*pradeśas* (provinces or dependencies) of Jambudvīpa in that quarter, named Aṅgadvīpa, Yamadvīpa, Malayadvīpa, Śaṅkhadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa and Varāhadvīpa.<sup>53</sup> In contrast to the four *mahādvīpas*, including the Jambudvīpa, these six are also referred to as *anudvīpas* 'dependant islands'. We are not here concerned with the various proposed identifications of Aṅgadvīpa, Śaṅkhadvīpa, Kuśadvīpa and Varāhadvīpa; suffice it to say that all the suggestions are to locate them in regions of Further India or Indonesia.<sup>54</sup> There is no doubt with regard to the identity of two of them, Yamadvīpa and Malayadvīpa. The former name is more familiar as Yavadvīpa,<sup>55</sup> and was applied at first to the Malay Peninsula, and later to Sumatra and the modern Java. Malayadvīpa is taken to be Sumatra, but it is possible that this name, too, was first applied to the Malay Peninsula.<sup>56</sup> The *Vāyupurāṇa* describes these regions as if they were dependencies of India (*Bhārata-dvīpa-deśa*) and the expression 'Jambudvīpa-predeśa' is almost equivalent to the English usage of 'Further India'. The learned scholars among the Sinhalese of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries were well versed in Sanskrit, including the *Purāṇas*, and, if they meant to convey the idea that Māgha's forces came from a region in Malayasia, there is nothing incredible in their having used a name applied to those regions in a well-known Sanskrit scripture. The *Elu Attanagaluvaṃsa* can thus be definitely taken as having recorded that the enemies who caused calamities to Ceylon sometime after the death of Parākramabāhu I came from Malayasia.

A possible argument against the thesis that Māgha's soldiers were Malays is the reference to them as Keralas in the *Cūlavāṃsa*,<sup>57</sup> a name by which the people of Malabar are designated in Sanskrit and other

53. *Jambudvīpa-pradeśās tu śaḍ anye vividhāśrayāḥ  
Atra dvīpāḥ samākhyātā nānā-ratnākarāḥ kṣitau  
Aṅgadvīpaṃ Yamadvīpaṃ Malayadvīpaṃ eva ca  
Śaṅkhadvīpaṃ Kuśadvīpaṃ Varāhadvīpaṃ eva ca  
Evaṃ śaḍ ete kathitā anudvīpāḥ samantataḥ  
Bhārata-dvīpa-deśo vai dakṣiṇe bahu vistaraḥ.*

Chapter 48, vv. 13-14 and 41.

54. For a summary of proposed identifications, see *JRASMB*, XV, pt. iii, pp. 67ff and Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 52ff.

55. 'Yamadvīpa' is generally taken to be an error or variant form of 'Yavadvīpa', which is regarded as the correct name. In my view, 'Yamadvīpa' was the earlier form of the name, from which the later 'Yavadvīpa' has originated by the change of *m* to *v*. Yama, the God of the South, was held in high esteem by the Indians at the time of their first arrival in these lands of Further India, and the southernmost region to which they had penetrated at a particular time was called the Island of Yama, a God who has not received his due either from the Buddhists or from the Hindus of later times. *Yava-dvīpa*, thus, would mean the 'Southern Island', and not 'the Island of Barley'. This cereal does not grow in the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra or Java.

56. *JRASMB*, XV, pt. iii, pp. 70ff.

57. *Cūlavāṃsa*, chap. lxxx, vv. 61 and 76. The phrase *Damīla-Keralā* in *Cūlavāṃsa*, lxxxiv, v. 20 corresponds to *Demala-Malala* in *Pūjāvalī*, (*Pv.* XXXIV, p. 32).



Indian languages, and still applied to them by themselves as well as by others. If, on the face value of the term 'Keraḷa' applied to them in the *Cūḷavaṃsa*, we take that the army of Māgha was composed of Malayālis, it may be questioned why they, after having captured power in this Island, were content to be subservient to one who was not of them, for whether we take Kalinga to have been in India or in Malayasia, Māgha was not of Malabar origin. Moreover, all the contexts in which Keraḷas find mention in the *Cūḷavaṃsa* as a people refer to times when the Kalinga influence was dominant in Ceylon politics.<sup>58</sup> In the reign of Mahinda V, the Keraḷas in the king's service mutinied as their pay was in arrears. This was not long after a Ceylon king, Mahinda IV, had espoused a princess from Kalinga, and Mahinda V himself was probably a son of that princess. The Keraḷas are next mentioned among the foreigners recruited by Parākramabāhu I for his army when he was ruler of Māyārāṭa. Keraḷa soldiers also served in the army of Gajabāhu II who was of the Kalinga dynasty. Early in Parākramabāhu I's reign, these Keraḷas joined the Vēḷaikkāras in a rebellion, no doubt because they were opposed to that king as he had ousted a ruler of Kalinga lineage. Next we hear of Keraḷas with the advent of Māgha of Kalinga. This association of Keraḷas with rulers of Kalinga origin throws doubt on the facile assumption that they were Malayālis. To the ancient Sinhalese, the Keraḷas, as well as the people of the Coḷa and the Pāṇḍya kingdoms, were Damiḷas. Only the royal families were differentiated by the appropriate dynastic names. The Keraḷas who served under princes from Kalinga, or of Kalinga origin, must, therefore, have been the inhabitants of that region. And as we have given adequate reasons for taking the Kalinga from which Māgha came to be a region in Malayasia, his Keraḷas must be people of that area.

A possible explanation is that these Keraḷas were Malayālis who had migrated to the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra. Certain tribes in the regions of Sumatra inhabited by Karo-Bataks are named Coḷa, Pāṇḍya, Pallava and Malayāla;<sup>59</sup> but it may be doubted whether these tribes and such others were numerous enough in those days to provide a force of 24,000 to Māgha. On the other hand, it can be shown that 'Keraḷa' is the form which the ancient Indian name for the people of Malayasia and Further India had assumed in Ceylon, and that its identity of form with the designation for the people of Malabar is accidental. We are informed by the *Vāyupurāṇa* that the people who lived in countries to the east of the Bhāratavarṣa (India) had the general designation of 'Kirāta', just as all races who lived in countries to the west were known

58. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, chapter iv, vv. 5 and 12; chap. 69, v. 18; chap. 70, v. 230 and chap. 74, v. 44. The reference in chapter liii, v. 9 is to the king and not to the people.

59. H. Kern, 'Dravidische volksnamen op Sumatra' in *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, pp. 67-72.



as Yavanas.<sup>60</sup> The *Rāmāyaṇa*, in its enumeration of the peoples and regions of the eastern quarter, where the monkeys of Sugrīva were to search for Sītā, refers to Kirātas and Karṇacūḍas who live on islands in those regions, and who are described as 'having golden coloured limbs, pleasing in appearance, eating uncooked fish, moving about in the water and fierce like tigers'.<sup>61</sup> These Kirātas were the people called Kirrhadoi by Ptolemy. In Indian literature the name also assumes the form 'Cilāta' and is often coupled with 'Cīna' (China).<sup>62</sup> Cilāta, according to an inscription at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, was one of the countries converted by the Theriyas of Tambapaṇṇi (Ceylon).<sup>63</sup> The name *Kirāta* is often used in the derivative form of *Kairāta* which, when subject to phonological processes well attested in the Sinhalese language, would result in the form *Keraḷa* through the intermediate stages of *\*Kerāṭa* > *\*Keraṭa* and > *\*Keraḍa*. The mariners from Bharukaccha to ports in Further India called at havens in Ceylon;<sup>64</sup> from them the Sinhalese people would have frequently heard the name which would thus have been in common enough use for it to have undergone normal phonetical development, even if the Sinhalese themselves did not visit these lands, and came in contact with the people called the Kirātas.

In this connection, it may not be out of place to mention that the Tamil name *Kiḍāram* for a region in Further India is derived from *Kirādam* through the familiar phonological processes of the cerebration of the dental *d* and metathesis. Vowel-assimilation would have given rise to the variant form *Kaḍāram*, homophonous with a word which, like the Sinhalese *kaṭāra*, means 'kettle' or 'cauldron'. A learned translation from *Kaḍāram* into Sanskrit was the name '*Kaṭāha*', about the identification of which there has been so much discussion. This must have originated in South India or Ceylon, and adopted later by merchants and others from North India. One of the earliest occurrences of the name *Kaṭāha* is found in the *Jānakīharāṇa* of the Sinhalese poet Kumāradāsa.<sup>65</sup> This merely indicates that *Kaṭāha* was

60. *Pūrve Kirātā hyāsyante paścime Yavanāḥ smṛtāḥ.*  
*Vāyupurāṇa*, chapter 45, v. 82.

61. *Kirātāḥ Karṇacūḍāś ca hemāṅgāḥ priyadarśanāḥ*  
*Āmamīnāśanās tatra Kirātā dvīpavāsinaḥ*  
*Antarjalacarā ghorā naravyāghrā iti smṛtāḥ.*  
*Rāmāyaṇa*, Vani Vilas Press, Kīśkindhākāṇḍa, chap. 40, vv. 27-28.  
 See Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, I, pp. 54f. for variant readings in different recensions of the epic.

62. Sylvain Levi, *Ptolémée*, etc., *op. cit.*, pp. 23ff.

63. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 23.

64. For references to regular sea voyages between Ceylon and Suvaṇṇabhūmi, see *Samantapāsādikā*, P.T.S. Edition, Vol. IV, p. 808, and *Manorathapūraṇī*, P.T.S. Edition, II, p. 36.

65. Canto I, v. 17.



the furthest point in the eastern quarter to which the influence of an Indian king could reach, and in no way helps one to settle the vexed question of its exact location.<sup>66</sup>

The view that Māgha came from the Malay Peninsula or Sumatra would also be in accord with Chao Ju-Kua who, writing in 1225, listed Ceylon (Si-lan) among the tributaries of San-fo-tsi, i.e. the Śrī Vijaya empire, which at that time had its headquarters at Jambi.<sup>67</sup> We have seen above that the Malalas who formed the bulk of Māgha's troops were people of Malaiyūr, which was another name of Jambi. The invasion of Māgha, consequently, must have been undertaken with the approval of Śrī Vijaya, if it was not actually planned by her. Once Māgha obtained mastery over the greater part of Ceylon, he must have maintained relations with his home, not only for sentimental reasons but also for obtaining the necessary military backing to maintain himself in possession of his newly won conquests. In this connection, it is necessary also to note that 'Māgha' is a shortened form of 'Māgharāja', for the *Pūjāvalī* refers to him as 'the Kalinga king named Māgharāja'.<sup>68</sup> After being elevated to the throne, he was known as Kāliṅga Vijaya-bāhu.<sup>69</sup> 'Māgharāja' seems to be a Pāli rendering of a dialectical form of 'Mahārāja', the title by which Malayan potentates were referred by Arab writers. The places at which Māgha maintained garrisons were mostly seaports.<sup>70</sup> Apart from holding the capital, Polonnaru, which he neglected, he does not seem to have interested himself in the interior, which he left in the hands of Tamil soldiers who had remained in Ceylon from the invasions from South India which preceded his capture of Polonnaru. It is not impossible that, from his strongholds on the northern coasts of the Island, Māgha engaged himself in piratical activities. At any rate, Māgha seems to have ruled on behalf of a power interested in maritime activities, which Śrī Vijaya was.

If Māgha came from Malayasia, he could very well be called a Jāvaka, as much as Candrabhānu, and the Jāvaka's son who was restored to his father's kingdom by Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya could

66. For Kaṭāha, see Nilakanta Sastri in *JGIS*, Vol. V, pp. 128ff.

67. Hirth and Rockhill, *Chao Ju-kua*, p. 62. The statement of Chao Ju-kua that Ceylon, while being a tributary of San-fo-tsi, was under the rule of Nan-pi has puzzled scholars. Nan-pi is usually taken to mean Malabar. At the time Chao Ju-kua wrote, the southern parts of Ceylon were actually ruled by Vijayabāhu III, though he had not yet been proclaimed king. The *Dāmbadeni-katikāvata* states that he promulgated disciplinary rules for the guidance of the *Sanḅha* thirty-six years after the death of Parākramabāhu the Great, i.e. in 1226. We learn from the Devundara slab-inscription of Parākramabāhu II that the family of Vijayabāhu III was named after a Nembara Somarāja, and the family seat, where his son was born, was Namba-bara. The Nan-pi of Chao Ju-kua must, therefore, be taken as a reference to Vijayabāhu III or his home town, where his son was born, rather than to Malabar.

68. *Māgharāja nam Kaliṅgu-raja*. *Pv.* XXXIV, p. 25.

69. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, translation, p. 22.

70. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. X, pp. 93ff.



have been a son of Māgha, and not of Candrabhānu, as Nilakanta Sastri<sup>71</sup> had taken him, arriving at the only possible conclusion in the state of our knowledge of the events of this period hitherto prevailing. In his Kuḍumiyāmalai inscription, Vīra Pāṇḍya justifies his action of taking the Jāvaka prince into his favour, and restoring him to power, by stating that 'it is just that Īlam ruled by the father should be obtained by the son'. Here the reference is not to a petty principality, but to the whole of the Island. According to the *Pūjāvalī* and the *Cūlavamsa*, Candrabhānu was driven back when he first raided the Island; on his second invasion, he is said to have boasted 'we would not go away on this occasion as we did on the first occasion'. Māgha, on the other hand, having been the ruler of Polonnaru, was legally the king of the whole Island, as acknowledged even by official historians who were partisans of Parākramabāhu II. Thus, the words in the Kuḍumiyāmalai epigraph can only be justified if the Jāvaka referred to therein was Māgha, and not Candrabhānu. If a king who is usually referred to as a Kalinga could at times be called a Jāvaka, it should be possible on the other hand for a king known as a Jāvaka to be also described as a Kalinga. In fact, the two names appear to have been interchangeable. Evidence for this view is furnished by the *Daṁbadeṇi-asna*. This late work describes three separate invaders against whom Parākramabāhu II had to fight. All of them are said to have landed with their forces at various ports in Ceylon; hence none of them could be identical with Māgha or Jayabāhu who had established themselves in Ceylon before Parākramabāhu II came to the throne. Of these three invaders, one is called Kalingu-raja, the second Tamaliṅgamu-raja and the third Jāvan-karē-raja, i.e. the Jāvaka-raja. We have seen above that the king of Tamaliṅgamu was the same as the Jāvaka. Thus it is clear that this work has made two separate individuals out of two titles of the same personage. The same process appears to have given rise to the third invader. It seems that Candrabhānu was known as Jāvaka-raja, Tamaliṅgamu-raja and Kalingu-raja, and later generations took the three titles as referring to three different individuals. In this text, the Kalinga king is represented as claiming the kingdom of his grandfather. If the Kalinga king was Candrabhānu, he was, on this evidence, related to kings who ruled at Polonnaru before the Daṁbadeṇi period.

Enough evidence has been brought forward, I think, to establish that Māgha was a Malay, and that the Kalinga from which he hailed was in Malayasia, not in India. Candrabhānu and Māgha both figure as inimical to the people of Ceylon; Māgha and his Malala warriors, in particular, have been condemned in most Sinhalese historical writings for having destroyed the city of Polonnaru and its holy shrines, persecuted the Buddhist religion, disorganised the social system and committed various abominable crimes. It should, however, be noted

71. 'Śrī Vijaya, Candrabhānu and Vīra Pāṇḍya' in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde*, LXXVII, 1937, pp. 25iff.



that this is a picture painted by writers patronised by his opponents. In the *Nikāya-saṅgraha* and in the *Saddharmaratnākara*, on the other hand, Māgha or Kāliṅga Vijayabāhu is referred to without any animosity, and it is categorically stated that the calamities from which the religion and the people suffered befell them prior to Māgha's advent.<sup>72</sup> Māgha and his soldiers are referred to in the writings of the Daṁbadeṇi period as 'having no knowledge of the religion of the Buddha'.<sup>73</sup> As the Malays during this period were Buddhists, this might be interpreted as not applicable to him. But the Buddhism which prevailed at this time in Southern Malaya and Sumatra was of a very debased type, and its adherents were given over to Tantric orgies like the Bhairava cult.<sup>74</sup> The Theravāda *bhikkhus* of Ceylon might very well have referred to these Buddhists as 'ignorant of Buddhism'. Even after making allowances due on these considerations, one cannot say that this Island, its people, and its religion derived any benefit from Māgha's rule. One might, therefore, come to the conclusion that contact with the Malay people had been detrimental to the Sinhalese.

But Candrabhānu and Māgha were not the only Malay rulers who had connections with Ceylon. After the death of Parākramabāhu the Great, there were a number of rulers at Polonnaru who are stated to have come from Kalinga, or belonged to the Kalinga dynasty, among whom Niśsaṁkamalla is the best known. Matrimonial alliances between the kings of Ceylon and the royalty of Kalinga are recorded in the chronicle for the period of over two centuries before the accession of Parākramabāhu I. As it has been demonstrated that Māgha the Kalingan was a Malay, the question naturally arises whether the earlier Kalinga kings were also of Malay origin. To all students of Ceylon history, the present writer not excluded,<sup>75</sup> the identity of the home of Niśsaṁkamalla and others with the Kalinga of India has been as evident as that the sun moves round the earth. Has not Kalinga of India been mentioned in the legend of Vijaya, and has not the Tooth Relic been brought from that region? Has there not been a Simhapura in this Kalinga and have not the Kalinga rulers of Ceylon borne a name or two that were in vogue among the Eastern Gaṅgas of that country? But, in spite of the fact that the history of the Indian Kalinga is now known in considerable detail, no royal house existed there at this period answering to the details which Niśsaṁkamalla gives about his family in his own epigraphs. The difficulties that one encounters when one takes the Kalinga kings of Ceylon to have come

72. *Nikāya-saṅgraha*, translation, p. 22. The words 'in the first part of his reign' appearing in this translation should, on the authority of the *Saddharmaratnākara*, be corrected to 'preceding his reign'. See also *Suddharmaratnākara*, p. 390, where the reading is *Kāliṅga Vijayabāhu maharajahu gē avadhiyāta pūrvabhāgayehi*.

73. See *Hatthavanagalla-vihāra-vamsa*, P.T.S. Edition, p. 30.

74. G. Coedès, *Les Etats*, etc., p. 404.

75. Vide 'The Kalinga Dynasty of Ceylon' in *JGIS*, Vol. III, pp. 57ff.



from the ancient Indian land of that name may best be stated in the words of an Indian historian :

‘ Chapter 59 of the *Chūlavamsa* refers to Vijayabāhu’s marriage with the Kalinga princess Tilokasundarī and the settlement of the three Kalinga princes of Simhapura, capital of Kalinga, in his kingdom. In this connection Geiger (*Chūlavamsa*, Eng. translation, Part I, p. 213, note 1) observes “Simhapura (Simhapura) is the town which according to the legend (cf. *Mhvs.* 6. 35) was founded in Lāḷa (Rāḍha) by Vijaya’s father Sīhabāhu. Lāḷa borders in the north of the Kalinga kingdom (*sic*?) the home of Tilokasundarī, as must be inferred from *Mhvs.* 61. 5. The south-eastern district of Chutia Nagpur to the west of Bengal is still called Singbhum”. It has, however, to be noticed that in the age of Vijayabāhu I (really from about the end of the sixth at least to the end of the twelfth century A.D.), the name Kalinga was exclusively applied to the kingdom of the Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara (modern Mukhalingam near Śrīkākuḷam), who styled themselves as Kaling-ādhipati. Simhapura (modern Singupuram in the same neighbourhood) was, however, the capital of the Kaling-ādhipatis in the fourth and fifth centuries. It was no longer the capital of Kalinga, but may have been the residence of some scions of the Gaṅga family. Rāḍhā and Kalinga do not appear to have had contiguous boundaries in any known period of Indian history. Simhapura in Rāḍhā (probably modern Singūr in the Hooghly District) cannot be regarded as the same as the Kalinga capital of the same name, identified with modern Singupuram near Śrīkākuḷam. The representation of Simhapura as the capital of Kalinga in the *Mahāvamsa* tradition seems to be due to the fact that the chronicle was composed about the fifth century, while the *Cūlavamsa* appears merely to have continued the same tradition, although the later capital of the county was at Kalinganagara’.<sup>76</sup>

According to this view, if we want to reconcile the statements in the chronicles about the country with which the kings of this period had matrimonial alliances and, moreover, the data found in contemporary inscriptions, with the historical and geographical actuality with regard to Kalinga in India, it becomes necessary to assume that what has been recorded in these sources is a mere copying of that which is found in a chronicle written in the fifth century. This procedure, to say the least, throws reasonable doubt on the assumptions with which we approach the question. On the other hand, in the Sinhalese literature dating from the tenth to the thirteenth century, i.e. precisely the period for which the chronicles and contemporary inscriptions refer to intimate relations with a Kalinga country, there is evidence pointing to the fact that when the Sinhalese literati of those times refer to a

76. D. C. Sirkar in *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Volume V, *The Struggle for Empire*, pp. 267–268.



country named Kalinga, it is not the region of that name in Eastern India that was meant, but a region in Malayasia. We now proceed to state that evidence.

In the *Vinaya-sanna* or *Vinayārtha-samuccaya* of Medhaṅkara-mahāsāmi, we find the following comment on the Andha (Āndhra, i.e. Telugu) language: 'Andha is the language of the people who inhabit the Andha (Āndhra) country. The Andha country is the same as the Tamaliṅga, that is to say, the Jāvaka country'.<sup>77</sup> Medhaṅkara-mahāsāmi, as he has himself stated in this work, was the pupil of the grammarian Moggallāna who flourished in the decades preceding and in the first half of the reign of Parākramabāhu I, and of Sāriputta, the greatest literary luminary during that reign. The *Vinayārtha-samuccaya* was thus written in the latter half of the twelfth century. The purpose of the comment was to give information about the Telugu language which, as is well-known, is and was spoken not only by the people of the regions usually called Āndhra, but also by the inhabitants of Southern Kalinga in which were located Dantapura and Simhapura. By the term 'Andharata', the author of the *Vinaya-sanna* probably meant a linguistic, and not a political territory, comprising all areas in which Telugu was the language of the people. This is supported by the fact that the Siamese chronicles, which must have derived their information from Sinhalese traditions, locate Dantapura, the capital of Kalinga, in Āndhradeśa.<sup>78</sup> Evidence furnished by the palaeography of the earliest inscriptions found in Further India and other data point to the fact that the Telugu-speaking regions played a most important role in the diffusion of Indian culture to the Malay Peninsula and beyond.<sup>79</sup> It has also been surmised that, as a result of political upheavals, some of the dispossessed Buddhist princes from these regions migrated to Malayasia, and transferred the names of their original homelands to the new kingdoms which they founded there.<sup>80</sup> That Telugu was spoken in Tambaliṅga up to the twelfth century, at least by the ruling classes, is a fact of considerable significance which is

77. *Andha nam Andha-rata vāsi minisun gē basa yi. Andha-rata nam Tamaliṅga-rata Jāvaka nam rata yi.* The *Vinaya-sanna*, which is an extensive Sinhalese gloss on a Vinaya treatise, is still in manuscript. The passage translated above and given in this note has been quoted in his *Āgama hā samājaya*, p. 195, by the Ven'ble Koṭahēne Paññākitti Thera to whom I am indebted for drawing my attention to it. The passage has also been noted and commented upon by the Rev. Degammāda Sumanajoti Thera in his *Daṁbadeṇi-yagaya*, p. 40.

78. *JRASMB*, Vol. XVII, pt. ii, p. 69.

79. Nilakanta Sastri, *History of Sri Vijaya*, p. 17.

80. J. L. Moens in his Paper *Śrī Vijaya, Yāva en Katāha* in *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde* (*Tijdschrift*), LXXVII, pp. 434ff; see also the abridged English translation of this paper in *JRASMB*, XVII, pt. ii, pp. 68ff; G. Coedès *Les Etats*, etc., pp. 136ff.



furnished by the *Vinaya-sanna*. This is in accord with the fact that in the Ligor region there are people still with an Indian cast of features.<sup>81</sup>

The inscriptions of Nāgarjunakoṇḍa, the style of the early Sinhalese sculptures in Ceylon and references in Buddhaghosa's commentaries prove that, in the third and fourth centuries, there was regular intercourse between the Buddhists of Ceylon and Telugu-speaking regions of India.<sup>82</sup> But a high dignitary of the Buddhist Church in Ceylon of the twelfth century, when he wished to state where the Telugu (Andha) language was spoken, cites the Tambaliṅga country. This proves that, in the interval, intercourse between Ceylon Buddhists and the Telugu country had been reduced to negligible proportions, due no doubt to the reason that Buddhism was no longer flourishing in that area. If the Buddhists in the Telugu lands, as has been surmised, migrated to Malaya, founded kingdoms there and prospered, they must have maintained their earlier contacts with Ceylon, not only as this Island was looked up to as a stronghold of Buddhism, but also for commercial and economic reasons. Telugu-speaking Buddhists from Malayasia probably visited Ceylon frequently, and the opinion gained ground here that Telugu was the speech of the country from which they came. Thus, to the learned *theras* of twelfth and thirteenth century Ceylon, of whom the author of the *Cūlavamsa* was one, Andharatṭha (including the southern part of Kalinga) was the same as the Tambaliṅga or Jāvaka.

The existence of an Andharatṭha in the Malay Peninsula in ancient times is also supported by the reference in the *Malay Annals* to an Amdan-nagara, a king of which figures in the pedigree of the Malacca Sultans.<sup>83</sup> This Amdan-nagara has been taken by scholars to be Hamdan in Persia, for the confused accounts in these *Annals* connect the rulers of Amdan-nagara with characters well-known in Islamic history. But these *Annals*, written long after the conversion of the Malay people to Islam, might very well have identified places and persons in ancient Malaya with those figuring in the historical works of their new faith.

It is well known to students of Indian history that the Tooth Relic, now preserved in Kandy, was brought to Ceylon, in the reign of Sirimeghavanna (*circa* 301-328), from Dantapura in Kalinga where it had been for centuries. It is stated that a Sinhalese poem, giving the legendary history of the Relic, was composed in the reign of Sirimegha-

81. The fact that Telugu was spoken in Tambaliṅga in the twelfth century may be of importance in the identification of that country, by ascertaining whether traces of Telugu are noticeable in any of the languages and dialects now spoken in those regions.

82. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XX, p. 23; *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, Vol. XI, pp. 15-18.

83. *JRASMB*, Vol. XIV, pt. iii, p. 43.



vanṇa. A work purporting to be this poem was existing at the beginning of the thirteenth century, but as its language was unintelligible to the average man, a Pāli poem, the well-known *Dāṭhāvamsa*, based on it, was composed in 1210 by Dhammakitti, a high dignitary of the Ceylon Saṅgha. The original Sinhalese poem is no longer extant, and we cannot therefore be certain to what extent Dhammakitti followed his source. We may, however, presume that for the main traditional history he followed his source faithfully, but he permitted himself, as befits a poet, to introduce certain literary embellishments. In addition to the Pāli poem, Dhammakitti also wrote a word-to-word paraphrase in Sinhalese, which is still extant.

In the fourth chapter of his poem, Dhammakitti describes, in very charming language, the defeat of King Guhasīva of Dantapura by an enemy who wished to have the Tooth Relic for himself. Before the enemy entered Dantapura, Guhasīva's son-in-law, by name Danta, acting according to instructions he had previously received from the king, took the Relic away from the Temple, fled in haste to a spot to the south of the city, crossed a river, deposited the Relic for safety in a heap of sand and returned back to Dantapura. There he made his wife, Princess Hemamālā, assume the guise of a Brahmin woman, and accompanied by her, came to the spot where the relic was deposited, recovered it and continued their journey southwards on foot. After being miraculously delivered from dangers which threatened them and the Relic, they travelled a considerable distance and arrived at the seaport of Tāmalitti, from which they took ship to Ceylon.<sup>84</sup> It is of particular interest to us that the seaport called Tamalitti in the Pāli text is called Tamalingama in the Sinhalese *Sanne*.<sup>85</sup> And, for geographical and historical purposes, the form of the name given in the *Sanne*, in which the freedom of the author is not circumscribed by considerations of metre, rhythm, etc., is more worthy of being taken as reflecting the actual usage of the time, than that in the Pāli verse.

This Tāmalitti cannot be the same as Tāmralipti in Bengal, for it is inconceivable how a person travelling southwards from Dantapura, the modern Palura six miles to the north-east of Ganjam,<sup>86</sup> could arrive at the mouth of the Ganges. The fourteenth century *Daḷadāsivita*, which embodies an independent treatment of the legends relating to the Tooth Relic, states that the sand-heap in which the Relic was temporarily deposited was situated near the estuary of the Gaṅgam river.<sup>87</sup> 'Gaṅgam' most probably stands for 'Ganjam', the distance between

84. *Dāṭhāvamsa*, chapter IV, vv. 21-41.

85. *Dāṭhāvamsa* and the old Sinhalese *Sanne* edited by Halavēgoda Sīlāmaṅkāra-sāmi, Alutgama, 1914, p. 81.

86. I accept the identification by Sylvain Levi in *Journal Asiatique*, 1925, pp. 46ff.

87. E. S. Rajasekhara's edition, p. 36. *Gaṅgam-gaṅga heba laṅgā*.



which and Palura reasonably fits in with the narrative of the *Dāthāvamsa*. Once arrived here, the fugitives would not have gone back to the city, invested by the enemy, and changed the direction of their flight from the south to the north.

The name of the port from which Dantakumāra and Hemamālā embarked for Ceylon with the Tooth Relic, as given by Dhammakitti himself in the *Sanne*, is *Tamaliṅgama* which is also found in the same connection in the *Daḷadā-pūjāvalī*<sup>88</sup> in the slightly different form of *Tamaliṅgamu*. This, as we have seen above, is the Sinhalese form of *Tambaliṅga*, the name of the land in the Malay Peninsula from which Candrabhānu came to Ceylon. Thus we have the position that two fugitives who had left Dantapura in Kalinga, and travelled overland to the south for a considerable distance, are said to have arrived at a port in the Malay Peninsula, probably on the east coast of its southern half, at which they found a ship ready to sail for Ceylon. The purpose of the fugitives was to arrive in Ceylon; for this there was no need for them to go to the Malay Peninsula. The story, too, does not give any hint of their having undertaken a sea voyage before they embarked for Ceylon. No seaport, with a name like *Tamaliṅgam*, is known to have existed on the eastern coast of India south of Ganjam. The only possible conclusion, therefore, is that the Kalinga which Dhammakitti had in mind was not the ancient country of that name in India, but a land having the same name to the north of Tambaliṅga in the Malay Peninsula. If the Kalinga in India was well-known to him and his readers, he would not have brought *Tamaliṅgamu* into the narrative, for in that case he would have been condemned by critics for allowing the blemish of *deśa-virodha* in his poem. We do not know whether the original Sinhalese poem which was his source contained the name of the seaport from which Dantakumāra embarked for Ceylon. Probably it did not, and the mention of the name of the seaport was an embellishment to the original story added by Dhammakitti, so as to make his narrative convincing. For this, he had to make use of the geographical knowledge possessed by his compatriots; had he made a critical study of historical geography, found out and mentioned the name of the likely seaport from which the fugitives embarked for Ceylon, his story would not have been quite convincing to his contemporaries. For the Sinhalese of the twelfth century were very familiar with men who came from a country called Kalinga; they must have told the people of Ceylon that they embarked from a port called *Tamaliṅgam(u)*.

The *Dāthāvamsa* (IV, 44) states that the north wind was blowing when the ship bringing the Tooth Relic to Ceylon started on its voyage. Chao Ju-kua, describing the sea-route from Lambri in Northern Sumatra to Ceylon, says: 'with the north wind you come within a little more than twenty days to the country of Hsi-lan (Ceylon)' (*JRAS*, 1896, p. 480). This detail also indicates that it

88. Edited by Kanadulle Ratamaramsi-thera, p. 51.



- was a voyage from Sumatra or the Southern part of the Malay Peninsula that Dhammakitti has described in the *Dāthāvaṃsa*. Hence, his Kalinga was in Malayasia.

The form *Tāmalitti* for *Tamaliṅgamu* (*Tambaliṅga*) in the Pāli of the *Dāthāvaṃsa* is also found in the corresponding section of the *Daḷadāsiriṭṭa*<sup>89</sup>, and needs some explanation. In this connection, it is necessary to note that while later Chinese references to this place, as in Chao Ju-kua, are under the name Tan-ma-ling, which obviously corresponds to Tambaliṅga, the earlier references, such as in *Sung Shih*, call it Tan-mei-leou, as transcribed by French Sinologists, the transcription of English Sinologists being Tan-mi-liu or Tan-mei-liu.<sup>90</sup> The last is clearly a rendering into Chinese of *Tamali*, which occurs in a list of places (mostly seaports) given in the Pāli work *Niddesa*, to which people of ancient India went in search of wealth. Sylvain Levi has identified *Tamali* with *Tambaliṅga*, taking a variant reading of that name occurring in only one manuscript as the correct form.<sup>91</sup> In my view, however, the reading *Tamali* of the majority of the manuscripts should be preferred, and taken as an abbreviation of a Prakritic form of the name *Tāmralipti*, given to this place by early mariners from north-eastern India. In the *Niddesa* list, *Tamali* is followed by *Vaṅga*, the ancient name of Bengal transferred to an island (Banka) near Sumatra. To the earlier form of the name, *Tamali*, has been added *gam* or *gamu* (Skt. *grāma*) resulting in *Tamaliṅgam* or *-gamu*, and this has been rendered into Pāli as *Tambaliṅga*, and into incorrect Sanskrit as *Tāmbra-liṅga*. The Pāli and Sinhalese writers of Ceylon thus had justification for referring to this Malayan seaport as *Tāmalitti*. Where the port in Bengal is clearly meant, however, Sinhalese writers have used the form *Tāmalit*.<sup>92</sup> It is only after the *Dāthāvaṃsa*, due perhaps to the confusion created by *Tāmalitti* being glossed by *Tamaliṅgam*, that the latter name has been used for the seaport at the mouth of the Ganges.<sup>93</sup>

In this connection, it is also apposite to mention that traditions current among the Buddhists of Ligor (now part of Thailand) in the Malay Peninsula connect that place with Dantakumāra of Kalinga. He is said to have been ship-wrecked on the Diamond Sands (*Vajra-vāluka*) when he came from Dantapura with the Tooth Relic, and the

89. Edited by Bhadanta Sorata Nāyaka-Thera, p. 32.

90. *JRASMB*, XXXIII, pt. iii, pp. 1-10. The grounds on which O. W. Wolters would eliminate Tan-mei-lou (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, XXI, pp. 593-594) are not adequate.

91. Sylvain Levi, *Ptolémée*, etc., pp. 26-27.

92. *Mahābodhivaṃsa-granthipada-vivarana* edited by Bhadanta Dharmakīrti Śrī Dharmārāma Nāyaka Thera, p. 140; *Elu Bodhivaṃsa*, edited by Ven'ble K. Paññāsekharā Nayaka Thera, p. 211.

93. *Thūpavaṃsa* (Sinhalese) edited by the Rev. Pandit Galagama Saraṇam-kara, Colombo, 1955, p. 116.



city of Ligor was built by him at that place. The Buddhists there believe that the Tooth Relic is enshrined in a *stūpa* at Ligor.<sup>94</sup> The 'Diamond Sands' in this tradition would correspond to the 'heap of sands' in the *Dāthāvamsa*, where the Tooth Relic is said to have been temporarily deposited by Dantakumāra after he fled from Dantapura. This, according to the *Dāthāvamsa*, was not far to the south of Dantapura, but the Malay Buddhists of old have localised it at Ligor. Perhaps it is a knowledge of this Malay tradition which led Dhammakitti to make Dantakumāra embark for Ceylon from a port at a considerable distance to the south of Ligor. The evidence culled from the *Dāthāvamsa* would thus be against the identification of Tambaliṅga with Ligor, and would favour its location proposed by Sir Roland Braddell.

*The Siyabaslakara* of King Salamevan (most probably Sena IV, 956-972) also furnishes evidence proving that, to the Sinhalese of the tenth century, Kalinga meant a country other than the region of that name in Eastern India. The *Siyabaslakara* is a Sinhalese rendering of the Sanskrit *Kāvyaḍarśa*, the famous work on rhetoric by Daṇḍin. In many places, however, the author of the *Siyabaslakara* has deviated from his original where this was necessary to make the theories on poetics apply to the individual characteristics of the Sinhalese language, or to local beliefs and conditions. One such instance is the example given by Daṇḍin for the blemish in poetry called the *deśavirodha*, i.e. a poetical description which contradicts well-known geographical facts. This example as given by Daṇḍin is: 'The elephants born in the forests of Kalinga are like deer in size, i.e. they are very small'.<sup>95</sup> A description like this would be a blemish since Kalinga was famous for its elephants of a large size. The *Siyabaslakara*, however, by a not unjustifiable meaning given to the word *prāya* in the original Sanskrit, has adopted a rendering which is totally different from the example of Daṇḍin. As given in the Sinhalese work, the example is: 'The forests of Kalinga are teeming with elephants'.<sup>96</sup> As this is an example for the contradiction of well-known geographical facts, the Kalinga which Sena IV knew was a country in the forests of which elephants were not found at all or very scarce, quite unlike the Kalinga of India. The *Sanne* of the *Siyabaslakara*, which probably dates from the twelfth century, comments on this as follows: 'The statement that the Kalinga forest is full of elephants is an example of contradicting geography (*deśa-virodha*), because it is not well-known that elephants are numerous in Kalinga; it is in Aramaṇa that this is so'. The old

94. Colonel G. E. Gerini, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, pp. 107-108.

95. *Kaliṅga-vana-sambhūtā mṛga-prāyā mataṅgajāḥ*.

*Kāvyaḍarśa*, Chapter III, v. 41.

96. *Kaliṅgu-vene gaja-rās piri*.

*Siyabaslakara*, Chapter III, v. 42.

97. *Aramaṇayehi mut Kaliṅgu raṭa hastiṅge boho prasiddhiyak nāti heyin Kaliṅgu-venehi ātun piriṇā yi yanu du deśa-virodha yi*.

*Siyabaslakara* with old *Sanne*, edited by H. Jayatilake, 1901, p. 87.



Sinhalese *Sanne* of the *Kāvyaḍarśa*, while correctly paraphrasing the text of Daṇḍin, yet makes the observation: 'Similarly, the origin of elephants in the Kalinga forest is not well-known'.

It is quite obvious that King Salamevan had to deviate from the text he was translating in order to make it agree with the geographical knowledge possessed by his countrymen. Had they been well acquainted with Kalinga in India, famous for its huge elephants, it would not have been necessary for him to take liberties with the text he was translating. The Kalinga with which King Salamevan and the learned Sinhalese of his time were familiar did not boast of elephants as one of its products, though these beasts may not have been altogether absent in its forests. The mention of Aramaṇa (Lower Burma) in contradistinction to Kalinga, with regard to its elephants, suggests that these two countries were in the same part of the world. These considerations would justify the conclusion that the Kalinga known to the Sinhalese of the tenth to twelfth centuries was a region in the northern part of the Malay Peninsula.

The belief that Kalinga was in Further India continued to be held by the Sinhalese literati down to the sixteenth century. Diogo do Couto, reporting information received by him from a Sinhalese prince well versed in the traditional lore of his country, has stated that the father of Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon, was 'a ruler of Ajota which is the same as Tanacarim (Tennesarim)'.<sup>99</sup> As the Vijayan legend had been associated with Kalinga for a long time before this, what was meant by Ajota in this context must have been Kalinga. And this Kalinga was then taken to be the same as Tennesarim which is in the narrow neck of the Malay Peninsula. With regard to Kalinga being here called Ajota, we will have occasion to comment further on in the course of this paper. Couto has been chided by his translator for blundering as he had reported facts which do not agree with the knowledge possessed by modern Orientalists on historical geography; on the other hand, what has been stated already about this matter and what will follow would show that he deserves a word of praise for having reported faithfully what he learnt from his informants. The information received and recorded by Fernão de Queyroz, too, was that Vijaya came 'from the Kingdom of Telingo or Calingo, in the neighbourhood of that of Tenacerim'.<sup>100</sup> This is in accord with what has been deduced above, that Kalinga, to the mediaeval Sinhalese, was a land inhabited by Telugu-speaking people, and that it was in the north of the Malay Peninsula.

98. *Esē ma Kaliṅgu-venehi ātungē sambhavaya aprasiddha ya.* *Kāvyaḍarśa*, with Old Sinhalese *Sanne*, edited by Bhadanta Dharmārāma Nāyaka Thera, edition of 1925, p. 175.

99. *JRASCB*, XX (No. 60), pp. 62ff and 101.

100. *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon* by Father Fernão de Queyroz, translated by Father S. G. Perera, p. 5.



Having thus established that Kalinga was a part of the Malay Peninsula to the literati of the period in which lived the writers of those chapters of the *Cūlavamsa* relating to the times beginning from Mahinda IV and ending with Māgha, we next proceed to sum up the evidence for the use of the name of Kalinga to a country in Malayasia, in the sources for the history of those regions.

The Chinese writer I-Tsing mentions a land called Ho-ling at which pilgrims from China to India sometimes halted. According to the *New Tang Annals*, embassies were sent by Ho-ling to the Chinese court on various occasions between 640 and 818. This same country seems to have been referred to by the name of Chō-p'o, though there are also references to Chō-p'o as the capital of Ho-ling. Scholars agree in the view that *Ho-ling* is a transcription of *Kalinga*, but there has been much divergence of opinion with regard to its location. *Chō-p'o* is the transcription of *Jāva*; earlier Sinologists therefore had no doubt about the location of Ho-ling in Central Java. But this view has been subjected to strong, and in my opinion, cogent criticism by Col. Gerini, Ir. J. L. Moens and Sir Roland Braddell. Gerini and Moens would locate Ho-ling in the Malay Peninsula, the former in the region of Kedah, the latter in the Malacca area. Moen's view has been subjected to adverse criticism by Professor Nilakanta Sastri who appears to favour the earlier view of locating Ho-ling in Java. Coedès adheres to the earlier view.<sup>101</sup> But the identification of this Ho-ling (Kalinga) with Chō-p'o (Jāvaka) would seem to support the location in the Malay Peninsula if we attach importance to the identification by the *Vinaya-sanna* of Tambalinga with Jāvaka.<sup>102</sup>

In the *Kedah Annals*, embodying the traditions of the Malays, written long after their conversion to Islam, a country called Kalangi is mentioned in the story of the legendary king Marong Mahavangsa who was the traditional founder of the kingdom of Laikāsuka. This king is said to have sent envoys to Kalangi requesting the hand of the daughter of its ruler for one of his sons. Considering the descriptions of this country given in the *Kedah Annals*, it has been identified with Lower Burma. 'Kalangi' is taken to be a form of 'Kalinga'.<sup>103</sup> This agrees with the view of the Sinhalese prince who informed Couto that Kalinga was somewhere in Tenneserim. An old Sundanese chronicle known as *Carita Parahyangan*, in giving a list of the countries and their rulers conquered by the Javanese king Sañjaya of the eighth century,

101. For Ho-ling see Gerini, *Researches* etc., pp. 472ff., Sir Roland Braddell in *JRASMB*, XXIV, pt. i, pp. 3ff., Moens in *JRASMB*, XVII, pt. ii, pp. 21ff., Nilakanta Sastri in *JGIS*, Vol. VII, pp. 15ff. and G. Coedès, *Les Etats*, etc., pp. 136ff., 156f. and 183f.

102. The *Kāvyaśekhara*, Canto X, v. 123, describes the king of Java (Dāvā) as bringing white sandal wood and camphor, the products of his country.

103. *JRASMB*, Vol. XV, pt. 3, p. 97.



mentions the land of Keling and its ruler Sang Śrī Vijaya.<sup>104</sup> This would establish that to the author of this chronicle 'Keling (Kaliṅga)' was the name of Śrī Vijaya. The old Javanese poem *Nāgarakṛitāgama* includes a territory named Kelang among the dependencies, in the Malay Peninsula, of the kingdom of Majapahit.<sup>105</sup> This Kelang, as the name has been Romanised from the Kavi script, is identified with Trang. Edrīsī says that the island of Kra belonged to a king named Jaba-al-Hindi, or Indian prince, which phrase, according to Moens, is equivalent to 'the Kaling prince of Chō-p'o'.<sup>106</sup>

In the state of Selangor, there is a place of which the name, written in the Arabic script, is Romanised as *Klang* or *Kelang*. Important bronze and iron age antiquities have been discovered recently at this place. It is believed that this name is derived from the Malay word, *kalian*, for tin; a suggestion has also been made that it has its origin in a Khmer word meaning 'store-house', 'market', or 'public place'.<sup>107</sup> Whatever the origin of the name may be, its approximation in sound to the name 'Kaliṅga' is clear; names like this, too, could have been given a Sanskrit garb, resulting in forms like 'Kaliṅga', just as the native name of the people of a region in Indo-China has been turned into the classical Indian form of *Campā*.

Thus there is evidence for the name 'Kaliṅga' having been in use in former times for more than one area in Malayasia. Various states must have considered it as adding to their prestige to be known by this honoured name, and their rulers must have taken pride in tracing their descent to the mythical Kaliṅga-cakravarti famed in Buddhist legend. But, for our purpose, i.e. to identify the particular region which is called Kaliṅga in the historical writings and epigraphical records of the Island with reference to the period from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, there is one important fact to consider; the capital of this country was known as Simhapura. The relatives of the Kaliṅga princess who became the queen of Vijayabāhu I are said to have come from Simhapura (Sīhapura).<sup>108</sup> In the Polonnaru slab-inscription<sup>109</sup> of Vijayabāhu II, who was of the Kaliṅga dynasty, it is stated that Parākramabāhu I, towards the close of his reign, sent emissaries to Simhapura and had his nephew, Vijayabāhu II, brought over to Ceylon. Niśsaṃkamalla and Sāhasamalla, the best known kings of the Kaliṅga

104. Stutterheim, *Javanese period in Sumatran History*, p. 18. See also R. C. Majumdar, *Suvarṇadvīpa*, part i, p. 230.

105. H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, VII, pp. 278-279.

106. *JRASMB*, Vol. XVII, pt. ii, p. 84.

107. *JRASMB*, XXIV, pt. iii, pp. 81-85.

108. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 59, v. 46.

109. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 183-184.



dynasty of Polonnaru, have recorded in their inscriptions that they were born at Simhapura, which is specifically stated in some documents to have been in Kaliṅgu-raṭa.<sup>110</sup>

More than one Simhapura in the Malay Peninsula are known. K. N. Jayaswal has stated that 'the *Vāyupurāṇa* gives a full description of Simhapura, a capital in Further India, evidently in Malaya'.<sup>111</sup> He, however, does not give the reference, and I have not been able to find any mention of Simhapura in that text. The best known Simhapura near the Malay Peninsula, Singapore, was not founded until 1340, and cannot be the same as the city with which mediaeval Sinhalese royalty had relations.<sup>112</sup> Nor was Singapura, which is said to have existed on the west coast of the Malay Peninsula,<sup>113</sup> of an early enough date for it to be taken as the Simhapura of the *Cūlavamsa* and Niśśamkamalla's epigraphs. There was, however, another Simhapura in the Malay Peninsula, known from a much earlier date, the site of which still bears that name, with obvious phonetical changes due to passage of time.

The Sui emperor Yang Ti in 607 sent a mission under the leadership of Ch'ang Chün to the kingdom in the Malay Peninsula called Ch'ih-t'u by the Chinese. An account of this mission is contained in the *Sui Shu* and has been translated by Mr. Hsü Yun-ts'iao. The capital of the kingdom, which was reached after passing another kingdom named Lang-ya-hsü (Laṅkāśuka) which lay to the north, is given in the Chinese account as Shih-tze-cheng, which literally means 'the Lion City', i.e. Simhapura. Mr. Hsü Yun-ts'iao identifies it with Singora which, in his words, 'in the *Maritime Chart* of Cheng Ho could be identified with Sun-ku-na, in *Chang T'ung Tien* and *Ch'ing T'ung K'ao* as Sung-chü-lao, in *Hai Kuo Wen Chien Lu* as Sung-chü and in *Hai Lu* as Sung-k'a, which is now a popular name among the Oversea-Chinese. The term Singora came from Sanskrit, meaning the 'Lion Seat or the Lion City'.<sup>114</sup> Singora, thus, is a place with a history extending from at least as early as the beginning of the seventh century up to the fifteenth, and is still of considerable importance. That the present name is derived from *Simhapura* can be easily comprehended. The form *Sun-ku-na* given in Cheng Ho's charts (better known as Wu-Pei-Chih charts)<sup>115</sup> indicates that Singora was known as Simha-nagara as well as Simhapura.

The name *Ch'ih-t'u*, also spelt *Tch'e-t'ou*, of the state which had Simhapura as its capital, is generally interpreted as meaning 'Red Earth', due to the colour of the soil in that part of the Malay Peninsula;

110. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 109, 115 and 227.

111. K. N. Jayaswal, *History of India*, 150 A.D. to 350 A.D., p. 250.

112. Gerini, *Researches*, etc., p. 423, n. 1.

113. *JRASMB*, Vol. XVIII, part i, p. 75.

114. *JRASMB*, XXIII, pt. i, pp. 13-15.

115. *JRASMB*, XV, pt. iii, pp. 1ff.



it is also not impossible that the name represents Sanskrit *Setu*, 'bridge' or 'causeway'. This region, now included in Thailand, comprises the narrow neck of the Peninsula, and was of great importance in antiquity for international commerce between China and the West. The merchants who wished to avoid the pirate-infested Straits of Singapore and shorten the time taken by the journey, called at ports on the western or the eastern coast of the Peninsula, as the case may be, and had their goods transported overland. The region thus could very well have been called 'a bridge' or 'a causeway'. Its rulers must have amassed considerable wealth in consequence of this commerce which passed through their land, and acquired a power and influence out of proportion to the extent of their territories. This land, it would be seen, is the same as the region which, according to Couto's Sinhalese informants, was the original home of Vijaya, the first legendary king of Ceylon.

Certain expressions found in the inscriptions of some rulers of the Kalinga dynasty in Polonnaru, and certain statements made in the chronicle with regard to one or two of them, which have hitherto remained obscure, can be satisfactorily explained, and their significance properly appreciated, on the basis of the hypothesis that Kalinga meant, to the Sinhalese of this period, a region in Malayasia. The inscription of Sundara-mahādevī in the Māravīdiye cave at Diṃbulāgala contains the phrase *devotunu-māṇḍā upan* among the eulogistic references to that queen 'who surpassed Siri in beauty'. Wickremasinghe, who first edited this inscription,<sup>116</sup> has left it partly unread, and did not attempt to translate it fully. Bell read it correctly, took it as qualifying *Vikumbā-niriṇḍu* and interpreted it as signifying that both parents of Vikramabāhu were crowned monarchs.<sup>117</sup> Wickremasinghe, in the revised edition of the record, accepted Bell's reading and interpretation of the phrase.<sup>118</sup> Such an expression in an eulogy of a king does not add anything to his prestige, for kings who were sons of crowned parents were the rule rather than the exception. The phrase itself does not convey that meaning. Moreover, it can be taken, as I do, as referring to Sundara-mahādevī, and not to Vikramabāhu.<sup>119</sup> Thus, what the phrase conveys is that the royal personage eulogised was born at a certain place; as parallels, it may be pointed out that Kssapa III, in his Gāraṇḍigala inscription, takes pride in the fact that he was born in Daṃbadiva, and Niśsaṃkamalla in many of his epigraphs, boasts of his birth in Simhapura.<sup>120</sup> Being not native with regard to

116. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 184-189.

117. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. III, p. 7, f.n. 12.

118. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 194ff.

119. *Devotunu-māṇḍā upan* and *Vikumbā-niriṇḍu-haṭa agamehesun vā Gajabāhu-devayan vādū* are taken as two adjectival phrases qualifying *Sundara-mahādevīn vahansē*.

120. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. III, p. 198, II, p. 115.



birth and accomplishments was evidently a mark of distinction in those days, as it now is, among the Sinhalese. We know from the *Cūḷavaṃsa* that Sundaramahādevī was not a native princess. She came from Simhapura in Kalinga,<sup>121</sup> and must have been born somewhere in that region. *Devoṭunu-māṇḍa* must accordingly be the name of that region, and if we can satisfactorily locate it in the Malay Peninsula, it would add further support to the contention that Kalinga, the home of Sundara-mahādevī, was not in India.

*Devoṭunu* recalls to one's mind *To-p'o-teng*, given in Chinese writings as the name of a state which bordered Ho-ling (Kalinga) to the west. Moensis is of the view that west should really be north-west and, in accordance with his identification of Ho-ling, locates To-p'o-teng in the east of the narrow neck of the Peninsula. He equates To-p'o-teng with a conjectural old Malay word 'Duawwatan' meaning 'two bridge land' and explains that this region acquired such a name due to the land routes from coast to coast which traversed it.<sup>122</sup> Moen's theory with regard to the identification of To-p'o-teng has been criticised as based too much on conjecture,<sup>123</sup> but in our view, the element of conjecture in this explanation is no greater than is found in many identifications of Chinese names for places in the Malay Peninsula which have received general acceptance. The name 'Devoṭunu-māṇḍa', treated as Sinhalese, conveys very much the same idea as the conjectural *Duawwatan* of Moens. *De* is 'two' and '*māṇḍa*' means 'between'. *Voṭunu*, though usually found with the meaning of 'crown', can be taken as a word of quite a different etymology, derived from Skt. *vartma*, Pāli and Prakrit *vaṭuma* 'way', 'route'. The full expression would thus mean 'the land between the two routes', i.e. the two trade routes, one from India and further west and the other from China. Such a name, for reasons that have already been stated, would admirably suit that part of the Malay Peninsula in which Singora is situated. One of the overland routes across the Peninsula was from Kedah to Singora. The name transliterated as To-p'o-teng in Chinese would have been a cognate form in the local vernacular.

In this connection, the name given in the Nālandā copper-plate inscription of Devapāladeva,<sup>124</sup> as that of the king who was the father of princess Tārā, the mother of Bālaputradeva, the Śailendra ruler of Yavabhūmi who built and endowed a *vihāra* at Nālandā, has some bearing. Hirananda Sastri, who edited this inscription for the first time, read the name as *Dharma-setu* and gave *Varma-setu* also as a possible reading. In the opinion of N. G. Majumdar, *Varma-setu* is

121. *Cūḷavaṃsa*, chap. 59, vv. 46-49. The name of the princess is wrongly given in the chronicle as Sunārī; for the correction, see *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, p. 186.

122. *JRASMB*, XVII, pt. ii, pp. 22-23.

123. By Professor Nilakanta Sastri in *JGIS*, Vol. VII, pp. 15ff.

124. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XVII, pp. 310-327.



the only reading that is justifiable on the evidence of the plate.<sup>125</sup> If one adopts Majumdar's reading, one is confronted with the difficulty of suggesting a suitable interpretation of the name, which all ancient Indian names should have had. *Varma* means 'armour' and *setu* is 'causeway'. One cannot imagine an ancient king of Indian culture being called by a name meaning 'Armour Causeway'. I, therefore, propose to amend the reading *varma* to *vartma*. It is only a very slight stroke which differentiates the syllable *rtma* from *rma*; this could have been inadvertently omitted by the engraver, or worn out. It is also possible that a difficult sound as that of the nexus *rtma* was actually pronounced as *rma*, and the name was used in the document as it was pronounced, disregarding its etymology. Assuming that *Vartma-setu* is the correct form of the name, it should be taken as the designation of the land, which was used of its ruler as well. In ancient Malaya, as in other parts of the world, rulers were often referred to by the names of their territories. *Vartma-setu* means 'the causeway on the (trade) route', and is almost the same in significance as *Devotunu-māṇḍa* of the Diṃbulāgala inscription. This *Varma-setu*, father of Queen Tārā, must, therefore, be taken as the king of the same region as that from which the Kalinga kings of Ceylon hailed. In the Nālandā inscription, he is called 'Mahārāja'<sup>126</sup> and may be taken as one of the rulers of Zabag referred to by that title in Arabic writings.

Varma-(or Vartma-)setu has been described in the Nālandā Copperplate as of the Soma-kula lineage, and in the *Cūlavamsa*, Gujabahu II, one of the Kalinga kings of Ceylon, is also referred to, in an indirect manner, as being born in the Soma-vamsa, synonymous with the Kalinga-vamsa. When Sirivallabha, the ruler of Rohaṇa, wished to have the princess Mittā, the daughter of Ratnāvalī, espoused to his own son Mānābharāṇa, that queen, whose intention was to have her mated with Gajabāhu II, is said to have protested vehemently, saying that, from the time of the first king of Ceylon, marriage alliances between Vijaya's line and the Kalinga family were the rule, and it was an unheard-of procedure to have the princess betrothed to one who is not of the Kalinga race, when a suitable prince born of the Somavamsa was available.<sup>127</sup> The Somavamsa, in this context, has been taken to refer to the Pāṇḍya Lunar race, but there is no question here of a prince of that stock being considered as a suitable consort for Princess Mittā. It is clearly stated that Sirivallabha wished to prevent the princess being

125. ASI Memoir, No. 66, p. 99, f.n. 3.

126. *Rājñah Soma-kulānvayasya mahataḥ Śrī-Varma-setoḥ sutā*. Here, for metrical reasons, the two words constituting the compound *Mahārāja* have been separated, and another word intervenes between the two. The significance of the expression *mahataḥ rājñah* has thus not been noticed by those who have dealt with this inscription.

127. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 63, vv. 12-14. Geiger's translation of this passage does not convey its implications quite adequately.



sent to Gajabāhu II by her mother, and in the words put into the mouth of Queen Ratnāvalī, 'a king born of the Somavaṃsa' can refer to no other than that ruler. It is generally accepted that 'Somavaṃsa' means the 'Lunar dynasty', but the phrase *Soma-rāja-paramparāyen pāvātā ā* in the Devundara slab-inscription of Parākramabāhu II<sup>128</sup> seems to suggest that a family having its origin in a person called Soma-rāja is meant. If the interpretations of the relevant portions of the Diṃbulāgala inscription and the Nālandā copper-plate suggested above be accepted, it would follow that the Kalinga kings of Polonnaru were of the same race as the Maharajas of Zabag, who contracted alliances with the Śailendras of Java and Sumatra.

The Polonnaru slab-inscription of Vijayabāhu II,<sup>129</sup> who was of the Kalinga dynasty, states that Vijayā-yān-tān-nā, the dignitary who put down the opposition to that prince's accession to the throne, had an additional reason for the royal favour in that he 'was engaged in guarding the person of the royalty from Ruvandaṃbu'. As Vijayabāhu came to Ceylon from Kalinga, Ruvandaṃbu must refer to that country itself or some place therein. No attempt has been made by Wickremasinghe, who edited this inscription, to identify Ruvandaṃbu. No such name, or one from which it can be derived, was applied to Kalinga in India, or to any place known to have existed there. The name has the half-nassal which is peculiar to the Sinhalese language; it must, therefore, have been in use for some time among the Sinhalese to have undergone the necessary changes which gave rise to this peculiar phonetical feature. *Ruvandaṃbu* is a compound of two words; the first word *ruvan* is the Sinhalese equivalent of either Skt. *suvarṇa* 'gold' or *ratna* 'precious stone'. *Daṃbu* would be the result of the name *Jābaka* undergoing phonetical changes well attested in Sinhalese. For the loss of the final syllable *ka* and the change of the preceding vowel *a* to *u*, compare *maḷu* for P. *mālaka*, *saḷu* for Skt. *śāṭaka* and *naḷu* for Skt. *nāṭaka*. For the half-nassal *ṃ* being attached to *b*, compare *nuṃba* for Skt. *nabhas*, *nāṃba* for P. *navaka* and *aṃbarana* for Skt. *ābharana*. For the change of initial *j* to *d*, compare *daṃba*, *divi* and *do* for Skt. *jambu*, *jīvita* and *jyotiṣ*, respectively. *Ruvan-daṃbu* would thus be equivalent in Sanskrit to *Suvarṇa-Jāvaka* or *Ratna-Jāvaka*. The compound *Suvarṇa-Jāvaka* may be an abbreviation of *Suvarṇa-dvīpa-Jāvaka*, and reminds one of Ptolemy's 'Golden Chersonese'. If the other alternative is preferred, it would mean 'Jāvaka of Precious Stones', and is reminiscent of the expression *Ratnavantam Yavadvīpam* of the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>130</sup> Whatever interpretation we may give to the first word, there is no doubt that the second is the Sinhalese form of *Jābaka*, which is the origin of the Arabic *Zabag* or *Zabaj*, and *Iabadiu* or *Sabadiu* of Ptolemy. Thus we find that a person to whom favours were

128. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. VI, pp. 68f.

129. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 179-184.

130. *Rāmāyaṇa*, Book IV, chap. 40, v. 19.



granted by a Kalinga king is said to have been protecting the person of that king from the time he was in *Jābaka*. Kalinga must, therefore, be Jāvaka or Jābaka.

It would be noticed that *Devotunu-māṇḍa* and *Ruvan-daṁbu*, which we have concluded to be names of regions in Malayasia, have undergone considerable phonetic changes. The names must have been in use among the Sinhalese people for a long time, indicating that they had continued intercourse with these regions. Apart from references to regular sea-voyages between Ceylon and Suvannabhūmi in the Pāli commentaries, this is also proved by an inscription of the Javanese king Airlanga (1019 - 1049), which mentions the arrival in the ports of his kingdom of Singhala (Sinhalese) merchants, in addition to those of other nationalities of India and Further India.<sup>131</sup>

From an inscription of Niśśamkamalla from Polonnaru we learn that, in his time, one of the gates of this city was named Kāmbōji-vāsala (Cambodian Gate).<sup>132</sup> The same king's slab-inscription at Ruvanvāli-sāya at Anurādhapura has recorded that 'bestowing on Kāmbōdin gold and cloth and whatever other kind of wealth they wished, he commanded them not to catch birds, and so gave security to birds'.<sup>133</sup> There is no doubt that Kāmbōji and Kāmbōdi refer to Khmer people of Kambuja-deśa, i.e. Cambodia. They must have been considered an important community at Polonnaru for a gate of that city to be named after them. But they were engaged in the pastime of bird-catching, clearly for profit. They could not have held a very high position in society or in the administration. But Niśśamkamalla, desiring to gain a reputation as a good Buddhist, had to humour them with costly gifts to compensate them for the loss sustained by desisting from bird-catching. Evidently, Niśśamkamalla did not want to earn their displeasure by straightaway forbidding them to catch birds. He must have been depending on them in an important matter. The likelihood is that they were members of his body-guard, and were in the habit of supplementing their income from military service by catching and selling birds.<sup>134</sup> If Niśśamkamalla came from Singora in the Malay Peninsula, he must have brought with him some troops from that region who could be relied upon to guard his person, which he would certainly have not entrusted to Sinhalese troops. And not very far from Singora, in the Malay Peninsula, there was a region of which the people were Khmer-speaking, as is proved by the inscription on the pedestal of a Buddha image found at Grahi (Jaiyā).<sup>135</sup> A prince from Kalinga in India would hardly have had Khmer people in his service.

131. Coedès, *Les Etats*, etc., p. 247.

132. *Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Report for 1911-12*, p. 100.

133. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. II, pp. 82-83.

134. Birds of gorgeous plumage figure among the articles of 'tribute' sent by Malayan potentates to the Chinese Court.

135. *BKI*, 1927, Deel 83, pp. 468-9.



A rock-inscription of Niśśamkamalla at Polonnaru, in a list of places, in Ceylon as well as abroad, where he established alms-houses, mentions a city called Kāliṅga Vijayapura,<sup>136</sup> i.e. Vijayapura in Kāliṅga. This cannot be Polonnaru, for the alms-houses established there are mentioned separately in the same record ; no city of this name is known in Indian Kāliṅga. A Nepalese manuscript of the tenth or eleventh century, which contains miniature paintings of famous Buddhist icons, illustrates one at Śrī Vijayapura in Suvarṇapura (mistakenly written for Suvarṇadvīpa).<sup>137</sup> *Śrī Vijayapura*, which was of course the name of the capital of the Śrī Vijaya empire, could have been in use without *Śrī*; the Chinese writings have Fo-che as well as Che-li Fo-che. Vijayapura, which, according to the Nepālese manuscript, was in Suvarṇadvīpa, being called Kāliṅga Vijayapura in Niśśamkamalla's inscription, supports the contention that Kāliṅga meant here was in Malayasia. If Niśśamkamalla hailed from Singora, it is quite reasonable to think that he founded a charitable institution in the city that had been the capital of the Śrī Vijaya empire.

The Polonnaru inscription of Sāhasamalla, which records how a chief named Mallikārjuna escorted the prince to Ceylon from a port in the Coḷa country where he had sojourned for some time, says that he made 'the sea-route free from danger'.<sup>138</sup> The people of Kāliṅga, therefore, were a power on the high seas, which the Malay people of the empire of Śrī Vijaya are acknowledged to have been at this time.

Some of the names of high dignitaries found in inscriptions of the rulers of Kāliṅga lineage appear to be non-Sinhalese. The general of Niśśamkamalla had the full style of Lak-vijaya-siṅgu-senevi Tāvuru<sup>139</sup> of which *Tāvuru* is the personal name, the rest being titles. This *Tāvuru* reminds one of *Tuvavūravān*, part of the name of an officer of the Śailendra king who, in the reign of Rajendra-coḷa, built a Buddhist shrine at Nāgapattana in South India.<sup>140</sup> *Tāvuru* and *Tuvavūravān* appear to be the Sinhalese and Sanskrit forms, respectively, of a Telugu personal name. We have seen above that the people of certain regions in the Malay Peninsula spoke Telugu ; some of them, at least, must have borne Telugu names. A high minister of the reign of Queen Kalyāṇavatī, whose personal name appears to have been Cūḍāmaṇi, had the title 'Lak-vijaya-saṁ-siṅgu-senevi'.<sup>141</sup> In this, *saṁ* appears to be the same as Malay *sang*, prefixed as an honorific to personal names. The powerful minister who lost his life during an invasion from South

136. *Ep. Zey.* Vol. II, p. 178.

137. Foucher, *Iconographie Bouddhique de l'Inde*, p. 193.

138. *Muhuṇḍu piṭa maga-peta nirupadrava koṭa.* *Ep. Zey.* II, p. 225. This passage has escaped translation by Wickremasinghe.

139. *Ep. Zey.* II, pp. 156 and 176.

140. *Ep. Ind.*, XXII, p. 258.

141. *Ep. Zey.* IV, p. 81.



India in the eighth year of Kalyāṇavatī was named Āti;<sup>142</sup> this name recalls to one's mind Ādi in *Ādi Malaya*, the name of a military leader who rebelled against Vijayabāhu I early in that monarch's reign.<sup>143</sup> *Āti* and *Ādi* can be forms, assumed in ordinary Sinhalese speech, of the old Malay *hāji*, the royal title. *Ādi Malaya* would thus be equivalent to *Malaya-rāja* or *-rāyara*. Manakkā, the name of a general of this period mentioned in the *Pūjāvalī*, and Erapatta, the name given to Vikramabāhu II in the Miṇipe slab-inscription,<sup>144</sup> also appear to be non-Sinhalese.

Niśsamkamalla, in several of his inscriptions, boasts of the vast wealth that he spent in building and repairing religious shrines, in elaborate religious festivals and in largesses to the people.<sup>145</sup> Among the gifts he made were gold ingots (*raṇ-āṅgīli*). At the same time, he boasts of having remitted taxes for five years. There may be considerable exaggeration in these claims, but the number and size of the monuments which he built, and are still extant, clearly indicate that he had resources to spend lavishly. The wealth disbursed was obviously not all derived from taxation in Ceylon. The country from which he came, therefore, must have had great resources at its command, and its ruling powers were ready to spend vast sums in the form of economic aid (to use a modern term) to Ceylon, so as to win the good-will of the people of this Island, and to gain a footing here in furtherance of its commercial and maritime policies. The Malay empire of the time possessed great resources, and the control of this Island through a ruler prepared to act in its interests would have been of advantage to it in its maritime and commercial activities.

Niśsamkamalla also claims to have struck terror into the hearts of princes of Karnaṭa, Nellūru, Gauḍa, Kalinga, Tilinga and Gurjara who were not desirous of friendly relations with him.<sup>146</sup> Allowances must be made here, too, for exaggerations, but these claims cannot be pure inventions of his panygerists. If he was a prince from the Malay Peninsula, he must have commanded a considerable fleet of sea-going vessels, with which he could have raided the coasts of those lands. Some of his naval commanders might even have been engaged in piratical activities which furnished him with a part of the wealth so extravagantly spent by him.

In his exhortations to the people, Niśsamkamalla says that non-Buddhist princes like those of Coḷa or Kerala should not be invested with sovereignty over Ceylon. As he also emphasises the

142. *Ep. Zey.*, V, p. 160.

143. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 59, v. 4.

144. *Pv.* XXXIV, p. 25; *Ep. Zey.*, V, p. 161.

145. *Ep. Zey.*, II, pp. 118ff., pp. 175f.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 120.



claim of his own Kalinga dynasty to the overlordship of the Island,<sup>147</sup> the inference ought to be that he came of a Buddhist family. Almost all the royal families known to have exercised power in the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra up to the fourteenth century professed Buddhism.

Niśsamkamalla and other kings of the Kalinga dynasty of Ceylon claim to be descended from Vijaya who subdued the Yakṣas and made Laṅkā an abode of men, and categorically state that Siṃhapura from which Vijaya came was in Kalinga.<sup>148</sup> As the legend of Vijaya narrated in the Ceylon chronicles locates Siṃhapura in Lāṭa, and not in Kalinga, this claim of Niśsamkamalla and his kinsmen is not in accord with Sinhalese tradition even if they came from Kalinga in India. On the other hand, if they came from the region of Singora, as we have suggested, they could with apparent truth claim to be descended from Vijaya who made Laṅkā a habitation of men. For there was a region in the Malay Peninsula known in ancient times as Laṅkā Kāma-Laṅkā or Laṅkāśuka, which adjoined to the north the country of which Siṃhapura was the capital. This Laṅkā or Laṅkāśuka was the fairyland of Malay romance, and was believed to have been the abode of beings corresponding to the Yakṣas of Ceylon legends. The *Vāyupurāṇa* locates Laṅkāpura in Malayadvīpa, and Chinese accounts indicate that the abode of Rāvaṇa was held to be in these regions. The association of the same name and the same legends with a region in the Malay Peninsula and the Island of the Sinhalese made a Chinese writer declare that 'the country of the mountain of Silan (i.e. Ceylon) is the ancient Langya-sieou (Laṅkāśuka)'. The envoys from Laṅkāśuka who were at the Chinese court in 515 reported that their kingdom was founded four hundred years before that date.<sup>149</sup> The name 'Laṅkā' is not found in the earliest accounts of the colonisation of the Island by the Aryans; it is given as a name of the Island in the *Dīpavaṃsa*, written some time after Mahāsenā, but it does not appear to have been known to the classical geographers. The name 'Laṅkā' was probably given to Ceylon as well as to a region in the Malay Peninsula by people who came from Kalinga in India; but which region had this name earlier is difficult to decide.

The name 'Vijaya', though it is that of the eponymous hero of the Sinhalese in the chronicles, was not a common one in ancient Ceylon. It does not occur in the earliest inscriptions; among the kings of Ceylon up to the eleventh century, it was borne only by one shadowy figure in the third century. On the other hand, a king name Pisapatma (Vijaya-varmā) in 433 and another named Shi-li-pi-jia-ya (Śrī Vijaya) in 452,

147. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. II, pp. 164 and 122.

148. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

149. For Laṅkāśuka and Laṅkā in Malaya, see *JRASMB*, pt. i, pp. 1-18 and *JRASMB*, XV, pt. iii, pp. 71ff. and *ibid.* XVII, part ii, pp. 52ff.



both rulers of Ho-lo-tan, identified with Kelantan,<sup>150</sup> sent envoys to the Chinese court. According to Moens, the name 'Śrī Vijaya' was adopted by Kelantan shortly after 666. In any case, the kingdom itself came to be known after a king named Vijaya who, it is quite possible, was credited with magical feats over superhuman beings, of the type ascribed to Vijaya, the first king of Ceylon. If Niśśamkamalla's family was the same as that of Śrī Vijaya, or claimed descent from the original king of that land, he could very well be described as a descendant of Vijaya who made Laṅkā an abode of men. The confusion of one with the other of the two Vijayas and the two Laṅkāś had been cleverly made use of for purposes of propaganda. The statement in the *Cūlavamsa* (Chap. 54, v. 11) that Mahinda IV, having espoused a princess of the Kalinga family, 'founded the royal house of the Sīhaḷas' can be justified only if there was a tradition of this family being descended from Vijaya.

The founder of Śrī Dharmarāja-nagara, it has been seen, was held by the tradition of the people there, to have been Dantakumāra who, according to Ceylon tradition, came to Ceylon and settled down here. Some descendants of Asoka are also said to have been ship-wrecked in this vicinity, and local royal families claimed descent from them.<sup>151</sup> It would thus be seen that traditions similar to those related of Ceylon kings were also attached to the royal families of this part of the Malay Peninsula. The statement of Niśśamkamalla that he was a descendant of Vijaya who made Laṅkā an abode of men could have therefore been due to a tradition that the originator of his family in the Malay Peninsula was a scion of the Vijayan dynasty of Ceylon. In this connection, it is worthy of mention that, according to the *Rājāvalī*, Niśśamkamalla came to Ceylon bringing the Tooth Relic. This was probably due to a tradition that his family originated from Dantakumāra. For obvious reasons, Niśśamkamalla himself has not made use of this detail in his propaganda.

The *Cūlavamsa*, in its account of the wars during the Coḷa occupation of the Island in the eleventh century, has recorded that a prince named Jagatīpāla of the line of Rāma came to Ceylon from Ayojjha and, after a short period of power, was slain in battle by the Coḷas.<sup>152</sup> The inscriptions of the Coḷa king Rājādhirāja refer to a Vīra Śalāmēgan, described as a ruler of Kannakucci, who similarly came to grief at the hands of the Coḷas. From chronological considerations and the similarity of the fortunes of Jagatīpāla and Vīra Śalāmēgan, the two have been identified. The records of Rājendra II refer to this Vīra Śalāmēgan, as 'king of Kalingas of the strong army'.<sup>153</sup> Thus we find that a king who is said to have come from Ayojjha (Ayodhyā) in one

150. *JRASMB*, XXIX, pp. 166ff.

151. Gerini, *Researches*, etc., pp. 107-108

152. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 56, vv. 13-15.

153. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Coḷas*, Second Edition, 1955, pp. 250-252.



account is called the king of the Kalingas in the other. There was no Ayodhyā in Kalinga in India ; on the other hand, we have seen above that, according to Sinhalese tradition recorded by Portuguese historians, Vijaya was at once of Ajota (i.e. Ayodhyā) as well as of Kalinga. The two place-names, therefore, referred to one and the same region which, to the Sinhalese of the sixteenth century, was in the north of the Malay Peninsula. Kalinga was perhaps the name of the country, while Ayojjha (Ayodhyā) was a city therein. Vīra Salāmēgan *alias* Jagatīpāla must, therefore, be taken as a prince from the Malay Peninsula, and not from Kānyakubja in North India. It would have been natural for any ruler of a city named Ayodhyā to claim descent from Rāma, but as there is reason to believe that the Ayodhyā of Jagatīpāla was in Tennesarim, close to Lower Burma, which was known as Rāmaññadesa, he may have had his origin in that country. It is quite possible that a phrase indicating such an origin has been misunderstood, and given rise to *Rāmanvaya-samubbhūto* which describes Jagatīpāla in the *Cūlavamsa*. Kannakucci of the Coḷa inscriptions relating to Vīra Salāmēgan, on these grounds, must have been the name of a place in the Malay Peninsula ; but we cannot identify it.

A descendant of Jagatīpāla whose daughter became first queen of Vijayabāhu I, is referred to in the *Cūlavamsa* as of Ariya stock.<sup>154</sup> This word 'Ariya', without doubt, means Rājputs in the *Cūlavamsa* account of the reign of Vijayabāhu IV,<sup>155</sup> but it need not necessarily have this same connotation wherever it has been used. A warrior prince of Ariyadesa, Vīradeva by name, lord of Palandīpa, made a bold bid to capture the throne of Ceylon, and almost succeeded, when Vikramabāhu II was engaged in war with Mānābharaṇa and his brothers.<sup>156</sup> The *Cūlavamsa* does not say who he was, and whether he had any pretensions to the Sinhalese throne. In the struggle for power after the death of Vijayabāhu I, one prince who could have made as good a claim as any of the other contestants do not find any mention in the chronicle. This was Vīravamma, husband of Yasodharā, daughter of Vijayabāhu I by Līlāvatī who herself was a daughter of Jagatīpāla or Vīra Salāmēgan. It is not impossible that Vīradeva is the same as Vīravamma. At any rate, he might have championed the cause of that prince who, though husband of a daughter of the first *mahesī* of Vijayabāhu, had been completely ignored both by historians as well as by the dignitaries who settled the succession after the death of Vijayabāhu I. It is perhaps not by accident that, in all the three names, Vīra Salāmēgan, Vīradeva and Vīravamma, there is *Vīra* as an element. Whether this conjecture with regard to the identity of Vīradeva is plausible or not, he appears to have come from the Malay Peninsula, for

154. *Ceylon Journal of Science, Section G*, Vol. II, pp. 234f.

155. *Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register*, Vol. I, p. 88.

156. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 61, vv. 36-47.



answering to Palandīpa, of which he was lord, we have a city of Palanda given by Ptolemy among the inland towns in the Golden Khersonese. This has been identified with Perak by Gerini. With regard to these princes being held to be of Ariya lineage, it may not be without significance that the Āryacakravartīs of Jaffna, according to a tradition recorded by Queyroz, were so named because they originated from Brahmins, natives of Gujarāt, called Arus, i.e. Āryas.<sup>157</sup> Gujarāt and the adjoining regions are called Ariake by classical geographers. There was regular intercourse between these parts of Western India and the Malay Peninsula, and it is quite conceivable that a ruling family founded by a prince from Gujarāt in that region was known as Ariya.

The evidence discussed so far connects the Kalinga kings of Polonnaru with the northern part of the Malay Peninsula. One of them, however, seems to have hailed from the southern part. Lokeśvara, who is known, from an inscription at Koṭṭangē,<sup>158</sup> to have been of the Kalinga dynasty, is described in the *Cūlavamsa* as a *sūlahatamsika*. The phrase has been translated by Geiger as 'who had been wounded in the shoulder by a spear'.<sup>159</sup> *Sūla* does not mean 'spear' but a 'stake' on which culprits were impaled, and *amsa* means 'side', and not 'shoulder'. The phrase as it appears in the text of the *Cūlavamsa* is clearly corrupt, and Geiger has done the best to extract some sense out of it. With our knowledge that the Kalinga princes came from the Malay Peninsula, we can connect this phrase with *Salahat*, the name of a place on the south-western coast of the Malay Peninsula,<sup>160</sup> after which the Strait of Singapore was called the Sea of Salahat by the Arabs, to which had been added the Malay word *tasik*, meaning 'sea'. Perhaps the error is due to the author of this part of the *Cūlavamsa* himself, who did not comprehend the meaning of a phrase like *Salahat-tasik*, and rendered it as we find it in the text now.

We will next dispose of certain arguments which might be adduced in support of the prevailing view that Kalinga in the history of Vijaya-bāhu I and his successors at Polonnaru was in Eastern India. One of the kinsmen of Vijayabāhu's *maheśī*, who came from Simhapura, bore the name 'Madhukaṇṇava', which is almost the same as 'Madhukā-mārṇṇava', a name borne by princes of the Eastern Gaṅga dynasty of Kalinga.<sup>161</sup> One of the two principal queens of Niśsamkamalla, Kalyāṇavatī, who later ascended the throne as sovereign, is said in the Galpota inscription to have been of the Gaṅga-vamsa,<sup>162</sup> which was the

157. Fernão de Queyroz, *op.cit.*, pp. 48-49.

158. *Ep. Zey.*, Vol. IV, p. 88.

159. Chap. 80, v. 47. *Cūlavamsa* translation, pt. i, p. 131.

160. See map No. 2 of Moen's paper, *Śrī Vijaya Yāva en Kaṭāha* in *T.B.G.*, LXXVII, facing page 486.

161. *Cūlavamsa*, chapter 59, v. 46.

162. *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, II, p. 118.



ruling family at this time in Indian Kalinga. The son of a sister of Niśśamkamalla, who succeeded him, was called Coda-gaṅga. Another short-lived king of Polonnaru was Anikaṅga, i.e. Āṇi-Gaṅga. 'Coda-Gaṅga' and 'Āṇi-Gaṅga' were names common enough among the Gaṅgas of Kalinga. In reply to these possible arguments, it may be pointed out that kings of Malayasia often bore names that were in fashion for the time being among the dynasties in India. Names ending in *arṇava* were not unknown in Malayasia, witness for example the name- 'Guṇārṇava'. It is quite possible that Niśśamkamalla and members of his family contracted marriage alliances with the royal families of India, including the Eastern Gaṅgas. In fact, he claims in his inscriptions to have had princesses from various countries in India brought to his harem, and for his son. Apart from this possibility, there was also a Gaṅga-nagara in the Malay Peninsula. It is stated in the *Malay Annals* that Raja Suran, who is generally taken by scholars to be the Coḷa king who raided the Malay Peninsula in the eleventh century, defeated and killed the ruler of Gaṅga-nagara, and married his sister.<sup>163</sup> The Gaṅga-vaṃsa to which Kalyāṇavatī belonged could very well have been the ruling family of this Gaṅga-nagara.

Niśśamkamalla, in his Galpota inscription, says that his home Simhapura was in noble Daṃbadiṇḍya (Jambudvīpa) in which are born Buddhas, Bodhisattvas and Universal Monarchs.<sup>164</sup> It may be argued that a place in Further India cannot be described as in Jambudvīpa. But there is good authority for including the lands of Further India in Jambudvīpa. I-Tsing, the Chinese writer, refers to Fu-nan (early name for Cambodia) as situated at the southernmost end of Jambudvīpa and Yavakoṭi (Dharmarājanagara) as at 'the meridional angle of Jambudvīpa'.<sup>165</sup> If the claim that Buddhas are born in that part of the world is held to be preposterous, such an objection would also apply to Kalinga in India as well. For, according to Buddhist belief, Buddhas are born only in the Madhyadeśa, and Kalinga is outside that sacred land. No Sinhalese Buddhist would admit the possibility of a Buddha being born in a Telugu-speaking country, and such was the region of Kalinga in India where Simhapura was situated. This would, however, be possible, and Niśśamkamalla vindicated, if the view held by some that the whole of Jambudvīpa is Madhyadeśa (*Manorathapūranī*, P.T.S. Edition, Vol. II, p. 37) be accepted.

Sāhasamalla, after he left his home Simhapura in Kalinga to come to Ceylon, is said to have remained for two years at Kaṅga-koṇḍa-paṭana (Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-paṭṭanam) in the Coḷa country, until conditions in Ceylon were made favourable by his supporters for him to ascend the throne of Polonnaru. It might be argued that this points to

163. *JRASMB*, XVII, pt. i, p. 77.

164. *Ep. Zey.*, II, p. 115.

165. *BEFEO*, III, p. 284 and *JRASMB*, XVII, p. 56.



his having come from Eastern India. But there are instances recorded of travellers from the Malay Peninsula to Ceylon sailing to Negapatam, and from there taking ship to Ceylon. We do not know where exactly Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-paṭṭanam was, but if the ship in which Sāhasamalla sailed to Ceylon first touched at a port in the Coḷa country for some reason or other, and there received news that it was not advisable for him to come to Ceylon, he would most probably have stayed there until conditions improved, rather than returned home. The Coḷa rulers would have extended hospitality to him, for in the reign of Līlāvātī, the predecessor of Sāhasamalla, they are recorded to have thrice invaded Ceylon.<sup>166</sup> Līlāvātī belonged to the Pāṇḍya faction in Ceylon, and the Coḷas, for obvious reasons, would have been against an alliance of Pāṇḍyas with the Sinhalese and, therefore, assisted the Kalinga party opposed to them.

Historians are generally agreed that the marriage of Mahinda IV (956-972) to a Kalinga princess was dictated by political considerations, in order to secure allies against the threat of the rising Coḷa power. And the *maṇḍala* theory of Kauṭalya has been invoked in support of the prevailing view that this Kalinga was the well-known land of that name in India. But Kalinga at that time did not have a frontier contiguous with one of the Coḷa kingdom. There was the Veṅgi kingdom separating the two. Moreover, we have seen above that to Sena IV, the immediate predecessor of Mahinda IV, Kalinga was a country different from the Kalinga of India. It is also reasonable to assume that this matrimonial alliance must have been preceded by some kind of political relationship between Ceylon and the home of the princess who became the queen of Mahinda IV. There is no evidence for any political relationship between Ceylon and Kalinga or Veṅgi during this period. On the other hand, there is evidence for such relationship between this Island and the greatest among the Malay kingdoms of that time. Mas'udi, the Arab geographer who wrote in 943 A.C., includes Sirandib (Ceylon) amongst the possessions of the Maharaja of Zabag.<sup>167</sup> What exactly is meant by Mas'udi is not certain, for there is no evidence from other sources to indicate that the king of this Island at that time in any way acknowledged the Malay emperor as suzerain. If there was some sort of political alliance between the two states, it might have appeared to a foreign observer impressed with the superior might of Zabag that the smaller kingdom was a possession of the bigger of the allied powers.

If the exact significance of a certain detail given in the *Cūlavamsa* in connection with the Pāṇḍya invasion in the reign of Sena I (833-853) be properly understood, there appears to have been political relations between Ceylon and the Malay Peninsula at that time. When his armies were routed by the invading Pāṇḍya hosts, Sena I is said to have

166. *JRASC*, XXXI, (No. 82), pp. 384ff.

167. G. Ferrand *Relations de Voyages et Textes Géographiques Arabes, Persans et Turcs relatifs à l'Extrême Orient du VIII<sup>e</sup> au XVIII<sup>e</sup> Siècles*, 1913, I, p. 93.



left the capital and 'turned towards Malaya'.<sup>168</sup> There was, of course, a Malaya country, namely the central mountainous region, in Ceylon, and when this geographical designation occurs in the chronicle, it is usually that part of the Island itself which is meant. But the subsequent course of the narrative in the chronicle would indicate that it was not the Malaya region of the Island, but the Malay Peninsula, that was thought of by Sena I as a refuge in adversity. For, after he had left the capital, Anurādhapura, he is next heard of at a place called 'Gaṅgā-dvaya-mukha' which Geiger translates as 'the confluence of the two rivers' and identifies with 'the point of junction of the Mahavāli-gaṅga and Aṁban-gaṅga'.<sup>169</sup> There Sena II set up military guards, and awaited developments. The expression 'Gaṅgā-dvaya-mukha' would be better rendered as 'the two mouths of the Gaṅgā' or 'the mouths of the two Gaṅgās', and may be taken as denoting the area between the two branches of the Mahavāli-gaṅga, i.e. the delta, which could be easily defended and, in the event of a final defeat, had ports within or near it from which Sena I and his followers could take ship and go abroad. Even if we take with Geiger that the expression means the confluence of the Mahavāli-gaṅga and the Aṁban-gaṅga, it was quite out of the way for one starting from Anurādhapura to the hill country. If Sena I's intention was to find refuge in the mountains of Ceylon, there was no need for him to have gone in this direction. On the other hand, if his purpose was to leave Ceylon and go to the Malay Peninsula, this was his obvious route to Trincomalee or some other port in the area.

Once Sena I had succeeded in entrenching himself in this area, the Pāṇḍya king was not eager to continue hostilities. He took the initiative in opening peace negotiations, to which Sena I responded.<sup>170</sup> In all probability, this concern of the Pāṇḍya to end hostilities was to prevent the Sinhalese king being driven to the arms of the Malay potentate, whom he could scarcely have desired as a neighbour and a champion of the Sinhalese cause. If this interpretation is correct, the Sinhalese king must have been hopeful of a favourable reception from the Malay ruler, and this presupposes previous political relations. It may even be that the reason for the Pāṇḍya to attack Ceylon was to prevent an alliance between the latter and Malaya, for the hostilities ended with a treaty between the South Indian potentate and the Sinhalese monarch.

The interest of the Sinhalese of this period in the lands on the opposite coast of the Bay of Bengal continued, despite the shock of the Pāṇḍya invasion. For, we are informed by the chronicle of Nan-chao.<sup>171</sup>

168. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 50, v. 19. The expression here used is *Malayābhimukho gato* 'went headed towards Malaya'.

169. *Cūlavamsa*, chap. 50, v. 37. Geiger's translation, pt. i, p. 141.

170. *Ibid.*, vv. 38ff.

171. Quoted by Colonel G. E. Gerini, in his *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 750.



(Thai state in modern Yun-nan in China) that a king of this land sent a general to render military assistance to the Pyu kingdom of Prome in Lower Burma, which had been invaded several times by the Sinhalese before 858, and had appealed to him for help. To undertake several expeditions against Lower Burma, the Sinhalese of this time must have had considerable naval forces at their disposal. There is no means for us to ascertain the attitude of the Malay empire of Śrī Vijaya, which was at the height of its power at this time, to the Sinhalese intervention in a land close to its borders.

It will thus be seen that political relations with the Malay Peninsula were not a new development in the Polonnaru period. But in the period between the demise of Parākramabāhu I and the accession of the second king of that name, the most important single factor which decided the course of events in Ceylon was its connection with a kingdom in the Malay Peninsula (as we may now confidently take Kalinga to have been) and, if periodisation is necessary for the understanding of history, we may call this the Malay Period of Ceylon History.



# A Short Account of the History of Irrigation Works up to the 11th Century

By C. W. NICHOLAS

## (1) The pre-Christian Period

Commenting on verse 43 of Chapter 7 of the *Mahāvamsa* which reads, 'here and there did Vijaya's Ministers found villages', the *Vamsattappakāsinī* (*Tīkā*) says at page 261, 'in various places where water was readily available, they established villages'. This was at the very beginning of the Indo-Aryan colonisation of Ceylon, in the 6th century B.C. according to the legend. The necessity for establishing settlements in proximity to water is apparent, and the best natural sources of water would have been the rivers. The identifiable, early settlements were all close to rivers :—Tambapaṇṇi, 'on the most lovely south bank of the river', the river here being the Kadamba-nadī, now known as the Malvatta Oya or Aruvi Āru; Anurādhagāma, on the same river; Upatissagāma, a *yojana* north of Anurādhapura and on the Gambhīra-nadī, now the Kaṇadara Oya; Uruvelā, a port at the mouth of the Kalā Oya; Vijitanagara, present Polonnaruva or very close to it, near the Mahavāli Gaṅga; Dīghāyu or Dīghavāpi, on the Gal Oya in the Batticaloa district; and Mahāgāma, modern Tissamahārāma, by the Kirinda Oya. The seat of the ruler, first established at Tambapaṇṇi was moved within 150 years up the Malvatta Oya to Upatissagāma and then to Anurādhapura.<sup>1</sup>

The Indo-Aryan settlers from north-western and north-eastern India (the Indus and Ganges valleys) were acquainted with irrigation, for irrigation is referred to in the *Rigveda*, and they ate rice as a staple food although other grains, not cultivable in Ceylon, were also raised in their homelands.<sup>2</sup> Rice, likewise, was the food of the South Indian peoples with whom the Indo-Aryan mariners, coasting down from the deltas of the Indus and the Ganges, made earlier, possibly much earlier, acquaintance before they ventured further southward to Ceylon. Neither in the lands of their origin nor in South India did there develop an irrigation system of the magnitude or complexity of

1. *D.* (*Dīpavamsa*) 9. 30-34; *M.* (*Mahāvamsa*) 7. 38-45 : 8. 4 : 9. 9-11 : 10. 73-77.

2. *Cambridge History of India*, Vol. I, 10, 135, 203, 413, 594.



that which the Sinhalese afterwards constructed in Ceylon : nothing comparable and contemporaneous with the ancient dam, canal and tank system of Ceylon, mingling the waters of rivers flowing in different directions, is known in continental India.

The earliest mention of the building of a tank occurs in the legendary period : it is stated that the prince Anurādha, at the end of the 6th century B.C. according to Sinhalese chronology, built a tank at Anurādhagāma (afterwards Anurādhapura).<sup>3</sup> Paṇḍukābhaya, who was the first ruler to make Anurādhapura his capital and who ruled, according to tradition, in the 5th/4th century B.C., is credited with the construction of Jayavāpi (a natural pond dammed and made into a tank), Abhayavāpi (present Basavak-kulam) and Gāmaṇivāpi (perhaps present Perumiyankulam) at his seat of government :<sup>4</sup> the tradition that these were the earliest tanks to be constructed in the ancient city may well be true, though it is probable that Basavak-kulam was enlarged later<sup>5</sup> when it was included in the Jaya Gaṅgā (Kalāvāva-Tisāvāva Yōda-āla) extension scheme. There can be no doubt that in irrigation, as in other branches of engineering, the beginnings were small. There is no evidence to support the assumptions of some writers that the aboriginals, whoever they were, had built tanks before the arrival of the Indo-Aryans, or that the Indo-Aryans had begun to construct major irrigation works in pre-Christian times : by the 1st century B.C., probably nothing larger than the village tank had been attempted. Although the construction of Tissavāpi (Tisāvāva) at Anurādhapura is attributed in the Chronicles, doubtless quite accurately, to Devānaṃpiya Tissa (B.C. 247-207), we know that its capacity must have been increased to enable it to contain and discharge the augmented supply which it began to receive in the 5th century or later through the artificial canal Jaya Gaṅgā from the great, new reservoir, Kālavāpi (Kalāvāva).<sup>6</sup> Similarly, though Nakaravavi (present Nuvaravāva) at Anurādhapura is mentioned in an inscription of Gajabāhu I (114-136), it attained its present dimensions only after Pattapāsāṇavāpi (present Nāccadūva) was built in the 6th century and a feeder canal was constructed to convey an additional supply of water to the Anurādhapura reservoir.<sup>7</sup>

We read in the *Mahāvamsa* of the importance attached to irrigation and food production in pre-Christian times. In the 3rd

3. *M.* 10. 83, 88, 95, 96.

4. *M.* 9. 11.

5. Present dimensions :—dam, 1 mile long and 22 feet high : area, 330 acres.

6. *M.* 20. 20 : 38. 42, 46 : 79. 32, 59 : *Puj.* 27. The present dimensions of Tisāvāva are :—bund, 2 miles long and 23 feet high : area, 390 acres : area irrigated, 1,035 acres.

7. *M.* 41. 61 ; *E.Z.* III. 116. Brohier is of opinion that the canal was in existence before Nāccadūva tank was constructed, 'Ancient Irrigation Works', Part II 11.



century B.C. the Uparāja supervised the construction of a small tank.<sup>8</sup> The warrior, Labhiyavasabha, achieved a great reputation by his ability to move more earth when tank-building than, it is said, ten or twelve other men.<sup>9</sup> In the 2nd century B.C., the Dīghavāpi district (which corresponded approximately to the present Gal Oya Valley) was the principal rice-producing region in Rohaṇa and the king's brother was stationed there to superintend the cultivation and the harvesting.<sup>10</sup> A few tanks of this period (2nd century B.C.) are mentioned by name :—Hundarīvāpi in Kuḷumbāri-kaṇṇikā in Rohaṇa ; Vihāravāpi, now the small, breached tank below the Veherakema ruins near the coastal village of Kirinda ; Sumanavāpi or Samanvāva, 30 to 40 miles south-east of Anurādhapura ; Peḷivāpi, 55 to 70 miles north of Anurādhapura, spuriously identified as present Vavunik-kulam, a large reservoir of nearly 2,000 acres ; Dubbalavāpi ; Dūratissakavāpi, in the neighbourhood Dambulla-Sīgiriya ; and Kulatthavāpi or Kalatāvāva, a few miles south-east of Anurādhapura.<sup>11</sup> Only one (Dūratissakavāpi) of these early tanks is mentioned again. The inscriptions dateable, though not without some doubt, to the 2nd century B.C. which contain references to irrigation works are two in number ; the first, ascribed to the reign of Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya (B.C. 161-137), is at Tōnigala in the Puttalam district and records the donation of *ima vapi* (' this tank ', that is, the very small tank still in existence below the site of the inscription) to the monastery now called Paramākanda Vihāra : while the second, at Nāccērimalai in the Trincomalee district, is the record of a grant of an irrigation channel (*aḍi*) at a place named Abagamiya.<sup>12</sup> The Sinhalese *Pūjāvaliya* names twelve tanks built by king Saddhātissa (B.C. 137-119), while the *Rājāvaliya* says that he built eighteen tanks : the former Chronicle credits this king with the construction of the immense reservoir Padi (now Padaviya), a work entirely beyond the skill and resources of the people of the 2nd century B.C.<sup>13</sup> The other tanks ascribed to Saddhātissa are :—Kaṭunnaru : this tank was in Dakkhinadesa and was restored by both Vijayabāhu I and Parakkama-bāhu I ; Divagaṇa, Nāpiyoba, Sōdigamuva, Leṇa, Mahamāla, Kāndala, Rūdala and Mahagurunālē, all of which are not mentioned again ; and Māladeṇiya, which may be identical with later Mālāgāma, identified by Codrington as the breached Mālagamuva tank in Vāsgamuva. It may safely be assumed that all these were small reservoirs.<sup>14</sup>

8. *M.* 22. 4.

9. *M.* 23. 90-95.

10. *M.* 24. 2, 3, 58 : 32. 2.

11. *M.* 23. 45, 90 : 25. 50, 66 : 28. 18, 39 : 33. 9 : 36. 17-19 : 41. 99 : 49. 5-9 : 79. 32 ; *E.M.* 25. 162 ; *M.T.* 451, 30 ; *Thv.* 136, 162, 163.

12. *A.I.C.* 1 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1933, 18.

13. *Puj.* 18 ; *Raj.* 44.

14. *M.* 60. 49 : 68. 46, 47 : 72. 50.



The descendants of the pioneer Indo-Aryan colonists of Ceylon had spread by the 1st century B.C., as their numerous inscriptions in the Brāhmī script testify, not only over the entire dry zone but also into the Kāgalla and Colombo districts of the lowcountry wet zone as well as into the lower montane zone around Gampola, Kandy, Teldeniya, Bōgoḍa (north-west of Badulla) and Mātalē. The dry zone occupies seventy per cent of the total land area of Ceylon. It possesses far greater extents of flat land suitable for rice cultivation than the wet zone, but since it receives the rains of only one monsoon (the north-east, from October to April) water storage and cultivation by irrigation are necessary. Settlement in pre-Christian times in the Kāgalla and Colombo districts (the ancient kingdom of Kālyāṇī or Kālaniya) and the lower montane valley of the Mahavāli Gaṅga may have been encouraged by the fact that in these regions water is no problem and irrigation is not necessary. But there were the disadvantages of limited areas for cultivation, more frequent and devastating floods, greater erosion, lower yields, and an unceasing struggle against the inroads of rank vegetation: and these disadvantages, or other causes which are not now apparent, seem to have induced a return to the dry zone of a large proportion of the early wet zone population. The evidence in support of this hypothesis is the hiatus of a thousand years in the epigraphical records of the wet zone: inscriptions are quite numerous up to the 1st century B.C., and then there is a long silence till they recur in the 10th century.<sup>15</sup> This feature contrasts sharply with the dry zone where the epigraphical continuity is unbroken from early to medieval times, and is strongly suggestive of an exodus of population from the wet zone settlements, commencing about the 1st century and coinciding, probably, with the beginning of organised development of the dry zone under irrigation projects of increasing magnitude which rendered vast, new extents of land cultivable. It is not impossible that coercion was exercised in this transfer of population, actuated by the need for more labour in the dry zone for construction and cultivation.

The village tank was a well-established feature of the dry zone by the 1st century B.C., but more ambitious projects were being assayed. The Chronicles mention by name only four of the irrigation works constructed in the 1st century B.C.: Maṇḍavāpi, Ambadugga and Bhayoluppala tanks, and the Vaṇṇaka canal in Antaragaṅgāya (the region between the Mahavāli Gaṅga and the Māduru Oya): the existence of the canal is confirmed by an inscription of king Mahādāthi-kamahānāga (7-19) near Horivila which mentions Vaṇṇaka-aḷi.<sup>16</sup> The inscriptions of the 1st century B.C. give more information than the

15. Epigraphical and Territorial Map of Ceylon, *U.C.R.* IX, No. 1, facing page 50.

16. *M.* 34. 8, 32, 33; *C.A.* III. 205; *E.Z.* III. 157.



Chronicles : they name a number of tanks and canals.<sup>17</sup> One of these canals, built by king Kuṭakaṇṇa Tissa (B.C. 44-22), irrigated the swamp (once a paddy field) now called Mīnvila on the left bank of the Mahavāli Gaṅga, about 20 miles downstream from Mahagantota. This canal could have derived its water only from the river which is very wide in this stretch, and the method employed to divert the water of the river into the canal is a matter for speculation : no stone dam was ever built at this point. An inscription at Galleṇa Vihāra in Vanni Hatpattu refers to a grant to the temple of fields irrigated by an *avarana* (mod. Sinh. *amuna* or anicut) : this anicut was probably built on the Giribāva-āla. So that, at this early period, two methods of irrigation had begun to be practised, (1) small, stone dams across streams and rivulets, and, temporary timber-dams at suitable sites across rivers, to divert their waters into channels (*adi* or *ali*) which carried water to the irrigable area, and (2) village tanks directly irrigating the fields below their embankments. As time passed both methods were greatly elaborated to attain vast dimensions. Many of the early tanks were privately owned, and the term *vapi-hamika* or *vavi-hamika*, 'the owner of the tank', occurs in several of the donative inscriptions : some of these owners were women.<sup>17A</sup>

## (2) The 1st and 2nd Centuries

The 1st century marks the first step in the advance from the village tank to the major tank. Tissavāpi (Tisāvāva) and Dūravāpi (Yōdavāva) at Mahāgāma (Tissamahārāma), the capital of Rohaṇa, were constructed by Iḷanāga (33-43).<sup>18</sup> These are fairly large reservoirs now,<sup>19</sup> but we cannot say whether the original tanks were canal-fed from the Kirinda Oya or whether this source of supply was provided later. King Vasabha (67-111) was the first of the great, tank-building Sinhalese kings. The number of tanks attributed to him is 11 in some Chronicles and 12 in others, and they were :—

*D.* 22. 7-8    *M.* 35. 94-97    *E.M.* 35. 95-96    *Puj.* 21    *Raj.* 47

Mayanti	Cayanti	Mayetti		
Rājuppala	Rājuppala	Rājuppala	Ratupula	Raduppala
Vaha	Vaha	Vaha		
Kolamba	Kolambagā- maka	Kolambagā- maka	Koḷomgalu- rēru	Kebagalureru

17. *E.Z.* III. 156 ; *C.H.J.* II. 221 ; *C.A.* III. 77 ; *U.C.R.* VIII, No. 2, 122 ; several unpublished.

17A. *Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, I, 1.

18. *M.* 35. 32.

19. Tisāvāva :—bund, 1 mile long and 17½ feet high : area, 552 acres. Yōdavāva :—bund, 2¼ miles long and 16 feet high : area, 1,270 acres. Both tanks irrigate 6,500 acres.



<i>D.</i> 22. 7-8	<i>M.</i> 35. 94-97	<i>E.M.</i> 35. 95-96	<i>Puj.</i> 21	<i>Raj.</i> 47
Mahānikkha- vaṭṭi	Mahānik- khavaṭṭi	Mahānik- khaviṭṭhi	Mānākāṭi	Mānikavāṭi
Mahārāmetti	Mahārāmetti	Mahārāmeti		
Kehāla	Kohāla	Kohāla		
Kāli	Kāli or Kelivāsa	Kāli	Kālivasā	Kalivāsama
Jambuṭi	Cambuṭi	Cambuṭṭhi		
Cāthamañ- gaṇa	Cāthamañ- gaṇa	Vāthamañ- gaṇa	Manguṇu	Maṅgunna
Abhivaḍḍha- mānaka	Aggivaḍḍha- mānaka	Aggivaḍ- ḍhamānaka	Akvaḍunnā	Abivaḍunna
			Nitupatpāṇa	Nītupatpāṇa
			Kālikoḷomnā	Kālanikolonna
			Ālavaḍunnā	Ālavaḍunna
			Kaḷusimbala	Kaḷusiḷubala
			Makuḷumun- guṇu	Makulla
				Vaḍunna

Some of these are identifiable. Mayettī (the name used later in the *Cūlavamsa*) is the present Mahavilacciya tank in Vilacciya Kōralē of Anurādhapura district: it spans the Mōderagam Āru and was enlarged in the 9th century to receive a supplementary supply of water from the Kalāvāva-Tisāvāva Yōda-āḷa (Jaya Gaṅgā).<sup>20</sup> Mahānikkha-vaṭṭi or Mānākāṭi is the tank now known as Mānankāṭṭiya near the 12th mile on the Eastern Minor Road, Anurādhapura district: it is a moderately large reservoir with a perimeter of over three miles. Kālivāpi or Kālivasā has been identified by Codrington as Kāliyava-danavāva in Piṭigal Kōralē.<sup>21</sup> Bell has identified Cāthamaṅgaṇa or Manguṇu with the tank at Noccipotāna, near Manampitiya.<sup>22</sup> Aggivaḍḍhamānakavāpi or Akvaḍunnā is Hirivaḍunna tank, one mile from Habarana.<sup>23</sup> Nītupatpāṇavāva may be the original tank which later became the great Pattapāsāṇavāpi or Patpāṇavāva, present Nāccadūva tank. These were not major works by later standards, but the largest had circumferences of two or three miles and all were considerably larger than the village tank of the time.

King Vasabha also constructed twelve canals of which only the Ālisāra canal (Āḷahāra Yōda-āḷa) is mentioned by name.<sup>24</sup> This well-known canal, which took off from a dam on the Amban Gaṅga at

20. *M.* 44. 90, 100, 122 : 51. 130.

21. *M.* 68. 45 ; *M.T.* 653.

22. *E.Z.* II. 9 ; *C.A.* IV. 1, 21 ; *A.I.C.* 61 ; *C.J.S.* II. 20.

23. *M.* 35. 95.

24. *M.* 35. 95.



Ālahāra, became the feeder canal for the great Minṇēriya tank two centuries later. The Chronicle says that Vasabha donated a share of the revenues from this canal to a Vihāra in the district in which the present, breached Kavudulla tank lies (6 miles north of Minṇēriya) : this means that the canal then ran from Ālahāra at least as far as the vicinity of Kavudulla. Vasabha's canal did not carry the volume of water which it later did when it fed Minṇēriya tank, but it had a length of about 30 miles, irrigated a large tract of country, and probably emptied into the Kiri Oya or the Kavudulla Oya. The successful construction of a canal of this considerable length meant that in the 1st century the Sinhalese had developed a high degree of instrumental accuracy in contouring and levelling : it also meant that they were now able to build stone dams across large rivers like the Amban Gaṅga. Vasabha's engineers are credited with a third notable achievement : they conducted water to the bathing tanks at Anurādhapura through a system of underground pipes, doing away with the surface channels which existed before.<sup>25</sup>

Grants to monasteries of shares and revenues of various kinds from tanks and canals begin to be recorded in the inscriptions of the 1st century and occur with increasing frequency thereafter. First came the share called *bojiyapati*, the landlord's revenue, which is mentioned in connection with tanks as well as crops. Then there was *dakapati*, revenue from the supply of water, applicable to both tanks and dams. *Dakabaka* and *bakapati* appear to have had reference to shares and revenues from water as well as from crops. *Matera-maji-baka* was the share from the proceeds of fishing in the tanks. *Mahapati* means literally 'the great revenue', but three *mahapatis* from the same source are sometimes mentioned : *mahapati* was sub-divided into *koṭasa*. *Dopati* meant two portions of the revenue. These revenues paid taxes or dues called *kara*, and the expression *kara kaḍaya*, 'having remitted the dues', occurs frequently in the donative grants.<sup>26</sup> The precise value of these shares, revenues and taxes, and the mode of payment or recovery are not known.

The inscriptions of the 1st, 2nd and 3rd centuries name nearly 150 tanks and canals which are not mentioned in the Chronicles. Village tank construction proceeded apace as population increased and spread into new regions, and doubtless village tanks were also enlarged to increase the productive areas under them.

A great famine, probably brought about by an exceptionally severe drought, occurred in the years 188 and 189 : it was known as the Ekanālika famine (*nāli* meaning a certain measured quantity) because the people were reduced to that small quantity of rice for their food.<sup>27</sup>

25. M. 35. 98.

26. Several are unpublished : but see E.Z. I. 255 : III. 117 : IV. 126, 227. See also J.R.A.S. (C.B.), New Series, V, 129.

27. M. 36. 20.



## (3) The 3rd Century

The 3rd century marked a remarkable advance in the science and practice of irrigation engineering. In the reign of king Mahāsena (275-301), a king renowned in history for his prodigious tank-building activities, came the first colossal reservoirs. Mahāsena's irrigation works, enumerated at 16 tanks and one great canal, were as follows :—

<i>M.</i> 37. 47-50	<i>E.M.</i> 37. 47-50	<i>Puj.</i> 24	<i>Raj.</i> 52
Maṇihīra	Maṇihīra	Minihiri	Minihiriya
Mahāgāma	Mahāgāma	? Muvagamuva	? Muvagamuva
Challūra	Challūra	Surālla	Suralla
Khānu	Khānu	Kaṇadiyadora	Kuradīdora
Mahāmaṇi	Mahāmaṇi	Mahamiṇiya	Mahaminiya
Kokavāta	Kokavāta	Kokkādanavva	Ponnāva
Dhammaramma	Moraparaka		
Kumbālaka	Kumbālaka	Kimbulvāṇa	Kimbulvāna
Vāhana	Vāhana		
Rattamālakaṇ-	Rattamālakaṇ-	Rattala	Ratgala
daka	daka		
Tissavaḍḍhamā-	Tissavaḍḍhamā-	Rattisa	Ranniya
naka	naka		
Velaṅgaviṭṭhi	Velaṅgaviṭṭhi		
Mahāgallaka	Mahāgalla	Kavuḍumāgaḷu	Mahaḷuva
Čira	Čira	Sirivalāssa	Siruvela
Mahādāragallaka	Mahādāragalla	Mādaragal	? Soragalla
Kālapāsāṇa	Kālapāsāṇa	Kalavāṇa	Kallavāna
		Sakurūmboru	Puskumbura
		Suḷugaḷu	Suḷuḷuva
		Gāṭup	
		Belpiṭiya	Belipiṭiya
		Vaḍunnāva	Vaḍunnāva <sup>28</sup>
Pabbatanta canal,	Pabbatanta canal,		
on the Gaṅgā	on the Gaṅgā		

Maṇihīravāpi, called Miniḥoru in inscriptions, is the great Miniṇēriya tank which has a bund nearly  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles long and 44 feet high, submerges 4,670 acres and irrigates 4,000 acres. The Sinhalese Chronicles say that Mahāsena dammed the Kara Gaṅga (present Amban Gaṅga) and brought the water to Miniṇēriya tank along the Talavatu canal, which name survives today as Talvatura Oya. The already existing Ālisāra (Ālahāra) canal was utilised as the basis of this scheme, but it was necessary that the headworks and the canal should be enlarged to divert and carry a greatly increased supply of water. The new, terminal section, some 4 miles long, of the enlarged canal which carried

28. The *Rājāvaliya*, the most recent of the Chronicles, is frequently in error in respect of place-names.



the water into Minṇēriya tank was named the Tilavatthuka or Talavatu canal, possibly because a natural stream of that name was converted to use as a canal : and the surviving section of the original Ālahāra canal branched off where the new Talavatu-āla commenced and continued its old course to westward of Minṇēriya. The length of the new Ālahāra-Talavatu canal from headworks on the Amban Gaṅga to Minṇēriya tank was  $25\frac{1}{2}$  miles.

Tissavaḍḍhamānaka tank, called Rantisā in inscriptions,<sup>29</sup> has been correctly identified by Codrington as the present, breached Kavudulla tank, to north of Minṇēriya : it was a very large tank and received a part of its supply from a canal, about 6 miles long, which issued from Minṇēriya tank.

Challūravāpi or Surāllavāva is present Huruluvāva, recently restored, a major work on the Yān Oya, near Yakālla. Khānuvāpi is synonymous with Kāṇavāpi, Kāṇāvāva and Kāṇadiyadora, and is the large breached reservoir across the Kāṇadara Oya, near Mihintalē, now called Mahakāṇadarāva. The length of its bund is given in a 12th century inscription as 1,600 *riyan*;<sup>30</sup> in addition to impounding the waters of the Kāṇadara Oya, it was fed by a canal from the Malvatta Oya but this additional supply was provided in the 9th century.

Mahāmaṇivāpi or Mahamaṇiyavāva, ascribed earlier to king Bhātikatissa, is Māmaṇiyavāva in the village and Kōralē of the same name in the Anurādhapura district, and is no more than a large village tank.<sup>31</sup> Kumbālakavāpi is probably identical with the tank later called Kumbhīlasobbhakavāpi, a large, abandoned tank on the Kimbulvāna Oya now known as Nirāmullavāva.<sup>32</sup> Rattamālakandakavāpi may be the tank at Maha Ratmalē, a few miles south of Anurādhapura, which is now much smaller than it originally was.

Mahāgallavāpi, present Māgallavāva at Nikavarāṭiya, was enlarged by Parakkamabāhu in the 12th century. Kālapāsāṇavāpi existed in the 1st century and is called Kalapahanaka-vavi in an inscription *in situ* of the reign of Vasabha (67-111), and the work carried out by Mahāsena was evidently to increase its capacity : it is a fairly large tank situated in Vilpattu, now ruined and known as Karambakulam.<sup>33</sup> Sulugaḷuvava is Hulugallavāva, 5 miles north-north-east of Nikavarāṭiya. Moraparaka tank appears to be identical with Moravāpi, now the large, abandoned reservoir south of the Kalā Oya in the north-

29. *E.Z.* II. 32, 142 ; *C.J.S.* II. 208.

30. *M.* 50. 72 : 60. 50 : 79. 34 ; *E.Z.* I. 112 ; *C.J.S.* II. 15 ; *A.S.C.A.R.*, 1937, 10.

31. *M.* 36. 3 : 44. 21.

32. *M.* 60. 50 ; 79. 33.

33. Codrington, *Coins of Ceylon*, 193, text revised.





west corner of Nāgampaha Kōralē : it is very likely that it was fed by a branch of the canal which led water from Kalāvāva to Siyambalāgamuva tank : the district was named after the tank, Moravāpirat̤tha.<sup>34</sup> The Pabbatanta canal on the Mahavāli Gaṅga probably flowed eastward past Dimbulāgala (Gunner's Quoin), a distance of over 20 miles.

The Ālahāra-Miṇṇēriya-Kavuḍulla scheme inaugurated by Mahāsena was an epoch-making event in the history of irrigation in Ceylon. It was the success of this project, in all probability, which encouraged a bigger venture in the same king's reign, the damming of the Mahavāli Gaṅga, the largest river in Ceylon, in order to construct what the *Mahāvamsa* calls 'the great Pabbatanta canal'. These vast strides forward in irrigation engineering, in the immensity of the works accomplished and their subsequent, successful operation, evoked in the popular imagination a special reverence for the king which led to his deification as Hatrajjuru, the god of Miṇṇēriya.

#### (4) The 4th and 5th Centuries

Of the kings of the 4th century, Upatissa I (365-406) was distinguished for his activities in extending the facilities for irrigation, but three of the tanks ascribed to him, namely, Rājuppala (earlier ascribed to Vasabha), Valāhassa (which may be identical with Cīra or Sirivalāssa built by Mahāsena), and Ambut̤thi (probably synonymous with Vasabha's Cambut̤i), appear to have been not new works but extensive restorations or enlargements of existing reservoirs. The new works of Upatissa I were the tanks Gijjhakūṭa, Pokkharapāsaya and Gonḍigāma, none of which is now identifiable. The Sinhalese Chronicles, *Pūjāvaliya* and *Rājāvaliya*, state that this king built Tōpāvāva, the original reservoir at Polonnaruva : this tank is called Thusavāpi or Toyavāpi in the *Cūlavamsa*, but no statement is made in that Chronicle as to which king built it.<sup>35</sup>

Although there had been short civil wars in connection with succession disputes, Ceylon was undisturbed by invasion or aggression from the Tamil kingdoms of South India from the first quarter of the 2nd century to the year 429, a period of three centuries, and it was during this long period of tranquillity that the transition in irrigation engineering from moderately large to stupendous works took place.

For twenty-six years, from 429 to 455, Ceylon was ruled by Tamil conquerors. Then Dhātusena liberated the country from foreign rule and reigned till 473, and just as Mahāsena's name at once recalls Miṇṇēriya tank, so the name of Dhātusena is indelibly associated with the great tank Kālavāpi (Kalāvāva) which he built. This large reservoir, which may be described as twin tanks joined to form one

34. *M.T.* 686 ; *E.H.B.* 83, 85 ; *M.* 69. 8-12.

35. *M.* 37. 124, 185, 186 : 50. 73 : 79. 40-53 ; *Puj.* 26 ; *Raj.* 54.



unit, has a bund just over  $3\frac{1}{2}$  miles long and 40 feet high, submerges 6,380 acres, has a capacity of 72,678 acre feet, and irrigates 7,000 acres. Though the Chronicle does not say so, it may be assumed with some confidence that the great canal, Jaya Gaṅgā, 54 miles in length, which conveys water from Kalāvāva to Tisāvāva at Anurādhapura and irrigates the intervening territory, was constructed at the same time as the tank. This augmentation of the supply of Tisāvāva, which would have involved enlarging its area, was very probably necessitated by the demands of increasing population at the capital city. The tanks built by Dhātusena were :—

*M.* 38. 41, 42, 50, 51

*Puj.* 27

Kālavāpi  
Pādūlaka  
Hambatṭhi  
Mahādatta

14 others unnamed

Kalā-Balaḷu  
? Badulu

Kelavasā  
Kaḷunnaru  
Danavallā  
Udanviṭi  
Pāṇagamu  
Kitmiṇi  
Mahadabarā  
Saṅgamu  
Surulu  
Malāsu  
Mahamidēl  
Maha-eli  
Mānāmatu

Hambatṭhivāpi is probably the same as the earlier tank, Cambuṭi or Ambuṭṭhi : Kelavasā was a work of Vasabha : and Surulu is identical with Mahāsena's Challūra or Surālla ; these three were, therefore, works of augmentation.

Mahādattavāpi is the present Mādatugamavāva, near the 51st mile on the Dambulla-Kākirāva road, now a tank of moderate size. Pāṇagama is present Pānankāmam tank in the sub-division of the same name in the Mannār district.<sup>36</sup> Saṅgamu tank is now known as Māddakāṭiyavāva and is situated below Saṅgamu Vihāra, about 14 miles north-east of Kurunāgala : it is of no great size, its present area being only 114 acres. Maha-eli tank retains the same name, Māeliya, to this day and is situated near the 12th mile on the Ibbāgamuva-Polpitigama road.<sup>37</sup>

36. *E.Z.* I. 39.

37. *C.J.S.* II. 124.



Mānāmatu tank was certainly in the north—the district is called Mānāmatta and the tank Mahānāmamatthaka at a later period—and is probably identical with the large reservoir, Giant's Tank, in the Mannār district. This tank has a bund 7 miles long but only 14 feet high, submerges 4,547 acres and irrigates 14,100 acres: it is fed by a canal 17 miles long which takes off from a dam across the Aruvi Āru (Malvatta Oya) at Paraiyānankulam. Giant's Tank and its fellow, Ākaṭṭimurippu tank, built later and similarly fed by a canal on the left bank of the same river, were designed to suit the flat terrain which is devoid of rocky hills or markedly elevated ground to which the extremities of the bunds could be tied, and are singularly different in construction to the general pattern of the other major tanks.<sup>38</sup>

Dhātusena also dammed the Mahavāli Gaṅga and thereby 'created fields which were permanently watered': possibly this was an augmentation of Mahāsena's Pabbatanta scheme.

### (5) The 6th and 7th Centuries

The next king with a claim to have made a major contribution in the construction of irrigation works was Moggallāna II (531-551). He is said to have dammed the Kadamba-nadī (Malvatta Oya) 'in the mountains' and to have made thereby three tanks, Pattapāsāṇavāpi, Dhanavāpi and Garītaravāpi.<sup>39</sup> From epigraphical sources<sup>40</sup> Pattapāsāṇavāpi can be identified with the present Nāccadūva tank, 7 miles south-east of Anurādhapura: it is built across the Malvatta Oya but it cannot be described as being 'in the mountains'. This large reservoir has a bund a little over a mile in length and 35 feet high, submerges 4,408 acres, has a capacity of 45,148 acre feet and irrigates 4,200 acres. Its supply from the river was supplemented by a canal, about 6 miles long, which branched off from the Jaya Gaṅgā (Kalāvāva-Tisāvāva Yōda-āḷa). Simultaneously with its construction or shortly afterwards a canal about 5 miles long was constructed to convey water from it to Nuvaravāva at Anurādhapura, and only then did Nuvaravāva attain its full dimensions which are:—bund,  $4\frac{1}{4}$  miles long and 33 feet high, area 2,960 acres, and area irrigated 703 acres. From Nuvaravāva a channel led northward for about 9 miles to the reservoir now breached and known as Mahagalkaḍavala. Like the Tisāvāva augmentation scheme in the third quarter of the 5th century, the Nuvaravāva augmentation scheme of a century or more later was, in all probability, a further addition to the water-supplies of the city necessitated by the growing expansion of its population: it will be noticed that the extent of fields irrigated by Nuvaravāva is

38. *M.* 79. 35 : 83. 16 ; *Puj.* 42 ; *N.S.* 23 ; Parker's Irrigation Report on the Mannār District.

39. *M.* 41. 61, 62.

40. I am indebted to Dr. Paranavitana for this information derived from unpublished inscriptions. See *U.C.R.* XVI, 70.



small in relation to the capacity of the tank, so that irrigation was not its principal function. The other two tanks (Dhanavāpi and Garītara-vāpi) which Moggallāna II constructed on the Malvatta Oya were presumably higher up the river and are not now identifiable.

Another king of the 6th century notable for the irrigation works which were constructed in his reign was Aggabodhi I (571-604). These works were :—

<i>M.</i> 42. 8, 15, 34	<i>Puj.</i> 28	<i>Raj.</i> 56
Sirivaḍḍhamānakavāpi in Dakkhinadesa		
Kurundavāpi	Kurunduvāva	Kurunduvāva
Mahindataṭavāpi		
Maṇimekhala dam		
A great canal leading out of Maṇihīravāpi		

Kurundavāpi or Kurunduvāva is the large tank now called Tannimurippukulam, about 14 miles south-south-west of Mullaitivu : the ruins of the ancient Kurunda Vihāra above the tank are still known as Kuruntan-ūr.<sup>41</sup> The river which was dammed to form the tank was the Manal Āru, the principal tributary of the Nāy Āru.

Mahindataṭa was a small tank, but it had importance because ceremonies connected with an Image of Mahinda were performed on its embankment : it is the tank now known as Bulankulam, near Mihintalē. The Maṇimekhala dam is the dam on the Mahavāli Gaṅga from which the Miṇipe canal takes off. Perhaps the original canal was not more than about 17 miles long : the scheme was extended in the 9th century but had vicissitudes.

Aggabodhi's younger brother and successor, Aggabodhi II (604-614), was one of the greatest of the tank-building kings. Had his reign not been a short one, it is likely that he might have rivalled Mahāsena in his accomplishments. The tanks constructed by him were :—

<i>M.</i> 42. 67	<i>Puj.</i> 28	<i>Raj.</i> 56
Gaṅgātata	Gaṅgatalā	13 tanks, unnamed
Valāhassa	Siravalāskāṭiya	
Giritata	Giritālā	
	Hovaṭu	
	Neraḷu	
	Māṭombu	
	Enḍēragala	
	Kaḷunnaru	
	Mahaudalu	
	Kāngomu	
	Mādāta	
	Kalam	

41. *M.* 33. 32 ; *E.H.B.* 2, 10-12, 23, 81, 122.



Valāhassavāpi or Siravalāskāṭiyavāva had been ascribed earlier in the Chronicles to Mahāsenā and Upatissa I : Maḥaṭombuva or Māṭombu to Jetṭhatissa I : Kaḷunnaru to Dhātusena : and Mahādatta or Mādāta also to Dhātusena : so that no original work was done by Aggabodhi on these four tanks. Gaṅgātaṭa or Gaṅgatalā is present Kantalāy (Gantalāva in Sinhalese), a large reservoir with a bund just over a mile long and  $54\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, an area of 3,263 acres, a capacity of 37,124 acre feet, and an irrigable area of 4,900 acres. A 12th century inscription gives the length of its bund as 4,300 *riyan*.<sup>42</sup> Kantalāy tank was supplied by a canal 29 miles long from Miṇṇēriya tank and this, undoubtedly, was 'the great canal leading out of Maṇihīravāpi' which was constructed in the previous reign : although Aggabodhi II built Kantalāy tank, the project was planned and the work on the feeder canal was completed in his predecessor's reign. The total length of canal from the Ālahāra dam, through Miṇṇēriya tank, to Kantalāy tank was now  $54\frac{1}{2}$  miles, almost exactly the same length as the Jaya Gaṅgā (Kalāvāva-Tisāvāva Yōda-āla).

Giritāṭa or Giritālā tank is present Giritalē tank between Miṇṇēriya and Polonnaruva :<sup>43</sup> it was fed from the Ālahāra canal by a branch which took off at the point where the Talavatu-āla began and which wound its way for  $6\frac{1}{4}$  miles to Giritalē tank. This tank has a bund 1,300 feet long and 53 feet high, an area of 410 acres and irrigates 140 acres. The extension of the Ālahāra-Miṇṇēriya-Kavuḍulla scheme to include the new tanks, Kantalāy and Giritalē, by a prolongation of the canal by a further 35 miles would necessarily have required a substantial increase in the supply of water : and to this period can be assigned the construction of the Hattoṭa-amuṇa dam on the upper reaches of the Kalu Gaṅga, the main tributary of the Amban Gaṅga, and of the canal, now ruined, which carried the water from this dam for 28 miles and discharged it into the Amban Gaṅga just above the Ālahāra dam.

Neraḷu tank, later called Nālikeramahāthamba, was on the east bank of the Mahavāli Gaṅga about 18 miles south of Polonnaruva and is now breached and known as Polattavila : the place commanded one of the important fords across the river and was the scene of more than one battle.<sup>44</sup> The name Māṭombu is preserved in present Māṭombuva. Kōralē in Hurulu Palāta, Anurādhapura district, and the tank must have been in that region : probably it is the large, breached tank at Horivila, about 6 miles east of Kākirāva. Eṇḍēragalu tank is present Ināmaḷuva tank, 5 miles from Dambulla.

42. A.S.C.A.R., 1937, 10.

43. M. 10. 27-44 : 25. 47 ; N.S. 26 ; E.M. 25. 26 ; Raj. 37 ; Thv. 146.

44. M. 25. 11 : 72. 14 ; N.S. 26 ; E.M. 25. 26 ; Raj. 37 ; Thv. 146.



In the second decade of the 7th century, therefore, the more important of the major irrigation schemes which were then functioning were :—

### River-Diversion Schemes

- (i) Hattota dam on the Kalu Gaṅga—canal—Ālahāra dam on the Amban Gaṅga—Ālahāra canal—Giritālē tank—Minṇēriya tank—canal—Kavuḍulla tank—canal—Kantalāy tank : total length of canal, 95 miles ;
- (ii) Dam on Mahavāli Gaṅga—Pabbatanta canal : length of canal, about 20 miles ;
- (iii) Maṇimekhala (Minipe) dam on Mahavāli Gaṅga—Minipe canal : length of canal, probably 17 miles ;
- (iv) Dam on Malvatta Oya—canal—Giant's Tank : length of canal, 17 miles.

### Reservoir Schemes

- (i) Kalāvāva—Jaya Gaṅgā canal—Tisāvāva : length of canal, 54 miles ;
- (ii) Jaya Gaṅgā canal—canal—Nāccadūva tank—canal—Nuvaravāva—canal—Mahagalkaḍavala tank : length of canal, 20 miles ;
- (iii) Mahakaṇadarāva tank ;
- (iv) Huruluvāva ;
- (v) Tannimurippu-kulam ;
- (vi) Tissamahārāma tanks

The above list is incomplete in that it does not include named tanks which are not identifiable now, as well as tanks whose dates of construction are not recorded : some of these were undoubtedly larger than those above-mentioned. The total length of the major canals was well over 250 miles.

This achievement, accomplished by the 7th century, is a very notable and distinguished one because many of these projects, if put in hand today, would still be regarded as major undertakings. The chief engineers responsible for planning, design and construction were undoubtedly men of the highest technical ability, as well as men of vision. We have no knowledge of what gaugings they made, what formulae they employed in their calculations and what instruments they used : all that information, which must have been contained in text-books, because it could not have been imparted orally, is irretrievably lost. We know, from surveys carried out in recent times for the restoration of ancient schemes, that the instruments they used were capable of the same accuracy as modern instruments. In some sections of the ancient canals the fall was only six inches in a mile, in most sections one foot in a mile.



Shortly after the death of Aggabodhi II the Island was plunged in civil war, and insurrection and turmoil continued for a period of sixty years commencing about the year 620. The rival princes who contended for the throne exhausted the resources of the State Treasury and then fell upon the Monasteries, plundering the gold, gems and valuables and even breaking into the treasure-chambers of the Thūpārāma, Dakkhina Vihāra and other Cetiya. Tamil mercenaries, who comprised the soldiery, lived on pillage. The people suffered great misery from loss of property and field produce. No new irrigation works were undertaken: on the other hand, those in existence were neglected and suffered damage. Mānavamma, who ascended the throne in 684 with Pallava aid, was a strong ruler and re-established ordered government, but his energies were directed in the main to the restoration of what was in ruin or disrepair.

### (6) The 8th, 9th and 10th Centuries

The 8th, 9th and 10th centuries were, for the greater part, a period of affluence for the Sinhalese nation. Architectural and art forms attained the zenith of excellence. There was a Pāṇḍyan invasion about 840 and the Sinhalese army suffered a crushing defeat, but the invaders did not take possession of the country: after pillaging and destroying what they could, they exacted a vast tribute from the Sinhalese king (Sena I) and departed. This humiliation was avenged in 862 by a Sinhalese counter-invasion of Pāṇḍya in aid of a Pāṇḍyan aspirant to the throne which resulted in the defeat and death of the Pāṇḍyan king, the enthroning of the prince whom the Sinhalese supported, and the recovery of the royal treasures which the Pāṇḍyans had previously carried away. Again, a Sinhalese expeditionary force crossed the seas in 915 to the Pāṇḍyan kingdom to assist the Pāṇḍyans in their struggle with the Cōlas, but this time they suffered a reverse after a very severe battle and returned to their homeland. In 946 or 947 the Cōlas invaded Ceylon, ravaged the country and went away with their spoils. A few years later the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king, Kṛṣṇa III, invaded the northern part of Ceylon but was foiled in his attempt to conquer the Island. Soon afterwards there was another Cōla invasion which also failed in its object. In these 300 years of relative prosperity during which the Sinhalese, though they themselves were invaded four times, were sufficiently strong to resist successfully three attempts to conquer them and to counter-invade the Indian continent on two occasions, the record of irrigation works constructed is, by previous standards, a comparatively meagre one. The works enumerated are as follows<sup>45</sup>:—

- (i) Aggabodhi V (718-724) restored Goṇḍigāma tank (built by Upatissa I) which had breached;

45. M. 48. 9, 148: 51. 72, 73, 121, 130: 53. 34.



- (ii) Mahinda II (777-797) strengthened the weir of Kālavāpi (Kalāvāva) : this work was probably carried out in connection with the Kalāvāva augmentation scheme when the Demada Oya was dammed above Nālanda and the water was conveyed by canal to the Dambulla Oya and thence to Kalāvāva. This provided a supplementary and almost perennial supply of water for Kalāvāva. To this period may also be assigned the construction of the canal, about 16 miles long, which carried water from Kalāvāva, on the south bank of the Kalā Oya, to Tintiṇigāmakavāpi, now breached and known as Siyambalāgamuvavāva, near Galgamuva;
- (iii) Sena II (853-887) (a) extended the Maṇimekhala (Minipe) scheme initiated by Aggabodhi I, giving the canal a total length of about 47 miles : this was an engineering achievement of the first rank, and the canal is described in the Minipe inscription of the early 13th century as 'like unto a noble son given birth to by the queen named Mahavāli-gam';<sup>46</sup> (b) built a dam at Kaṭṭhanta-nagara to add to the supply of Kālavāpi (Mahakaṇa-darāva) which was one of Mahāsena's tanks : this refers probably to the dam on the Malvatta Oya near Maradan-kaḍavala from which a canal about 12 miles long conveyed water to Mahakaṇadarāva tank ; and (c) built a canal leading out of Miṇṇēriya tank : this may be the canal which runs to the east of Giritalē tank and then turns north-eastward ;
- (iv) Udaya II (887-898) (a) dammed the Mahānadī (Valavē Gaṅga) in Rohaṇa : this may be a reference to the dam on this river at Tānkāṭiya from which a canal about 14 miles long carried water to Paṇḍukolambavāpi, now the large, abandoned tank known as Pāṇḍikkulama ; (b) built a dam on the Malvatta Oya to serve as the headworks of a new canal, probably the left bank canal about 20 miles long which fed Ākaṭṭimurippu tank in Mannār district : this tank, which has a low bund  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles long, also had a supplementary source of supply from a 6-mile long channel from the Kal Āru ; and (c) enlarged the bund of Mayettivāpi (Mahavilacciya tank) which had been built by Vasabha : this, undoubtedly, was the augmentation scheme under which the Jaya Gaṅgā (Kalāvāva-Tisāvāva Yōda-āla) was tapped and the water carried for about 5 miles along



an artificial canal, the Talāva-āla, and then discharged into the Talāva Oya to be impounded in Mahavilacciya tank ;

- (v) Sena III (938-946) carried out a general restoration, repairing the decayed bunds of all the major tanks and the larger canals.

The inscriptions of the period add little information. Kassapa V (913-923) declares in an inscription that 'by affording facilities for the cultivation of fields by means of invocation of Podon (Parjanya) and Pulundā (Agni) he dispelled the fear of famine'.<sup>47</sup> Mahinda IV (956-972) claims that he 'repaired the dilapidated tanks and by means of the water thus supplied he put an end to the scarcity of food in Ceylon'.<sup>48</sup>

The reasons for the apparent decline in the activity of building large new dams, tanks and canals—only half a dozen major projects are mentioned—in the 8th, 9th and 10th centuries are not readily discernible. It cannot be suggested that saturation point had been reached because Parakkamabāhu I proved that to be a fallacy by his great undertakings 150 years later. There is no reason to suppose that the normal rate of increase of the population was not maintained : to keep pace with it the cultivable area would have had to be progressively increased. It may be that what had been already accomplished was, with occasional extensions, sufficient : perhaps these earlier works did not begin to be utilised to the full extent of their productivity till the 9th century. Then, apparently, if we may so infer from the references to famine and scarcity of food in the inscriptions of Kassapa V and Mahinda IV quoted above, food crises could occur if the irrigation system failed to function to the full through natural causes or neglect, and the time for constructing great, new schemes was approaching : but these undertakings would have been delayed by the invasions, disturbances and conquest during the second half of the 10th century.

After every prolonged civil war or foreign conquest, the Chronicle records the restoration of breached tanks and canals. 'The piercing of tanks filled with water and destroying the weirs on the canals' as a stratagem in warfare is mentioned for the first time in the 12th century, but it is very likely that the practice had an earlier origin.<sup>49</sup> Quite apart from destruction by enemies or by rare, devastating floods, interruption for any length of time of proper maintenance would have been followed by severe damage, if not breaching. Therefore, in the 10th century and earlier, the maintenance of the vast and complex irrigation system in efficient working condition would have constituted a very important responsibility of the state.

47. *E.Z.* I. 51, as revised by Paranavitana in *Artibus Asiae*, XVI, No. 3, 180.

48. *E.Z.* I. 238.

49. *M.* 61. 64, 65.



Some tanks and canals are mentioned in the Chronicles in contexts unconnected with their construction or restoration, but few of them are important. The Rahera canal was granted to Abhayagiri Vihāra at Anurādhapura by Silākāla (518-531): Rahera was very close to and north of Anurādhapura. In the 10th century there was a canal named the Kolomb canal which led water away from Tisāvāva to the northward. Possibly Rahera and Kolomb were sections of the main, 22-mile long canal which issued from Tisāvāva as a continuation of the Jaya Gaṅgā and ran on the left bank of the Malvatta Oya: the termination of this canal cannot now be traced.<sup>50</sup> The Cīramātikavāra canal, granted to the Mahāvihāra by Mahānāga (569-571), was associated with Cīravāpi or Sirivalāssavāva built by Mahāsena: this tank appears to have been known as Valāhassa or Siravalāskāṭiya after its enlargement by Aggabodhi II: it was a major work but its identity is not now known.<sup>51</sup> Udaya I (797-801) built the Nīlagalla Vihāra and a large canal in the vicinity which he donated to the Vihāra: this probably refers to an extension of the original Miṇipe canal of Aggabodhi I or to a separate scheme which was afterwards merged with the Miṇipe scheme.<sup>52</sup> The Geṭṭhumba canal was granted to Abhayagiri Vihāra by Mahinda III (801-804) and was connected with Gāṭupvāva built by Mahāsena: the length of the bund of Gāṭupvāva is given in a 12th century inscription as 1,135 *riyan*.<sup>53</sup>

The inter-connected, major irrigation schemes functioning in the 9th century, mingling the waters of the Amban Gaṅga, Kalā Oya, Mōderagam Āru and Malvatta Oya, are illustrated diagrammatically on page 65.<sup>54</sup> The Mahavāli Gaṅga is shown isolated in this diagram because the link with Ālahāra, through Parakkamasamudda and Giritalē tanks, came afterwards in the reign of Parakkamabāhu I (1153-1186).

There is no information in the Chronicles or epigraphs about the date of construction of the immense Padīvāpi (Padaviya)<sup>54A</sup>—it is not in the list of tanks restored by Vijayabāhu I, although Parakkamabāhu restored it—nor can the ancient name of the large, breached Vahalkada tank on the Yān Oya be identified. A canal joined the Yān Oya and

50. *M.* 21. 5 : 25. 80-93 : 41. 31, 33-46 : 44. 3-14 : 79. 33 ; *E.Z.* I. 36 : II. 56, 216.

51. *M.* 41. 100.

52. *M.* 49. 31 : 70. 14, 20, 83 ; *N.S.* 26 ; *Raj.* 37.

53. *M.* 49. 41 ; *C.J.S.* I. 173.

54. There is an informative map of this dam, canal and tank system in Brohier's *Ancient Irrigation Works*, Part II, facing page 2. Data about the larger tanks, as now restored, are published in the Administration Reports of the Director of Irrigation, but it must not be assumed that they accurately represent the ancient dimensions: in some cases the capacities were greater in ancient times.

54A. Its earlier name was Dhanavāpi and it was built by Moggallāna II. See Paranavitana in *U.C.R.* XVI, 70.



the Kaṇadara Oya, but nothing is said about its construction. There are other large tanks in Rājaraṭṭha, now in ruin or restored, whose identity lies concealed in the Chronicles, notably, Iranaimaḍu-kulam in Jaffna district, Pāvāt-kulam and Vavunik-kulam in the Vavuniya district, Allai tank in the Trincomalee district which was supplied by a feeder canal from the Virugal Āru, Tabbovavāva (Tabbāvāpi) in Puttalam district which was fed by a canal about 22 miles long from a dam on the Mī Oya, and Pānikkan-kulam, close to the boundary of the Puttalam and Anurādhapura districts, which was the termination of a canal about 14 miles long on the right bank of the Kalā Oya. In the absence of historical or epigraphical evidence there is little else to go upon. Archaeological evidence, based on the structural design or materials of dams, sluices, flood escapes, bunds and other features, is too slender to build up a chronological series.

The historical information about irrigation works in Rohaṇa is scanty. There was nothing there at any time on the scale of the works in Rājaraṭṭha. The dam on the Valavē Ganga at Tānkāṭiya has already been mentioned. A canal about 25 miles long took off on the right bank of the Kirinda Oya from a dam at Tunmōdera, near Telulla, and emptied into the Malala Āra: no reference exists to its construction. Further down, the same river was dammed to feed Vīravila, Tisāvāva and Yōdavāva tanks at Tissamahārāma. It is probable that the large Maṇḍagala tank in Yāla, now breached, was constructed before the 10th century: it was fed by a canal about 10 miles long taken off the right bank of the Kumbukkan Oya from a dam at Mahavelatoṭa. Large tanks in Rohaṇa, other than those which have already been mentioned, were Mahakaṇḍiya, Unniccai, Rūgam, Ampārai, Irakkāmam and Kākulagoḍakaṇḍiya in the Batticaloa district, and Badagiriya and Ridiyagama tanks in Hambantōṭa district.

Later inscriptions speak of 'the twelve great tanks', and one may surmise that the selection of the twelve was made from Parakkamasamudda, Giant's Tank (? Mānāmatta), Miṇṇēriya (Maṇihīra), Padaviya (Pādīvāpi), Kalāvāva (Kālāvāpi), Nāccadūva (Pattapāsānavāpi), Mahakaṇadarāva (Kāṇavāpi), Vahalkaḍa, Kantalāy (Gaṅgātata), Māgallavāva (Mahāgalla), Mahagalkaḍavāla (? Mahādāragalla), Kavudulla (Tissavaḍḍhamānaka), Mahavilacciya (Mayetti), Siyambalāgamuva (Tintiṇigāmakavāpi), Nuvaravāva, Pāṇḍikkulama (Pāṇḍukolamba), and Rūgam-kulam.<sup>55</sup>

### (7) The 11th Century

In 993 the Cōla emperor, Rājārāja I, conquered the northern half of Ceylon, and in 1017 his son and successor, Rājēndra I, extended the conquest to include the whole Island. Ceylon became a province of

55. For irrigation regulations in the medieval period, see Parānavitana in (i) *Sir Paul Pieris Felicitation Volume*, 73; (ii) *Cey. J. Hist. and Soc. Studies*, I, 1; and (iii) *E.Z.* V. 127 et. seq.



the Cōḷa empire and the Cōḷa emperor's Viceroy ruled the country from his seat at Polonnaruva. Cōḷa rule lasted 77 years. The great Sinhalese liberator, Vijayabāhu I, was consecrated king at Anurādhapura in 1070, but moved the capital permanently to Polonnaruva. He had re-conquered a land whose wealth had been pillaged, whose great architectural monuments were in dilapidation or ruin, and whose irrigation system, on which it depended for existence, was in disrepair. His resources in an impoverished country for rehabilitation were slender while the task before him was immense. Naturally he gave urgent attention to the restoration of breached tanks and canals. The irrigation works specifically mentioned as lying breached and repaired by him were<sup>56</sup> :—

- (i) Mahāheli tank, the same as Maha-eli built by Dhātusena;
- (ii) Sareheru tank, not mentioned previously ;
- (iii) Mahādatthika tank, the same as Mahādatta and Mādāta, built by Dhātusena and enlarged by Aggabodhi II ;
- (iv) Paṇḍavāpi, not mentioned previously : this was the original tank at Paṇḍuvasnuvara near Heṭṭipola, subsequently enlarged by Parakkamabāhu I to form the first Parakkamasamudda ;
- (v) Kalalahallika tank, not mentioned previously, probably the Maḍahapola tank in Hiriyāla Hatpattu ;
- (vi) Eraṇdegalla tank, the same as Eṇḍēragallavāva built by Aggabodhi II ;
- (vii) Dīghavatthuka tank, not mentioned previously ;
- (viii) Maṇḍavāṭaka tank, not mentioned previously, the present breached Mahamaḍagala tank on the Mī Oya, near Polpitigama ;
- (ix) Kittaggabodhipabbata tank, not mentioned previously ;
- (x) Valāhassa tank, built by Upatissa I and enlarged by Aggabodhi II ;
- (xi) Mahādāragalla tank, built by Mahāsena ;
- (xii) Kumbhīlasobbhaka tank, probably the same as Kumbāla-kavāpi built by Mahāsena ;
- (xiii) Pattapāsāṇa tank, built by Moggallana II ;
- (xiv) Kāṇavāpi, the same as Khānuvāpi built by Mahāsena and enlarged by Sena II ;
- (xv) Tilavatthuka canal or Talavatu-āḷa, the restoration of which filled Minṇēriya tank, which was unbreached, once again.

56. *M.* 60. 48-53. 82.



It is further stated that Vijayabāhu I built several new dams 'on brooks, rivers and streams and made his kingdom fruitful'. Only one new reservoir is mentioned as having been constructed, Baddha-guṇavāpi, now the ruined Buduguṇavāva in the wild, south-eastern corner of Ūva.

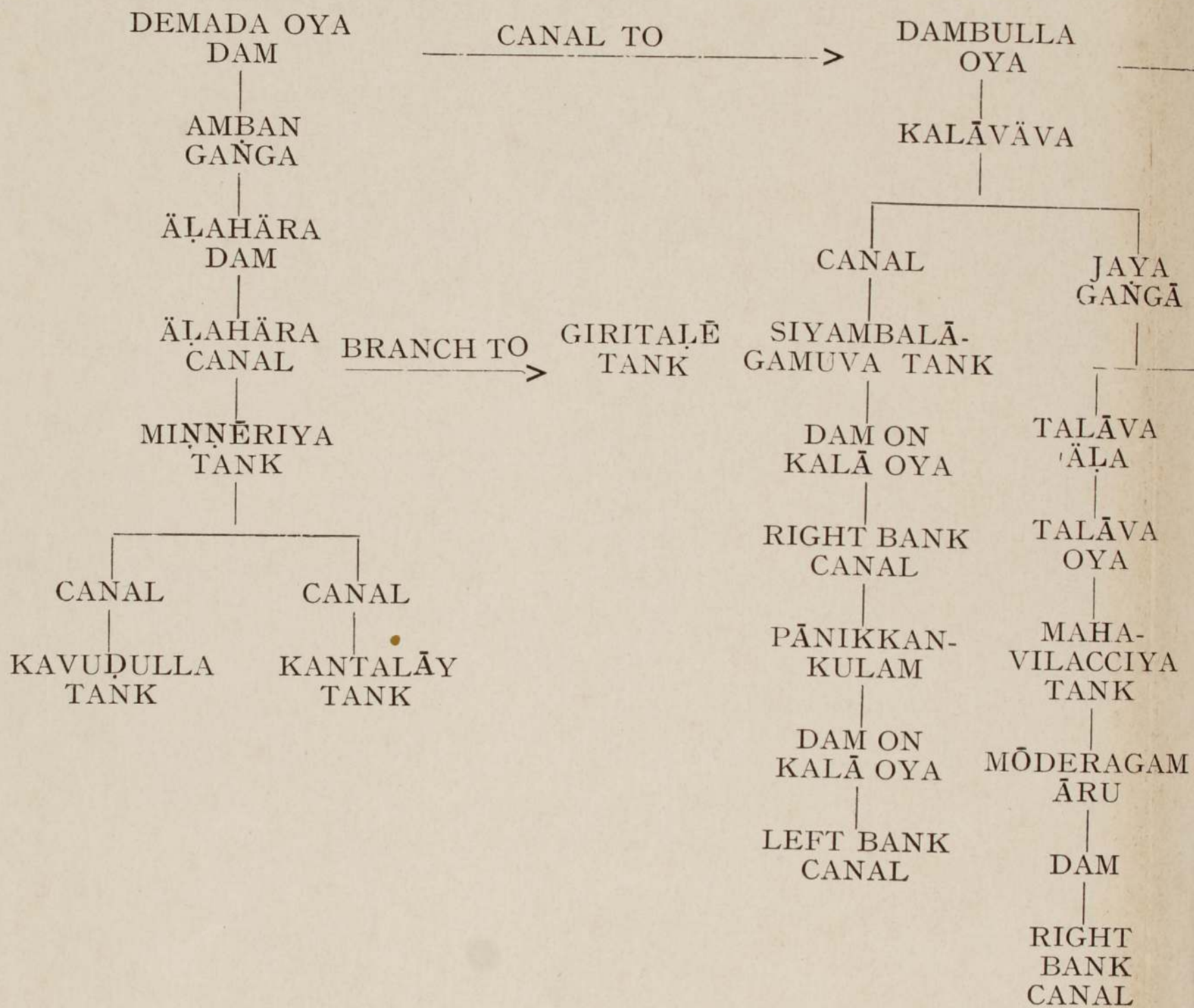
The death of Vijayabāhu I in 1110 was followed by a long internecine struggle between rival princes in the course of which the country again became impoverished. The kingdom was divided into independent principalities and warfare was incessant. Eventually, Parakkamabāhu became ruler of Dakkhinadesa about 1140 and ushered in an era of power and prosperity and a mighty development in the construction of new irrigation works which lasted for about fifty years.<sup>57</sup>

57. For the irrigation works of Parakkamabāhu I, see *C.H.J.* IV. 52 et seq.



# AMBAN GAṄGA

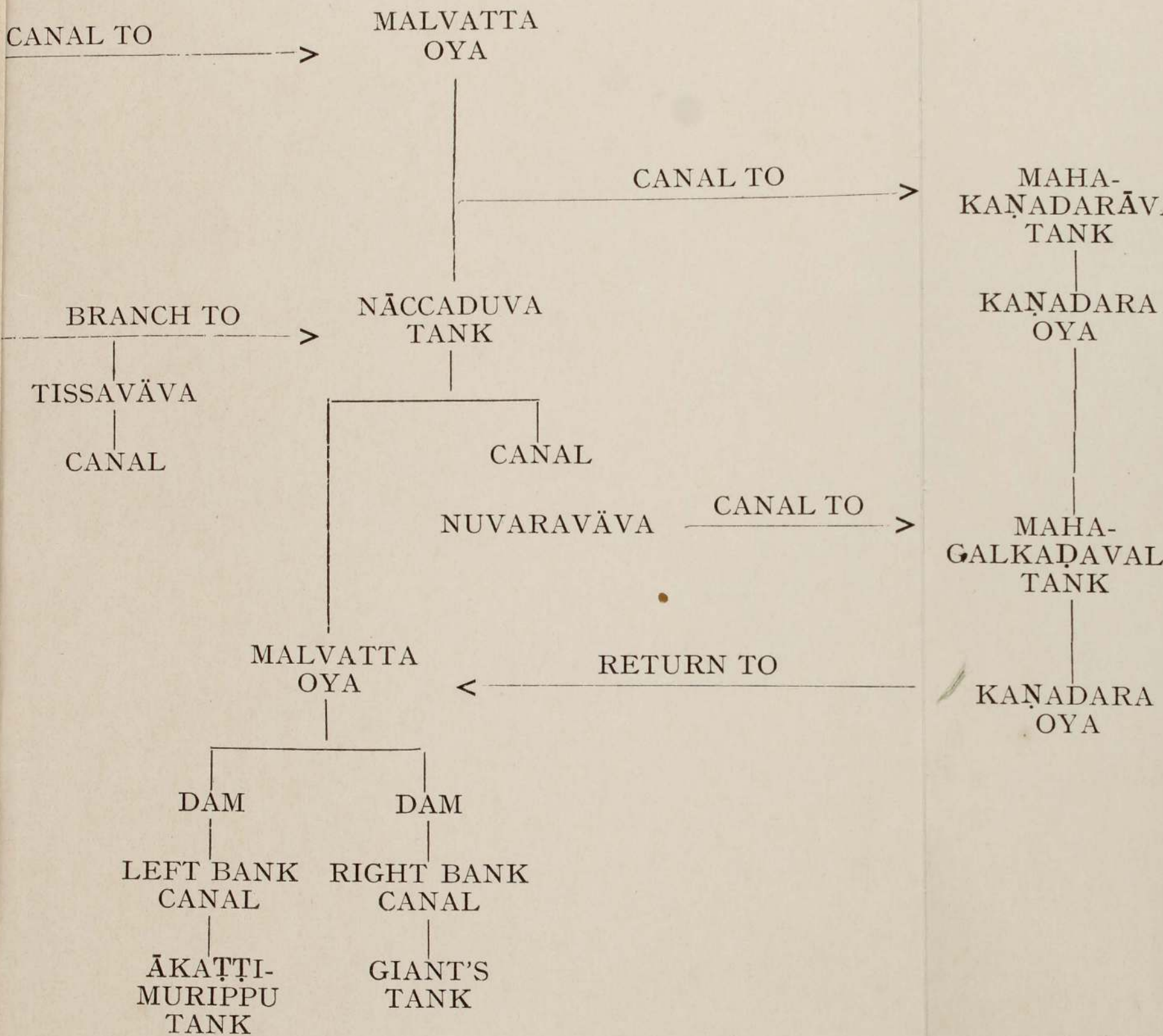
# KALĀ OYA





# MALVATTA OYA

MA





1 OYA

MAHAVÄLI GAṆGA

TA

MINIPE  
DAM

CANAL TO



MAHA-  
KAṆADARĀVA  
TANK

CANAL

VA

KAṆADARA  
OYA

MAHAVÄLI  
GAṆGA

ANAL

DAM

ARAVÄVA

CANAL TO



MAHA-  
GALKADAVALA  
TANK

PABBATANTA  
CANAL

RETURN TO

KAṆADARA  
OYA

MĀDURU  
OYA  
(PROBABLY)

DIAGRAM







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## The Palace-on-a-Single-Column

By D. T. DEVENDRA

The romance of the Princess Unmāda Chitrā related in the *Mahāvamsa* is ever beloved of those who are fascinated by love stories and the palace-on-a-single-column in which she is said to have been secluded, to nullify an ominous prophecy regarding her brothers, has also stirred the imagination in no less a degree.<sup>1</sup> An ancient site close to the modern temple at Paṇḍuvasnuvara is freely pointed out as the location of the palace prison of the princess. The remains are said to be those in the centre of the area enclosed by an annular rampart. These were examined by Dr. S. Paranavitana when Archaeological Commissioner and he pronounced them to be no earlier than the time of Parākrama Bāhu I who came to the throne in 1153 A.C.<sup>2</sup> As tenaciously as romance clings to the belief in this singular type of palace, so firmly have archaeologists and other scholars relegated it to the domain of phantasy. We propose to discuss whether or not such buildings could have existed in fact, not only in romance.

Our chronicles clearly mention at least two buildings erected on several columns each. These are the Brazen Palace of pre-Christian times and a residence put up for monks in the time of Parākrama Bāhu II in the thirteenth century. The former rested on 1,600 columns and the latter on 60<sup>3</sup>; both had obviously been laid out on the same principles of architecture. In later times we find (at Anurādhapura, but not traced at Polonnaruva) remains of buildings erected on piers, that is short stumps of stone, not longer columns. Buildings on a small scale are found in the hill districts of Kandy, Kegalle and Kurunegala, to mention a few areas. Apparently this device for a free flow of air underneath was functional in technique. When, at Peradeniya, the University made use of columns, the motive was different, apparently ornamental and a concession to tradition.

Buildings upon single columns have been mentioned not only in this country but in India and the time, whatever it be, is that of the Jātakas. In the *Bhadda-sāla Jātaka* (No. 465) we are told that King Brahmadata of Benares got his men to construct one of these dwellings. He said that kings everywhere in India lived in palaces built upon several columns but that no one owned a palace built upon one single

1. Ch. 9, v. 3.

2. *Annual Report* of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon (for 1952), pp. 19, 20, where an original interpretation has been given of the purpose of the whole.

3. The translator, though working under the editor's supervision, has omitted to render into English the Pali for 'stone' (concerning the former) which is found in the edited text. Chs. 78 v. 104 and 84 v. 34.



column. He wanted one of them erected to symbolize his position above all other kings, as the chiefest of them. In the *Ghata Jātaka* (No. 454) the purpose of the single-columned palace erected for the Princess Devagabbhā was exactly as for Chitrā.

The strange idea of this type of curious dwelling, which one may imagine as a dovecote of large proportions, seems to be echoed in Arab tradition, too. Muhammad Casim Siddi Lebbe writing in the *Orientalist*, on the Arab version of the Virgin-Jesus story, mentioned that the Virgin when a mere child was carefully tended in a special apartment in the temple 'so constructed that access to the area on which it stood could only be gained by means of a ladder'.<sup>4</sup> Though a column has not been specifically mentioned one is tempted to think that the apartment was attached to the main building and rested on a column, in much the same way as described in the *Ghata Jātaka*.

The three single-column buildings which have been mentioned so far might be consigned to the regions of the folk-tale, confined (as most of the learned think) to the legendary times of a race. But we have the mention of three instances of the type in historical times. We propose taking them with Ceylon as the first example, though not so in the chronological order. In the *Mahāvamsa* we are told that Parākrama Bāhu I had built one of these palaces.<sup>5</sup> The description is in the traditionally superlative form no doubt, but the king's motive must have been the same as that of Brahmadata in the *Jātaka* story; he had vanquished his enemies in long and trying campaigns and may be he was determined to hoist his standard of paramountcy in the form of this building. Unfortunately we have no realistic description of it by which its remains, if any, could be tolerably identified. We are thus not surprised at the failure to find even the scantiest of references to it in any of our archaeological writings. Three centuries later the same type is mentioned in Burmese royal history, and for the same purpose as it the stories of Chitrā and Devagabbhā.<sup>6</sup> The *ek-tām-gē* in Sinhalese is *tabindaing-ein* in Burmese, both clearly meaning the same type of building.

Now, although these two buildings are mentioned in historical times one might be tempted to say that they, too, had had no real

4. Vol. I, p. 19. According to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (Leiden and London, 1926), p. 312, she grew up in a mihrāb (a chamber of the Temple). T. P. Hughes at p. 348 of *A Dictionary of Islam* (London, 1935: W. H. Allen & Co.), explains the word mihrāb as 'A niche in the centre of a wall in a mosque, which marks the direction of Makkah, and before which the Imām takes his position when he leads the congregation in prayer'. Continuing, with a reference to that in the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, he says: 'The Mihrāb as it now exists dates from the days of Al-Walīd (A.H. 90), and it seems probable that the Khalifah borrowed the idea from the Hindus, such a niche being a peculiarly Hindu feature in sacred buildings'.

5. W. Geiger: *Cūlavamsa*, Ch. 73 v. 92-3.

6. G. E. Hardy: *History of Burma* (1925), p. 324.



existence. Remains tallying with the descriptions have not been found and, furthermore, Ceylon and Burma being so patently Buddhist could well have taken over conventional descriptions from that fund of Buddhist folk-tales, the Jātakas. If we are able to find an actual instance of a building of the type, on the contrary, we should not so easily dismiss the idea. This we shall demonstrate.

In the Botanical Garden of the city of Hanoi in north Viet-Nam there stood, until 1954, a very unusual building which well answers to the description of the examples from India, Ceylon and Burma. (See Plates). Tran-văn Giáp, a Vietnamese scholar who made an exhaustive study of Buddhism in Annam, has given a description of it in a short paragraph of the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*.<sup>7</sup> Translated from the French it reads as follows :

'The previous year the emperor had a dream : he saw the Buddha Quan-âm coming to him, leading him and making him enter his Lotus Palace. On his awakening he told of his dream to the ministers at the court, who were unanimous in considering it as a bad omen. A priest persuaded him to have a pagoda built. He followed this advice and ordered a stone column to be erected on which he had built the Lotus Palace of the Buddha Quan-âm. Then he brought there a gathering of priests to recite the sacred texts requesting the Buddha for a long life. The emperor gave to this building the name of the pagoda of Diên-húu. (This pagoda still exists near the Botanical Garden of Hanoi, and is called Chùa một cột 'the pagoda of the single pillar').

A more recent account entitled *Buddhism in Viet-Nam* gives the name of the king as Ly-Thai-Ton (1028-1054). Enumerating the king's acts of religious piety, it gives the following further information :<sup>8</sup>

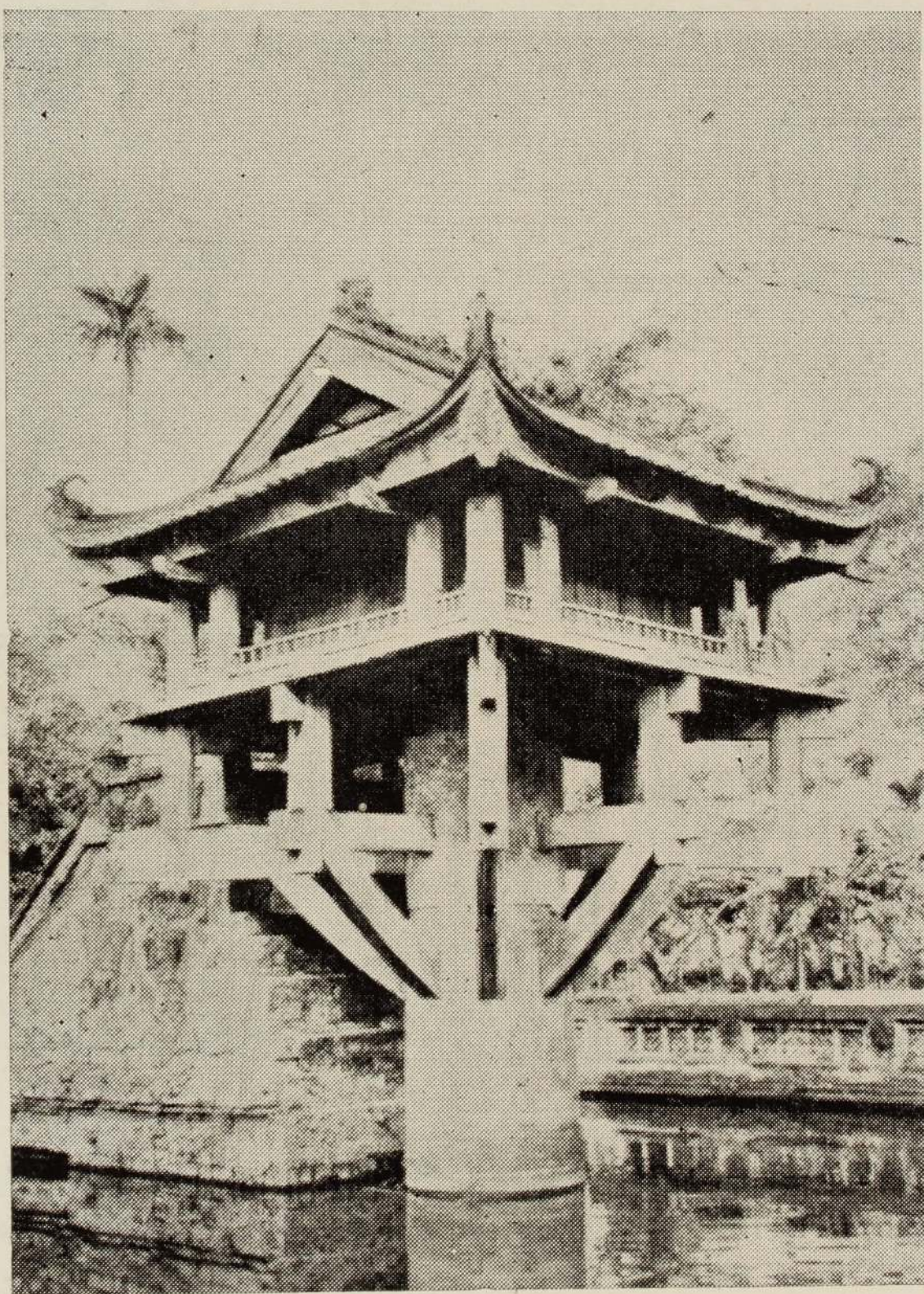
'... and finally, in 1049, the construction of the Dien Hu<sup>u</sup> pagoda decided in consequence of a dream. The king saw himself led to the Lotus Palace by Bodhisattva Avalokiteçvara ; and therefore he gave to the temple its original shape ; a lotus flower sustained by a single column planted in the middle of an artificial lake. Built up in Hanoi and called by the public " Chùa một cột " (one columned Pagoda), this historical monument was sabotaged by anonymous hands at the end of 1954, just before the withdrawal of French troops from the capital of Northern Viet-Nam. It is rumoured now that the pagoda has been restored '.

7. Tome XXXII (1932), p. 259. Quan-âm is, of course, the more familiarly known Bodhisattva Kwannon who is venerated in both male and female forms.

8. P. 8. Bearing the stamp of the scholar, too, this is an illustrated pamphlet published by the Viet-Nam Buddhist Association with Authorization No. 1393-TXB from Saigon, dated 18th October, 1956.



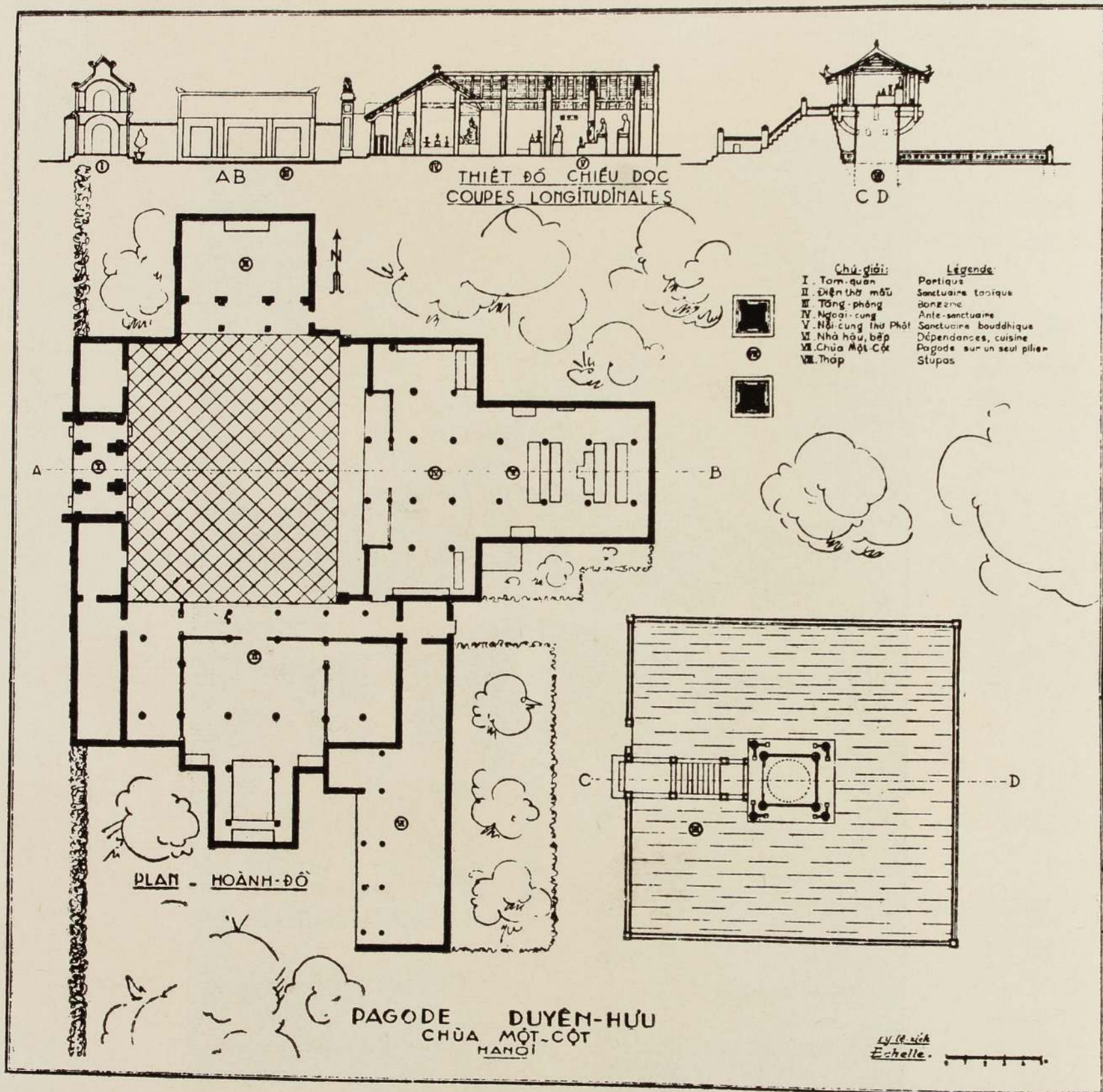
PLATE No. I



VIEW of the PAGODA CHÙA MỘT CỘT, HANOI,  
NORTH VIET-NAM.



PLATE No. II



PLAN incorporating the PAGODA CHÙA MỘT CỘT. Reproduced from the journal *Dân Viet-Nam* (1949), with acknowledgements to l'École Française d' Extrême-Orient.



A French scholar presently resident in Saigon has added to our knowledge of the matter, in a personal letter :<sup>9</sup>

‘ It is true that this monument was dynamited before the departure of the French troops. But since then it has been entirely reconstructed along the architectural lines obtained by the Government of the North from l’École Française d’Extrême-Orient. I was able to verify this for myself on the occasion of my last visit to Hanoi in 1956 ’.

The building was apparently a sound one for dynamite had to be used with the intention of demolishing it. The other buildings we have mentioned may not have been as substantially erected. What is relevant is that the type has existed in fact, not in fiction alone. When we picture the Vāḍahitina Māligavā (Sanctuary) of the Temple of the Tooth in Kandy, Dawson’s Tower in Kadugannawa, or any light-house, with suitable modifications, we get a fair idea of the type of building which we have discussed.

9. Mons. Rene de Berval, Director of *France-Asie*. The passage is a translation from the French of his letter No. 16.526 from Saigon (P.O. Box 79), dated 17th July, 1958. Notices have also appeared in the E.F.E.O. edition of *Dân Việt-Nam (le peuple Vietnamien)* of August 1949, where (at p. 79 ff.) there is a French translation (by Maurice Durand of the E.F.E.O.) of a Vietnamese article on the pagoda by Trần-Hàm-Tân. This is followed by the technical description by Nguyễn-Bá-Chí, architectural adviser to the E.F.E.O. An article in English by Thai Van Kiem (Assistant Director of Cultural Affairs, Ministry of Education) appeared in *Viet-Nam, Past and Present*.



## The Mahadānamuttā Stories

(RT. REV. DR. EDMUND PEIRIS, O.M.I., B.A., Bishop of Chilaw)

Among the many humerous folk tales narrated in Sinhalese homes to while away the leisure hours between dusk and the 'dull god', or in the farmer's watch hut during the weary vigils, or under the shade of a wide-spreading tree, where a group of workers rest after their daily toil, the two most popular series are those about *Andarē*, the court jester, and *Mahadānamuttā*, the great wiseacre. The latter group which is believed to be the older of the two, is taken up here for investigation.

The earliest Sinhalese version of it, as far as I have been able to trace, is in a book entitled *Mahadānamuttāgē Kathāva* by Simon Perera, printed by M. H. Perera & Company in 1897 at *Pāliyaḡoḡa*. The Preface to the work says :

' This narrative is the story of *Mahadānamuttā*, a man, who, according to the tradition held widely by many, is said to have lived in the days of yore. Although many people, here and there, use these stories to amuse themselves, they do not know them in a series. I have, therefore, printed them for the benefit of the public. There is no reason to think that these incidents are true, but I imagine that people would like to hear them and tell them to others, because they add something to their knowledge, and are very suitable for enlivening an audience, when uttered at the opportune moment as a humorous episode before gatherings one may have to address, for there are many incidents which can evoke laughter '. (p.i.).

The incidents are served up in simple, forthright language, as becomes folk tales, and runs into 17 pages.

The stories centre round a character satirically called *Mahadānamuttā*, the grand old sage, and his five disciples, just simpletons, whose names indicate some comic feature or other in their physical appearance. They are, *Polbāmūṇā* (with a face round and void like a half coconut-shell), *Kōṭukittaiyā* (lean and lank), *Rabbāḡa Aiyā* (with a paunch like a ripe arecanut), *Puvakbaḡillā* (shaped like the fish of that name), and *Indikaṭupāṇca* (small and thin like a needle), the Tom Thumb of the lot.

The incidents about these worthies can be grouped under nine heads : (1) the crossing of the river and the discovery of the missing one ; (2) the purchase of a horse's egg ; (3) the journey of the Sage in a



hired bullock-cart and the quarrel over the fares ; (4) angling for a horse ; (5) the gift of a horse in the last stages of senile decay, with a saddle to match ; annoyance from tax-collectors, and 'vets', and the *bali* ceremony to recondition the animal ; (6) the cutting of a *murunga* tree, the monk's warning, and the prophecy about the Sage's death ; (7) rescuing the dog which had thrust its head into a milk-pot, and the sequel ; (8) the Sage drops his comb, instruction about picking up what drops and how it was understood by his disciples and (9) the Sage falls into a pool of water with his horse ; he sickens and is buried alive.

These stories are a satire on intellectual mediocrities, who wish to pose themselves as great teachers, and surround themselves with others of the same ilk, a set of simpletons aspiring to fame by following blindly stupid teachers. The satire is not in the play of words or turn of phrase, but in the vein of comedy worked into the incidents, which shows, at one and the same time, the stupidity and the pedantry of the characters. The following translation of the first incident will give an idea of the literary *genre* of these stories.

'Long, long ago there lived a Sage, called *Mahadānamuttā*. Those who went about his errands were five disciples, whose names were *Polbāmūṇā*, *Kōṭukittaiyā*, *Rabbaḍa Aiyā*, *Puvakbaḍillā* and *Indikaṭupāncā*. One day when they were returning home from a tour of towns and villages in search of new disciples, they came to a river before cock-crow at night. As this river was frightful, *Mahadānamuttā* thought it was unsafe to cross when it was awake. He sent, therefore, *Kōṭukittaiyā* to find out whether it was asleep or not. The man approached the river with a fire-brand he had in his hand to light up the way at night, stood at a safe distance and dipped it in the water. There was immediately a hissing noise and a puff of smoke. At this sight he was full of fear, and, after missing his road, he rushed with faltering steps to his master, crying out, "Oh! Sir. Oh! Sir. It is difficult to cross the river now, for it dashed at me, hissing and fuming in a rage like a cobra. Had I not first dipped the fire-brand in it, keeping my hand away from the water, it is doubtful whether I would be alive yet". To this *Mahadānamuttā* made reply : "What can we do against the divine ordinance! Let us tarry here awhile and watch". So saying, he went with his disciples to a park nearby and sat down. There till dawn they spent their time narrating stories about the river and other strange things. Seeing a horse-man crossing the river, splashing the water, which was not more than a span deep, they said, "What a pity! If our master too had a horse, we could place him on it and wade the river with him without fear. We must somehow procure one for him". But *Mahadānamuttā* intervened saying, "We shall talk about that later. Let us now devise some means of crossing the river". He sent *Kōṭukittaiyā* to investigate once more whether the river was asleep or not. The man went up, dipped the fire-brand in the water as before, but,



as the fire had gone out, there was no noise this time. In his joy, he shouted out, "Come, hurry up! The time is now propitious; for, there is not a stir. The river lies unconscious. It is fast asleep. Come on! Be quick!" Thereupon they jumped to their feet in a flurry, tucked up their cloth, and with much circumspection stepped into the river. To avoid making noise by splashing the water, they lifted up and put down their feet very gently. In this manner they crossed the river with hearts beating in fear, and trembling.

While they were exulting and making merry, *Rabbada Aiyā*, who brought up the rear, counted them to make sure that they were all truly there; but in the counting he left himself out. To his utter grief he noticed that there were but five. "Good heavens, Sir", he said, "the river has swallowed up one of us, for we are now only five". Then *Mahadānamuttā* himself lined them up and counted them three or four times, always failing to include himself in the number. He found, therefore, that they were only five. In like manner, the others too, one by one, checked up their number, leaving himself out of count. So, they all came to the conclusion that the river had eaten up one of them. Over this they began to lament and wail, embracing one another and beating their breast. "Alas, alas!" they mourned. "Oh, kind heavens! Oh, mother of the Buddha! May this river run dry! Oh, God! Is not this fellow a man-eating monster?"

Although they mourned and wailed, none of them either knew or cared to know who it was that had been drowned in the river. In the meantime, a wise man, who was passing that way, seeing them lamenting, came up to them and inquired, "Friends, why are you crying?" When they had narrated what had happened he realised their utter folly and said, "Well, whatever had happened, I am clever enough to bring before you, here and now, the man who was lost in the river, provided you give me a suitable reward. I am he who is called *Vidiyasāgara* (the ocean of wisdom)". *Mahadānamuttā*, pleased with the offer, replied, "Sir, if you do that, I will give you the twelve *patāgas*, which I have put by for the journey". The stranger then brandished the staff which he held in his hand and said, "All my art is in this wand. With it I will administer to each of you a blow. He who receives it must utter his name and number. And, as you go on, I will cause the sixth man to present himself". Thereupon he lined them up and inflicted a severe blow on the back of the first man, who was *Mahadānamuttā* himself. He yelled out, "Oh me! I am, indeed, *Mahadānamuttā*. One"! In this manner, each of them on receiving the blow called out his name and counted himself till the sixth man, without anyone missing. In wonderment, they praised the stranger's marvellous magical skill, and, as promised, gave him the twelve *patāgas* as a reward'. (ib. pp. 1-4).



The vein of humour which runs through the other stories, too, is much the same; the fun and laughter spring from the ridiculous situations which five simpletons, blindly led by a grand old wiseacre, create for themselves, owing to their crass ignorance of common things and ordinary incidents of life. The characters and scenes, the manner of speech and behaviour, and their way of life are more or less typical of the Ceylon village. But, it must be remarked that, although in old Ceylon there were instances of itinerant pedagogues (*Cūlavamsa*, lxvi, 138), people were not familiar with *gurus* who went about with their *entourage* of admiring disciples, nor were country folks accustomed to ride a horse. Nevertheless, the monk is introduced in the sixth story, and the *beravāya* (drummer) in story five, for the *bali* ceremony. It is a well known fact that stories imported from other countries are often dressed and garnished to appear altogether indigenous to the country of adoption. Folk tales migrate, and, in the process, accumulate more stuff, until the original form can hardly be recognized. This is called the snow-ball process in migratory stories.

Here a very interesting and relevant question arises. Are these stories about *Mahadānamuttā* altogether Ceylon-born or imported from abroad, say from South India? In ancient Ceylon, the study of Indian languages, literature and art was encouraged by the kings. (*Cūlavamsa*, lxvi, 130; lxix, 22; xc, 80). We find that, even in the days of Parākrama Bāhu VI, when Sinhalese scholars thrived, in such a famous seat of learning as the Toṭagamuva *Vijaya Bā Pirivena*, Tamil poetry and drama were studied together with Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhalese. *Girā Sandesa* says :

සිරි මත් සොදුරු එ වෙහෙර තැනැ තැනැ ලකු	එ
දුරු සිත් ලෙසට පෙර කිවියර සිරි රුකු	එ
දුනැ ගත් සඳු ලකර වියරණ වියත් මු	එ
පව සත් සකු මගද එළි දෙමළ කිවි න	එ

(VS. 227)

(After the manner of learned writers of old, scholars versed in poetry and grammar seated here and there in this prosperous and beautiful *vihāraya*, which they have made famous, discourse on Sanskrit, Pali Helu and Tamil, poetry and drama).

The Introduction to 'A Dictionary of the Sinhalese Language' by Jayatilake and others, says '*Kirimāṭiyāvē*, the author of the *Maha Hatana*, has also composed the longest poem known in Ceylon, the *Mahāpataranga Jātakaya*. It consists of 1695 tetrastichs and deals with the narratives of the *Mahābhārata*, being founded on a Tamil version of the great Indian Epic'. (*Introd.* xxxvi). In the 18th century, there appeared several Sinhalese works, mostly in verse, based on Tamil compositions, e.g. *Vētālankathāva*, *Saranagadarakathāva*, *Dinatarakathāva*, *Sinnamuttukathāva*, *Valalukathāva*, *Kāncimālē Atullakathāva*, *Vittihata*, *Hariscandrakathāva*, *Sūlambāvatīkathāva*, etc. (*Goda-kumbura*, pp. 181, 182; 357, 287).



The version of the *Mahadānamuttā*, stories to which reference has been already made, bears a close resemblance to, and, in fact, is almost substantially the same as the Tamil prose work known as *Paramārta Guruvin Katai*, the story of Guru Paramārta. The Tamil version is longer and more descriptive than the Sinhalese. Its author, or rather compiler, is the famous Tamil scholar, Father Constantine Beschi, S.J., a missionary in South India from 1711 to 1747. He was an Italian by birth and spent the first five years in India making a detailed study of the Tamil language and literature. Of his ability as a Tamil scholar, B. G. Babington of the Madras Civil Service wrote, 'Beschi seems to have had a more perfect acquaintance with Tamil literature than any foreigner who ever undertook the study, perhaps, than any native of modern times. His voluminous works, both prose and poetry, composed in Tamil, as well as his translations from it, are held in great esteem ; and, it is a singular fact, that one of the best grammars of that language now extant is the production of his pen'. (Preface, *Grammar of High Tamil*, 1917, pp. 3, 4). Among Beschi's poetical works, the most celebrated is the *Tēmbāvani*, 'a work of considerable merit vying with *Jīvaka Cintāmani*. . . In beauty of diction, in sweep of imagination and in intensity of religious faith, it is usually compared with the *Rāmāyana*'. (*Tamil Literature*, p. 329). I have with me a manuscript of some of Fr. Beschi's works, dated 1744, among which is his version of *Paramārta Guruvin Katai*, in Tamil and Latin.

In the introductory note, which is in Latin only, he states his aim in writing them. 'It is not without reason' he says, 'that I, on the advice of my friends, thought of adding here a specimen of colloquial Tamil, with which beginners can have before their eyes and ready to hand the practice of diction and the laws of grammar . . . For this purpose, I judged it best to choose a story, humorous enough and well known in these areas, in order that, mixing the useful with the pleasant, the boredom and tedium of studying this language may be taken away ; and, using the bait of amusement, I may be able to discourse in such wise as to attract the mind, and, at the same time, give you joy. I should like to knit into this story a few others, and, as it were, to graft into the trunk with incisions here and there, alien shoots. If this is considered unnecessary, the readers will not, at least, disdain to manifest a desire to express their pleasure and goodwill. We have rendered everything into Latin, in order that beginners may make use of them (the stories) more easily. In this, however, we have not paid much attention to the elegance of the Latin tongue, but, rather, tried to follow, as far as it was proper, close to the Tamil speech'. (Preface, pp. 1, 2 ; or in *MS.* pp. 464, 465). In the manuscript, the Tamil and the Latin versions run in parallel columns.

Evidently, Fr. Beschi is not the inventor of these stories, but only the compiler, who put together and gave literary shape and form to what was already current among the people of South India. Abbé Dubois, who translated Fr. Beschi's work into French, says, "Some have



thought that he was their author and that he invented them to ridicule the Brahmins and their customs. But, after the researches I carried out in order to get material on the subject, I have every reason to think that he was only the compiler. I found the ground work of these narratives in places, which neither the name nor the writings of Fr. Beschi had ever reached ; and, I have no doubt whatsoever that they are of Indian origin, at least, fundamentally, although they are, in fact, a fine satire against Brahmins ". (*Fables et Contes Indiens*, pp. xiv, xv). I was told in South India that these stories were made by folks to ridicule those who paraded the country as great *gurus* and scholars.

The work of Fr. Beschi, however, became so popular that it was translated into several languages, both European and Indian. An English translation by B. G. Babington appeared in 1822, the French by Abbé J. A. Dubois in 1826, the German by Dr. Johann Georg Grässe in 1850, the Telegu in 1861 and the Canarese in 1877. Some of these translations had coloured illustrations. (*Fr. Beschi* by L. Besse, S.J., pp. 199-203).

Although the plain meaning of *Paramārta Guru* is 'the teacher with supernatural wisdom', it is used here ironically, as 'wise' in the 'wise men of Gotham'; it stands for the *Guru* simple. In Tamil, the names of the disciples are *Matṭi*, *Maḍayan*, *Bēdai*, *Meleican* and *Muḍan*, which an English translation of 1861 rendered as Noodle, Doodle, Wiseacre, Zany and Foozle. A note of Fr. Beschi says, 'each of these names, as also the *Guru*'s, indicates stupidity'. (MS. p. 465).

In eight chapters he recounts their adventures, just as in the Sinhalese version. The story of rescuing the dog's head is, however, not found in Beschi's version. But the narrative is more descriptive than in the Sinhalese version, and there are more stories included in some of the episodes. For instance, when the disciples discuss the craftiness of the river, they tell how it stole salt from sacks, which two asses were conveying through the water, and how it cheated a dog of its junk of meat by showing it another in the water. The second story is evidently 'the Dog and its Shadow' of Aesop's fables, and an instance of 'grafting into the old trunk' about which Fr. Beschi speaks in his Preface. Another instance is found in the episode of the *Guru*'s journey on the back of a gift horse and the harassment to which he was subjected by tax-gatherers and 'vets'. When discoursing on the greed of men for filthy lucre, the *Guru* speaks of a king who levied a tax on urine, and when his son protested against this measure, he gave him some coins to smell and asked him whether they had any evil scent about them. When the son said, 'None at all', the king remarked, 'Well, that is my first instalment from the urine tax'. This story, as Fr. Beschi himself notes, is from Suetonius; the king is Vespasian and his son Titus. (*Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, Vespasian, XXIII, p. 460).



The resemblance between the Sinhalese version and the Tamil version is so striking that one is inclined to think that the former is an abridgement of the latter, with the necessary adjustments to suit the new habitat. As an illustration a translation of two parallel passages is given here.

### Beschi's Version

'The *Guru* unable to resist the forceful arguments and pressing demands of his disciples, gave up then and there his former decision (of getting rid of the horse). "Well, then", he said, "let it be done as you have requested. I agree to keep the horse, since this seems to you to be the best course. In the meantime, to ward off the recurrence of the sad adventures which brought upon us formerly so many misfortunes and so much of expense, we must not let the horse loose. It must be confined within the walls of our lodge. Think, therefore, of making a stable without delay where it could rest comfortably and sheltered from the wind".

In reply, the disciple named *Bēdai* rose from his seat and said, "A stable will soon be ready, and, if my companions will assist me, today itself, before sunset, we will have one built in a corner of our lodge. Without further ado, he girt himself with a rope, took in one hand a hatchet and in the other a bill-hook and proceeded towards a large fig tree, which he found close by. After selecting a thick branch, he sat astride on it and began to cut it. But it must be observed that he did it the wrong way, that is to say, when cutting it he sat at the outer end, with his face towards the trunk of the tree and his back towards the edge of the branch; so that, when the lopped branch fell he would surely crash down with it.

A Brahmin teacher who happened to pass that way, seeing the man's mistake and wishing to warn him charitably of the danger, said, "What are you doing there? Look to yourself and place yourself on the other side. Don't you see that by cutting the branch in that position you will fall down and run the risk of breaking your neck?"

*Bēdai* had scarcely heard the Brahmin's words when he turned towards him in a rage and shouted out, "Who on earth sent you here to ruin me with your foul mouth?" At the same time, he took the bill-hook which he carried about his girdle and threw it at him. The Brahmin parried the blow and went away swiftly, saying as he retreated, "If that brute wants to break his neck, it is after all his affair. What does that matter to me?"

*Bēdai* continued to hack the branch, seated just as before. At the end it gave way, crashed and fell, and, as the Brahmin had



foretold, *Bēdai* went down with it. When he had got over the shock, and since he was not wounded, he rose up quickly ; then, recalling the Brahmin's prediction, he exclaimed, "*Ammammā* ! this Brahmin is a very learned man. He cannot be any other than a great teacher, because all that he had foretold me has happened. His knowledge of astrology has made known to him all future events. It was very wrong of me not to have followed his advice, and further more, to have behaved so brutally in his presence as I have done. I must go at once to make amends, and, at the same time, to learn from him other future events . . . ". (MS. pp. 472-4 ; *Dubois*, pp. 304-7).

### The Sinhalese Version

' Thereupon, *Mahadānamuttā* consoled himself and said, " Since it is good for us to remain here three or four days, how shall we construct a stable to keep the horse till then " ? *Rabbada Aiyā* replied, " I will go and cut some wood ". True to his word, he set out immediately, and, sitting on the edge of a branch of a tall *murungā* tree (horse-radish), which grew near by, he began to chop it at the joint. A Buddhist monk, who happened to pass that way, seeing this, said, " Don't sit like that. You will fall down with the branch ". But *Rabbada Aiyā* asked him, " Do you mean to utter ominous words ? " He followed this up by throwing at him in anger the knife he had about his waist. The monk, however, parried the blow and went his way saying, " Let that fellow get his deserts ". The fool seated as before, hacked away. When half the branch had been cut, it snapped and crashed to the ground with him. "*Ammammā* " ! he exclaimed, " this monk is, surely, a scholar who knows many sciences. Things have happened just as he has predicted ". He, then, rose up all excited and ran after the monk '. (*Mahadānamuttāgē Kathāva*, pp. 13, 14).

The similarity of the two narratives is very striking, especially the presence of the Tamil interjection, *Ammammā*, in both. Such parallel passages are frequent in the other episodes too. Of course, all we can say here is about the analogy between Fr. Beschi's Tamil version and the Sinhalese version of 1897. But, we must not forget that analogy or similarity is a basis of probable inference, which, under certain conditions, may even yield practical certainty ; it is also a source of hypothesis and a means of explanation. From all this, we cannot draw the conclusion as certain that all the stories about these worthies, which the Sinhalese version has brought together, were imported from South India. Further investigation is, therefore, necessary.

It is a remarkable fact that the basic idea underlying a folk tale of one country is often found in another tale of the same country or a tale of another country. Take as an example the counting story of the first episode. This incident is found in another folk tale of Ceylon,



namely, 'How the *Kaḍambāva* men counted themselves'. Twelve *Kaḍambāva* men went out to cut fence sticks. When they had tied them up into twelve bundles and set them standing, leaning against one another, one man remarked, 'Are we all here?' The counting starts, each leaving himself out in the enumeration. Of course, they discover that there are eleven men but twelve bundles. The consternation at this discovery ends, when a kind stranger persuades them, each to take up one bundle. (*Parker*, Vol. I, story No. 44).

According to Parker, in *Indian Fables* by Ramasvami Raju (p. 61), twelve pigs cross a stream, and, on counting themselves in the same way, they find that one of them is drowned. In *Indian Night's Entertainment* by Swynnerton (p. 305), seven weavers count their number as six, and, when a shepherd proves to them that they are actually seven, they are so delighted that they offer to do for him a month's free service. The *Laughable Stories* of Bar-Hebreus, No. 569 (edited by Budge), has the story of a man, who counted his asses and found them ten. Then, having mounted one, he counted them again, and found nine only. He dismounted and took stock of them, and found them ten again. This he repeated several times, discovering always that when he mounted one, he lost an ass, and when he dismounted he found them ten. Thereupon he came to the conclusion that he had a devil, and preferred to walk home with his asses for fear of losing one of them. Now, coming to China, *A String of Chinese Peach Stones* by W. A. Cornaby (p. 276) relates a story of a stupid Yamun underling who was taking a rascally monk to prison, and kept counting the things he had with him: 'Bundle, umbrella, *cangue* (the heavy wooden collar on the prisoner's neck), warrant, monk and myself'. On the way he got drunk and went to sleep. The monk took advantage of the opportunity to shave his keeper's head and place the *cangue* on his neck; after that he absconded. When the man awoke and began counting things, he found everything there except himself. (*Parker*, Vol. I, pp. 250-259).

The story about *Mahadānamuttā* and his disciples fishing for a horse at a temple pool is basically contained in a story about Tumpanē folk. Here it is:

'One day a man of Tumpanē (a district renowned for its foolish people) wanted some honey for his daughter who was very sick. So, he got his friends to assist him, and started off to the forest in order to find a bees' nest. As they were passing by a deep pond, they beheld the reflection of one which was suspended on an overhanging tree. Having tried in vain to grasp the nest in the water, they thought that it was deeper down than they supposed, and one of their number, was, therefore, sent in. Believing, as he was unable to touch it, that he could not get down far enough, they tied a stone round his neck. The other fools stood by the whole day waiting for the man to come up with the honey'. (*JCBRAS*, Vol. VII, No. 25, pp. 229, 230).



This story bears some resemblance to the yarn about the Wise Men of Gotham ; they saw the reflection of the full moon in the river Trent as they passed over it, and thinking that was a cheese lying at the bottom, lowered one of their number with a rope to reach it. (*ib.*). The English poet, T. L. Peacock, alludes to this incident in his poem, ' Three Men of Gotham ' :

Seamen three ! What men be ye ?  
 Gotham's three wise men we be.  
 Whither in your bowl so free ?  
 To rake the moon from out the sea.  
 The bowl goes trim. The moon doeth shine.  
 And our ballast is old wine.  
 And your ballast is old wine.

(*Palgrave's Golden Treasury*, No. 298).

The story of the ludicrous way in which *Rabbāḍa Aiyā* cut a branch of the *murunga* tree and the monk's prophecy about *Mahadānamuttā's* death has its equivalent among the folk tales of the Turks, Germans, Saxons, English, Lithuanians, Indians and Sinhalese. (*Orientalist*, Vol. I, pp. 121-124). In the Story of the Twenty-five Idiots, a Sinhalese folk tale, we read : ' One day, one of the idiots took into his head to build himself a house, and at once set about collecting wood for the purpose. Espying a tree on the bank of a river, he climbed it half way, and sitting on a branch began to cut it with an axe near the stem. A Buddhist priest, who happened to pass by, cried out, " Stop, you fool, when the branch falls you will fall with it into the water ". But the man without heeding him continued his task. The priest had not gone very far when his prediction proved true. Quickly getting out of the water the man ran after the priest and said to him, " My lord, I beg of you to tell me when I shall die ". The priest assured him that it was impossible to say ; but, the idiot would not believe him. He was sure that as the priest knew he would fall into the river, he must know in the same way when he would die. He would not let the priest go away until he had given him the information he wanted. To escape the man, the priest said to him, " My son, I have no authority to tell you the exact day of your death, but, I can tell you this : on a certain night you will be seated under the shelter of a gourd when three drops of dew will fall on your back ; at the fall of the third drop you will expire ". The man determined to put off the day of his death by carefully avoiding the gourds. He escaped the gourds, indeed, but finally was drowned in a well '. (*ib.* pp. 137, 138).

The Saxon folk tale is this: ' A young man to whom his wife, mother-in-law and father gave proofs of great stupidity, sets out in order to see whether there are still greater idiots in the world, and finds several people far more stupid than they. Among others he meets with one who is engaged in sawing a branch of a tree upon which he is seated.



In vain does he cry out to the man on the branch that he will fall down. The idiot falls with the branch and runs after the other to inquire from him, as he is a prophet, as to the time of his death. "Only go home quickly" he says, "for as soon as your horse eructates (belches) three times you will be dead". The poor man is in no little anguish. He unlooses his horse quickly from the tree, springs upon it and urges it on impetuously with his spurs. The horse in agony eructates. "Ah, that is already once" he cries out and urges it on still more vehemently. It soon eructates once more. "That is already twice" he cries out terrified, his hair standing on end. He spurs his horse still more and it eructates for the third time. "That is three times" says he. "Alas! now art thou dead". He then gently dismounts, and lays himself down on the way. But the young man has observed him from a distance, and, coming up to him, says, "What is the matter with you? What are you doing here"? "O God! O God! I am dead and must lie here now, and I am so hungry. Be good enough, dear man, to go and tell my wife to bring something for me to eat, for she will herself understand very well that I, a dead man, cannot get home". The young man thought "This man is yet more stupid than my people at home". (*ib.* p. 124).

A living man persuading himself to be dead, is a theme found in the *Mahadānamuttāgē Kathāva*. *Rabbaḍa Aiyā*, rising after the fall from the *murunga* tree, pursues the monk worrying him to prophesy the date of his master's death. To escape the man's importunities, the monk blurts out 'āsana sītaḷam, sītaḷa nāsanam', said to mean 'when the seat gets cold, the cold shall deal death'. This oracle is conveyed to the Sage, who begins to brood over it. One day, he falls into a pool of water with his horse, and, after much ado, is pulled out of it drenched and dank. As a result of this he catches a cold and is dejected, thinking over the monk's prophecy. His condition grows worse; he falls into a deep sleep, which his disciples imagine to be the sleep of death. After much wailing, the Sage is borne to his grave, through a paddy field where the farmers are celebrating the *vap magul* or sowing feast. Seeing this mournful procession across their fields on such an auspicious day, they obstruct it and demand that it turns back. During the quarrel that ensues, *Mahadānamuttā* sits up in the bier, frowns at them and bawls out, 'Good Lord! Can't you fellows let me, a dead man, in peace?' The farmers thoroughly amused at all this, allow them to pass. The simpletons proceed to the cemetery, bury their master alive, and return home, weeping and mourning. (*Mahadānamuttāgē Kathāva*, pp. 16, 17).

A similar incident is mentioned in two other folk tales of Ceylon. The first of them is from the North Western Province. It says that a monk once predicted to a foolish youth that in such a year, such a month and such a day, when a drop of rain fell on the crown of his head, he would die. That date came and a drop of rain fell on the youth's head. He thought he was dead and would not speak to anybody.



Then the people carried his body for burial. Between the house and the burial ground there was a hill-rice chena. The men who watched the chena objected to a funeral procession through their fields. The 'dead man' raised himself and challenged them, saying, 'If I were not dead, I would show you what I could do to you'. The men who were carrying the corpse said in utter surprise, 'Aḍē! This fellow is speaking', and dropped him. He fell on the cut stump of a tree and pierced died. (*Parker*, Vol. II, pp. 73, 74). The second story is almost the same, except that the dead man is more alive. He sits up in his bier, and, stretching forth his clenched fist at the owner of the land, yells out, 'Vile wretch! Were I alive, I would teach you the lesson of your life'. (*The Orientalist*, Vol. I, pp. 121, 122).

The Turks, too, have a similar tale of a man, who cut the branch of a tree seated at the wrong end, and, having rejected the admonitions a wise man, came to grief. Thereupon, he importuned the wise man to foretell the day of his death. The wise man's prediction was: 'Lead your ass with a heavy burden and drive it up to the summit of a hill. At the place where it first eructates, half of your soul will leave you, and at the second place your entire soul will abandon you, and nothing of life will remain to you'. The fool did so, and, at the second place, indicated, he laid himself down, saying, 'Behold! I am now dead', and remained motionless. Presently some people collected round him, brought a bier and laid him on it, saying, 'Let us take him to his house'. As they were going, they came to a place full of mud and filth. There they halted and debated, 'How shall we pass this spot'? The 'dead man' put his head out of the bier and said, 'When I was alive I always avoided this spot by going the yonder way'. And, the wonder of it: the joker of the pack is called a Teacher. (*ib.* pp. 121, 122). In a recent edition of the *Mahadānamuttā* stories, he indicates to his disciples, who are bearing him to his grave, the road to the cemetery: 'Before I died, people went to the burial ground along the way there'. (*Mahadānamuttā Saha Gōla Pirisa*, p. 40).

In episode eight of our narrative, when the Sage dropped his comb his disciples would not pick it up, because such a thing was not in the instructions given to them by their master. Thereupon he admonished them to pick up whatever drops. They took his words so literally that they picked up even the droppings of the horse. A similar incident is mentioned in the Ceylon folk tale about Prince *Sokkā* and the *Heṭṭirāla*. As the latter rides his horse, his whip drops. *Sokkā*, his servant does not pick it up. *Heṭṭirāla* then issues the order: 'Thou must bring anything that falls from me or from my horse'. The sequel is as before. (*Parker*, Vol. III, pp. 289, 290).

In the edition of *Mahadānamuttā* stories by Mr. V. D. de Lanerolle in 1948, some of these incidents are omitted and new ones added. (*Mahadānamuttā Saha Gōla Pirisa*, 1948). The omitted incidents are: the Sage's journey in a hired bullock-cart, the quarrel over the fare, the



gift of the old horse, the annoyance from tax-collectors and 'vets' and the *bali* ceremony. The additional incidents: how the lot sowed paddy and kept watch over the field, the thieving wooden mortar (*vangediya*) and the attempt to transport a well. The other stories are more or less the same as in the 1897 version. The compiler of the new version admits that he has made some changes in the stories and omitted a few to suit the intelligence of the children in the lower classes, for whom the work was intended. The additional tales may have been taken from the large stock of Sinhalese folklore and strapped on to the old tales.

The story of the attempt to carry off a well comes from *Tumpanē*. 'A party of men while on a journey, feeling thirsty, stopped at a house by the way to get something to quench their thirst. The grown-up people of the house happened to be away, but a little boy mistaking it for a pitcher of water, produced for their refreshment a pot of sweet toddy (*telijja*). The tired travellers soon drained the pot and went on their way, but they were so struck with the excellence of this 'water' that they took care before leaving to ascertain the exact position of the well from which they supposed it had been drawn. In the middle of the night there was a great commotion in the village such as is caused by the barking of dogs and the noises of the farm-yard on the arrival of strangers. The neighbours carrying torches and armed with weapons of sorts hurried to the scene of the disturbance, which was found to be the house by the way-side which had that day received the visit of the travellers. As they neared it glimpses were caught by some of the thieves hurriedly retreating into the darkness—enough, however, to show that they were no other than the visitors of the morning. Further investigation proved that when disturbed they had been busily endeavouring to dig the well from which they supposed that the sweet water, which regaled them during the heat of day, had been drawn. There was plenty of evidence that this was the intention, for there was the trench dug deep round the well but all unfinished, and also coils of very thick rope and pingo poles, wherewith to carry it away when detached from the soil'. (C.A.L.R., Vol. III, p. 110). The same story is found related in connection with a village in Jaffna—*Elālai* in Valikamam North Division. The people here are often alluded to as கினருகாவிசை (kinarukāvigal), 'Carriers of a well'. (*ib.* p. 228). I have heard the same story related at Paiyagala against the people of Maggona, who, however, do not fail to pay back their traducers in the same coin.

To conclude: there is sufficient reason to think that the 1897 Sinhalese version of the *Mahadānamuttā* stories is, to a great extent, dependent on the Tamil version of Fr. Beschi's Tamil version, for the plot is the same, i.e. an identical series of incidents arranged in the same logical order of interest, and, in some instances, using the same expressions. They could not be independently invented more than once. On the other hand, it must not be forgotten that this version is a compilation only of stories already current among the people in



Ceylon, just as Fr. Beschi's version in relation to stories well known in South India. Considering the ethnical and cultural relations between the two countries it is not impossible that, at least, some of them migrated to Ceylon and were adapted to the new environment. But the generic similarity of many of them, which have a circulation beyond these two countries, may well be due to the coincidence of independent invention.

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## Four Sinhalese Roads

MAJOR R. RAVEN-HART

There is an unfortunate tendency, even among people who should be better informed, to assume that the British are to be given the credit for all the roads in Ceylon : that, in fact, they found it a trackless jungle but for footpaths.

That an extensive network of roads existed in early days is shown by the Sinhalese Chronicles ; but these are as a rule topographically too vague for much exactitude as regards the traces, and in any case it might be (and is) argued that after those ' spacious days ' inter-kingdom wars and foreign invasions ruined that network, the roads being swallowed up by the jungles.

Fortunately, however, irrefutable proofs exist for certain routes detailed below, in Dutch documents in the Ceylon Archives and those of the Hague. They take the form of Itineraries prepared in 1763 and 1764 : by Bauert from Udalawela to Kandy (Archives 4895, date 24/12/63, referred to below as ' B ' ) ; by Paravicini de' Castelli from Negombo to Kandy (ditto, 29/12/63, ' P ' ) ; two laid before the Secret Committee by van Eck, one from Puttalam and the other from ' Wisenawe ' to Kandy (4865, 20/10/64, ' E ' ) ; and another prepared by the spy ' Patoe Marekyn ' from Gonawila to Kurunegala (Hague 3004, 14/2/64, ' M ' ). In addition, the diaries of the campaigns supply further information (the codex last-named, ' CA ', and Archives 4881, ' CB ', for the route to Kandy ; a report in 4897, 7/3/64 for that from Arippe to Anuradhapura, ' CC ' ; and Medeler's report in *JCBRAS*, 1957 for various routes).

There is no room for doubt here : the Dutch had no reason to flatter the Sinhalese, so that if they say that a road existed, and show by the distances marched daily that it was a pretty good road ; or if they add that a river is bridged, or that carts can be used on it, their statements can be safely accepted.

In addition to the above sources, Davy's 1821 map ( ' D ' ) and Schneider's ( ' S ' ) of the following year can often be used to fill in gaps, since at that period the pre-British roads were in general the only ones existing except near Colombo—for example, neither Davy nor Schneider show the British link between the old road from Colombo to Godagedara and the old road from Gampaha to Kandy which combined them into the present Colombo-Kandy road. Earlier maps are unfortunately as a rule too vague to be of much help.



All places in the following are located by latitude North and longitude East, with the sheet of the one-inch Survey map on which they figure. Names still in use locally though not shown on these sheets are in italics.

### 1. Negombo-Kandy

Negombo-Pallansena North (7/15/30, 79/50/30, Negombo sheet, CA; or perhaps Kochchikade, 7/16, 79/51/30, ditto)—Topputota (7/16/15, 79/52, ditto, CA)—Katana West (7/15, 79/54, ditto, P)—Tambarawila (7/17, 79/52, ditto, P, CA)—Singakkuliya (7/17/45, 79/55/30, Dandagamuwa sheet, P, CA)—Gonawila (7/19/15, 80/00/15, Gampaha sheet, P, E, M, CA, CB: exactly located east of the present village, just west of the small tributary of the Maha Oya unnamed on the Survey maps over which there was a Sinhalese bridge). This route is practically that of the modern motor-road, except that from Singakkuliya it followed the river more closely.

Gonawila-Pannala (7/20, 80/01/30, Dandagamuwa sheet, M, CA, S)—Kekillapitiya (7/20/30, 80/02/30, ditto, M)—Kotuwella Ihala (7/20/45, 80/03/30, ditto, M)—Agare (7/21, 80/04/15, ditto, P, M)—Kadirepola (7/21/30, 80/04/15, ditto, M)—Delmaga (7/21/30, 80/04/30, ditto, M, S)—Etambe (7/22/30, 80/05/45, ditto, M, CA, CB). This section is shown as a road by Davy and Schneider, and even as late as Fraser's 1862 map, though only footpaths and tracks today.

Etambe-Katugampola (7/24/15, 80/06, Dandagamuwa sheet, M, CA, S)—Kaudumunna (today 7/23, 80/07, ditto, but by the general line of the route must then have been much further north, say 7/24, 80/06/45, ditto, M)—Murutenge (today 7/22/15, 80/08, ditto, but similarly must have then been further south-east, say 7/25, 80/09, ditto, B, M)—Polpattala (7/25/45, 80/10, ditto, M)—Etampola (7/26, 80/10/30, ditto, B, P, M, CA, CB, S)—Digandeniya (7/26/30, 80/11/30, ditto, B, M)—Liniyawatta (7/27, 80/12, ditto, B, M, CA)—'Wisenawe' (7/27, 80/13/30, ditto, B, M, CA, CB, S). Here again Schneider, and less definitely Davy, show this as a road, though today footpaths and tracks only.

The location of 'Wisenawe' is given by B, M, CA, CB as between Liniyawatta and *Galkadulla*, the col (7/27, 80/14/15, ditto) shown unnamed on the Survey maps but definitely located by the mention in B, CA, CB of the 'Stone Stairs' over the pass, which still exist, and by the subsistence of the name for the small tank just to the east of it. The road through it was then the only route from the west to Kurunegala, as far as can be judged from the somewhat vague maps of Du Perron (1789) and Burnat (1794); but on Davy and Schneider another and easier route also figures, through Dambadeniya (7/22, 80/09, ditto) by the trace of the present motor road to Galketigedara (7/24/30, 80/13, ditto), and thence by what are only tracks today through Nagahagedara (7/25/15, 80/14, ditto) and Ambagammana (7/26, 80/15,



ditto), rejoining the present trace about at Kalugomuwa (7/27, 80/15/30, ditto). The older and more difficult road fell out of use, and with it decayed Wisenawe : today paddy-fields cover the site and no local tradition of the name has been found, so that the exact location can be tentative only. On Fraser's map and the modern ones the old road is not shown : today there is not even any definite footpath.

Wisenawe-Miwewa (7/27, 80/14, Dandagamuwa sheet : not the present village but the vihara, still thus named, B, E, M, CB)—*Galkadulla* (as above, B, E, M, CA, CB)—Ginipenda (7/27, 80/09/45, ditto, or probably somewhat further south, B, M, S)—Kalugomuwa (as above, B, M). As far as here there are only paths today, if that : now the present trace is followed—Walasgoho (7/27, 80/15/15, ditto, M, CA)—Bulupitiya (7/27/30, 80/17, ditto, B, M, S)—Uhumiya (7/28, 80/17/30, ditto, B, E, CB)—Piduruwella (7/28, 80/18/30, ditto, M, CB, S). About here the route leaves the modern trace, diverging to the south. Rekowa (7/26/45, 80/18, ditto) is shown here by B, M, but lies today far to the south of the line of the route, as also on S—the crossing of the Maguru Oya (probably 7/28, 80/19/30, Kurunegala sheet, B, E, CA, CB)—Wandurugala (7/27/30, 80/20/30, ditto, B, M, E, CA, CB)—Wilbawa (7/28, 80/21/30, ditto, by a cart-track today, B, P)—then probably just to the south of Werabenda (7/27/30, 80/22/30, ditto) and over the dam (E) of the Wanaru Wewa to Doratiyawa (7/28, 80/23, ditto)—and by a cart-track to the junction with the road from Puttalam at *Nāgaharuḥpe* (surviving as an Estate-name) in Teliyagonna village (7/28, 80/23/30, ditto, B, P, E, CB).

From there towards Kandy the route closely follows that of the present motor-road : Teliyagonna-Millawa (7/27/30, 80/24, ditto, S)—Hewapola (7/28, 80/24, ditto, S)—'Periekondemalle' (near PILIKADA by a reference in 4865, 6/2/64, this subsisting as an Estate-name: by the text of CB fairly certainly about 7/27/30, 80/24/15, ditto ; also on Du Perron's map and in B)—Pilessa (7/27, 80/25, ditto, B)—'Periewille' (by the text of CB the rise about milestone '18')—Mitenwala (7/26/15, 80/26, ditto, presumably then extending to the road, S)—crossing of the *Kosṣotu Oya* (unnamed on the Survey maps, 7/25/30, 80/27/30, ditto, B, E, CB, S : according to E the bridge here was planked, usable by carts and cattle)—Ilukewela (7/25/30, 80/28, ditto, B, D, S)—Paragahadeniya (7/25, 80/28/30, ditto, E)—Weuda (7/25, 80/29, ditto, B, P, E, CB)—the Dik Oya and along it (7/24, 80/30/30, ditto : B correctly has 'along' it, CB has 'across' it, which is ridiculous since it would then have to be recrossed to reach the next point. E adds here the valuable fact that carts were used from Puttalam to this river)—Galagedara Fort (7/22/30, 80/31, ditto, B, P, E, CB, D, S : see below)—Girihagama Fort (7/22, 80/32/30, ditto, B, P, E, CB, D, S : see below)—Kumburegama Ambalam (7/21/45, 80/33/15, ditto, E : see below)—Medawala (7/21/30, 80/34, ditto, E, CB, D)—Gonigoda (7/20/30, 80/35, ditto, D, S)—crossing of



the Hunnan Oya (7/20/30, 80/35/30, ditto, E)—Katugastota (7/19/30, 80/37/30, Kandy sheet).

There are reasons to suspect that the road did not pass through Galagedara, but was overlooked by it, though travellers might be compelled to climb to it for 'frontier-control' purposes. Normally, when a route reaches a river-valley, and this leads in the direction one wishes to take, the valley is followed; and here the headwaters of the Dik Oya lead up to Garihagama. Further, the references in 4881, 12/2/65 and 4942, 13/2/65 to van Eck going up to Galagedara 'on pleasure' also suggest that he had no need to do so. An invading army, whether of van Eck or the British later, of course had to capture the fort, as it commanded the road and would render transport unsafe unless occupied.

The fort is still known locally as the *Bala Kotuwa*, 'Lookout Fort', and overlooks the road from just south of the isolated 1,000-foot contour on the BON ACCORD Estate: the back of it is easily reached from Galagedara Bazaar, though the front is a very stiff climb from the road, by the path beside the stream that crosses the road at culvert '12/13', and even stiffer in the bed of that stream, the route used by attackers. Much of the walls still remains, and parts of the gateways.

Garihagama Fort lies  $\frac{1}{8}$  inch above the first letter of that name on the one-inch Survey map. As at Galagedara, the climb from the road is extremely difficult, but it is easily reached from the back, the cart-track shown being motorable almost to it. Very little is left.

From the junction of that cart-track and the secondary road there is an unmarked footpath onwards to what E calls 'The river named Soerikombrepalam', the *Pinga Oya*, crossed at the Ambalam shown just before the last letter of 'Alwattegama' on the Survey sheet. It is known locally as Kumburegama Ambalam, and 'palam' is bridge: in other words, E gives the name of the bridge, not the river. Today it has been absorbed by irrigation-ditches, leaving a trickle which can be jumped across. The route onwards is shown as a footpath on the Survey map, to Medawala, and thence there is a secondary road to Katugastota.

## 2. Puttalam-Kandy

Little of this route remains in use except as tracks and footpaths: as mentioned above, it was passable for carts, and was so solidly built that bits of it still figure on the Survey maps as 'Ancient Road'.

Puttalam (8/02, 79/50, Puttalam sheet, E)—Periyaweli (7/59/30, 79/57, Galgamuwa sheet, E) after crossing the Mi Oya—Hinitikalma (7/58, 79/59, ditto, E) and recross it: these two crossings were avoided later by following approximately the modern trace through Kachchimalduwa (7/56/30, 79/57/30, ditto, D, S) and Paliyagama (7/55, 79/59,



ditto, S), a change probably made before the British arrived. Thence —Periyakulama (7/54, 80/01, ditto, E)—Tammanawa (7/53, 80/02/30, ditto, E)—Waddakarawewa (7/53/30, 80/02, ditto, S, the modern trace now being abandoned)—Mitawa (7/51, 80/04/30, ditto, E)—Dehennegama (7/51, 80/04, ditto, D, S)—Unale (7/49/30, 80/05, Wariyapola sheet, E)—Kirinda (gravet, 7/49, 80/07, ditto, E, S)—Mawatgama (7/48, 80/10, ditto, E, S)—Bogollagama (7/47, 80/10/30, ditto, ?D, S)—Randehigama (7/45/30, 80/11, ditto, S)—crossing of the Deduru Oya (7/43/45, 80/11, ditto, E, S)—Magulagama (7/40, 80/13, ditto, E : the main road is reached here and followed south-east)—Muwanwella (7/39/30, 80/13/15, ditto, at the road-fork, not as on the Survey maps, D, S)—Bambaragammana (7/38, 80/14, ditto, S)—Wariyapola (7/37/45, 80/14/30, ditto, E)—Wilakatupota (7/37, 80/15, ditto, E, S)—here the old route turns southwards as on S, along the secondary road : D on the other hand appears to show the modern trace—crossing of the Gonnowa Ela (7/35/30, 80/14/15, ditto, E)—Gonnowa village (7/25/15, 80/14/30, ditto, S)—Kalukalama (7/34/45, 80/14/30, Dandagamuwa sheet, S)—Badahelagama (7/33/30, 80/15, ditto, E)—the secondary road is now left, probably for the track shown through Medalassa—Miriampitiya (7/32, 80/15, ditto, E)—Itanawatta (7/31/30, 80/16, ditto, E, CB, S, in those days an important four-cross-roads)—crossing of the Maguru Oya (probably at 7/31, 80/18/30, ditto, E)—Tittawella (7/31, 80/20, Kurunegala sheet, CB, S)—Kurunegala (7/29, 80/22, ditto).

Thence to Kandy as in the first itinerary.

### 3. Arippu-Anuradhapura

All references are to CC. Arippu (8/48, 79/56, Murunkan sheet)—Akattimurippu (8/45, 79/59, ditto)—Ma Villu (8/42/30, 80/02, ditto)—‘Pasimote’ (not on the modern maps : S ‘Pasimadoe’)—Halmillagale (8/31/30, 80/05, Marichchukaddi sheet)—Paymadu (8/30, 80/10, ditto)—‘Blaatje’ (gravet, S ‘Willachy’, probably at the ‘Ancient Tollbar’, 8/27, 80/13, ditto)—‘the second gravet’ (probably Iramiyan-kulama, 8/24/30, 80/16, ditto, where what appears to be an enclosure is shown on the ‘Ancient Road’ of the Survey map)—Elayapattuwa (8/24, 80/19, ditto). The objective of the column was Anuradhapura (8/20, 80/24, Anuradhapura sheet) but it got no further, retiring to Arippu.

4. For Medeler’s routes see *JCBRAS* 1957. The point of special interest is that he was of course following Sinhalese roads, and some of these coincided with the so-called ‘British’ motor-road to Kandy for 26 miles or more.



# The Decline of the Medieval Sinhalese Kingdom

By the late H. W. CODRINGTON

(A lecture delivered before the Royal Asiatic Society, London, on March 11, 1937. Published by permission of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain)

The history of the middle ages in Ceylon is divided into two main periods by the Cōla conquest and occupation of a great part of the Island, an occupation which lasted for the best part of 70 years from a date between 1001 and 1069/1070. The history of the Island being intimately connected with that of South India, an understanding of the political conditions prevailing in that part of the continent is essential. At the end of the seventh century, the beginning of the period under review, the Pallavas were predominant. They had, however, little to do with Ceylon beyond supplying the army which placed Mānavamma on the throne. The three peoples or rather realms which traditionally divided South India between them were the Cōlas to the north-east with their capital in later times at Tanjore, the Pāṇḍyans south of them centred at Madura, and the Keraḷas on the west. It was the first two who were in constant contact with Ceylon. The rise of one or the other to power as often as not was marked by an invasion of the Island.

The course of its history, apart from the usual squabbles among the princes, continued peaceful from the time of Mānavamma at the end of the seventh century until the reign of Sena I (c. 825-845) when the Pāṇḍyans invaded the country and sacked Anurādhapura. We read that the local Tamils then helped their kinsmen from India. The next king Sena II (c. 845-880) was asked for aid by a Pāṇḍyan prince and actually took the Pāṇḍyan capital, Madura. In the reign of Kassapa V (c. 908-918) the Cōlas rising to power under Parāntaka I defeated the Pāṇḍyans and with them a Sinhalese army which had gone to their assistance. The Pāṇḍyan king was slain and his heir fled to Ceylon for help, but owing to dynastic dissensions this was not forthcoming, and he had to return to India leaving the Pāṇḍyan regalia with the Sinhalese king. This was about 918-9. About 942-3 Parāntaka wishing to be crowned in Pāṇḍyan regalia, demanded the regalia and on his request being refused invaded the Island. The Sinhalese king retreated to Ruhuna and Parāntaka after causing much destruction had to retire without accomplishing his object. The Sinhalese then destroyed 'the border of the Cōla dominion'. This attack following on the retreat of the enemy may be explained by the fact that Parāntaka had been hard pressed by the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa III. The next attempt at invasion by way of Nāgadīpa (the Jaffna Peninsula) was in the reign of



Mahinda IV (c. 955-71) by 'Vallabharāja', apparently the Cōla Parāntaka II, whose general fell in Ceylon c. 959; the invasion was unsuccessful.

So far no very great damage had been done by the foreign incursions. The chronicles reckon 86 years of Tamil rule and date this from the second year of Mahinda's son and successor, Sena V (c. 971-81). This king murdered his general's brother with the result that the general rebelled, went to India, returned with an army, and, though he allowed the king to retain his throne, 'made over the country to the Tamils', that is the mercenaries. Anurādhapura indeed was so full of these folk brought in by the general that Sena's successor Mahinda V found it difficult to govern; in his twelfth year the revenue being withheld he could not pay his hired troops, and on their rising fled to Ruhuna where he afterwards lived, the rest of the country being in the hands of the Keraḷa, Sinhalese and Kaṇṇāṭa or Canarese soldiers. Between 1001-2 and 1004-5 the great Cōla king, Rājarāja I, took advantage of this state of affairs and conquered much of the Island. Ceylon, save for the remoter parts, was now a province of the Cōla empire with its capital at Polonnaruva, surnamed in the Cōla manner, Jananāthapura. Rājarāja's successor, Rājendra Cōla I (about 1017), completed the work by the capture of Mahinda, who spent the remaining years of his life as a captive in India.

### Polonnaruva as Capital

Among the Sinhalese, anarchy prevailed. Finally the young prince Vijaya Bāhu I (1056-1111) united the national forces, but it was not until civil war over the succession raged in the Cōla country that he was able to expel the Tamils. This was about 1070. Polonnaruva now became the capital, and a temple for the Tooth Relic, the usual accompaniment of the royal palace, was built there. It may be noted that even in his efforts against the Cōlas, Vijaya Bāhu was hampered by rebellion. About 1084-5 he was troubled by a serious revolt of the Veḷakkāra (Tamil) mercenaries, who killed the royal generals and burnt the palace. The cause of this was the declaration of war by the king against the Cōlas, who had mutilated his ambassadors sent to the West Chālukyan king Vikramāditya. One of Vijaya Bāhu's queens was of the Kāḷiṅga royal race; his sister Mitta married a Pāṇḍyan prince who became the grandfather of Parākrama Bāhu the Great. The history of the forty odd years following the death of Vijaya Bāhu is that of the dissensions of the rival Kāḷiṅga and Pāṇḍyan factions, the first named holding the 'King's country', while the rest of Ceylon was divided between Mitta's sons. Her grandson Parākrama Bāhu ultimately ruled the 'Southern Country', which he did much to improve by the construction of irrigation works and by the reorganization of the military and civil departments. Having consolidated his position in



his own dominion, this ambitious prince attacked and deposed the titular king Gaja Bāhu II and, though not without resistance, ended in becoming sole master of Ceylon.

Parākrama Bāhu (1153-86) built numerous monasteries and temples in the country and at Polonnaruva, which city he enlarged and fortified, restored the shrines at Anurādhapura destroyed by the Cōlas, and also constructed considerable irrigation works in the vicinity of the capital. He appears to have unified the administration of the Island, which hitherto had been practically divided into three areas, the King's Country, the sub-king's principality, and Ruhūṇa, and also to have given attention to the military organization. He still, however, employed mercenaries. His rule was disturbed by rebellions in Ruhūṇa in his fourth and eighth year, that in the fourth giving him much trouble, and in the neighbourhood of Māntoṭa, in his sixteenth. Externally the reign is distinguished for a naval expedition against Rāmanna (Pegu) in 1164-5, caused by disputes as to the elephant trade, the maltreatment of ambassadors and the seizure of a princess sent from Ceylon to Cambodia. Of much greater and far-reaching importance was the war of the Pāṇḍyan succession. At some time after the Pegu expedition and before 1167-8 one of the rival princes, Parākrama Pāṇḍya, applied to his namesake of Ceylon, himself a Pāṇḍyan, for help. This was given and the Sinhalese at first were victorious under the general Laṅkāpura. The *Mahāvamsa* discreetly ends its account of the campaign here, but we learn from Cōla inscriptions that before 1170-71 the Sinhalese had been defeated and the heads of Laṅkāpura and other commanders nailed to the gates of Madura. The war did not end with this, but dragged on for years. According to Cōla epigraphs, before 1175-6 the Sinhalese had been successful, but by 1181-2 had been driven into the sea. The Sinhalese hold on Rāmeśvaram at least seems to have continued for some time longer, as Nissaṅka Malla (1187-96) claims to have built a temple there. It is by no means certain that the war was confined to the continent as an Indian inscription states that the Cōla forces devastated an area in the Island 20 leagues (*kātham*) wide from east to west and 30 long from south to north.

### Zenith of Sinhalese Greatness

The reign of Parākrama Bāhu usually is considered as marking the zenith of Sinhalese greatness. But the drain on the resources of the Island must have been enormous. Under his successors decline was rapid and after the death of Nissaṅka Malla, a Kāliṅga prince, in 1196, the real rulers were generals who set up puppet monarchs including two widows of Parākrama Bāhu and an infant. Finally, about 1215, the last of these sovereigns was deposed by a vigorous invader, one Māgha, a Kāliṅga, who descended on Ceylon with a large army of Keraḷas. He doubtless claimed the kingdom by inheritance from his Kāliṅga kinsmen who had reigned before, but he never identified himself as they



had done with the national religion and remained to the end a foreign usurper and persecutor. He reigned for 21 years. The whole period including that of the puppet kings was known as the 'Tamil anarchy' (*Demala arajitaya*).

### The Pundit King

The Sinhalese monarchy, when restored, had its capital in Dambadeniya in the present Kurunāgala District. The second and the most important King of this dynasty was Parākrama Bāhu II, the Pundit (1234-68). He continued his father's struggle against Māgha and by 1244 had succeeded in recovering Polonnaruva. But he never got back the extreme north of the Island, and the medieval kingdom of Jaffna may be the remnant of Māgha's realm. We hear now for the first time of the Vanniyārs, to whose care Parākrama Bāhu entrusted Anurādhapura. These Vanniyārs were chieftans, often semi-independent or even quite independent; they are found in later times not only in the North but in the East and South-East of Ceylon. The effective northern frontier was commanded by the fortress of Yāpahu, where one of the king's sons, Bhuvanaika Bāhu, was stationed, the reason given being that the Tamils very often landed at Kuḍā Vāligama (? Valikā-mam) in the Jaffna Peninsula. An invasion of the Pāṇḍyans, now the dominant power in South India, apparently between 1254 and 1256, is recorded in inscriptions found on the continent; in this one of the Kings of Ceylon (? he of Jaffna) was killed and the other rendered tributary. In Parākrama Bāhu's eleventh year we hear of an invasion by one Chandrabhānu, a Jāvaka or Malay from Tambaliṅga, with a host armed with blowpipes and poisoned arrows. He descended on the Island again during the reign with a mixed army of Pāṇḍyans, Cōḷas and Malays and after over-running a considerable part of the North encamped before Yāpahu, where he was defeated. This interesting invader, who professed himself a Buddhist, has been identified by Mr. Paranavitana, Epigraphical Assistant in Ceylon, with Siridhammarāja of Siridhammanagara or Tambaraṭṭha, that is Ligor in the Malay Peninsula. Mr. Paranavitana suggests that the cause of the invasion was the desire to secure a famous image of Buddha known as the Sinhala image. Quite probably the invasion had permanent results. The names Chavakachcheri ('the Malay settlement') and Chavankottai (the 'Malay fort') at Navatkuli in the Jaffna Peninsula as well as Javakakotte on the mainland may record settlements of Chandrabhānu's followers. The first of these names occurs in the fourteenth century and the last in the fifteenth. Parākrama Bāhu set the bad example of dividing the country among his sons, bidding them live at peace with one another.

### Yāpahu as Capital

The short reign of his successor and son, Vijaya Bāhu IV, ended in a mutiny of the Rajput mercenaries in which he lost his life. The new



king Bhuvanaika Bāhu I (1271-83), whom we have seen in command at Yāpahu, made this fortress his capital. His reign was marked by two invasions by the Pāṇḍyans and by a severe famine. The second invasion took place at the end of the reign; in it the Tooth Relic was carried off. It seems to have been followed by an interregnum of some twenty years. To this period perhaps may have to be assigned the Pāṇḍyan Temple (Siva Temple No. 1) at Polonnaruva and the magnificent staircase at Yāpahu. The next Sinhalese king Parākrama Bāhu III recovered the Tooth Relic by humbling himself before the Pāṇḍyan ruler and quite possibly by becoming his feudatory. But the powerful Indian monarchy now was near its end, as it fell before the Muhammadans in 1310; it was about this time that the Sinhalese capital was moved to Kurunāgala. But Tamil ascendancy in Ceylon merely passed from one hand to another, the heir of the Pāṇḍya in this matter being the king of Jaffna. The trials of the Sinhalese were not confined to the northern or north-western frontier; in 1344, when Ibn Batuta visited the Island, a Muhammadan pirate held Colombo with an Abyssinian garrison, and in 1349 or 1350 his power extended along the coast southwards, Marignolli, the papal envoy to China, being captured at Bēruvala. In spite of this the Sinhalese kingdom was not in a bad way judging from the fine temples built at Gaḍalādeṇiya and Laṅkātilaka in Kandy District and from the construction of an irrigation work on the Kospotu Oya.

### Gampola Kings

The capital since 1344 or thereabouts had been transferred to Gampola, apparently for dynastic reasons rather than from fear of invasion. It is now that we often find the king crowning his successor during his lifetime; indeed the first two of the Gampola kings who seem to have been brothers date their accession from the same year. Their successors were feeble folk, and power was held by a series of mayors of the palace. Of these the greatest was Alagakkonara who put an end to the Jaffna ascendancy by hanging the Tamil king's tax-collectors. He had prepared for that monarch's vengeance by fortifying Kōṭṭe. This was before 1369-70. The very position of Kōṭṭe in the swampy country by Colombo is proof of the straits to which the Sinhalese had been reduced; it had its advantages, however, if Alagakkonara relied on the Muhammadans of Malabar. Under the successors of the great mayor of the palace, the country fell from the position to which he had raised it and the last of his line was ignominiously kidnapped and carried off by the Chinese about 1409.

### General Prosperity

Parākrama Bāhu VI (1412-68), the first king of the Kōṭṭe dynasty, raised the Sinhalese to a height never attained since the days of Parākrama Bāhu II and never equalled since. The Island once more was brought under one rule. The chronological order of the wars by which



this came about is obscure. The great event of the reign was the invasion and occupation of the kingdom of Jaffna, then a feudatory of Vijayanāgar, which henceforth was governed by the prince Bhuvanaika Bāhu, later on king. It was probably before this that the Vanniyārs, the chiefs of the present Northern and North-Central Provinces, had been reduced to obedience. There is also recorded an expedition to Adrianpet in South India. In the Sinhalese country itself the up-country provinces which had rebelled were subdued and given over to a prince of the old Gampola family. A witness to the general prosperity is the outburst of literature, in particular of poetry. But this prosperity was not to endure. The besetting sin of the dynasty was civil war, and it was this which led to its downfall. The up-country provinces became a separate Kingdom. Jaffna was lost, and the reign of its ruler Bhuvanaika Bāhu VI as king was signalized by a widespread rebellion lasting several years.

### Coming of the Portuguese

In 1505 the Portuguese 'discovered' Ceylon. They made a great impression on the inhabitants of Colombo and according to the *Rājāvaliya* their report to the king ran thus: 'There is in our harbour of Colombo a race of people fair of skin and comely withal. They don jackets of iron and hats of iron: they rest not a minute in one place: they walk here and there; they eat hunks of stone and drink blood; they give two or three pieces of gold and silver for one fish or one lime; the report of their cannon is louder than thunder when it bursts upon the rock Yugandhara. Their cannon balls fly many a gavuva and shatter fortresses of granite'. The then reigning king made the fatal mistake of raising his two sons to the throne and dividing the country. One of these, Vijaya Bāhu VII, (1509-21), managed to make himself sole ruler, but lost his throne and his life at the hands of his sons, who proceeded to carve up the country between them. It was their quarrels which led directly to the intervention of the Portuguese.

### Causes of Decline

We have now made a rapid survey of the history of the mediaeval period. It is a series of ups and downs. The general trend, however, at least from the death of Parākrama Bāhu I, was one of decline. We may now consider this more in detail, though at the expense of some repetition.

Firstly, the source of weakness in the foreign elements in the population. In the last days of the Sinhalese monarchy what may be called the regular army as opposed to the militia or local levies consisted largely of Malays and other foreigners such as disbanded soldiers of Tipu Sahib. This reliance on mercenaries goes back well into the middle ages and perhaps earlier still. In the ninth and tenth centuries we find settlements of Tamils, in most cases probably Tamil soldiers, mentioned



in inscriptions ; they were under a Demaḷadhikāri. The trouble with these troops was their latent sympathy with their kinsmen in South India. We have already seen under Sena I that they joined the Pāṇḍyan invader. Under Sena V and his successor Mahinda V we get more details ; the paid troops then consisted of Keraḷas from Malabar and Kaṇṇāṭas or Canarese as well as Sinhalese. It was to them that the general, whose brother Sena V had slain, made over the country ; they filled the capital and when Mahinda fled to Ruhuna they ruled the rest of Ceylon. It was this state of affairs which invited the Cōḷa invasion of Rājarāja I.

### Continuance of Mercenaries

On the recovery of the country by the Sinhalese the employment of mercenaries was continued. Under Vijaya Bāhu I a serious rebellion of the Velakkāra force broke out, caused by their being called upon to fight against the Cōḷas. Under Parākrama Bāhu I the name Agampāḍi first appears, the name later on applied to this class of troops ; it is that of a South Indian caste and also of sub-divisions of the Maravars, the warlike tribe which caused so much trouble to the British at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century. In the reign of Nissanka Malla, we find the Agampāḍi under the control of the provincial governors, and they appear on and off henceforward under this designation down to the time of Parākrama Bāhu VI of Kōṭṭe. Vijaya Bāhu IV of Dambadeniya was murdered by his Rajput mercenaries. Somewhat later Marco Polo speaks of ' Saracens ', that is Muham-madans, as being employed by the King of Ceylon.

### ' Tamil Time '

There also was a steady stream of immigration from South India through the port of Mahātitttha (Māntai) with the result that the neighbouring country eventually became entirely Tamil. It is noteworthy that, while many Sinhalese place-names remain more or less disguised in the Jaffna peninsula and in the Eastern Province, now Tamil, this is not the case in the country behind Mannār ; there these names are purely Tamil. This area indeed with its great Hindu shrine, Tirukeṭiśvaram, seems to have been the nucleus of the later mediaeval Tamil kingdom of Jaffna ; to its end its kings styled themselves ' Sētukāvalan ', ' guardian of Adam's Bridge '. The Vanniyārs have been already mentioned ; they appear first in the thirteenth century. In more modern times they had often become Sinhalese, but the title seems to connect them with the Maravars. It is to be noted that Knox in his flight from captivity in the seventeenth century found the country beyond Anurādhapura still inhabited by Tamils. At a much earlier period, the tenth century, the Mihintalē Tablets laying down regulations for the monastery there refer to the ' Tamil Time ', seemingly a time when a Tamil community of bhikkhus was in possession. We may note



that at the present day two of the most important castes in the Sinhalese low-country are undoubtedly of Tamil or at least of South Indian descent.

### Trade and Foreigners

Trade from time immemorial had been in the hands of the foreigners. These formed powerful communities and in the time of Nissanka Malla the principal merchants sat in the king's council at Polonnaruva, doubtless under their head the Siṭunā. In addition to the capital they were naturally found at the ports; of these in early times the most important was Mahātitttha. But this later on, apparently after the thirteenth century, yielded the primacy to Colombo. This last always was a foreign town, largely inhabited by Muhammadans who can be traced there as far back as 949. The activities of these merchants are illustrated by the presence of gold coins of almost every Muslim dynasty from the eighth to the fifteenth century, but in particular those of the twelfth and thirteenth, in the country lying between Colombo and the Kandyan hills. The financial, and so the political, power of the Muhammadans was real, if concealed. One in the thirteenth century was the power behind the throne in the Pāṇḍyan empire when at its zenith. In the next century Colombo was even the centre of an independent principality with Kōṭṭe as its fortress on the land side. While on the subject of foreign trade the Chinese should not be forgotten; their coins from the tenth to the thirteenth century have been turned up at various sites including Polonnaruva, Yāpahu and Tirukeṭṭiśvaram (Māntai) in fairly large numbers, and their ships still visited Ceylon in the fifteenth century when they carried off the ruler Vīra Alakēśvara.

### Effect of Immigration

To sum up, foreign immigration led to the supersession of the Sinhalese by Tamils in the present Northern and Eastern Provinces, and at one time in much of the North Central Province. This supersession was largely peaceful but in the long run was prejudicial to Sinhalese rule. By the end of the period under review, there was an independent kingdom of Jaffna, while between it and the Sinhalese and again on the east of the Island the real rulers were Vanniyārs on whose allegiance, especially in the north, too much reliance could not be placed.

Connected with trade is coinage. In the early mediaeval period, that is before the Cōla conquest, payments were made by weighing out gold, doubtless as in South India of a certain standard. In the ninth or tenth century or perhaps earlier there was issued a gold coinage, which was intended to be and actually was at first one half of gold and one half of alloy. The years before the Cōla conquest apparently saw a reduction in the fineness of the coinage and Rājarāja I



continued the same standard. Under Vijaya Bāhu I the coin was of silver or of gold so debased as to be hardly distinguished from silver. After his reign this ceases to be issued, and under Parākrama Bāhu I and his successors at Polonnaruva, Dambadeniya and Kurunāgala the old principal coin had become of base metal or copper. In the time of Parākrama Bāhu IV it is frankly admitted that the *masuram* or 'gold coins' mentioned in the Jātakas are not those now in use made of base metal. Later on fanams of poor gold on the Indian model were issued; they are mentioned in the fourteenth century. The debasement of the coinage is symptomatic of the decline of the State.

### Administrative Decay

In the matter of general administration we also find decay. The inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries, though giving little detail, obviously refer to a complicated system of Government, which had disappeared by the time of the arrival of the Portuguese. The records of Nissanka Malla luckily provide us with some information touching the main source of revenue, the grain tax. This king prides himself on reducing the inordinate demands of Parākrama Bāhu I and gives us the amount which he himself has fixed. Now by the time of the Portuguese the Sinhalese districts of Ceylon were in sharp contrast with the rest of the East in having no general grain tax. By that time the public dues usually consisted of service, the village being held by hereditary or quasi-hereditary heads who were responsible for this and who took to themselves what was left of the old grain tax. It seems clear that the old complicated revenue system had become impossible owing to the impoverishment of the country. The very names connected with it passed from memory.

### Decline in Cultivation

Closely connected with the revenue system was agriculture. The disappearance of the grain tax led automatically to a decrease in the area cultivated with paddy, as indeed happened after the abolition of the British grain tax in 1892, and an increase in the shifting 'chena' cultivation. This last certainly existed in the period when the grain tax was paid but, as still in Travancore, must have been kept within bounds by the fiscal needs of the Crown. The irrigation works of Ceylon are the outstanding achievement of the Sinhalese. The last great ones are those of Parākrama Bāhu I. Thereafter in the period under review the only work undertaken seems to have been an anicut on the Kospotu Oya in the time of Bhuvanaika Bāhu IV.

### Why Tanks were Abandoned

The account of Parākrama Bāhu's suppression of the great Ruhuna rebellion in 1156-7 gives no indication that the low-country of Ūva and the south-east of the Island was anything but populous. All the



evidence is to the contrary. In Plancius' map of 1592, however, the following entry in Portuguese occurs: ' Kingdom of Jala deserted and depopulated for 300 years by reason of unhealthiness '. This ' kingdom ' is Yāla in the south-east of Ceylon. The entry would seem to refer to the appearance of malaria towards the end of the thirteenth century. About this time the chronicler mentions a great famine in the Island ; in the reign of Parākrama Bāhu II somewhat earlier in the century there had occurred a great drought. Anurādhapura by this time was practically abandoned (it had been destroyed by the Cōlas) and Vijaya Bāhu IV at the end of his father's reign had to clear the holy places of jungle. This and the fact that the Government of the northern part of Ceylon (exclusive of Jaffna), was then in the hands of the Vanniyārs tend to show that this region had ceased to be of importance. Indeed we now hear nothing of the old irrigation works. It is usual to attribute the breakdown of the old tanks and channels to the ravages of the Tamils. This charge, however, can hardly be brought with any justice against the Cōla administration of the conquered province of Ceylon ; it clearly was in the interest of the revenues to maintain these works. The great tanks were still functioning in Parākrama Bāhu I's reign though needing repairs, and it seems probable that the real cause of their decay and abandonment was the same as that which depopulated the south-east, namely, malaria. The first attack of this scourge must have been severe. It is possible that the Tamil inhabitants found there later entered an almost deserted region ; it is certain that the present population there is not descended from the older medieval one, as the ancient village names have disappeared, the existing ones being modern.

### Decay in Stonework

Symptomatic of decay is the history of architecture. Mr. Hocart, late Archaeological Commissioner, is of opinion that ' in the ninth or tenth century stonework attained its zenith of excellence ; it was rich but with taste, there was a finish about the work which was subsequently much impaired and eventually was completely lost ' (Codrington, *Hist. of Ceylon*, p. 185). We may notice that this period of excellence coincides with the best age of the coinage and with that of the perfection of the administrative system as much as with a sudden efflorescence of inscriptions. At Polonnaruva, on the other hand, if we except the Cōla and Pāṇḍyan work, brick is chiefly to be seen. Vijaya Bāhu IV when restoring this capital left this illuminating epigraph on Parākrama Bāhu I's Laṅkātilaka (the so-called Jetavanārāma): ' Parākrama Bāhu, lord of Laṅkā, caused Laṅkātilaka to be built . . . A hundred years have elapsed since it, the ornament of the earth, fell into ruin ; the puissant Vijaya Bāhu, lord of the earth, thoroughly restored it '. This was about 1268 ; if we take the inscription literally, it follows that the Laṅkātilaka had fallen into ruin in the lifetime of its builder. Whether this be so or not (I believe that I am right in saying that the Polonnaruva buildings have very slight foundations), the poverty of the time



is shown in the case of the Tooth Relic Temple at Dambadeniya. It was built by Parākrama Bāhu II but needed repair before his death. Exception to the dearth of buildings is the great staircase at Yāpahu (if this be Sinhalese and not Pāṇḍyan work) and the fourteenth century temples of Laṅkātilaka and Gaḍalādeniya in Kandy district ; the first of these two however, as we know from records, was built by Tamil craftsmen. The last buildings of any note were those of Parākrama Bāhu VI of Kōṭṭe.

### Conclusion

The conclusion which we reach is that the zenith of Sinhalese prosperity in the middle ages was in the ninth and tenth centuries. Then came the Cōla conquest, the brilliant episode of Parākrama Bāhu I, and then with occasional revivals, a period of continual decay. It will be seen that the prosperity practically coincides with a period when there was no very strong power in South India. The Pāṇḍyan invasion under Sena I is an isolated event, and Parāntaka I's career, luckily for Ceylon, was checked by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas. Whether the weak Mahinda V would have been able to stand against Rājarāja I even had his mercenaries been true to him, is problematical in view of the defeat of Sena I by the Pāṇḍyans. The fatal mistake of the Sinhalese monarchy was its reliance on foreign mercenaries. Vijaya Bāhu I and Parākrama Bāhu I were strong enough to resist their enemies ; their successors were not, whenever a really powerful prince chose to exert his full strength. Fortune also was against them. Parākrama Bāhu I, in spite of his brilliance, left them a State crippled with the heavy taxation necessitated by his many buildings and his interference in India. The war thus begun could not be stopped with the same ease. Then came the puppet kings, Māgha's conquest, the Pāṇḍyan invasion, apparently followed by prolonged occupation, and when the Pāṇḍyan power had been broken, by the Muhammadans in 1310, and the overlordship of Jaffna. The Sinhalese State never recovered from the impoverishment caused by Parākrama Bāhu I's grandiose schemes. On top of the political troubles was the advent of malaria which threw out of cultivation the old rice producing region with its great tanks and channels and reduced the population of the kingdom. To all this must be added the incurable inability of the Sinhalese to work together. Even when Vijaya Bāhu I was struggling for the national existence against the Cōlas he was hampered by rebellion ; we find more than once the Sinhalese regular troops siding with the foreign mercenaries ; it was the internecine fights among the royal family which led directly to the Portuguese conquest.



## Ambanvela Appuhamy's Rebellion of 1665

By J. H. O. PAULUSZ

*Narrative of the events that took place at the Kandyan Court at Nilamba touching the revolt of the year 1665 according to our style, in March, on the fifth day of the new moon, set down by Sinderuvana Badda Udanuvara Kandupalata Ambanvela Appuhamy, now named Ryckloff; and delivered over on the 30th January 1674.*

The reason why the principal Chiefs at Nilamba, where at that time King Raja Simha Raju held Court, were discontented and conceived against him a unanimous hatred arose from the fact that he caused to be condemned as guilty and put to death innocent men among his chieftains and people and subjected their wives and daughters to his appetite; that he never wanted to listen to the advice of his leading counsellors; that he had forbidden the perahera (that used to be conducted annually to their great temple with high ceremony and which was regarded as a solemn religious ceremony and an affair of State) so that this festival had not been held for two years. And, in as much as the people were becoming alienated from their established religion while he passed his life not as a prince of mature years and judgement but like a child, hunting with falcons and hounds and wasting his time with women, paying no attention to affairs of State or the welfare of his people and kingdom and caring nothing for the future life of himself or his subjects. All this aroused among them great discontent and inspired a common hatred against the King; so much so that they made known the reasons of their discontent in the form of complaints to their Supreme pontiff or the Prelate of their religion who was named Sirinivasa Theruvana, of the Monastery at Poyamaluva; and they sought his advice and counsel saying with deep distress that he clearly saw all these irregularities and they asked him why he tolerated that the King did not live among his people like a King but like a tyrant and now ruled regardless of reason without paying heed to the welfare of his kingdom, his subjects or the laws or customs or religion; but did everything according to his appetite. They therefore asked why he endured this state of affairs and devised no remedy against it and whether he wanted to wait till everything fell into chaos.

In this extremity they had no refuge save to make known to him the necessity in which they were held fast and they sought his advice and help as to what they should do in such a momentous affair. (This took place in the town of Kandy named by the Sinhalese in their language 'Singueleguelle'). In answer to these complaints the Prelate said: 'Even if I would speak to the King about these complaints you



make, he would not listen to me—nevertheless, I will try to speak with him about them, so that retribution may not fall on my head'. He therefore made his way to Nilamba and applied all diligence to get speech with the King, but could not succeed but was kept waiting from day to day for two full years; for the King did not appear to him from a suspicion that he might prove tiresome over his irregular conduct.

At this same time the most eminent and most learned among the priests of the monastery noticed above sent certain persons to Sinderuvana Ambanvela (the writer of this document who was then in his domain in the village of Ambanvela) for they had the greatest trust in him as a pupil of the said Prelate, and they asked him to come to them, which he did. When he came before the Prelate the latter put this question to him: 'When you see so many unworthy and tyrannical deeds carried out by the King, why do you endure them?' 'Would you wait till the whole land goes to ruin?' Thereupon Ambanvela replied: 'While the King is so powerful, what can we puny, impotent folk do against him?' Then the Prelate related a number of instances all of which illustrated that if evil befell the pupils of a school then the remedy thereof was a burden laid upon the schoolmaster; and likewise it came within the province of a prince to remedy and punish actions committed by his subjects; but in respect of misdeeds committed by the prince himself, it would be the responsibility of his counsellors to provide against these. For, just as the transgressions of the pupils and of the common people are amended by penalties prescribed therefor, so too in earlier times measures and punishments were laid down in the case of princes who overstepped the bounds of reason and failed to rule their kingdom according to the laws, customs and the religion of the country or to pay heed to the advice of their counsellors. 'And you who are the most eminent in the land,—if you tolerate disorderly and tyrannical government by the King and connive at all the evil that befalls this kingdom and its inhabitants, it will not be the King but you who will be held answerable. Inasmuch as in the ordering of the State there are three main principles to be observed, namely:—to maintain the dignity and position of the royal family so long as it keeps within the bounds of reasonable behaviour, the welfare of the people and the kingdom; good order in religion and military discipline. But now that the King has gone beyond the bounds of reason and, like a tyrant, does not foster the common good but seeks to ruin it and the state, therefore it becomes your duty to offer your help to the common people in so far as you would not bring down upon your heads the wrath of heaven'. To this Ambanvela replied: that it was not within his power to help the common people against so mighty a King; nor had he military equipment enough for the purpose; but since his Reverence had presented to him the grievous nature of the case, he would do his best to amend it and would see good friends of his family and trusty comrades in order to induce them to help him in this venture and carry out the task, even



at the cost of his life. Accordingly, he took the opportunity one night of calling to him the following four persons, viz. :—

Halmessege Kanduru Rala of Yatinuvara

Mahanta Appuhamy and } of the Seven Korales  
Pellandeniya Mohottiyar }

Jayasundara Appuhamy .. Korale of the Atakalan Korale  
within the jurisdiction of  
Sabaragamuva,

who were then all at the Court at Nilamba. And he addressed them as follows :—‘ I have to lay before you a grave and weighty matter. Therefore, you will first of all take oath that after I have related the business to you, you will honourably declare whether you have the mind and the strength to help me to carry it out; and if not, that you will stifle it in your bosoms without revealing it to anybody ’. Whereupon all four of them gave him their word and took oath upon their weapons. When this was done, he revealed to them all that had passed between him and the Prelate and the priests : likewise the complaints that the common people had made and what they had desired of him. To all this they returned the answer, ‘ what can we do against so mighty a king ? ’ Thereupon he again said ; ‘ you must not talk thus and hold aloof from the business but must reflect how great a deed it will be if we with our puny strength (and regardless of our lives) try to champion our laws and religion and help the welfare of the kingdom and its subjects by freeing them from so great a tyrant even at the cost of our lives. It will bring us imperishable fame through all the world and, after this life will bring us much good, so much so that all our substance and all worldly wealth is not to be esteemed against it, for these perish with the world, whereas to liberate the people from so unbearably tyrannical a reign will earn for us an everlasting glory ’. Thereupon the others said ; ‘ Leave aside all this rhetoric and tell us simply how this work might best be put in hand ’. Whereupon he rejoined, ‘ we cannot do otherwise than take under our protection all those who follow us and are willing to stand by us in this design ; but those who look askance at the business we will kill. By this means the King’s strength will be broken and then we could easily hold him in our power and place his son the Prince Maha Astana upon the throne ’. To these words, three of the four abovementioned persons said nothing in reply, but Halmessege Kandura Rala alone arose and seized a fencing-sword in his hand and went through the action of piercing me through with it saying,

‘ However great a tyrant and malefactor our King may be, it is not fitting that we should utter such words ; and if anybody else but you had used such language, I would forthwith have struck him dead through the very mouth that spoke it. But since it is you who have made this proposal, I will venture upon it at your side with my family



and put to the hazard our lives and welfare'. Having spoken these words, these five persons embraced and promised to help each other. Next, each of them mustered together from among his followers the most trusty and skilled in arms to the number of 1250 men, all well armed and sworn to their plan. And all of them in the year, month and day set down at the head of this document, assembled at Nilamba in order to execute what had been resolved upon, to wit—if the King marched out from his Court against them, then they would fight against him and his followers; but in case he should withdraw from his Court to some other place, they would hold him prisoner there and also inform their own supporters to the following effect:—'Since there are still many persons who are attached to the King and have taken his side, they must all be put to death; they should be apportioned to various persons who should be told how they are to kill them, and you, for your part will do the killing. The pass-word among you all shall be 'Rama, Rama'; so that all those who fail to answer you with that word, you will destroy. And Sinderuvana Ambanvela for his part should be the first to fall upon Daldeniya Ralahamy (who was the principal Adigar of the Court) and make an end of him. When this has been done, he should cause a drum to be beaten which would be the signal for every one who hears it to fall upon his particular man and put him to death.

Accordingly, that very night, seven hours before daybreak (to reckon according to the manner of the Sinhalese who count sixty hours between day and night) he betook himself to the Court and came to the place where the Adigar above-noticed and the Disava of Matale were sleeping. But in the darkness of the night, although he intended to smite the Adigar, it was the Disava whom he struck dead. At the noise caused thereby, the Adigar sprang up and was so severely wounded by him that he died three days later. Thereupon a drummer gave the signal and as soon as this was heard, Halmessega Kandura Rala set to work and killed Kobavella Rala, Chief of the Dolabage district and Vasala Mohotti Rala, Controller of the Court disbursements. When this was seen by the Mohottiyar and chief of the Jingal troops and by Alutgama Gabada Rala, Controller of the Royal Store and their troops, they attempted to escape by flight. But Halmessege Kandura Rala followed so close on their heels that he and his companion stabbed one of them in the waist, but failed to wound him. The rest of the people, becoming aware that treason was active in the Court, appointed a number of great chiefs to take defence measures, such as Udānuvara Rata Rala, Unambuva Disava Rala, Medapitiya Rala (Chief Controller of the Store) and Madugedera Rala (Chief of the Yatinuvara country). Of these the three first mentioned were killed one at a time by Halmessege Rala (since they did not come together to repulse the attack). But Madugedera Rala laid down his arms and chose the side of those who had begun the revolt. Kanangara Aratchi was charged to slay the Disava of the Seven Korales; but in place of him he unwittingly killed Kuruppu Rala of Matara (who was on the side of the rebels) while the Disava of the Seven Korales escaped. Jayasundera Appuhamy who



had undertaken to make away with the Disava of Sabaragamuva, dealt him three wounds but could not kill him and he too escaped. Edanduvava Rala, Disava of the Four Korales cast aside his weapons and attached himself to the side of the people : Hinagama Appuhamy Disava of Udapalata abandoned his weapons and troops and took refuge in the temple of Asgiriya ; Rankoda Divara Rala Disava of Uva was found in the village of Payingama and was allowed to stay there under custody. Moreover, there were many Aratchis killed or wounded, so much so that all the inhabitants of the highlands and lowlands (except three or four of the most highly placed and some of the servants of the King's Chamber) attached themselves in a body to the insurgents.

The King was now certain that a wide-spread rebellion had broken out and took the decision along with the few who stayed beside him at Court, to retire to the Hevaheta country among the mountains, along and over the Degaldoruveta range (a route which had never been used before but was then opened through forest and mountain). The inhabitants of that wilderness knew nothing of the revolt and, seeing the King appear there so unexpectedly, thought that he had come for hunting and recreation and paid him due respect ; so that the King took up his residence at Galabodawatta and mustered together there all the inhabitants and formed an army. When the insurgents learnt where the King had retreated they consulted with each other whether to lay waste that district and annihilate his army. On the other hand, they felt misgivings that if they pushed on so hard against the King, he might under press of necessity, betake himself to the Hollanders,—just as in earlier times Vijayapala had betaken himself to the Portuguese—which would bring down grievous burdens upon us. Accordingly it was resolved to mass their forces together and to march on the town of Kandy. Arrived there they reasoned among themselves that they had not the capacity or aptitude to assume the government of this kingdom; and also that the entire world would raise an outcry against them on the ground that the people of Kandy had expelled their King because they wished to wield the royal power themselves. But again, if they bestowed the government on any foreign potentate or nation, these latter being ignorant of our country's laws, customs and religion, would not be able to guide us in accordance with them. Therefore they determined to place upon his father's throne the prince Maha Astana who was the King's son and their own lawful liege lord. To this end they gathered before the Kandyan Court and requested that the prince (who was within) should come forth and give them a hearing. And this he did ; whereupon the populace disclosed to him first of all the matter of the royal treasures and goods and the riches at the Court of Nilamba, according to the records thereof that had been found. After this the five persons already noticed, namely,—Sinderuvana Badda Udanuvara Ambanvela, Halmessege Kandura Rala from Yatinuvara, Mahanta Appuhamy and Pelandeniya Mohotti Rala, both from the Seven Korales and Jayasundera Appuhamy of Sabaragamuva came



forward before the prince who was then nineteen years of age. Having presented their respectful duty to him, they gave him to understand that his Illustrious Highness could not be unaware of the evil rule and unjust, cruel proceedings of the King his father. They had been unable to endure it any longer and had expelled him and had won the kingdom with their swords and now entrusted it not to his father but to his present Majesty, so that he could occupy his father's throne, on condition that His Majesty would govern them in all justice, pursuant to their laws and privileges and the religion of this State. Nor should His Majesty think that he owed this kingdom to his father the King, but rather to their generalship and their weapons. Therefore they sought to be ruled by His Majesty according to the ten principles of privilege, the laws and customs obtaining in this kingdom. But if His Majesty should judge that they had acted evilly in what they had done and he should therefore desire that they should depart from this country, they would perform his wish ; or if His Majesty considered that they deserved punishment or death for their actions, they were willing to submit to it. The prince thereupon replied : ' What you have done has not arisen from the advice and prompting of any foreign nation, nor was it that you yourselves might reign, still less that you might enrich yourselves with the treasures of the kingdom, but solely in order to have me as your King to reign over you in accordance with justice and for the best advantage of the subject. And this I promise to do as I well know that the blame does not lie with the people but with the evil rule of my father. Therefore you may again pick up your weapons ' (which they had laid down). He added thereto certain agreeable words, after which the populace were well content and went away rejoicing.

This was the stage of success which the business had reached ; and the prince bestowed on the leaders of the revolt the following offices and benefices, viz. :—

Ambanvela, to be Disāva of Uva, Velassa, Panniya and Batticaloa ;

Halmessege Kandura Rala and Mahanta Appuhamy both to be Adigars of the Court ;

Jayasundere Appuhamy to be Disāva of Sabaragamuva.

And their followers too were granted offices, lands and ports each according to his rank and merits. Next the prince commanded that all prisoners should be universally set at liberty throughout the land ; and at the same time all the convoys from the Prince of Bengal, the Hon'ble Company, and the English and Portuguese nations who had been a long time at the Court without gaining leave to appear before the King or display the presents they had brought, were bidden to come before the Prince. He received them with civil words, accepted their gifts and gave them good promises that he would soon allow every one of them to depart back to the principals who had sent them, so that all of them returned to their respective lodgings in good heart.



But then it happened that the sister of the King named Udumala Adahasin came secretly to the prince and advised him, saying: ' So long as you bow to the will of the populace and these ring-leaders, they will love and obey you ; but if you happen to do something that is not to their liking, then they will rise up against you and drive you out as readily as they have just now done to your father, my brother ; and the chiefs of Udanuvara and Yatinuvara will themselves assume the government. Therefore I think it necessary, before the leaders of this revolt go further and become stronger in power, that they should be destroyed '. Accordingly a large number of Court servants and officials were immediately mustered together and were secretly supplied with arms in the Court ; but not so secretly that the Chiefs above-noticed could not presently remark it and suspect mischief and say to each other that such a great muster of men pointed to something and that they must be on their guard : yet nonetheless that it would not be fitting that they should for that reason all march in a body on the Court. The prince, on learning that they had not appeared at Court, himself was seized with a suspicion of evil and caused a large assemblage of men to be mustered through the agency of his aunt as well from the great as from the other temples and the Four Korales and from other foreign nations, forming together a large army. With this force he occupied all the routes and passes around Kandy. The five Chiefs above-noticed were not aware of this step, for they were now separated, having started out according to orders each to his newly assigned province. They had also given their followers leave to go to their respective homes. The prince then seized the occasion and gave orders to his assembled troops, by beat of drum, to fall upon the aforesaid Chiefs. But they heard the sound of the drums and not knowing that this was by order of the prince, set sentries and watch posts all around them with the handful of followers who still remained with them, for they thought that this was some new rebellion. Indeed, Mahanta Appuhamy, one of the five, went to the Prince's Court saying: ' It seems that the people are again in commotion. Therefore it is not safe for your Majesty to remain in this place. It is best that your Majesty should withdraw to the further side of the river to the Harasi pattu district, till it can be seen how this disturbance turns out '. Thereupon the prince (pretending to know nothing) replied: ' This is very good. You stay with me and do not move without me '. And he immediately summoned the Chiefs of the Palanquin department, named Pulletunge Mudaliyar and Samaratunge Mudaliyar and ordered the palanquin bearers to be assembled and the palanquins made ready. This was done and the prince informed ; but he kept putting off his departure till the following day and then delayed till midday. When that time arrived and the prince had still not emerged they sent Mahanta Appuhamy to him to find out the cause of the delay and when the prince would be starting out. The prince then said: ' Get the people ready—I shall leave at once '. This was done : but still he waited some hours more and they began to suspect that this delay was due entirely to design and an intention to attack and kill



them. So they discussed it, saying : ' We set our hands to this task in the best interests of the state and the people and to rid ourselves of a tyrannical prince. But it appears that this other whom we want to place upon the throne is still worse,—for he gives us pleasant, toothsome fare to eat mixed with poison. And since we see how matters are going here, let us no more keep with the prince or the people, but break away from them and make for the Seven Korales ; and there, separated from this people, we shall be able to negotiate with the Hollanders of the Company for our protection '.

Upon this resolve they sent word to the Disava of the Seven Korales Ekanairopa Appuhamy that he should gather all his forces at the gravet of Ampitiya, which is the most important pass of Koravahalkoda. Then all the insurgents assembled under a certain Bo-tree which stood near the Court and caused a crier to shout aloud three times that if the prince were minded to set out in their Company he should come out before the evening was further spent ; or else he would have no cause of complaint if they left him at this opportunity and took thought for their own security. Even then the prince did not come out, so they drew up their men in line and marched out down the Nagahavidiya pass. The Disava of the Four Korales had taken stand by the Asgiriya vihara to watch for them but, seeing them advance upon him with such fury, he took to flight with his force. So they continued their march right down to the river and the Katugastota pass. Arrived there they found no vessels or dhoneyas on that side for them to cross ; while, on the further side, were ranged the troops from Pansiya pattu with their jingals to oppose their passage. Then, from the rear came troops in pursuit of them from all round Kandy, so that they and their followers along with the men of the Seven Korales and Sabaragamuva were caught between the two forces. And now a rumour began to spread among them that the King had left his hiding place and was again back at the Court of Nilamba and had written from there to the Dutch Company which was coming to his help with five hundred troops as well as the Matara army ; and that he himself was advancing on the further side of the river while his son was approaching behind him through the Four Korales.

When the men heard this they were seized with panic and took to flight, so that the numbers that still remained with them, when reviewed and counted were found to be :—

With Ambanvela Rala	..	..	..	25 men
„ Halmessege Kandura Rala	..	..	..	9 „
„ Mahanta Appuhamy	..	..	..	5 „
„ Pelandeniya Rala	..	..	..	7 „
„ Jayasundere Appuhamy	..	..	..	16 „
Making a total of				62 men



With this force they fought their way through the Sakuntala pass and got clear away on to the Dodanvela range. But the prince's troops who pursued them along the Four Korales fell upon some harmless people in the Sabaragamuva district and the Seven Korales and slew them and struck off their heads and carried them and showed them, not to the prince but to His Majesty at Galabodawatta. Likewise, the prince too made his way thither informing His Majesty from afar that he had come to help him. To this the King replied : ' Since you have not been able to lay hands on one of the rebel chiefs, why have you put to death these poor people ? ' for he was not pleased at the display of those heads and he charged the prince, with an outward show of good-will, to proceed to Veneruva in the district of Hevaheta and keep watch there.

At this stage all the inhabitants of the high and low lands, whether or not they had taken part in the revolt, all presented themselves again before His Majesty at Gallebodawatta and offered him their obedience and were all graciously received by His Majesty and restored to the possession of their lands on the former footing.

Then His Majesty gave command that, ' Inasmuch as not one of the five ring-leaders of this uprising has fallen into our hands, a strict watch should be maintained along all the public highways and secret routes, passes and rivers or jungles so that not one of them shall evade us and attach himself to the Hollanders or other foreign nations and wage war against us once more. Every man must be on his guard and keep strict watch '.

The five leaders above-noticed who had reached the Dodanvela range and had spent that night there, at dawn on the following day proposed to each other that they should separate and each go his own way, so that, with God's help, they might save themselves. And they embraced each other and promised that if even one of them should succeed in making his escape, he would try to avenge the fate that might overtake the others. Thereupon each took his way to his own district.

Jayasundere Appuhamy turned towards the Atakalan Korale, was attacked by the King's forces at Kotmale and murdered. Mahanta Appuhamy and Pelandeniya Mohottiar departed for the Seven Korales but to this day no one knows where they are or if they are living or dead. Halmessege Kandura Rala who had been close to Hevaheta, near the King, was discovered by a troop of the King's men and killed on the spot. Ambanvela Rala, the writer of this history, withdrew to the village of Weravila in the Udapalata district and went into hiding there, but was finally discovered, was surrounded by people of the district and taken prisoner. He was brought before His Majesty who forthwith commanded that he should be fettered with iron manacles on his hands and feet and taken to the town of Colombo. And this was performed.

True translation.

Colombo the 2nd February, 1674.



# Obituary

## Sir Paul E. Pieris

With the death of Sir Paul E. Pieris, C.M.G., Litt.D., the Royal Asiatic Society of Ceylon has lost one of its most erudite and devoted members. He joined the Society in 1898, and almost to the end of his long and fruitful career, showed the keenest interest in its work. Age and infirmity did not prevent him from attending its meetings, joining in its discussions, delivering learned dissertations and assisting the Society's Council with his wide experience and mature judgement. He was several times the President of the Society, and, during the stress of the last World War, edited its Journal practically unaided. His example was, indeed, an inspiration to all interested in Lanka's storied past.

He must have been a brilliant boy, certainly one of the most brilliant pupils that ever passed through St. Thomas' College, Colombo. In 1889, he was judged the most successful candidate at the Cambridge Local Junior Examination in the under-sixteen group, passing out in the first division with distinctions in English, Latin, Greek, Mathematics, Botany and Drawing. In 1890, he repeated his former success with distinctions in several subjects, including Religious Knowledge; and, in the following year, again, with five distinctions. Exhibitions and scholarships came in his way as a matter of course. After a distinguished career in the University of Cambridge, he returned home to add lustre to the Ceylon Civil Service, which, at that time, had some very able scholars and administrators. After several judicial appointments, he became the Public Trustee of Ceylon, and, finally, her representative in London. The judgement he delivered in the Gampola Perahera Case, though subsequently set aside by the Supreme Court of Ceylon, is a monument to his keen appreciation of his country's history and culture.

Although his academic studies had been directed towards law, the history of European occupation of the Island appears to have attracted his attention most. After a careful study of Portuguese and Dutch he devoted himself with characteristic enthusiasm to the researches he loved best. He looked for information not only in foreign sources but also in books and manuscripts available in Ceylon; and handled them more with the skill of an artist than with the precision of a critic. From 1903 his studies in Ceylon history begin to appear in the Society's journal, to continue with unabated ardour upto 1948.

Before Sir Paul stepped forth as a historian, Donald William Ferguson had earned a reputation as 'the profoundest student of the Portuguese period in Ceylon history'. Ferguson, however, had not confined himself to that period but had brought his linguistic attain-



ments, his painstaking research and unprejudiced criticism to bear on many questions connected with the history and antiquities of Ceylon. To Sir Paul must be given the credit of taking his predecessor's researches further afield. His studies cover the entire period from the arrival of the Portuguese to the last phase of the struggle of the Sinhalese to retain their sovereignty. A bare list of his books brings this out clearly.

Among Sir Paul's historical works are, (1) *The Historic Tragedy of Ceylao*, (2) *Ceylon, the Portuguese Era*, Vols. 2, pp. 1,250, (3) *Ceylon and the Portuguese 1505-1658*, pp. 310, (4) *Portuguese Maps and Plans of Ceylon, 1650*, reproduced from the Mss. at the Library of Congress, Washington, (5) *Ceylon and Portugal, Part I, Kings and Christians, 1539-1562*, (6) *Ceylon and the Hollanders, 1658-1796*, (7) *The Ceylon Littoral 1593*, from the Portuguese Tombo, pp. 88, (8) *Prince Vijayapala of Ceylon, 1634-1654*, from the original documents at Lisbon, pp. 66, (9) *The Kingdom of Jaffnapatam, 1645*, from the Portuguese Foral, (10) *The Growth of Dutch Influence in Ceylon, 1602-1660*, pp. 326, (11) *Tri Sinhala, the last phase, 1796-1815*, pp. 248, (12) *Letters to Ceylon, being John D'Oyly's letters, 1814-1824*, (13) *Notes on some Sinhalese Families, Pts. 6, and (14) Sinhale and the Patriots, 1815-1818*, pp. 742.

A few words on Sir Paul's major historical works may not be out of place here, as an illustration of his industry and zest in the field of research and of his historical method.

Captain Joao Ribeiro wrote his *Fatalidade Historica da Ilha de Ceylao* or the Historic Tragedy of the Island of Ceylon, in 1685, but it remained unpublished till 1836. In the meantime, Abbé Le Grand brought out a French version of it in 1701, and this was translated into English by George Lee, the Postmaster-General of Ceylon, in 1847. The Portuguese manuscript used by Le Grand subsequently came into the hands of Donald Ferguson, who made it the subject of a learned paper, which was read at a meeting of this Society on the 26 July 1888 (rf. *JCBRAS*, Vol. X, No. 36). In 1910, this valuable manuscript was presented by him to the Library of the Society (rf. *Id.*, Vol. XXII, No. 63, pp. 4, 71). Sir Paul's English translation was of the Portuguese text printed in 1836. In the second edition of 1909, he added as appendices copious notes from the works of De Barros, De Couto, and Antonio Bocarro, from *Documentos Remettidos da India*, and a translation of two Sinhalese war poems, the *Parangi Hatana* and *Kustantīnu Hatana*.

'Ceylon ; the Portuguese Era', in two bulky volumes, is based on the *Conquista Temporal e Espiritual de Ceylao* of Fr. Fernao de Queyroz S.J., declared to be second only to the *Mahavamsa* in its importance to the history of Ceylon. Sir Paul acknowledged it as his 'principal source of information'. (*Intr. to Ceylon ; the Portuguese Era*). How it had been used was pointed out by Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J., in a series of



articles to the 'Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register' and in the Preface to his translation of the *Conquista* (rf. *CALR*, Vol. II, pp. 263 ff; *Preface*, pp. 20 ff). But it must be admitted that Sir Paul is at his best as a research worker in this book. A ten-page bibliography and 316 pages of closely printed notes bear ample witness to his passion for historical details.

He tells us that he wrote 'Ceylon and the Hollanders' from information contained in printed works, a collection of manuscripts left behind by Sir Alexander Johnston and private documents in Sinhalese Valauvas, and that his purpose in writing it is 'to furnish the average inhabitant of Ceylon, who can read English, with a co-herent, reasonably accurate, and perhaps not uninteresting account of his country during its transition from the mediaeval to the modern'. Consequently, it has neither references to authorities nor any critical notes. H. W. Codrington considered it an account 'written from the Sinhalese point of view' (rf. *Shorter History of Ceylon*, p. 153).

The *Tri Sinhala*, according to its author, 'sets out the true history of that period (1796-1815), stripped of its various cloaks which an active political propaganda, an apathy towards elucidation of fact, and an all too human weakness to accept without reserve anything that savours of sensationalism, have cast over it' (*Introduction*). The material relied upon was almost exclusively the documents preserved at the Public Record Office, London, which he supplemented to some extent by those available at Colombo. It is a work of painstaking research, although some of the author's conclusions may not be accepted. For instance, his criticism of evidence relating to the killing of Ähālēpola's children. 'I have read', says Dr. Colvin R. de Silva, 'his criticism with care, but cannot agree with his conclusion that the evidence available is insufficient to establish the assertion that the heads of Ähālēpola's children were put into a mortar and that their mother was compelled to pound them with a pestle' (rf. *Ceylon Under the British Occupation*, Vol. I, p. ix).

The sequel to *Tri Sinhala* was *Sinhalē and the Patriots*, published in 1950. 'This is the most comprehensive work that has so far appeared on the subject of the Kandyan Rebellion . . . In fact, no such short period in Ceylon history has so far received such full treatment . . . It is definitely one-sided. It is undoubtedly valuable as it is the only work written on this subject from the Sinhalese standpoint . . . Dr. Pieris brings to light a vast amount of new material, especially the correspondance of local officials, who knew the country and the people, and of army officers, who made no attempt to conceal their acts of terrorism and their treatment of the chiefs and the people. With this additional knowledge he tries to relate the story as it appeared to the Kandyans of those days and as how many a Sinhalese of today would like to view this episode. But his work at times seems to lack a sense of balance' (*University of Ceylon Review*, VIII, 4, p. 272).



The narrative covers 422 pages, Notes and Appendices 279 pages and Authorities (manuscript and printed) 7 pages. This work and the Portuguese Era are his greatest contributions to the study of Ceylon history.

Sir Paul belongs to the school of dramatic and patriotic historians. His style is vigorous and incisive, and shows an ability to work up an incident to an impressive climax. In dealing with campaigns, he not only sketches out the routes taken but also describes vividly the paths and countryside ; he deals with the methods of warfare, military tactics, weapons and habits of the combatants. The wealth of information gathered by him from a vast and varied stock of historical sources enabled him to enrich the bare events of history with colour and form. His writings show with what care he had collected his data, sorted them out and fused them together in his mind. He was so steeped with the atmosphere of the times he dealt with, that he could make them live again for the benefit of the reader. It is true that like most men, he had his prejudices which sometimes did not let history tell its own tale ; but, it is nevertheless true that his industry, as a research worker, was most admirable. His life should be a stimulus to all students of our country's history, and his memory will be cherished by this Society.

EDMUND PEIRIS, O.M.I.,

*Bishop of Chilaw.*



# Obituary

## Professor Jean Philippe Vogel

With the passing away, on April 10, 1958, in his eighty-eighth year, of Jean Philippe Vogel, this Society has lost one of its most respected Honorary Members and Indology one of its most devoted and indefatigable workers. Born on January 9, 1871, Jean Philippe Vogel received his early education at Alkmaar and Haarlem and proceeded to the University of Amsterdam where he received his Doctor's degree in 1897 on a Dutch translation of the well-known Sanskrit drama, the *Mṛcchakatikā* (' the Little Clay Cart '). After spending three years as a *privaat-docent*, he came to India in 1901, having been appointed a Superintendent of the Archaeological Survey of India. His first station was Lahore and during his period of thirteen years' service in the Archaeological Survey, particularly when he officiated as Director-General in 1910-11, he gained a first-hand knowledge of Indian antiquities in every part of that sub-continent, including those regions which are now in Pakistan.

In 1914, he left the Archaeological Survey of India, having been appointed to the Chair of Sanskrit at the University of Leiden. While being Professor of Sanskrit, Vogel continued to take the keenest interest in Indian Archaeology in all its aspects and was instrumental in founding the Kern Institute (in memory of another great Dutch Indologist) and arranged for the publication of an *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* which, in listing and reviewing all publications bearing on the subject, in numerous European and Indian languages and noticing new discoveries in India as well as Further India, Indonesia and Central Asia, has rendered an invaluable service in keeping scholars acquainted with progress in research. Vogel retired from the University in 1939, but continued his connection with the Kern Institute of which he was made Honorary President.

Vogel's contribution to Indological Studies has been recognised by the conferment of honours from various sources. The Indian Government made him a Companion of the Most Eminent Order of the British Empire and in his own country, he was created a Knight of the Order of the Dutch Lion. In 1915, he was elected a Member of the Royal Academy of the Netherlands, in 1935 an Honorary Member of the *Société Asiatique*, Paris, in 1937 an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, in 1939 an Honorary Member of the American Oriental Society and in 1950, foreign member of the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, Paris. Our own Society made him an Honorary Member in 1949.



The field of his studies was very wide. Besides specialising in the Sanskrit language and its literature, he was quite at home in Pāli and the Prākrits and a number of Indian vernaculars, and could write with authority on Indian inscriptions, Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, Art, architecture and ancient Indian geography. He has also made important contributions to the study of Indonesian history and art. He could write with equal facility in his own Dutch language as well as in English, French and German. He was quite conscious of the important place which the language, history and the monuments of Ceylon occupies in a study of Indian civilisation, and kept himself well-informed of the progress of research in this Island which he visited in 1926.

Vogel has contributed many learned papers to the Director-General's Annual Report, the *Epigraphia Indica* and a number of other Oriental journals. Among his books may be mentioned 'Antiquities of Chamba State' (1911), 'Tile-Mosaics of the Lahore Fort' (1911), 'La Sculpture de Mathurā' (1930), 'Buddhist Art in India, Ceylon and Java' in Dutch (1932) and English (1936), Translation of '*Mudrā-rākṣasa*' (a Sanskrit Drama) (1946) and Translation of Prem Chand's Hindi work *Sapt Saroj* (1948). In spite of his advanced age, he continued to write learned articles and papers on a variety of subjects almost to the end.

Vogel was always ready to welcome scholars and students from India, Ceylon and Indonesia, and his great reputation as an authority on Indian archaeology attracted a number of students from India to the University of Leiden. Some of these Indian pupils of Vogel came to occupy important positions in Indian Universities and in the Archaeological Survey, e.g. Dr. B. Ch. Chabra for many years the Government Epigraphist for India, at present Joint Director-General of Archaeology, and Dr. Nihar Ranjan Ray, Vagisvari Professor of Fine Art at the University of Calcutta, and for some time Cultural Adviser to the Government of Burma. The present writer owes an immense debt of gratitude to the late Professor Vogel and if he has made any contribution to Ceylon archaeology, it was in great measure due to his aid and the inspiration derived from him.

The last two years of Professor Vogel's life was full of anxiety caused by the ill-health of Mrs. Vogel who was became an invalid as the result of an accident.

Mrs. Vogel was a great help to her husband and many a visitor to Leiden from India and Ceylon will remember with gratitude the warm welcome and hospitality she used to extend along with her husband to them in their house in Noordeindsplein, Leiden and later at Oogstgeest, near Leiden. She did not long survive her husband and the many pupils and friends of Professor Vogel were grieved to hear of her passing away on the 17th of July, 1959.

S. PARANAVITANA



## Book Review

*Suttasamgaha*. Edited by Ramaprasad Chaudhuri and Devaprasad Guha, published by the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, Introduction 16 pages, Text 333 pages. Price Rs. 15/-.

To the scholars in Ceylon this publication has a two-fold interest. Firstly, Ceylon should be happy that the Asiatic Society, Calcutta, embarked upon a new sphere when it undertook the publication of Pali texts. Secondly, Ceylon should be happy in the thought that Pali studies, which in fact are Buddhist studies, are receiving the attention of Indian scholars. It is generally felt that the previous editions of Pali texts undertaken both in the West as well as in the East are now in need of further critical study in view of the fresh knowledge derived from recent researches. Buddhist studies in the past have suffered considerably due to lack of critical editions. New editions are therefore welcome. Ceylon may hope that Calcutta will supply the critical editions in years to come. Ceylon stands to gain most.

The introduction provides useful information regarding the compilation itself. Several manuscripts in Ceylon, Burma and Siam have been collated in the preparation of this text. 'The *Suttasamgaha* is a collection mainly from the Pali Nikayas with the addition of three pieces taken from the *Vinaya Pitaka*, one from the *Abhidhamma Pitaka*, and five from the commentaries'. Its scope is wider than those of other well known collections. Although the question about it being a canonical work is still under consideration, in Burma the text is accepted as being canonical. Hence the great regard it receives in Burma. The *Suttasamgaha* is used as a useful handbook for the young bhikkhus and laymen.

The text will prove exceedingly useful for Buddhist studies in Ceylon. Since the volume is not readily available its publication in Sinhala should receive the attention of scholars and authorities.

NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA.

*Classical Sinhalese Sculpture 300 B.C.-A.D. 1000* by D. T. Devendra, 42 pages text, 46 plates containing 128 illustrations and a site map, published by Alex Tiranti Ltd., London, 1958—30 shillings.

The book is printed in an unusual size, at least unusual for Ceylon. The publishers may be having good reasons for adopting this size. The treatment is also unusual. The author begins by giving an account of the historical background, the materials used in sculpture and speaks of two phases. He then proceeds to deal with sculpture on the basis of subject matter. A chronological table and a short glossary help the reader, especially the foreign reader unfamiliar with Ceylon. Sinhalese sculpture has utilized chiefly stone of two varieties, viz., limestone (dolomite) and gneiss. Reference is also made to the use of ivory, bronze, gold, laterite and steel.

2. The two phases described are early and late. To the early period belong the oldest sculpture preserved at Kantaka Cetiya. Here the earliest Sinhalese art in plastic form had come into being. Although there is no depth in this sculpture, the low and high reliefs continue in length. Mr. Devendra explains the early sculpture as being closely influenced by the Indian tradition of Asokan times. The extraordinary polish of the pillars, the embellishments of the capitals, the decorative motifs and the animal forms betray a direct Mauryan influence.



Nevertheless, the difference lies in the balance and proportions. Austerity, and conservatism have engendered a restraint which is the key to all the forms of embellishment. The author feels that whereas early Indian sculpture was iconic, early Sinhalese sculpture is aniconic.

3. The plaques containing scenes from the life of the Buddha are almost absent in Ceylon, but the Buddha figure remains the dominant theme. He attempts to establish with more evidence that the origin of the Buddha figure was the product of an independent art tradition in Ceylon. It was evolved in the early century of the Christian era. Very interesting comments are added on the moonstone, guardstone and the pillars. He feels that the classical sculpture belonged to the Court art as practised and enjoyed by the rich class. Has he forgotten the subsisting popular art? That has no place in a theme like classical sculpture.

4. Speaking of the figure sculpture, reference is made to the Buddha and Bodhisattva figures, the terracotta heads with cherubic faces from Kantaka Cetiya. The elephant heads, carved slabs and the lone figures of the man and horse from Isurumuniya are of particular interest. Two fine female torsos have been picked out as classic examples of beautiful sculpture. The Situlpavva Bodhisattva figure is equally classic. Mr. Devendra in his descriptive notes and in his comments brings to bear the knowledge and experience acquired by him in the Archaeological Department. With this advantage he offers useful comments not only as regards the existence of an indigenous tradition, interpretation of the subject matter but also as regards dating. He is inclined to accept an earlier date for the Buddha figure and the other more restrained sculptural objects.

5. It is interesting to note that some very fine photographs of archaeological objects are available in this book. Photography has become an art by itself and the modern publishers, particularly of the West, devote as much attention to the photographs as to the text. That Mr. Devendra has been able to satisfy them is in itself a tribute to his choice and judicious handling of the subject. Of particular interest are illustrations Nos. 36, 37, 44, 54, 64, 73, 75, 84, 93, 106 and 107.

NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA.

*Myths of the North-East Frontier of India*, by Verrier Elwin, 448 pages, Rs. 10/-, Sree Saraswathy Press, Calcutta, India.

What used to be once called the North-East Frontier Province of India is now administered as North-East Frontier Agency (N.E.F.A.), under the Government of India. It comprises 27,000 acres of land which is just a little more than the total extent of Ceylon. Here live a variety of primitive people, some of whom until very recent times, observed the ritual of taking one's neighbour's head. For the most part the Nagas speaking dialects and languages belonging to the Tibeto-Burman family inhabit these regions. They and their neighbours exhibit a diversity of cultures picturesquely primitive. Their thoughts are inspired mostly by Buddhist ideas, Hindu beliefs and primitive religion.

Several monographs have been written on the Nagas who form the major group and the Western Anthropologists have shown a particular interest in recording the customs and beliefs, rituals and ceremonies of these interesting groups of humanity, who, even today, remain at a level of culture very little influenced by the Western way of life. Amongst the Anthropologists who have studied and written about primitive Indian tribes, Verrier Elwin is today the most outstanding personality. He has lived with these jungle folk and therefore



has first-hand and intimate information about them. A better recorder and interpreter, a more sympathetic writer N.E.F.A. could not have commissioned for this unique task which requires technical skill, understanding and patience.

The importance of the study of a people's traditional cultures comes out forcibly by reading through this book which is a mine of information about the simple dwellers of the forest. Of course, the information is embodied in about 480 stories. The subject matter has been scientifically dealt with for the specialists but that too without sacrificing the interests of the ordinary reader or the genuineness of the story itself. Certainly these myths—for the most part these are myths—throw light on the thoughts and poetic imagination of the tribes. These underlie human variations of folklore, mythology and religion. The stories have been literally translated on the spot as narrated by the tribesmen without introducing new symbols and images. The common Indian motifs are absent, and there is considerable originality. The stories open a new world of charming simplicity and unsophisticated beauty. These form a saga about the children-like men and women of the Indian forests who still live in an era that is past. Certain themes are common to the rest of India, e.g., the stories about the *primaeval* ocean, origin of earthquakes, lightning, thunder and taboos. The occasions for the stories are dancing, festivals, harvesting, funerals and gathering near the fireplace.

The book is divided into IV parts and the material in each is arranged conveniently under broad headings.

Part I deals with heaven and earth. Here ancient ideas from the Atharva Veda and the Upanaishads can be detected. The myth about brother and sister marriage also finds a place. The ideas of the union and separation of heaven and earth, queries about the sun and the moon, eclipses, etc. are embodied in beautiful stories. Thunder and lightning, origin of water and earthquakes are accounted for with charming simplicity of the childlike mind of the primitive.

Part II is about man and his history. Although the picture of man's emergence is not clear, several explanations are offered about the first men. The common character having opposite qualities is the trickster, who is a very popular character with simple rural folk even today.

Part III relates to the daily life of man. Here an attempt is made to give the origins of institutions, qualities and practices. Strangely enough the comforts of man are betel, tobacco, opium, rice beer, all of which contribute to soothe life's sorrows. Fire forms an interesting material. Like disease it is attributed to a spirit. As in most religions there is a supreme being who is just and benevolent. A strong sense of the unseen world pervades. There a variety of gods, spirits and demons are believed to exist. Human beings too go there after death which is attributed again to natural and supernatural causes. Death can ensue as a result of a breach of taboos, occurrence of bad dreams, infliction of sorcery and possession by the spirit (Wiyu).

Part IV speaks of the world of animals. In ancient Indian stories, both mythical and didactical, the animals play an important part. They are the chief characters who speak on terms of equality and familiarity with the human beings as well as supernatural deities. It is true that the belief in transmigration of souls among the primitives yielded place to the concept of rebirth, thereby helping to establish links of continuity between animal, man and spirit. All the beings of the animal kingdom are introduced and each is given an appropriate part in the story. The most popular among them are the reptiles, birds and mammals. A peculiar belief is that the apes originally were considered to be men.



This, of course, reverses the law of evolution. Nevertheless, a link between apes and men had been visualised.

The importance of publications of this nature to the people of Ceylon can be appreciated fully only when Sinhalese folklore which contains so much valuable material common to the Indian tradition is analysed and presented in scientific fashion. The wealth of material which is fast disappearing owing to the greater influence of an urban civilization and contacts with the outside world should not be allowed to disappear without being recorded. The traditional cultures which preserve these fundamental truths about early men and their society should be studied, analysed and evaluated. It would be an irreparable loss if the eternal truths of life are allowed to disappear. If that were to happen, the present day society would drift without a firm basis and direction. These are essential for true human progress. It is hoped that Ceylon too will embark on a scheme similar to the one N.E.F.A. has successfully accomplished.

NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA.



## Annual Report for 1958

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**Meetings.**—The Annual General Meeting, two General Meetings and three Council Meetings were held during the year under review.

**Lectures.**—Dr. S. Paranavitana, the President, delivered a lecture on 'Bodhigharas and Asanagharas' and a talk on his Archaeological Research Work at Pomparippu and Major R. Raven-Hart lectured on 'Two Old Sinhalese Roads and a Puzzle'. The lectures were illustrated with slides and photographs.

The Society was also fortunate in arranging a lecture on 'Legend and History in the Life of the Buddha' by Dr. Ernest Waldschmidt, Professor of Indology in the University of Gottingen, Germany, and one of the world's greatest scholars on Buddhism, who visited the island earlier in the year on a lecture tour.

**Membership.**—The membership for the year was as follows :

Honorary Members	..	..	..	..	8
Life-Members	..	..	..	..	103
Ordinary (Resident) Members	..	..	..	..	311
Ordinary (Non-Resident) Members	..	..	..	..	17
Total					439

The above figures include :

20 new members admitted during the year

4 resignations from 1-1-58

14 members removed from the Roll of Members for non-payment of subscriptions for two years and over.

**Council.**—Vacancies in the Council were filled as follows :

*Members:—*

1. Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekera
2. Mr. G. B. Jackson
3. Dr. H. W. Tambiah
4. Mr. R. L. Brohier
5. Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty

*Joint Honorary Secretaries:—*

1. Mr. A. R. Tampoe
2. Mrs. Esmee Rankine

*Honorary Treasurer:*

Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail

**Grant.**—A grant of Rs. 6,000/- was received from the Government in respect of the Financial Year 1957/58.

**Library.**—108 books were purchased during the year ; little binding work was undertaken.

On the unanimous decision of Council, the set of Water Supply, Professional and Geological Papers was transferred to the Library of the University of Ceylon.

**Publications.**—Vol. V, Part II of the Society's Journal was issued during the year. Vol. VI (Special No.) containing exclusively an article by Mr. C. W. Nicholas was published in May this year.

**Missions Abroad.**—Dr. A. W. P. Guruge and Mr. J. R. Jayawardena were selected to represent the Society at the 21st Session of the Indian History Congress. The Sessions were held in Trivandrum from 25 to 28 December, 1958.

**Obituary.**—We regret to have to record the deaths of three of our distinguished members, viz. Sir Paul Pieris, C.M.G., Mr. C. Nagalingam, Q.C., and Dr. J. R. Blaze during the period under review.







## Honorary Treasurer's Report

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**1. Income.**—Our receipts for the year mainly comprised of members' subscriptions—

(1) Subscriptions for 1958	..	..	Rs. 3,136.94
(2) Arrears of Subscriptions	..	..	Rs. 230.00
(3) Entrance Fees	..	..	Rs. 150.00
(4) Fees Paid in Advance..	..	..	Rs. 262.50
			<hr/> Rs. 3,779.44

**2.** Fourteen members were removed from the Roll of Members for non-payment of subscriptions and in consequence a sum of Rs. 560/- was written off as irrecoverable.

**3.** A sum of Rs. 1,831/32 due as subscriptions remained unpaid at the end of the year. It would be greatly appreciated if members would pay in their subscriptions regularly and promptly as this would save much clerical labour and postage expenses.

**4.** A sum of Rs. 1,466/99 was collected by the sale of the Society's Journals and this is an appreciable increase over the amount collected in the previous year under this head. ..

**5.** The main items of expenditure were :—

(1) Salaries	..	..	..	Rs. 3,720.00
(2) Purchase of Books	..	..	..	Rs. 2,613.31
(3) Printing of Journals	..	..	..	Rs. 3,700.00
(4) Binding Charges	..	..	..	Rs. 82.50
				<hr/> Rs. 10,115.81

**6.** The Bank balances were :—

(1) State Bank of India	..	..	..	Rs. 3,077.72
(2) Ceylon Savings Bank	..	..	..	Rs. 2,688.20



# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

## Balance Sheet as at

LIABILITIES	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
<b>Accumulated Fund :</b>				
As at 31st December, 1957 ..	15,936	45		
Add: Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year ..	16	01	15,952	46
<b>Current Liabilities :</b>				
Pope & Co. ..	250	00		
Subscriptions paid in Advance	271	34		
B. F. Stevens & Brown ..	1	22	522	56
<b>Sundry Funds—per Contra:</b>				
<b>Society Medal Fund</b>				
As at 31st December, 1957 Rs. 2,023.50				
Add: Interest for the year ,, 50.50	2,074	00		
<b>Chalmer's Oriental Text Fund:</b>				
As at 31st December, 1957 Rs. 1,919.66				
Add: Interest for the year and deposit of Sale of Extended Mahavansa .. ,, 121.36	2,041	02		
<b>Chinese Records Translation Fund :</b>				
As at 31st December, 1957 Rs. 3,678.83				
Add: Interest for the year ,, 91.87	3,770	70	7,885	72
		Rs.	24,360	74

PARANAVITANA,  
*President.*

A. H. M. ISMAIL,  
*Honorary Treasurer.*



# (CEYLON BRANCH)

31st December, 1958

ASSETS		Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
<b>Fixed Assets :</b>					
As at 31st December, 1957	..	5,828	42		
Less: Depreciation	..	311	31		
		5,517	11		
Add: Additions during the year	..	1,791	52	7,308	63
<b>Current Assets :</b>					
<i>Sundry Debtors</i>					
Subscription	..	1,326	00		
Subscription due in 1957 and earlier		505	32		
Department of Cultural Affairs	..	1,500	00		
J. R. Maxwell & Co., Ltd.	..	1	11		
Baily Bros. & Swinfer Ltd.	..	3	76		
Maruzan & Co.	..	11	48		
Kegan Paul Trench Trubner & Co.			35	3,348	02
<i>Cash and Bank Balances</i>					
State Bank of India	..	3,077	72		
Cash in Hand	..	29	89		
Stamps in Hand	..	22	56		
<b>Ceylon Savings Bank :</b>					
As at 31st December, 1957	Rs. 2,622.70				
Add: Interest for the year	.. 65.50	2,688	20	5,818	37
<b>Ceylon Savings Bank :</b>					
<i>Sundry Funds-per Contra</i>					
Society Medal Fund	..	2,074	00		
Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund	..	2,041	02		
Chinese Records Translation Fund	..	3,770	70	7,885	72
			Rs.	24,360	74

## REPORT OF THE AUDITORS

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1958. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. We have not seen confirmations from Members for subscriptions in arrear. Subject to this and to our Report of even date, in our opinion the above Balance Sheet correctly exhibits the position as at 31st December, 1958, according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the financial books.

POPE & CO. }  
Auditors.  
Chartered Accountants. }

Colombo, 5th May, 1959.



# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

## Income and Expenditure Account for

EXPENDITURE	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
<b>To General Account :</b>				
Salaries .. ..	3,720	00		
Overtime .. ..	75	00		
Audit Fees .. ..	250	00		
Accountancy Charge .. ..	75	00		
Printing Charges .. ..	365	97		
Postage .. ..	271	20		
Lectures and Meeting .. ..	82	00		
Travelling .. ..	16	70		
Bank Charges .. ..	12	47		
Commission on Sale of Literature .. ..	307	68		
Bonus .. ..	10	00		
Miscellaneous .. ..	21	18		
Advertisements .. ..	155	94		
Cycle Allowance to Peon .. ..	60	00		
Debit Tax .. ..	11	72		
Arrears written off .. ..	540	00		
Entrance Fees written off .. ..	20	00	5,994	86
<b>„ Government Grant :</b>				
Building .. ..	82	50		
Purchase of Books .. ..	2,613	31		
Printing of Journals .. ..	3,700	00	6,395	81
<b>„ Depreciation .. ..</b>			311	31
<b>„ Excess of Income over Expenditure for the year .. ..</b>			16	01
		Rs.	12,717	99



(CEYLON BRANCH)

**the Year Ended 31st December, 1958**

[illegible]



# ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

## Receipts and Payments Account for

RECEIPTS	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
<b>To Balance on 1st January, 1958 :</b>				
State Bank of India ..	6,082	59		
Ceylon Savings Bank ..	2,622	70		
Cash in Hand ..	17	63	8,722	92
<b>„ General Account :</b>				
Life Members Fees ..	150	00		
Arrears of Subscription ..	230	00		
Subscriptions for 1958 ..	3,136	94		
Entrance Fees ..	150	00		
Fees paid in Advance ..	262	50		
Sale of Journals ..	1,466	99		
Donations ..	10	50		
Ceylon Savings Bank Interest ..	65	50	5,472	43
<b>„ Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund:</b>				
Deposits of Sale of Extended Mahavansa ..			73	49
<b>„ Government Grant ..</b>			6,000	00
		Rs.	20,268	84



# (CEYLON BRANCH)

the Year Ended 31st December, 1958

PAYMENTS	Rs.	Cts.	Rs.	Cts.
<b>By General Account :</b>				
Salaries .. ..	3,720	00		
Audit Fees and Accountancy Charges .. ..	325	00		
Printing and Stationery .. ..	365	97		
Postage .. ..	271	20		
Lectures and Meetings .. ..	82	00		
Travelling .. ..	16	70		
Bank Charges .. ..	12	47		
Commission on Sale of Journals .. ..	322	47		
Bonus to Peon .. ..	10	00		
Deposits of Sale of Extended Mahavansa in Chalmers' Oriental Text Fund .. ..	73	49		
Overtime .. ..	75	00		
Sundries .. ..	177	12		
Debit Tax .. ..	11	72		
Cycle Loan .. ..	60	00	5,523	14
<b>„ Government Grant Account :</b>				
Purchase of Books .. ..	2,613	31		
Binding .. ..	82	50		
Printing of Journals and Catalogues .. ..	4,440	00		
Purchase of Furniture .. ..	1,791	52	8,927	33
<b>„ Bank Balance on 31st December, 1958 :</b>				
State Bank of India .. ..	3,077	72		
Ceylon Savings Bank .. ..	2,688	20		
Cash in Hand .. ..	29	89		
Stamp in Hand .. ..	22	56	5,818	37
		Rs.	20,268	84



## Office-Bearers

### *Patron*

His Excellency Sir Oliver Goonetilleke, G.C.M.G., K.C.V.O., K.B.E. 1954

### *President*

Dr. S. Paranavitana, C.B.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., Professor, Archaeology, University of Ceylon, Mahakande, Peradeniya 1956

### *Ex-Presidents*

1. Sir Paul E. Pieris, C.M.G., Litt.D., Nugedola, Pasyala
2. Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, M.A., A.M., F.C.P.S., F.Z.S., Director, National Museums, Colombo

### *Vice-Presidents*

1. Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., D.D., B.A., Bishop of Chilaw 1955
2. Dr. G. C. Mendis, D.Litt., 1060, Peradeniya Road, Peradeniya 1957
3. Mr. C. W. Nicholas, 41, Castle Lane, Bambalapitiya 1956

### *Joint Honorary Secretaries*

1. Mr. A. R. Tampoe, 72/2, De Fonseka Place, Colombo 5 1953
2. Mrs. Esmee Rankine, 14, Castle Lane, Bambalapitiya 1957

### *Honorary Treasurer*

Al-Hajj A. H. [M. Ismail, M.A., LL.B., J.P.U.M., 139/141, Kynsey Road, Colombo 8 1949

### *Council Members*

1. Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz, B.A., Government Archivist, Nuwara Eliya 1952
2. Mr. R. L. Brohier, O.B.E., F.R.I.C.S., F.R.G.S., 43, Asoka Gardens, Colombo 4 1955
3. Professor D. E. Hettiarachchi, M.A., Ph.D., University of Ceylon, Peradeniya 1957
4. Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., B.Sc., LL.B. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Lond.), 52, 5th Lane, Colombo 3 1955
5. Mr. Lyn de Fonseka, National Museums, Colombo 7 1957
6. Sir Nicholas Attygalle, L.M.S. (Cey.), D.L.O. (Lond.), M.R.C.S. (Eng.), L.R.C.P. (Lond.), F.R.C.S. (Eng.), F.R.C.O.G., 118, Horton Place, Colombo 7 1955
7. Mr. C. B. P. Perera, O.B.E., B.Sc., C.C.S., 69, Green Path, Colombo 7 1956
8. Ven. Dr. Pandit D. Pannasara, B.A., Vidyodaya Pirivena, Maligakanda, Colombo 10 1957
9. Mr. E. B. Wickramanayake, Q.C., 37/1, Beach Road, Mt. Lavinia 1956
10. Mr. S. F. de Silva, Director of Education, Colombo 2 1957
11. Mr. C. Nagalingam, Q.C., 'Linkawasa', 5th Lane, Colombo 3 1956
12. Mr. D. C. R. Gunawardena, C.C.S., 21, De Fonseka Road, Colombo 5 1956



## Abstract of Proceedings

Annual General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at the Colombo Museum Lecture Hall on 9th August, 1957, at 5-30 p.m.

**Present.**—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair, forty-five members and fifteen visitors.

**1. Minutes.**—Read and confirmed Minutes of the General Meeting of 1st February, 1957.

**2. Business arising from the Minutes.**—Nil.

**3. Annual Report.**—Dr. Balendra proposed the adoption of the Report and Mudaliyar K. W. de A. Wijesinghe seconded—carried.

**4. Audited Statement of Accounts.**—Adopted and carried *nem con.*

**5. Donations.**—A list of donations received since the General Meeting of 1-2-57 was tabled.

**6. Acquisition.**—A list of books acquired since the General Meeting of 1-2-57 was tabled.

**7. New Members.**—The names of eleven Ordinary Resident Members and one non-Resident Member elected since the last General Meeting were announced.

**8. Election of Office-Bearers.**—The following were elected :

(a) *Vice-President*:— Dr. G. C. Mendis

(b) *Council*:— Mr. S. F. de Silva  
Mr. Lyn de Fonseka  
Prof. D. E. Hettiarachchi and  
Ven. Dr. Dehigaspe Pannasara

(c) *Joint Honorary Secretaries*:—1. Mr. A. R. Tampoe (re-elected)  
2. Mrs. Esmee Rankine (elected)

(d) *Honorary Treasurer*:—Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail (re-elected).

**9. Award of Society's Medal.**—The Society Medal for the year 1957 was awarded to Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz.

**10. Accommodation for the Society.**—The President moved the following resolution :

‘ The Society approves the recommendation of the Council that the offer of the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Ceylon to accommodate the Society in University premises at Thurstan Road, Colombo, on the following terms—

- (i) that the members of the University shall have access to the Society's Library;
- and (ii) that in the event of the Society dissolving itself, the Society's Library shall be handed over to the University : be gratefully accepted ’.

After a lengthy discussion the following amendment moved by Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne was accepted by the House—



'That the arrangements of the Council of the Society with the University be accepted, subject to the condition that the Society should be able to move the Library if alternative accommodation be found at any time, and that a Committee be appointed to explore ways and means to find permanent accommodation and to give evidence before the Antiquities Committee'.

The following Committee was appointed :

1. Dr. W. Balendra (Convener)
2. Mr. Lyn de Fonseka (Member)
3. Mud. K. W. de A. Wijesinghe (Member).

It was agreed that the Committee's report be ready within three months.

**11. Lecture.**—Owing to the lateness of the hour, Dr. Mendis proposed and Mr. C. W. Nicholas seconded that the Lecture be postponed for another date. This was approved.

**Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held on Friday, 13th September, 1957, at 5-15 p.m. at the Society's Library, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.**

**Present.**—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair, and ten members.

**1. Minutes.**—The Minutes of the Meetings of 31-8-57 and 12-7-57 which had previously been circulated were confirmed.

**2. Vote of Congratulations.**—The President moved a vote of congratulation on the appointment of Dr. D. N. Wadia (Honorary Member) as a Fellow of the Royal Society.

**3. Election of New Members.**—The following candidates were duly elected Ordinary Members of the Society :

1. Mr. Lakshman S. Perera
2. Mr. P. Wattegama
3. Mr. A. C. R. Perera
4. Miss Y. H. S. Fernando.

**4. Books Purchased.**—A list of books purchased since the Annual General Meeting of 9-8-57 was tabled.

**5. Donations.**—A list of donations received since the Annual General Meeting of 9-8-57 was tabled.

**6. Resignations.**—Council accepted the resignation of Gate-Mudaliyar Tudor Rajapakse, Resident Member.

**7. Member's struck-off.**—The name of Gate-Mudaliyar S. P. Wijetunge, Resident Member, was removed from the List of Members and a sum of Rs. 15/- due from him as subscription for 1957 was waived.

**8. Lecture by Prof. G. S. Graham.**—It was reported to Council that arrangements had been finalised for the Lecture by Prof. G. S. Graham, of the University of London, on the 'Evolution of the Commonwealth' under the joint auspices of the British Council and the R.A.S. on 23rd September, 1957, at 5-30 p.m. at the King George V Hall, University of Ceylon.

**9. Government Grant.**—Tabled letter from Director of Education and connected correspondence. Decided to write to the Director of Education requesting that the grant be paid without delay as the Council had undertaken certain commitments, pending payment of the grant.

**10. Accommodation.**—A letter from the Incumbent of Dipaduttamarama, Kotahena, was considered. The Secretary was asked to obtain further details.



**11. Book Review.**—Council decided that the book *The Encyclopaedia of Buddhism*—Volume of Specimen articles, be sent to Dr. Dehigaspe Pannasara Thero for favour of review.

**12. Council.**—Tabled letter from Dr. J. R. Blaze resigning from the Council of the Society as he expects to be away from Ceylon for a long time.

**13. Wickramasinghe Mss.**—President read a report from Professor Hettiarachchi which indicated that a Sinhalese text based on Mss. 1, which in his opinion was the best of the collection, was complete. An Appendix was also under preparation which consisted of material found in other Mss. President was requested to glance through the text and express an opinion. Council suggested that when the Text was complete, an English translation be prepared and the whole thing published.

**14. Centenary Volume.**—Council authorised the free issue of the Centenary Journal to Messrs. W. G. Archer and R. Attygalle.

**15. Ex-President's Address.**—Tabled letter from Mr. P. Tambimuttu forwarding an article based on Ex-President's Address of 1956. Council decided to refer the article to Mr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala for a suitable reply direct to the writer.

**16. Exchange of Publications.**—Deferred for next meeting of Council.

**17. Pension of the late K. D. Richard.**—It was reported to Council that an ex-gratia payment of a month's salary was made to the next-of-kin of the late K. D. Richard.

**18. Any other Business.**—Nil.

**Special Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5-15 p.m. on Friday, 15th November, 1957, at the New Quarters of the Society's Library at University College Buildings, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.**

**Present.**—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair and eleven members.

**Absent.**—A letter from Dr. G. C. Mendis was tabled regretting his inability to attend.

**Business.**—The meeting was specially convened to consider the report of the sub-Committee appointed at the Annual General Meeting of the Council held on 9th August, 1957, to explore ways and means of finding permanent accommodation for the Society and to give evidence before the Antiquities Commission. The Honorary Secretary read the report and it was decided that on written confirmation being received from the Vice-Chancellor of his acceptance of the terms on which the removal of the Library was authorised by the Society at the Annual General Meeting of 9th August, 1957, a Special General Meeting should be summoned and the sub-Committee's report and relevant documents placed before it for discussion.

**General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at King George's Hall, University of Ceylon, Colombo 3, on Friday, 7th February, 1958, at 5-15 p.m.**

**Present.**—The President, Dr. S. Paranavitana, in the Chair and fifty members and visitors.

**1. Minutes.**—The President invited comments on the Minutes of the Annual General Meeting of 9-8-57. It was suggested that the word 'meeting'



appearing at the end of page 2 under the item 'Accommodation for the Society' be substituted for the word 'house'. This was accepted and the Minutes were confirmed.

**2. Donations and Acquisitions.**—A list of donations received and books purchased since the Annual General Meeting of 9-8-57 were announced.

**3. Report of sub-Committee.**—The Report was tabled. The Secretary read out the letter from the Vice-Chancellor of the University confirming his agreement to the amended resolution that the Society retains the right to move its Library at any time permanent accommodation could be found. The House unanimously agreed that the University offer was the best in the present circumstances.

Sir Edwin Wijeyeratne moved that a vote of thanks to the members of the sub-Committee be passed. This was seconded by Dr. Tambiah. Dr. Balendra thanked the members for this vote of appreciation.

**4. Lecture.**—The President spoke on his Archaeological Research work at Pomparippu which was illustrated with photographs. Comments were offered by Mr. J. R. Jayawardena, Mr. Silva of the Archaeological Department and others.

Dr. Edmund Peiris proposed and Mudaliyar Wijesinghe seconded a vote of thanks to the Lecturer.

**Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5-15 p.m. on the 7th March, 1958, at the Society's Library, University Buildings, Thurstan Road, Colombo 3.**

**Present.**—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President, in the Chair and seven members.

**1. Minutes.**—The Minutes of the Meeting of the Council held on 13-9-57 and the Special Meeting of the Council held on 15-11-57, which had previously been circulated, were confirmed.

**2. Vote of Thanks.**—A vote of thanks was proposed by the Chairman to Sir Nicholas Attygalle, the Vice-Chancellor of the University and to the University Council for their very generous action in making available to the Society accommodation in a part of the University buildings at a time when the existence of the Society was in peril. The vote was unanimously carried and Council resolved that the Vice-Chancellor be written to accordingly.

**3. Vote of Condolence.**—The President moved a vote of condolence on the death of Bhikkhu Sirimitta (Mudaliyar Jayasinghe), a Life-Member of the Society. This was passed in the usual manner and Council directed that the next of kin of the deceased member be written to.

**4. Election of New Members.**—The following candidates were duly elected Ordinary Resident Members of the Society, viz.

- (1) Mr. T. B. Ratnayake
- (2) Ven. Madampitiya Jinananda Nayake Thero
- (3) Mr. Charles Muthumale
- (4) Mr. K. M. de Silva
- (5) Mr. L. P. N. Perera
- (6) Mr. D. J. de Silva
- (7) Mr. V. C. Moharanjithan
- (8) Mr. J. L. M. Fernando
- (9) Mr. H. L. Wimalasuriya
- (10) Mr. G. K. F. Wickramaseker
- (11) Mr. W. H. M. Abeyesekera



- (12) Mr. R. Don Sirisena
- (13) Mr. H. C. Peiris
- (14) Royal Netherlands Legation
- (15) Mr. N. J. K. G. Senadeera.

**5. Books Purchased.**—A list of books purchased since the General Meeting of 7-2-58 was tabled.

**6. Donations.**—A list of donations received since the General Meeting of 7-2-58 was tabled.

**7. Resignations.**—Council accepted with regret the resignation of the following members :

- 1. Mr. P. Sri Skanda Rajah
- 2. Mr. S. A. W. Mottau
- 3. Mr. A. C. Richards
- 4. Miss D. H. V. P. S. Siriwardena.

**8. Removal of Names from the List of Members.**—Council approved the removal of the following names from the List of Members and directed that the amounts due from them as arrears of subscription be written off :

	Rs. C.
1. Director, Kannada Research Institute (non-Resident Member) .. .. .	15.00
2. Mr. N. R. Ratnaike .. .. .	60.00
3. Mr. D. Kannangara .. .. .	60.00
4. Mr. P. Thenabadu .. .. .	60.00
5. Mr. A. Palihawadana .. .. .	35.00

**9. Paper entitled ' The Maha Sigiriya and the Maha Kandalama Tank Systems ' by Mr. A. M. Caldera for publication in the Society's Journal.**

Laid on the table the above paper submitted by Mr. A. M. Caldera. Council directed that in accordance with the established practice the paper be referred to a sub-Committee consisting of Mr. C. W. Nicholas and Mr. C. B. P. Perera.

**10. Historical Map of Ceylon.**—Council considered that no action was necessary in view of a subsequent letter received from Mr. E. de Z. Gunewardena.

**11. ' The Mahabharata Legends ' by Dr. G. C. Mendis.**—Considered letter from Mr. P. Wijesinghe requesting permission to reproduce in the *Sinhalese Historical Quarterly* the above article published in the Society's Journal, Vol. V.

(1). Dr. Mendis stated that he had no objection provided that due acknowledgment was made and that the translation was sent to him for approval before publication. Council agreed.

**12. Major R. Raven-Hart.**—Laid on the table—

- (1) *Paper on Van Eck's Expeditions of 1764-5 :*  
Read correspondence in regard to this paper. Council directed that the summary be sent to Dr. G. C. Mendis and Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz for their views.
- (2) *Correspondence in regard to Major Mederler's Expedition, 1765 now in Press :*

Council considered Major Raven-Hart's letter dated 19-2-58 and earlier correspondence relating to the above paper which is now in print. Council resolved that a letter be addressed to Major Raven-Hart explaining the position.

**13. Printing of Journal in Sinhalese and Tamil.**—A letter from Rev. M. Ratanasara suggesting the printing of the Society's Journal in Sinhalese and



Tamil as well as in English was discussed. Council resolved to support the proposal and to write to Rev. Ratanasara stating that as soon as the Society's resources are capable of handling such a situation, it will attend to the matter and that, in the meantime, the Society will communicate with the Ministry of Cultural Affairs asking for an enhanced grant for this purpose. The Council would also take up the matter with the Swabhasa Department and ask them whether they would be willing in due course to undertake this work of translation.

**14. Transfer of Water Supply, Professional and Geological Papers to the University.**—Council decided that a letter be addressed to the Vice-Chancellor of the University offering the above publications to the Library of the University.

**15. Book Review—‘Comparative Study of the Pratimoka’ by Dr. Pachow.**—Referred to Rev. Fr. V. Perniola for review.

**16. Any other Business.**—

(1) *Confirmation of appointment of Clerk and Librarian*—

Council confirmed the appointment of Mr. G. M. de S. Wijesekera as Clerk and Librarian of the Society.

(2) *Book Review—‘Encyclopaedia of Buddhism’:*

It was reported to Council that Dr. N. D. Wijesekera to whom the above publication was last referred for review was unable to undertake the work. Council decided that Rev. Mirissa Gunasiri Thero should be invited to undertake the review.

(3) *Free issues of Society's Journals:*

On a request made by the President, Council authorised the free issue of the Centenary and other important Journals of the Society to Prof. Needham as and when required.

**General Meeting of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at the Colombo Museum Lecture Hall on Friday, 11th April, 1958, at 5-30 p.m.**

**Present.**—The Senior Vice-President, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., presided in the absence of the President.

There were present thirty-five members and eight visitors.

**Minutes.**—The Minutes of the General Meeting of 7th February, 1958, were read and confirmed.

**Donations.**—A list of donations received since the General Meeting of 7-2-58 was tabled.

**Acquisitions.**—A list of books purchased since the General Meeting was tabled.

**New Members.**—The names of fifteen members elected since the General Meeting of 7-2-58 were announced.

**Lecture.**—Major R. Raven-Hart delivered a lecture on ‘Two Old Sinhalese Roads and a Puzzle’, illustrated with photographs.

Comments were made by Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Dr. Balendra, Fr. Perniola, Mr. Vicker-Smyth and a few others.

Dr. Spittel proposed and Rev. Fr. Perniola seconded a vote of thanks to the lecturer.



**Meeting of the Council of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 9-30 a.m. on Sunday, 22 June, 1958, at the Society's Library, University Buildings, Thurstan Road, Colombo.**

**Present.**—Dr. S. Paranavitana, President in the Chair, and nine members.

**Vote of Condolence.**—The President moved a vote of Condolence on the death of Mr. E. J. Thomas, an Honorary Member of the Society.

**1. Minutes.**—The Minutes of the Meeting of the Council of 7-3-58 were confirmed.

**2. Election of New Members.**—The following candidates were duly elected Ordinary Resident Members of the Society :

1. Mr. A. Joseph
2. Mr. A. Samarajeewa
3. Mr. S. L. Moonesinghe
4. Mr. Leo Lon Baggerley
5. Mr. S. W. Ekanayake
6. Mr. Harold Peiris
7. Mr. R. P. D. P. Rajapakse
8. Mr. E. L. M. Abayaweera
9. Mr. A. Lorenz Loos
10. Mrs. Joyce Jayatilleke
11. Miss E. Muller

**3. Books Purchased.**—A list of books purchased since the Council Meeting of 7-3-58 was tabled.

**4. Donations.**—A list of donations received since the Council Meeting of 7-3-58 was tabled.

**5. Resignations.**—Council accepted the resignation of Mr. B. Jeevunjee with effect from 31-12-58.

**6. Nominations to Council.**—It was agreed that the vacancies in the Council be filled as follows :

*Council—for election :*

- (1) Dr. Nanda Deva Wijeyesekera
- (2) Mr. G. B. Jackson
- (3) Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty

*For re-election :*

- (1) Mr. R. L. Brohier
- (2) Dr. H. W. Tambiah

*Office-Bearers—Joint Honorary Secretaries—for re-election :*

- (1) Mr. A. R. Tampoe
- (2) Mrs. E. Rankine

*Honorary Treasurer—for re-election :*

Al-Hajj A. H. M. Ismail

**7. Accounts.**—The audited statement of accounts was presented by the Honorary Treasurer and accepted for submission at the Annual General Meeting. Council decided to give effect to the recommendations of the Auditors, particularly with regard to :

- (a) The practice of accepting subscriptions in advance from candidates desirous of becoming members which was considered irregular.
- (b) The conversion of Residential Members to non-Residential Membership. Council directed that all such cases be put up to Council for a ruling.



(c) *Arrears of Subscriptions:*

It was reported to Council that every effort was being made to recover subscriptions. Reminders in the form of bills are sent from time to time but in many cases they are ignored by members. Council directed that in future a printed letter should accompany the bill.

(d) *Book Racks:*

Council decided that in view of the favourable financial position of the Society, new racks should be purchased to replace the shelves now in use. Authority was granted for the racks now on order.

## (e) With reference to the Statement of Accounts, the President read a letter received from the Director of Cultural Affairs enquiring whether the Society was in need of the grant for this year; if so, how much was required and also asking for a detailed statement of the purposes for which the grant was required. The President agreed to meet the Permanent Secretary to the Minister for Cultural Affairs and explain the position. It was resolved that, at the same time, a letter giving the information asked for be sent.

**8. Draft Annual Report and Honorary Treasurer's Report.**—The two reports were accepted by Council for submission to the Annual General Meeting.

**9. Annual General Meeting and Presidential Address.**—Owing to the curfew, Council decided to fix the Annual General Meeting provisionally for Sunday, 20th July at 10 a.m. The President announced that he would give a talk on 'Bodhigharas and Asanagharas'. Council directed that King George V Hall, University of Ceylon be arranged for the purpose.

**10. Messrs. Pope & Co., Auditors.**—Council approved the payment of the sum of Rs. 325/- to Messrs. Pope & Co. for auditing the Society's Accounts and preparing the Balance Sheet.

**11. Revision of Salaries.**—Council approved an increase of salary of Rs. 20/- to the following with retrospective effect, viz. 1-3-58:

(1) Mr. G. M. de S. Wijeyesekera	..	..	Rs. 20/-
(2) Miss E. Muller	..	..	Rs. 20/-
(3) W. G. Mudali Singho (Peon)	..	..	Rs. 20/-

**12. Exchange of Publications.**—Council directed the Secretaries to look into this question.

**13. Sale of Journals.**—A suggestion was made that the back numbers of Journals should be sold at half rates in order to dispose of the large stocks. Council directed that 25 copies of each number should be reserved for the Society and the balance disposed of. The Secretaries were asked to go into the question of advertising them by way of sending printed lists to the University and other Educational Institutions and well-known booksellers, stating that they are available for sale at the Society's Library. This method was to be tried for three months. If at the end of this period it was found that the scheme was not a success a report should accordingly be made to Council.

**14. Reference Section.**—The Secretaries were asked to label all books of value and rare books that should not be removed from the Library.

**15. Any other Business.**—

- (a) Exchange of publications with Archivum Historicum, S.I. Rome :  
Action as outlined under item 12 to be followed.



(b) *Book Review:*

Council agreed that Mr. W. J. A. La Brooy be requested to review the publication *The Catholic Church in Ceylon under Dutch Rule* by Rev. Fr. Robrecht Boudens, O.M.I.

(c) *Tabled letters from:*

(1) *Government Archives* regarding Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz' appointment as Charge d'Affaires, Legation for Ceylon in the Netherlands.

(2) *Mr. U. Batuvantudave* who desired to purchase the set of books entitled *Catalogue of Oriental Coins in the British Museum*—Vols. 1-10 by Lane Poole, as they have no bearing on Ceylon Coins and are seldom consulted by members. Council directed that Mr. Batuvantudave be informed that the books of the Society are not for sale.

(3) *Telephone Connection:*

A suggestion that a telephone should be installed in the Library was considered by Council. Authority was granted to make an application to P.M.G.

(4) *Loan of Legge's Fa-Hien to Mr. Saparamadu:*

Council directed that Mr. Saparamadu be informed that the above book is for reference only and, as such, it could not be lent to him.

(5) The question of granting facilities to members of the University for using the Library was considered. Council decided to extend this concession only to the students. But they are not permitted to remove any books from the Library.



**PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE—PERIOD 1-10-57 TO  
30-9-58**

**America**

Academy of Natural Sciences,  
Philadelphia .. ..

- (1) Proceedings, Vol. CIX.  
(2) Notulae Naturae, Nos. 295 to 303.

U.S. Department of the Interior .. Geological Survey—

*Water Supply Papers*—1229C, 1227D, 1251, 1254, 1260E and Maps, 1290, 1291, 1292, 1305 and Maps, 1320B and Maps, 1330D, 1331, 1332, 1348, 1349, 1360H and Maps, 1360I and Maps, 1366, 1369A, 1371, 1372 and Maps, 1377 and Maps, 1379, 1380, 1381, 1384, 1385, 1387, 1388, 1389, 1390, 1391, 1392, 1393, 1394, 1396, 1397, 1398, 1404, 1405, 1407, 1408, 1409, 1411, 1413 and Maps, 1414 and Maps, 1415, 1416 and Maps, 1417 and Maps, 1418 and Maps, 1421 and Maps, 1423, 1425 and Maps, 1460A and Maps, 1460B and Maps, 1460C and Maps, 1460D and Maps, 1492.

*Professional Papers*—260S, 260T, 260U, 274M, 280B and Maps, 280E and Maps, 282C, 283, 290, 292, 294A, 294B and Maps, 282C, 283, 290, 292, 294A, 294B and Maps, 294C, 294D and Maps, 294E and Maps, 294F, 294G, 294H, 297A and Maps, 298, 303A, B and Maps, 305B, 305C and Maps, 305D, 306A and Maps, 314A, 314C.

*Bulletins*—1000F, 1000G, 1000H, 1019E, 1019G, 1019H, 1019I, 1019J and Maps, 1019K, 1019L, 1021, 1021N and Maps, 1028G, 1028H, 1030L and Maps, 1030M, 1030N and Maps, 1032C, 1032D, 1034 and Maps, 1036K, 1036L, 1036M and Maps, 1036N, 1040, 1042J and Maps, 1042K and Maps, 1042L, 1042M and Maps, 1042N, 1042O, 1042P, 1042Q, 1042R, 1043B, 1043C, 1045B, 1045C and Maps, 1046C, 1046D, 1046E, 1046F, 1046G, 1046H, 1046J, 1046M, 1046N, 1046O, 1049, 1050 and Maps, 1051 and Maps, 1052A, 1052B, 1052C, 1052C, 1052D, 1052E, 1052F, 1052G, 1053, 1056A, 1057 and Maps, 1058B, 1058D, 1059A, 1059B, 1059C, 1059D, 1059F, 1061A, 1061B, 1061C, 1061D, 1061E, 1062, 1063A and Maps, 1064, 1065, 1066A, 1066B, 1066C, 1066D, 1066E, 1067, 1070A, 1070B, 1071A, 1071B, 1071C, 1072A, 1072B, 1074A and Maps, 1074B, 1082A, 1084A, 1086A, 1086B, 1086C, 1088.

John Hopkins University ..

American Journal of Philology, Vols. 78 (3), 78 (4), 79 (1), 79 (2), 79 (3).



- Library of Congress .. .. Bibliography of Periodical Literature on the Near and Middle East, Nos. 42, 45 and 46.
- American Oriental Society .. Journal—Vol. 77, Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. 78, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Smithsonian Institute .. .. Miscellaneous Collections :—Vols. 131, 132, Nos. 11 and 12, Vols. 134, 135, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 10, Vol. 136, No. 1 and Annual Report 1956.
- Bureau of American Ethnology :—  
(1) 74th Annual Report (2) Bulletins, Nos. 164 and 165.
- United States National Museum :—  
Annual Report 1957.
- Smithsonian Contributions to Astrophysics :—  
—Vol. 2, Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10.

### Australia

- Royal Geographical Society of Australia .. .. Proceedings :—Vol. 58.
- Royal Asiatic Society of New South Wales .. .. Journal and Proceedings :—Vol. 91, Parts 1 to 4.

### Burma

- Archaeological Survey .. .. Report for Year ending 30-9-55.

### Ceylon

- Archaeological Commissioner .. Report of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, 1957.
- Ceylon Geographical Society .. Bulletin—Vol. 9, Nos. 3 and 4, Vol. 10, Nos. 3 and 4.
- Department of Census .. .. Census of Agriculture—Vol. IV, Sinhalese and Tamil.  
Census of Ceylon—Vol. I, General Report.  
Census of Ceylon—Vol. I, 1953, Sinhalese.  
Ceylon Year Book 1957.  
Statistical Abstract of Ceylon 1957.  
Quarterly Bulletin of Statistics—Vol. VIII, Nos. 1 to 4.
- Department of Commerce .. Ceylon Trade Journal—Vol. XXII, Nos. 8-12, Vol. XXIII, Nos. 1-7.
- Department of Wild Life .. Administration Report for 1957.
- Dutch Burgher Union of Ceylon .. Journal—Vol. 47, No. 4 ; Vol. 48, No. 1.
- Engineering Association of Ceylon Transactions for 1957. 50th Anniversary 1956.
- Government Archivist .. .. List of Books Printed in Ceylon—1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th Quarter, 1956 and 1st, 2nd and 3rd Quarter, 1957.
- Information Department .. (1) Ceylon Today—Vol. 6, Nos. 9 to 12, Vol. 7, Nos. 1 to 7.  
(2) Sri Lanka (Sinhalese), Vol. 9, Nos. 9 to 12, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 to 8.  
(3) Sri Lanka (Tamil), Vol. 9, Nos. 7 to 12, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 to 7.



- National Museums, Ceylon .. Administration Reports for 1956 and 1957.  
 Oriental Studies Society .. Sastiya Sangraha 1956-57 (Sinhalese).  
 University of Ceylon .. (1) Review—Vol. XV, Nos. 1 to 4.  
 .. (2) Ceylon Journal of Science, Biological  
 .. Sciences, New Series, Vol. I, Part 1.
- Czechoslovakia**  
 Czechoslovakia Oriental Institute Archiv Orientalni—Vol. 25, Nos. 3 and 4,  
 and Vol. 26, Nos. 1 and 2.
- Denmark**  
 Det Kongelige Danske Videnska-  
 bernes Selskab .. Historisk Filologiske Meddelelser-Bind 37-  
 .. No. 3.  
 .. Filosofiske Meddelelser—Bind 3, No. 2.
- England**  
 Eastern World, London.. Vol. XI, Nos. 10 to 12, Vol. XII, Nos. 1 to 8.  
 Imperial Chemical Industries .. Endeavour—Vol. XVI, No. 64 ; Vol. XVII,  
 .. Nos. 65, 66 and 67.  
 India Office Library .. India Annual Review—1957.  
 Institute of Historical Research .. Bulletin—Vol. XXX, No. 82.  
 John Rylands Library, Manchester Bulletin—Vol. 40, Nos. 1 and 2.  
 Royal Anthropological Institute .. Man—Vol. LVII, Arts 159-252, Vol. LVIII,  
 .. Arts 1-186.  
 Royal Asiatic Society (Great  
 Britain and Ireland) .. Journal 1957—Parts 3 and 4.  
 .. Journal 1958—Parts 1 and 2.  
 Royal Empire Society .. United Empire—Vol. XLVIII, Nos. 5 and 6,  
 .. Vol. XLIX, Nos. 1 and 2 ; Vol. I, No. 1 ;  
 .. Vol. I, No. 2.  
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- 1951 †Cambridge University Library, Cambridge, England.
- 1951 Canaganayagam, N., Gate Mudaliyar, *O.B.E.*, *J.P.*, *A.I.B.*, *F.R.E.S.*, 46, Hill Street, Kandy.
- 1949 Casie Chetty, M. St. S., 29/2, Sri Dharmapala Road, Mount Lavinia.
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- 1948 De Fonseka, Lyn, National Museum Library, Colombo 7.
- 1928 De Lanerolle, J. D., 17, Fairfield Garden, Borella.
- 1947 De Lanerolle, S. D., 183, Bambalapitiya Road, Colombo 4.
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- 1951 Wijewardene, L. M. H., 32, Ward Place, Colombo 7.
- 1956 Wijewardena, Mrs. P. A. K., Teacher, Dispensary, Hiripitiya, Pannipitiya.
- 1937 Wijeyeratne, Sir Edwin, Buddanepola Walauwa, Kegalla.
- 1948 Wijeyeratne, N. P., C.C.S., Kachcheri, Anuradhapura.
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- 1944 Wimalakiriti, N. D. A. Silva, 20, Gregory's Road, Colombo 7.
- 1958 Wimalasuriya, H. L., Assistant Commissioner of Examinations, Department of Examinations, Colombo 2.







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