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

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FOR THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (SRI LANKA BRANCH)
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Slavery in Sri Lanka

BY PUNDIT DR. NANDADEVA WIJESEKERA

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Presidential Address delivered on 20-12-74

It is generally accepted by Anthropologists that as human society became organized and developed through stages from food gatherers to settled urban communities, treatment of fellow human beings also changed progressively. As head-hunters, men killed their enemies after they were captured in raids. As pastoralists they captured human beings only to be sold. In other societies male captives were destroyed and the young females were brought home to do menial work and also to be kept as mistresses or sold. As agriculturalists, men settled on the land and lived with the farm animals cultivating the lands as farmers. They led a sedentary life engaged in agriculture and war like pursuits. Economically man became prosperous. The labour of serfs was obtained to provide food for the master by cultivating his vast extents of land.¹

The two words serf and slave are used somewhat indiscriminately now but earlier these may have been applied to two types of menial workers. A serf is a person whose service is attached to the soil and is transferred with it. A slave is a person who is the legal property of another or others and is bound to absolute obedience and human control.²

Among almost all ancient societies serfdom or slavery existed in some form or other. In course of time such a system became an institution maintained by strict laws and observances. In countries such as Greece, Italy, Egypt, Arabia, India and China slavery was of the domestic kind.³ So was it in Lanka for the most part. Slaves were often treated inhumanly and they at times sought their freedom by running away from their masters. People resorted to magic to bring back a runaway slave. An Arab resorted to imitative magic thus. A magic circle was traced on the ground. A nail was struck in the middle and to it was attached a beetle with a thread, its sex being according to the sex of the slave. As the beetle went round and

P. A. T. Gunasinha's article "Slavery in Ceylon during the period of the Anuradhapura Kingdom" in the Ceylon Historical Journal Vol. I has been very useful in preparing this paper.

1. Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. 20, p. 773.
2. Oxford English Dictionary.
3. Glimpses of World History p. 71, Pundit Nehru.

round and the thread shortened, the slave, it was believed, was drawn to the master.⁴

In ancient India slavery was fully recognized. Seven classes of slaves were mentioned by Manu.⁵ They are those captured, those who voluntarily submitted, those born as slaves, those sold as slaves, those gifted as slaves, those inherited as slaves and those condemned as slaves as a punishment. Wives and slaves can have no property of their own. The Sūdras are a perpetual class of slaves by caste. Later, Nārada enumerated 15 classes of slaves.⁶ Even the later day adoption of persons itself may be considered a survival of an ancient institution. V. A. Smith⁷ observes that "praedal and domestic slavery of a mild form seems to have been an institution in most parts of India from ancient times". During European times, in India, Pariahs were looked upon as slaves by other castes.⁸ In Lanka, too, the folk play (Sokari nādagama) has a pariah as a menial character.

In Vedic India 'dāsa' meant 'non-aryan' i.e. slave. It may be a reference to the Dasyus who were the flat faced, broad nosed, dark complexioned inhabitants found in India when the invading Aryans arrived. Dāso (m) meant a foe, demon, infidel, servant, slave. Naturally some of the male and female captives were retained for domestic service. Note 'dāsajana' meaning domestic slaves. Thus dāsa, (dāsi-f) was applied to mean a slave in Vedic times. Dāsaputra meaning the son of a slave was used as a term of abuse.

During the fifth century B.C. in India two categories are mentioned in Pāli Literature. 'Dāso ca kammakāra'⁹ meaning slaves and labourers. The latter class was remunerated. The principle of remuneration determined the distinction. Gradually the word 'dāsa' may have acquired the fuller meaning of slave. In pāli texts we come across phrases as 'dāsagana' (troop of slaves), 'dāsagani' troop of female slaves. Four kinds of 'dāsaporisa'¹⁰ are also mentioned. Even fortune telling¹¹ from observing the condition of a slave (dāsa lakkhana) was one of the popular professions during this period. Slave-trading (dāsa-dāsi paṭigghana)¹² was also practised. Dāsiputta (son of a slave) continued to be in use as a term of abuse.

Early Buddhism had to resist strong opposition to vested interests and caste prejudices. It treated all human beings alike. It accepted

into its priesthood all persons irrespective of caste, creed colour or rank. Persons of lower castes were admitted to the order without discrimination. Punnā¹³, the daughter of a slave woman, was admitted to the order of Bhikkhunis. Two Panthas¹⁴ admitted to order of monks were born out of wedlock to the daughter of a noble and a slave. But the privilege of being ordained was denied to a limited few for other valid reasons. "That is those diseased, those unable to obtain the permission of parents, a soldier and a slave". The slave was inhibited from becoming a monk; but this was not due to the state of degradation or inferiority of his condition but as the peculium belonging to another. No slave is thought to have the right to place himself in a situation that may for ever deprive his master of his services".¹⁵ The social status of slaves was above that of hired labourers.¹⁶ Male and female slaves always stood before hirelings and artisans. In a well-laid city rooms had to be made for the residence of various classes including slaves. The buying and selling of slaves was not infrequent.

It may be of interest to note that in the reign of Justinian slaves were allowed to enter convents without leave of their masters, but among the Anglo-Saxons the candidate for ordination was required to prove that he was not of spurious or servile birth.¹⁸ Buddhism, however, imposed no such restrictions on any one except for very special valid reasons and these, too, not because of birth or class.

The word 'vasala' and several equivalent forms have been in use from fairly early times. The word 'vasala' is derived from Vedic Vrsala, (diminutive of Vrsan) literally meaning a "little man". It also meant an outcaste, a low person according to the caste classification.¹⁹ At a later stage the term itself may have been used to convey a part or whole of the connotation of the word slave (dāsa). However, the term was not used at any time to denote any caste. Also as an adjective the word meant mean, vile or foul.²⁰

In Sri Lanka slavery may have originated on lines similar to those obtaining in India. In fact even its structural pattern may have been borrowed from India during fifth century B.C. However a possible origin is believed to be as follows : King Paṇḍuvas of Dambadiva (India) sent a princess as queen of Wijaya and 700 maidens of different castes for his 700 warriors. With them he sent gold, silver, pearls, male and female slaves and thence forward slavery was estab-

4. Golden Bough, p. 31, J. G. Frazer.
5. Laws of Manu, Translated by G. Buhler Vol. viii, p. 415.
6. Dharmasāstra, Vol. V., pp. 25.
7. Early History of India.
8. Dubois, J.A. 1792-1823.
9. Pali Dictionary (P.T.S.), Rhys David and Stede.
10. Niddesa II, Mahāniddesa.
11. Digha Nikāya 1.9
12. Digha Nikāya 1.5

13. Therigāthā Aṭṭhakathā, p. 157.
14. Therigāthā
15. Eastern Monachism, Chapter IV, p. 18, R. Spence-Hardy.
16. J.R.A.S. (Bengal) 1901, p. 862.
17. Milindapanha, pp. 130, 310, 128.
18. Eastern Monachism, Chapter IV, p. 18, R. Spence Hardy.
19. Sutta Nipāta—Vasala Suttanta, p. 116—discourse on caste.
20. Vinaya II, 221, Sutta Nipāta, p. 116, 136, Jātaka IV, p. 388.

lished.²¹ So far as the present knowledge goes different types of slavery may have become crystalized to constitute two main forms of it. One class was employed as domestic servants, who worked in homes and estates in close association with their masters and families. The other attended to all menial duties such as scavenging and treatment and handling of dead bodies. So two separate words denoted these two main classes. Later the word 'vahal' may have replaced, the earlier word 'dāsa'. Naturally both words 'dāsa' and 'vahal' are used to mean slaves. But a distinction, if one did exist, was that the earlier word meant serf whilst the latter meant slave.

The ancient Sinhala legends and stories incorporated in later literary works²² mention only the word 'dāsa'. There existed in early society of Sri Lanka both male and female dāsas. They were a class of domestic servants (serfs) who worked in fields and homes. Reference is made to 'dāsas' (slaves) especially females gathering firewood in the forests or reaping in the paddy fields. They were heard singing at work. Others served as maids performing all the menial chores. Such evidence establishes the prevalence of a form of slave service during the pre-Christian era (2nd to 1st century B.C.). Women served as domestic (slaves) in return for clothing, food and wealth. As wives of slaves and wives of workers they are classed among female slaves.²³ Those slaves who tilled the land (serfs) and domestics formed a slightly superior class among the slaves. A poor husband and wife worked as domestics (dāsa) and after saving paddy amassed wealth. They left the service and settled down.²⁴ The earliest rock inscription²⁵ mentions the word dāsa thus "dasi anula dini dasa kala ca". It means "gave female slave Anula and male slave Kala". This dates to about 2nd century A.D. to 9th cent. A.D. If the word dāsa ever meant a subordinate being in Lanka it is clear that by the end of the 9th century A.D. it underwent a change of meaning.²⁶ This use continued until the 13th century A.D. The slab inscription of Velaikkāras²⁷ mentions dāsa. At least five classes of dāsa (panca dāsa) are mentioned in the Dambadeniya period. These were artisans (Kammakāro=kāmi) who performed certain specified work deemed inferior but not slaves in the real sense. Among them were ironsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, potters, goldsmiths, brickworkers, masons, wood workers and stone workers.²⁸

However, the word 'vasala' is not met with prior to 6th century A.D. A slab inscription mentions 'pahala' believed to be an older form of vahala meaning slave.²⁹ Thus we are led to believe the existence of two main categories of slaves from the earliest times. These were domestic slavery and institutional slavery. The former category served persons and families of chiefs as part of their retinue. They rendered personal service and worked in fields. The latter belonged to public institutions like the state, guilds, viharas and monasteries. To this class belonged runaways, captives and convicted persons. It would appear that either category (dāsas or vasalas) did not form a distinct caste like Chandalas, Rōḍiyas, kinnaras and gahalayas.

Very little information is recorded about slavery. One has to rely solely on a few Sinhala stories prior to 6th century A.D. Lithic records are available thereafter. Slavery had been divided into four main categories.³⁰ These were hereditary (antojātā), purchased (dhanakkītā), captured in war (karamaranitā) and voluntary submission (sāmaṃ dasabbhyam upagātānam). Both male and female slaves have been further sub-divided into classes.³¹ One such group was flag bearer (dhajā-hatā). Most probably they were female messengers employed in war to carry the white truce flag or in peace to carry secret messages. There were slaves for day time or night time (ratti dāsā) or for both. A woman could borrow 60 gold pieces (kahāpanas) on agreeing to work by day and another 60 for work by night.³² Such an agreement was written on an ola leaf. Such a woman was called inādasi.³³ A husband and wife had to work together, being unable to repay a debt of 60 gold pieces. A cow in calf was purchased thereafter for 8 gold pieces.³⁴

For all practical purposes slaves may be placed under the following categories. These are:

A—*Slaves by birth*—They included all the offspring of female slaves (dāsiputta)³⁵ whether their fathers were bond or free.³⁶ Such an acceptance is based on the principle that the civil condition of the mother determined the status of the progeny. A free woman marrying a slave retained her freedom nor were her children born slaves. This confirms the prevalence of a matriarchal system in

21. Nitinighaṇṭuva, p. 7.

22. Sihlavatthu; Rasavāhini; Saddharmalankāraya.

23. Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. X, p. 52, P. A. T. Gunasinha.

24. Saddharmalankāraya, p. 618.

25. Ilukwewa rock inscription—A.S.C.A.R. 1892, No. 101.

26. Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. X, p. 56.

27. Epigraphia Zeylanica, pp. 243-4; *ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 140.

28. Dambadeni Yugaya—Prathama bhāgaya (1220-1283 A.D.) Rev. D. Sumanajoti).

29. E. Z., Vol. I, p. 130, (Kassapa V. 929-39 A.D.).

30. Samantapāsādikā (Simon Hewavitarana Bequest Edition), p. 747. Sumangalavilāsini—Rhys David Translation, p. 165. Nitiniganduva (Le Mesurier & Panabokke Translation), pp. 7-12.

31. Sāratthapakāsini—F. L. Woodward Edition, Vol. II, p. 45.

32. Rasavāhini II, p. 17-18.

33. Saddharmalankāraya, p. 455-9.

34. *ibid.*

35. Sumangalavilāsini, p. 257.

36. Ceylon, Vol. I, pp. 223-233, Charles Pridham.

ancient Lanka. Reminiscences of such a right enjoyed by the mother are present among the rural Sinhala folk³⁷ who refer to a child as so and so's.

B—Slaves by circumstances are those sold into slavery by their unfortunate parents or those abandoned due to circumstances beyond their control. The wife more than the husband had a control in the disposal of the children until they reached the age of discretion. During the Portuguese times seduction of children to be sold into slavery was a lucrative profession. They maintained a large band of female slaves from whose industry and the commerce of whose bodies their masters derived a considerable revenue.³⁸ The stories in the *Sihlavatthu* incorporated in later works mention slaves of this class.

C—Slaves by punishment—Sinhala Society observed a very strict code of morality especially where the females were concerned. Caste distinctions were rigidly observed. Women enjoying illicit intercourse with men of lower caste were punished with death or by being handed over as slaves to the king for the remainder of their lives. Sometimes a man pledged his wife, children and himself as surety for debts incurred by him. During times of famine poor families were in the habit of selling their male and female children for money.

Once a poor farmer sold his daughter for 8 gold pieces.³⁹ Parents at times pawned their daughters for slavery.⁴⁰ A son was pawned for 8 gold pieces. Even today the custom of swearing upon the person of one's child, wife or even the mother, god, sacred object or the Buddha can be heard. Due to economic circumstances and other disappointments a person may fail to pay his debts or fulfill pledges. In such an event the man his wife and children being sureties passed into slavery. In the *Cakkupāla*⁴¹ story the wife pledges that she will become a slave along with her children (දරුවන් සමග තමන් වෙළෙඳවන බව).⁴² In the *Kukkutamitta* story a man pledges that "I, together with my wife and children dedicate myself to the dagobas (මමත් අඹුදරුවන් සමඟ දගැබ සන්තක වෙමි)."⁴³ Thieves who could not make a seven fold restitution became slaves as a punishment. Captives in war and those bought and sold as slaves fell into this group. Tamil captives (දෙමළ ගන්නරු) in Sinhala areas⁴⁴ and Koviars (කොවියා) in Tamil areas are those who became slaves under compulsion. King *Gajabāhu*⁴⁵

(114–138 A.D.) brought back South Indian prisoners from the Chola country to avenge the capture of Sinhalese. King *Silāmeghavan* (618 A.D.) distributed the defeated Tamil invaders as slaves to *vihāras*.⁴⁶

D—Slaves by submission—Those, who of their own accord bartered their freedom for a price became slaves. In some cases rich persons voluntarily became slaves of monasteries to be released later by others (relatives) as an act of merit accruing to both parties to the transaction.⁴⁷ Persons who were bought for money by monasteries or were otherwise forced into slavery came to be known as goldslaves (*raṇ vahala*).⁴⁸ Those who pledged their persons for debt to be released on repayment were called slaves in debt (*iṇa dāsa*).⁴⁹

The slaves owned by the State were employed in hard work both laborious and menial in Public Institutions. In the royal household they performed household duties including tilling the lands in the king's villages (*gabaḍāgam*).⁵⁰ Female slaves may have been employed during very ancient times in the secret service as trustworthy emissaries. Princess *Cittā* is recorded as having entrusted her slave woman to take young prince *Paṇḍukābhaya* to safety⁵¹ (400 B.C.). In the monasteries the slaves cultivated temple lands (*vihāragam*). Slaves were employed as messengers (*payiṇḍakārayas*) in the ordinary business of the king's establishment (*Gabaḍāva*) whilst others were employed as servicemen (*nilakārayo*) at the pleasure of the Lord.⁵² The slaves formed the retinue of rich land owners and officials whose status became enhanced by the ownership of slaves. They tilled the fields. Collecting and conveying firewood to the Residence (*Walawwa*) could be performed by none other than slaves.⁵³ This reminds one of the ancient Sinhala stories about servant maids (*dāsi*) gathering firewood in the jungle.⁵⁴ The other important duty of a slave was the laying out of the corpse on the death of a member of the master's family. Everything of a menial and derogatory nature was assigned to slaves and no one but a slave would do such work for any price. The only other person who would accept such a job was a member of the executioner caste (*gajabāhu*) and not even any one of the other lowest castes. At such a critical occasion if the family owned no slaves a relative would send slaves to perform the funeral ceremonies assigned to them. A chief could not do even that as it very seriously affected

37. People of Ceylon, N. D. Wijesekera.

38. Portuguese Era, Vol. II, p. 92, P. E. Pieris.

39. *Sinhala vatthu*, Chapter 45, V. 4.

40. *Sinhala vatthu*, Chapter 56.

41. *Rasavāhini* II, verse 32.

42. *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*.

43. *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*.

44. *Rājāvaliya*, p. 53 Edition, Pemānanda.

45. *Rājāvaliya*, p. 53. Edition Pemānanda.

46. *Chulavaṃsa*, Chapter 44, V. 82.

47. *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*, *Kukkutamitta* story.

48. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 210, note 3.

49. *Saddharmaratnākaraya*, p. 455.

50. *Conquest of Ceylon*, p. 1,013, Queyroz.

51. *Vamsatthappakāsinī*, p. 194.

52. *Sinhalese Social Organization*, Ralph Pieris.

53. *Ceylon*, p. 226, Charles Pridham.

54. *Rasavāhini*.

his status in the eyes of the people and other chiefs, if recourse had to be made to hire an executioner. Slavery in the Kandyan Provinces was valued not for the labour executed but as appendage of rank and for the performance of certain services which were deemed a badge of slavery and could not be obtained for hire.⁵⁵

Inscriptional evidence shows that Buddhist Vihāras⁵⁶ had their own slaves from about 2nd century A.D. Their control may have been of a somewhat similar nature to those of the slave proprietors. Both male and female serfs have been given as gifts and required to be exempt from taxes⁵⁷ by kings and royal ministers for maintenance of temples and vihāras. The temple lands, too, were cultivated by them. Hindu temples in India, Buddhist temples in Burma and Cambodia and religious establishments owned slaves.⁵⁸ King Buddhādāsa assigned revenues and servants (kappiya kāraka). Temple slaves are mentioned in the Cūlavamsa.⁵⁹

Slaves belonging to families were inherited (anvayāgata vahala) by the heirs on the death of their master. Others were purchased and acquired by payment (ran vahala) of 100 gold pieces to the temple or vihāra. Slaves are referred to in later times (14th century A.D.) as bodies⁶⁰ of slaves (vahala rū) even as head of cattle (sarak rū). The slaves were all personal property of the owner and were not attached to the soil. They were liable to perform any services required by the owner.⁶¹ The slave's lot was tolerable generally during the Kandyan Kingdom. They were allowed to hold land and keep cattle on the estate for their own maintenance. They could own and possess movable and immovable property and dispose of it by will or otherwise but could not transfer immovable property nor could they earn money. Frequently, they were advanced to office on the estates at the absolute discretion of the owner who might even abandon him. Actually there was no code of law laying down any rights or obligations.

Very often the slaves improved their wealth. Anything procured by their diligence and industry will not be taken away by the masters. These persons are treated as responsible and trustworthy. When the master buys or gets a slave in other ways he is provided with a wife and is encouraged to keep house to settle down on the land in order to prevent him from running away. Slaves born of high caste parents are permitted to retain the honour of their degree. They are not allowed to wear their cloth up to the ankles nor use names of

the masters but should use such names and suffixes as are appropriate to the lower castes.⁶² "The kings avenged those guilty of treason at will it may be he kills them altogether or gives them away for slaves".⁶³ Most of the slaves in the kingdom of Kandy were of high caste and many of those who were originally free retained their distinctive caste appellations like 'etana' (b) since a person did not lose caste by becoming a slave. "Generally, no low caste man could have a slave".⁶⁴ The only people of inferior caste who possess slaves were the goldsmiths. An edict⁶⁵ of Sena IV stated that buffaloes, slaves and men from one village should not be employed in another. This was the general practice but, of course, with the king's approval they could be transported outright to another Vihara.

In the general management of slaves caste rules could not be overlooked. The owner was free to inflict any punishment short of death or mutilation, but he could not compel a female to receive the addresses of a man of an inferior caste, whether bond or free.⁶⁶ On the whole the slaves in Lanka were treated mildly. They were seldom sold or families separated but were given as marriage portions or distributed among heirs on the death of the proprietor. Every consideration was paid to the feelings of slaves. Cruelty to a slave was hardly known and slaves were treated as adoptees rather than menials. There was no object of ill-treating them, nevertheless the owner had the right to punish slaves by torture with red hot iron, flogging, confinement in stocks or iron, cutting off the hair and even selling them.⁶⁷

Slaves were competent like free men to give evidence in a Court of Law and were even called upon as witnesses to transactions of their masters.⁶⁸ If a slave died intestate his heir-at-law (master) inherited all the property and effects. "The children of a slave or of a woman of low caste or inferior rank cannot by Kandyan custom inherit their father's praveni property as a matter of course, but must have their title to such property supported either by a written deed or a formal verbal gift or bequest duly authenticated by responsible witnesses".⁶⁹ It could be effected also by giving a certificate and pouring water on the hands.⁷¹ At the time of the Malabar invasion a brisk slave

55. Ceylon, p. 220, Charles Pridham.

56. Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p. 235, M. B. Ariyapala.

57. E.Z., Vol. I, p. 130.

58. Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p. 236, M. B. Ariyapala.

59. Cūlavamsa Translation, Chapter 37, p. 173, Geiger says servants.

60. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 104.

61. Ceylon, p. 224, Charles Pridham.

62. Ceylon, p. 111, Robert Knox.

63. *ibid.* p. 64, Robert Knox.

64. Sinhalese Social Organization, pp. 189-90, Ralph Pieris.

65. E.Z., Vol. III, p. 26, lines 34-35.

66. Ceylon, p. 223, Charles Pridham.

67. *ibid.* p. 222.

68. *ibid.* p. 226.

69. Ceylon, Part I, p. 223-33, Charles Pridham.

70. Sinhalese Social Organization, p. 202, Ralph Pieris.

71. Nitiniganḍuwa, Chapter I, Section IV.

trade existed between South India and Northern Provinces of Lanka. But the slaves were left very much in their same condition.

The perquisites of office by a slave could be appropriated by none and these were fixed appropriate for slaves. If a free man loved a female slave of another or spent an undue time with her the owner could claim his services for the duration of that period, however long it might be. The outsider might leave as he pleased subject to the relinquishment of all the property acquired, during his period of amour.⁷² During the Kandyan times female slaves received 5 fanam and a piece of cloth 6 cubits in length at the time of each confinement.⁷³ Whilst the slaves were doomed to toil from birth the masters were obliged to maintain them in good health, to succour them in sickness and apportion their burdens according to their strength.⁷⁴ Buddhism as stated earlier threw open its privileges to all the slaves and others alike except for ordaining them. There were special reasons for denying some the state of monkhood". Whatever custom makes a slave he should not be admitted to the order of monks.⁷⁵ However, Buddhaghosa in the same work (*samantapāsādikā*) refers to other sources and states that slaves born in houses and bought slaves when presented as park keepers to the community of monks should be ordained only after manumission.⁷⁶

It may be interesting to note that in ancient Italy during the Saturnalia festival (17-23rd December) the distinction between the slave and free was abolished. The slave was permitted to rail at his master drink and sit at table with him. On the 7th of July, the day Romulus vanished female slaves were permitted to dress as free matrons and maids and parade the streets. They railed and jeered at everyone and engaged in a fight among themselves.⁷⁷ This is similar to the festival of 'holi' in India. It is likely that in ancient Lanka, too, a similar festive occasion (*nekat keli*) was observed annually when slaves could act like free men and women. The nearest traditional custom to this is the wilful subjection of the members of the household to being scolded by one's own domestics after seeing the new moon during Sinhala New Year.

Early Sinhala literary records have preserved scant information about slavery in Lankā. Certain instances are mentioned as to the method of obtaining the freedom of a slave. This can be effected by the master himself by giving freedom; by one performing all the domestic chores such as drawing water and hewing wood; by payment of a

specified amount in gold pieces (*kahavanu*) to the lawful owner. Usually the sum was 60 gold pieces. Such a practice has come down from pre-Christian era. The earliest lithic inscription⁷⁸ recording the manumission of slaves may be dated to 2nd Century A.D. (it reads *dasi anula dini dasa kala ca.....*)

Masters brought slaves for admission to the Order. If they liked a religious life they would be declared free. Otherwise they would continue as slaves.⁷⁹ During King Dala Mugalan's reign (VI century A.D.) a bricklayer Puyagonula caused his wife to be freed by giving 100 gold pieces. Another bricklayer Boya Gonula caused his children to be freed from slavery by giving 100 gold pieces. Another Pati Salala caused his child to be freed from slavery by paying the same amount. Yet another Dalameya-Vesiliniya Aba gave a hundred gold pieces to the Kasabagiri Monastery and freed themselves. A hundred gold pieces were granted to the great royal monastery called Tisarami by a bricklayer and had himself freed from slavery (*raja maha vaharata siyadiyi vaharila cidivi.....*). It is to be noted that the amount payable for obtaining freedom was 100 gold pieces each. All the above mentioned rock inscriptions⁸⁰ are from Vessagiriya and inscribed during the reign of Kassapa I or Kumarakassapa (526-552 A.D.). The fruits of all the acts of manumission mentioned above were for the benefit of all beings..... to attain buddhahood as desired. Others who paid 100 gold pieces and freed themselves are mentioned by name as follows:—

ගල අරභි බුදු දෙවිය ; බුදු පෙරි සබ ; හිලි සෙල ; සිව් ගොනහි ;
බද අබ ;දෙව් අබ ; වදි බොය ; සිව් දුබ ; බ එලි සිව

To secure the freedom of a slave is an act conducive to great merit for oneself as well as for all others. A slave's freedom can be obtained in several ways. It is also meritorious to maintain slaves by payment in kind or money to the monastery or *vihāra* to maintain a slave. A Lambakarna, in order to emulate King Vessantara offers his wife, children and finally himself to a monk and redeems all of them by paying money.⁸¹ An instance of a slave who wished to be ordained a monk was freed and later if he failed to join he would revert to slavery again. A friar (Puvijayi) Sidhata⁸² earned his freedom by payment of 100 gold pieces. This could not have been a buddhist monk. King Mahādāthika Mahānāga gave himself, his queen, his two sons, his state elephant and his horse to the Sangha and later, redeemed all of them by paying money.⁸³ This was done purely as

72. Ceylon Causerie, January 1953, p. 25-26.

73. Ceylon, p. 223-242, Charles Pridham.

74. Buddhism, Chapter X, p. 482, Spence Hardy.

75. *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 1,001.

76. *ibid.* p. 1,001.

77. Golden Bough, p. 158, 583, J. G. Frazer.

78. Ilukwewa rock inscription, Anuradhapura, A.S.C.A.R. 1892, No. 101.

79. *Samantapāsādikā*, p. 1,001.

80. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 134, et. seq.

81. *Sihalavatthu*, Story 71.

82. E.Z., Vol. V., p. 34.

83. *Mahavamsa*, Chapter 34, V. 86.

an act of merit. The mother of Aggabodhi,⁸⁴ at his own request, offered him as a gift to the Sangha and later redeemed himself by giving wealth, to the Order. King Nissankamalla offered his son and daughter to the Tooth relic and Bowl relic and later redeemed them.⁸⁵ This symbolic act of the king himself becoming a slave even for a moment shows how meritorious it was to free a slave. Kings also gifted other slaves to monasteries.⁸⁶ King Silā Megha Vanna placed slaves at the disposal of monasteries.⁸⁷

Another class of donors of slaves to the Bhikkhus were masters of slaves, relatives and patrons of monks.⁸⁸ Potthalakutta,⁸⁹ a Tamil officer granted a village together with slaves. Bhadda, a commander of troops built a pirivena endowed with slaves.⁹⁰ Mindal (Mahinda), who held the office of Demela Adikāri gifted slaves, lands etc. to the Galapāta Vihāra.⁹¹ No low caste person was allowed to own slaves. However, if such a person did acquire a slave then a chief would buy that slave. By obtaining the freedom of slaves or by paying money for their maintenance one gains merit. A military officer manumitted all children for merit.⁹² Even if the payment of money is for gaining one's own freedom it would be meritorious. The strong belief is that by such merit a person will be reborn having a large retinue. The earliest ceremony of confirming freedom of a slave was by pouring butter milk (ghee) on the head of slaves.⁹³

The word 'vaharala' and its variant readings are translated by Dr. Paranavitana as slave in all instances. He follows Geiger who derives the word from Sanskrit thus: Vr sala > pali Vasala > Sinhala Vahala > vahala. But Dr. Wijeratne derives 'vaharala' and its variants as visāralaka > Visārāla > Veherala viherila meaning timber, wood. The former translation has been preferred as all the equivalents suit all the uses in all contexts. It is probable that the close association the slaves had in making wooden funeral pyres and gathering firewood may have lead at least a class of slaves to be known by such a functional appellation. For the benefit of those interested in the literary discussion the references⁹⁴ are given below.

There were documentary titles in the case of transfers and testamentary bequests of slaves. A register defined their position. Grants were made by kings or ministers. The earliest gifts are not found in inscriptions so far discovered but they may have existed with the families or institutions concerned. The practice was to make a grant of both male and female slaves. Sometimes a single slave and sometimes whole families were donated to the Vihara or monastery. The monks were allowed to receive slaves as gifts and even require them to be exempted from taxes as they formed the property of the temple. In Burma, too, slaves were gifted to the monastery. In Cambodia an inscription of VI-VII century A.D. records a person named Pon Prajña Candra who dedicated male and female slaves to the three Bodhisattvas Viz. Sāsta, Maitreya and Avalokitesvara.⁹⁵ This is the earliest record of its kind. In Lankā, too, there was the custom of dedicating oneself with wife and children to the dagoba (මමත් අමුදරු වනුත් සමඟම ද ගැබ් සන්තක වෙමි) or of becoming a slave to the dagoba (ද ගැබ් වැල් වීම).⁹⁶ Since the practice of making grants of slaves to temples and viharas and dagobas are mentioned it is very likely that the tradition of dedication as slaves to the Bodhisattvas and Bodhi tree did exist in ancient Lankā though it may have gone into disuse during later times as it may have seemed an appendage of Mahāyana worship. King Kirti Nissankamalla (1187-98 A.D.) has recorded a number of such grants. All this goes to establish the fact that slaves were the personal property which was negotiable. These grants were free of taxes for five years or so. The king relinquished the revenue for 5 years and enriched those inhabitants by gifts of 'divel' lands, serfs,⁹⁷ cattle etc. (දිවල්, වහල්, සරක්....) another inscription⁹⁸ reads "King Nissankamalla removed the poverty of the poor by providing them with livings, serfs, cattle and permanent grants (දිවුල්, භිමනිව, දිවල්, වහල්, සරක්, පමුණුම). Identical grants of slaves etc. are mentioned in the Kālinga forest gal asna inscription,⁹⁹ Rankot dagoba pillar inscription and Pritidānaka maṇḍaka rock inscription.¹⁰⁰ The same king made a grant of slaves etc. for the custodian of the Treasury in case he required to enjoy them after taking permission from the proper authorities.¹⁰¹

The biggest single grant so far inscribed on rock is the one at Galapāta Vihāra.¹⁰² "In order that they may function as servitors and slaves to the Vihāra and to their lordships (monks) residing in

84. Culavaṃsa, Chapter 49, V. 63.

85. E.Z., Vol. II, p. 107.

86. Samantapāsādikā, p. 1,001.

87. Culavaṃsa, Chapter 44, V. 32.

88. Samantapāsādikā, p. 1,001.

89. Culavaṃsa, Chapter 46, V. 21.

90. Culavaṃsa, Chapter 50, V. 82.

91. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 210.

92. E.Z., Vol. V, p. 29.

93. Samantapāsādikā, p. 1,001.

94. Ceylon University Review, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 103, D. J. Wijeratne E.Z. Vol. V, pp. 35-65, S. Paranavitana.

95. Hinduism and Buddhism, Vol. III, p. 120, Charles Elliot.

96. Saddharmaratnāvali, p. 613, Kukkuṭamitta story.

97. E.Z., Vol. I, p. 53, note 12 also p. 130, Dambulla rock inscription.

98. E.Z., Vol. II, p. 110, 112, Galpotta slab inscription.

99. E.Z., Vol. II, pp. 126, 132, 136, also 142.

100. E.Z., Vol. III, p. 172.

101. E.Z., Vol. III, p. 151.

102. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 196-98; 200-202; 205-208, inscription lines 12-23.

this Vihāra the following (were granted) from among the slaves about 90 in all who had belonged hereditarily to his family, the purchased slaves and those acquired by paying gold from the funds of this Vihāra". This inscription is unique, for nowhere else in Lanka has any similar lithic muster roll of temple tenants yet been discovered.¹⁰⁸ The Vihāra referred to is near Bentota. The donor was Mindal (Mahinda) who held the office of Demala Adikāra and was administering the Pasyodun District. It is likely that the Tamil captives who were treated as slaves continued to be separately stationed and administered.

The presence to this day of several villages within ten miles of Galapāta Vihāra viz: Indigastuḍuwa in Pasdun Korale and Mahāvila, Galganda, Vallambagala in walallāviṭi Korale where Tamil captives live and five villages of berawa caste (drummer) people viz: Suddegoda, Dampalayagoda, Tundāva, Boltuḍāva and Kendalapitiya within 9 miles of Galapāta Vihāra confirm such early settlements and these need to have a special organization and administration for that class of slave. Whole families including mother, father, younger brother, younger sister, daughter, elder brother, son, and aunt comprised the gift. This happened very probably during the reign of Parākrama-bāhu I. A later inscription of¹⁰⁴ the Gampola period (1350-1 A.D.) record the grant of fields, two amunas of seed-paddy and 3 heads of slaves (සිංහ කුමරු විසි දමුණක්, වහල් රු තුනක්).

Under such circumstances it is reasonable to expect the establishment of a State Department to manage the slaves in each Districts under an overall authority. The nature of the duties assigned and the procedure of maintaining the slaves with due punishment for failure to obey instruction may have been carefully worked out and specifically stated. These would have been applicable to all three categories of ownership. The slaves could not be transferred from one district to another and if freed a record of registration should be kept by the state official. The monasteries, too, observed a uniform procedure of administering slaves. The slaves under private ownership were more amenable to discipline and conducted themselves generally with understanding. Nevertheless, a legal procedure had to be followed in their management since the majority of able bodied male slaves were employed on hereditary private estates (pamunubim) owned by the masters. During the 6th century A.D. an officer designated Superintendent of slaves under the Pandyan King existed.¹⁰⁵ In the Galapāta inscription the slaves were donated by the Tamil Superintendent (Demala-Adikāra), the chief officer in charge of the Vihāra. Aggabodhi I made donations to monasteries for the slave population.¹⁰⁶

Several devotees had given money to maintain slaves at Abhayagiri Vihāra.¹⁰⁷ Kassapa V ordered that villages were to be taken away only after the monks and slaves (sangun, dasun) had been provided for.¹⁰⁸ Mahinda IV issued rules intended for the Sangha, the employees and Slaves.¹⁰⁹ (මහනිකු සහ නිමියන්, කැමියන් හා දසුන්.....)

It is the general view confirmed to a large extent by inscribed evidence that the slaves in early Sinhala society were a recognized class of servitors to monasteries, paid and maintained by gifts of land. The total population cannot be ascertained but it is fairly obvious that every vihāra and monastery which had the royal patronage maintained a retinue of slaves. It is also apparent that slaves were not outcastes but workers belonging to a recognized category.¹¹⁰ This control over slaves was exercised by the Dutch and Portuguese as well. In fact they too had overseers to be in charge of slaves.¹¹¹ A very interesting feature of the system of slavery was the fact that a high caste woman who had connections with low caste men were consigned as slaves of the crown to the royal village of Gampola. This has been borne out by a case in 1823 A.D. when a vellāla woman (govi caste) of Gonigoda in Hārispattu was banished as the King's slave to Gampola because she eloped with a painter in Sabaragamuwa.¹¹²

In the earliest recorded Sinhala stories names of slaves are not mentioned. They are referred to as dāsa or dāsi. It may have been due to the fact that they were mainly domestic hands who worked by day or night in private households. The names of slaves, both male and female, mentioned in the earliest inscriptions and texts appear to be common ones without any indication of foreign elements or derogatory significance. These are Anula (f), Kala (m)¹¹³. Two other names recorded¹¹⁴ in the sixth century A.D., are those of brick layers viz: Puyagonula and Boyagonula, most probably brothers. Other names mentioned in the same inscription are Patisalala, Sahasavarala Dalameya, Sakana Kana Vesiminiya Aba. Their trades are not stated. A rock inscription¹¹⁵ of VI-VII century A.D. mentions the names of those who freed themselves by paying to the vihāra 100 gold pieces (kahavanu) each. They are Gala Araki Buyu Deviya; Buyu Peri Saba; Hilisela Sivigonahi Bada Aba;..... Davi Aba; Cadi Boyi; Sividuba; Ba ela siva. One instance of a friar, may be of a non-buddhist sect, is recorded.

103. J.R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. 1913-14, pp. LXIX-LXXVII, H. C. P. Bell.

104. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 104, Gadalādeniya inscription.

105. Sigiriya Graffiti, V. 652, S. Paranavitana.

106. Culavamsa, Chapter 42, V. 32.

107. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 139.

108. E.Z., Vol. I, p. 46, line, 53.

109. E.Z., ibid. p. 99, line 7-9.

110. Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. X, p. 48, P. A. T. Gunasinhe.

111. Portuguese Era, Vol. II p. 92.

112. Nittinighanṭuva, p. XXXIII; also J.R.A.S. (C.B.), Vol. XX-330, No. 66.

113. Ilukveva rock inscription, Anuradhapura, No. 101, A.S.C.A.R. 1892.

114. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 133.

115. E.Z., Vol. IV, p. 295

The ownership of slaves was restricted to three sections. The state was the first, monasteries and temples came second. The rich land owning persons was the third. The possession of slaves was a mark of honour and affluence during early times. Saddhātissa gave a hundred females and 100 males to the female devotee Honkala.¹¹⁶ King Nissankamalla thought it was a good thing to allow his subjects to own slaves.¹¹⁷

34—The long list of names mentioned in the Galapāta rock Inscription¹¹⁸ seem to be arranged in order of families, the females being given precedence over males. It provides interesting reading having meaningful significance. These together with all names mentioned in other inscriptions are arranged under males, female and unspecified as follows:—

Names of male slaves

Sidhata—a friar Kala (කළ)	Puyagonula (පුයගොනුල)
Boyagonula (බොයගොනුල)	Patisalala (පතිසලල)
Sahasa varala dala meya (සහස වරල දල මෙය)	Sakana kana Vesiminiya Aba (සකන කන වෙසිමිනිය අබ)
Gala araki buyu deviya (ගල අරකි බුයු දෙවිය)	Buyu Peri saba (බුයු පෙරි සබ)
Hilisela sivigonahi (හිලිසෙල සිවිගොනහි)	Bada aba (බද අබ)
Cadi Boyi (චදි බොයි)	.....Davi aba (.....දව් අබ)
Konta Bogonta (කොන්ත බොගොන්ත)	Sivi duba (සිව් දුබ)
Ponvāni minda (පොන්වානි මින්ද)	Ba ela siva (බ එල සිව)
Suva (සුව)	Uyavandā (උයවන්ද)
Raya (රය)	Getkami Lokeyi (ගෙත්කම් ලොකෙයි)
Porana budu (පොරණ බුදු)	Raku (රකු)
Karadi (කරඩ්)	Mindal Kāmiya (මින්දල් කාමිය)
Porana salā (පොරණ සලා)	Porana maniya (පොරණ මනියා)
Mandala (මන්දල)	Dāmi deva (දාමි දෙව)
Sātan (සාතන්)	Mandala Satā (මන්දල සාතා)
Goļu mindā (ගොර මින්ද)	Korala Devu (කොරල දෙවු)
Budu (බුදු)	Lokeyi (ලොකෙයි)
Sāvaya (සාවය)	Bemtoṭa kita (බෙම්තොට කිත)
Kalu kitu (කලු කිතු)	Deva (දෙව)
Suvaya (සුවය)	Endera boyi (එබෙර බොයි)
Kora nāthā (කොර නාථා)	Hejili Deva (හෙලිලි දෙව)
Lokeyi (ලොකෙයි)	Suvayā (සුවයා)
Demala paya (දෙමළ පයා)	Averi devi (අවෙරි දෙව්)
Maddala (මද්දල)	Koranambā (කොර නමිබා)
Karadi devā (කරඩ් දෙව්)	Kila (කිල)
Ambalavā (අම්බලවා)	Helelu rāmā (හෙලෙරු රාමා)
Kitā (කිතා)	Kudā rāmā (කුඩා රාමා)
Kalu rāmā (කලු රාමා)	Demali gāviya (දෙමළි ගාවිය)
Sin (rāmā) (සින් රාමා)	Kavivā (කවිවා)
Baḍal periya (බඩල් පෙරිය)	

116. Sihlavatthu Story 33 conclusion.

117. E.Z., Vol. II, p. 126.

118. E.Z., Vol. IV, lines 12-23, pp. 196.

35.

Names of female slaves

Anuḷa (අනුළ)	Uba (උබ)
Mindi (මින්දි)	Godāli deva (ගොඩාලි දෙව)
Satiya (සතිය)	Selliya (සෙල්ලිය)
Godaliya (ගොඩලිය)	Keliraka (කෙලිරක)
Maniyā (මානියා)	Suvagodaliya (සුවගොඩලිය)
Senen kontiya (සෙනෙන් කොන්තිය)	Kontiya (කොන්තිය)
Raka (රක)	Mindi (මින්දි)
.....Nantu (.....ණන්තු)	Li deva (ලිදෙව)
Sātiya (සාතිය)	Raka (රක)
Supaniya (සුපනිය)	Nambiva (නම්බිවා)
Adittiya (අදිත්තිය)	

36.

Names where sex cannot be determined

Godali (ගොඩලි)	Hejili (හෙලිලි)
Raka hāla (රක හාල)	Sigiliya (සිගිලිය)
.....Si (.....සි)	Gangā (ගංගා)
Gangiya (ගන්ගිය)	Nāviya (නාවිය)
Demala (දෙමළ)	Sundā (සුන්ද)
Jayavandā (ජයවන්ද)	Sele (සෙල)

37—It is extremely unwise to attempt to infer social status or racial affinity by a study of proper names. Nevertheless, since names can provide, in some cases, an index to the influences and the reasons for naming individuals some names are adopted by usage in families, whilst others may be characteristic of physical deformities, racial origin or low caste monomenclature. I venture to make certain observations that may help to suggest a few ideas. The total number of names recorded on the rock inscription is about ninety one. Out of this number 59 belong to males and 22 to females and 12 remain uncertain owing to obliteration of the text.

At least some significant elements seem to be crystalized in the structure of all names. These may be assigned to four periods. The earliest names appear very similar to those mentioned in the early inscriptions and graffiti. During the 13th century, too the earlier elements continue. The names commonly used among lower castes having derogatory suffixes according to social grades begin to appear. At a still later stage a mixture of several ethnic elements manifest themselves. In the final stage the names signify south Indian elements.

Certain names recorded in the rock inscriptions mention the professions or trades of the bearers. These are Puyagonula, the bricklayer; Lokeyi, the tailor; Periya, the potter; and smith. There are number of descriptive names usually appended to persons of a lower class; some describing physical abnormalities whilst others indicating racial or functional characteristics. They are scaly (koraḷa) Devu; lame (kora) nambā; dumb (goļu) Minda; fair (heḷalu) Rāmā; dark (kalu) Rāmā; small (kuḍa) Rāmā; slim (sin) Rāmā; ancient (porana) Salā; cowherd (eṇḍera) boyi; Tamil (Demala) payā. There are a few names suggestive of animals such as fox (sigiliya) bear (karaḍi), parrot (suva), river (gangā). One person bears the name of the place as

Bentota kitā. The presence of the Buddhist and Hindu elements cannot be left out but identification is not possible in the earlier names. The names of the 13th century savour of a South Indian flavour. This is naturally to be expected since from the earliest times craftsmen and captives in war came from South India. During a later period South Indian invaders were captured and made slaves. Most of them bear names ending in a derogatory suffix.

Buddhism forbade trafficking in human beings and was even averse to the retention of fellow-men in bondage. Nevertheless, it was in the spirit of Buddhism not to interfere with tradition and custom and the existing social orders. This spirit of tolerance helped maintain the system of slavery in Lanka without the rigours of punishment and cruelty of treatment. Of course religion could not eliminate altogether the accepted social practices adopted for the continuation of slavery. Although the owner had the absolute right over the person of slaves the trading in slaves was not common. Captives in war were bought and sold as slaves during a later day. The slaves coming under the 3 categories mentioned earlier suffered no change of ownership. Hereditary slaves were seldom or never sold. Hence very little trafficking in slaves existed in early Lankā and even within the Kandyan Provinces later. This does not mean that a slave trade did not altogether exist during early times.¹¹⁹ There was a regular traffic in slaves in the Tamil speaking districts especially during the European times. The slaves were deemed to belong to the 'wallu' (vahal) caste. This was subdivided into three as 'Kovias' Nallus and Pallas. Slaves who were converted to Christianity by the Portuguese used to claim their liberty without any compensation to the owner. It was therefore decided by the Portuguese authorities that their masters could sell such slaves to Christians.¹²⁰

When the Portuguese arrived in Lankā there was a trade in slaves between South India and the Tamil speaking districts of Lankā especially the Northern Province. The Portuguese maintained a large number of slaves both male and female for their industry as well as for commercialising their person. For this and other purposes African slaves were imported in large numbers and were distributed throughout the areas under Portuguese control i.e. along the coastal belt from Jaffna to Matara. The Sinhala kings had no trade in slaves with the Portuguese nor did they send slaves as gifts to them. But the kings were anxious to get rid of the Portuguese. So they began to favour the Dutch. In 1602 Sinhala king received the Dutch Admiral de Weert warmly and presented slaves and other gifts in order to win the favour of the Dutch Admiral.¹²¹ There was tension between the foreign powers in Lankā and a Portuguese slave woman carried

a reply to de Weert.¹²² According to the information so far available one fact is clear and that is the implicit trust and confidence reposed on female slaves. They were employed in later times, too to carry a flag of peace or message to the hostile forces (dhajahatā-flag-bearer). During the Kandyan period such a messenger service (payindakāraya) existed. In 1611 A.D. King Senerat fled to the Vedda Country (Bintenna) taking with him his family treasures and his slaves.¹²³ In 1614 a Sinhala fleet captured several Portuguese vessels off Negombo and Chilaw and all the Portuguese captives were thrown into the sea. However, their women were sent as slaves to the capital.¹²⁴ These facts indicate that there was a movement of slaves throughout the island. More interesting is the added feature of African (black) and Portuguese (white) ethnic elements infiltrating into the main stream of slaves and thereby the Sinhala population itself.

In the Pepiliyana copper sannasa of A.B. 1793 the tenants are described as 'parivārajanayan' (පරිවාර ජනකයන්) and they were slaves (වැළ) p. 18, 24. The gardens of the gabaḍāgam were cultivated by slaves (p. 38) according to the Portuguese Tombo III p. 31 at Negombo on each garden or plot of land bought in the port there was paid one larin to the king as a due called meluari (melvāritamil). It was a tax on trade and never exceeded one larin (p. 49). Other castes including paṇḍara pillais described as slaves rendered service as messengers to the Disāvas (p. 57).

The Dutch maintained good relations with the king. There was regular intercourse and trade with the Dutch and letters used to be carried by female slaves. The king also sent presents to de Weert. These included 3 female slaves. At the siege of Colombo the Portuguese with their wives, children and slaves were taken prisoner. During this time the Dutch East India Company asked permission from King Rājasinha to trade freely in "sapu wood, gum lac, areca, rice provisions and slaves". In times of acute famine and distress in South India slaves were brought and made to work on the government plantations.¹²⁵ When the Portuguese were holding fast at Mutwal the king sent 130 slaves to build a wall against them at Kelaniya. The slaves were under a Superintendent of slaves. At times the slaves tried to escape. If an overseer allowed a slave to escape by carelessness he was condemned and shot. It was during this time in the maritime province soldiers were sent to seize the refractory and sell them as slaves. Such slaves could not be sent away to other districts but could be ransomed at any time.

122. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 395 P. E. Pieris.

123. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 417, P. E. Pieris.

124. *ibid.* Vol. I, p. 422, P. E. Pieris.

125. *Ancient Land Tenure and Revenue in Ceylon*, p. 18, 24, 38, 49, 57.

126. *Ceylon*, p. 142, S. Ariyaratnam.

119. *Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, p. 234-6, M. B. Ariyapāla.

120. *The Portuguese Era*, Vol. I, p. 89, P. E. Pieris.

121. *The Portuguese Era*, Vol. I, p. 370, 371, P. E. Pieris.

At the capitulation of the Portuguese in 1656 two generals and Coutinho's son were allowed to remove all property, Portuguese servants and slaves; but in other circumstances slaves were confiscated except in a few exceptional cases. All married soldiers with their families were allowed to be conveyed to Goa but were forbidden to carry any of their property and slaves. It was accepted by the Portuguese and Dutch that slaves constituted a part of the property of the owner¹²⁷.

The humanitarian ideas regarding slaves were introduced by the Dutch about a hundred years prior to the British. In fact in Batavia they had a code for dealing with slaves. The same principles formed the basis of their dealings with slaves in Lanka. In 1660 the Dutch issued an order interdicting the selling or mortgaging of free born Sinhalese. By 1771 Dutch had greatly reduced the number of slaves in Colombo, and by 1787 transfers of slaves were made difficult. Traffic in Christian slaves was forbidden. Before the arrival of the British the Dutch had a law to reduce and abolish slavery. This was confirmed in 1802. A fine of 100 rix dollars was imposed on anyone trying to enslave free born persons.¹²⁸

In spite of the enlightened view of the Dutch government those in control of their possessions in Lankā did not interfere with the system of slavery to change it radically. When the Dutch handed power to the British in 1795 slaves were still in the same position. They were subject to different treatment in three district areas. In the Northern Provinces slaves continued to be sold to South India. In the maritime areas slaves were treated as chattel and personal property used more for pleasurable purposes and other domestic work. In the Kandyan Provinces slaves still enjoyed the kindly treatment as retainers adding to the dignity, prestige and respect of their proprietors. Although registers of slaves had been maintained at no time were their numbers known definitely. According to a census taken in 1829 there were 2113 male and female slaves in the Kandyan Provinces.¹²⁹ The total slave population in the Kandyan areas could not have exceeded 10,000 at any time.

When the Dutch capitulated a male slave without reference to age was valued at 50 ridis i.e. (£1-13s-4d) and a female 100 ridis i.e. (£3-6s-8d). Each female child was worth 3 rix dollars i.e. (£0-4s-6d). A serious dispute arose at the time of capitulation in 1795 as to whether slaves should be treated as property in spite of the fact that it was the custom from ancient times to treat slaves as private property. There also arose the question of redeeming or transferring slaves. So the procedure adopted in the statute of Batavia and

the Koran was followed. The Commander of the British Expeditionary Force extended the meaning of property to include slaves. And the slaves were all restored to their owners. The slave was allowed to give testimony on oath before tribunals and all slaves had to be registered. Governor North did not delay measures for relief of slaves. A sum was offered for their maintenance. Although slave bonds existed not more than 6% produced them. The Kandyan Chiefs objected to registration and asked for a postponement of registration and eventual abolition without adequate compensation. The Chiefs protested on the ground that if slaves were emancipated the performance of duties to dead bodies will not be carried out after that. Any others doing these would tantamount to an insult. Therefore they entreated the government by a petition¹³⁰ in 1843 to postpone abolition for 60 years. They deemed such a measure not only a loss but also an affront so fatal to their dignity. If there were to be no slaves "no religion, no respect became the outcry. How could such a position be endured". The objectors' mind worked thus. The government attempted to extinguish slavery in the Isle of France but the inhabitants resisted it with success.¹³¹ But the modernising process once set in motion gathered momentum. New enlightened thinking in Europe influenced Britain and eventually the colony of Ceylon.

During the Governorship of Edward Barnes slavery was abolished in the Maritime Provinces on 12th August 1816 on the birthday of the Prince Regent (Later George IV). This order was voluntarily carried out by a group of slave owners in Galle and Jaffna by delivering free all children born of their slaves. Wolvendaal church allotted special pews and welcomed their presence at divine service Sunday after Sunday.¹³² "Slaves could for the most part obtain their liberty on account of insufficiency of proofs of their slavery". Those who established the right of possession were asked to bear full responsibility.¹³³ Thus the slaves who wished to be free found no difficulty to do so. All these actions and regulations did not satisfy the majority of slave owners in the Kandyan Provinces. Of course the government itself did not enforce the regulations or registration. These went to sleep. But a new awakening was generated and an enlightened public opinion was created. Certain action was taken. Interesting enough a sort of census of the slave population was prepared in 1832 or there about. In 1837 the slaves in the Kandyan Provinces were registered. The total figures¹³⁴ exclusive of the seven Korales were as follows:—

130. Ceylon Causerie, January 1953, p. 25-26, T. M. G. Samat.

131. *ibid.* January 1953, p. 25-26, T. M. G. Samat.

132. New Lankā, January 1950, No. 2, L. E. Blaze.

133. British Occupation, p. 257, Colvin R. de Silva.

134. Ceylon, p. 230-1, Charles Pridham.

127. The Dutch Power in Ceylon, p. 29, 43, 53, P. E. Pieris.

128. New Lankā, Vol. I, January 1950, No. 2, p. 70, L. E. Blaze.

129. D'oyly 1835, p. 80.

Area	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Western Province ..	373	332	705	—	—	—
Southern „ ..	431	342	773	—	—	—
Central „ ..	687	694	1,381	—	—	—
Eastern „ ..	—	—	—	12	11	23
Northern „ ..	—	—	—	12,605	11,940	24,545
Total ..	1,491	1,368	2,859	12,617	11,951	24,568

The total number of slaves in the Tamil speaking areas was given as 27,397 by some in 1837. During this period the world movement demanding the abolition of slavery gained full strength. No European government could ignore the humane appeal for their liberation. The British government had to take action to abolish slavery in her colonies. Such action could not be postponed indefinitely. It was long overdue. There was also an anti-slavery society. It put the figure of slaves at 37,000. However, the British Commissioners in Ceylon felt that "slavery was of the mildest possible character", the number of slaves being extremely small. But the Chiefs would also ask for pecuniary recompense.¹³⁵ In 1841 an ordinance was passed to abolish "all vestiges of slavery". First abolition was notified in the Northern and Maritime Provinces. In 1845 Lord Stanley carried out the final act of extinction of slavery in Sri Lankā. Nothing in the shape of compensation was paid to the owners of slaves. Nothing was actually demanded by the owners themselves. Thus ended an ancient social order which had no chance of survival in a world of fast changing human values where equality of man and dignity of humanity was beginning to be realised.

Supplementary Comments on Slavery in Sri Lanka

By MR. J. R. SINNATAMBY

I would like to make the following observations on matters arising from the paper on "Slavery in Sri Lanka" by Dr. N. D. Wijesekera.

1. Are there or were there slaves among muslim people in Ceylon?

Under Muslim rule there were slaves in India. I do not think individuals had slaves.

I am making this inquiry as Tonybee in an article touching on various civilisations has pointed out, among other observations, which I cannot remember, that, only in the Muslim society you find true equality between man and man. I personally agree with this. He has also said it will be the next dominant civilisation.

This is probably so amongst individuals for as pointed out by Tennent—Theoretical Buddhism threw open to all castes all the privileges of priesthood, the slave alone was repulsed on the ground that owner would be deprived of his services.

2. The following observations by two historians pertaining to slaves are of interest.

Pridham has pointed out, origin of slavery in Ceylon may be traced to a source common to all Eastern countries.

There are four classes (a) By birth (b) Sold into slavery (c) Sentenced to slavery (d) Those who voluntarily bartered it away for a fixed price.

Those in the first class included all the offspring of female slaves whether their fathers were bond or free, and vice-versa, the offspring of free women were equally entitled to freedom so that the civil condition of the mother commonly determined that of the progeny.

I now quote another historian in respect of the Greeks. "Whether the Greeks borrowed from the Egyptians their notions about trade, like so many others I cannot say for certain. I have remarked that the Thracians, Scyths, the Persians, Lydians, and almost all other

135. Ceylon Causerie, September 1938, p. 21, J. A. Will Perera.

136. Ceylon, p. 230-31, Charles Pridham.

barbarians hold the citizens who practice trades and their children in less repute than the rest, while they esteem as noble as those who kept aloof from handicrafts and especially honour such as are given wholly to war. These ideas prevail throughout the whole of Greece".

And in respect of a people called Lycians or Termilae he says "They have however, one singular custom in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lycian who he is and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the female line. Moreover, if a free woman marry a man who is a slave, their children are full citizens, but if a free man marry a foreigner or live with a concubine, even though he be the first person in the state, the children forfeit all the rights of citizenship".

The author concerned is Herodotus the father of history,—2500 years ago. His record is in essence same as Pridham's observations of only about 100 years ago.

From above the following interesting conclusions can be drawn

- (a) That the civil status of a child depended on the civil condition of the mother.
- (b) Slavery that obtained 2500 years ago in the Eastern Mediterranean obtained in an almost identical form till about 100 years ago in India and Ceylon.
- (c) That a people existed in the Eastern Mediterranean who had social customs, similar to the customs of the Dravidians today and also a matriarchal form of government which also prevailed among the Dravidians and which I believe still obtains in some form or other among some Dravidians today.

3. That this has been so, ethnologically, anthropologically and philologically in Eastern Mediterranean areas, at an ancient period of time, and even prior to the Indo-Aryan era, has been accepted by recognised scholars.

I have dealt with some aspects of this matter in my work "Ceylon in Retrospect".

I would like to know if there is any evidence of slaves being branded in Ceylon in ancient times. As far as I am aware this has obtained in Egypt at least in the time of the Pharaohs and in Mesopotamia and during the period slaves were employed by the Dutch government in Ceylon.

Reference may be made in this context to the "memoirs of Dutch Governors," Instructions to Dutch Command in Ceylon from Dutch Governor General India (1655-1665), for details of how slaves were deployed on state plantations by the Dutch which extended from Chilaw to Tangalla and the map in "Lands, Maps and Surveys," Vol. 2, p. 43, referred to as of unusual value for the study of this community.

4. It would also appear to me that a decitizenised person ceases to have civic rights and ceases to be a free man as much as a slave, as according to the Oxford Dictionary a citizen is a freeman and has civic rights, so that, when he is decitizenised he ceases to be a free man. And in a way he is more unfortunate as being stateless he cannot expect any succour from any country unlike in the case of a slave where the master has, as observed by Tennent, "to maintain them in health, succour them in sickness, apportion their burdens to their strength".

5. Regarding the subject of the abolition slavery it would appear that it was Sir Alexander Johnston who was the first to take meaningful steps to abolish slavery in Ceylon. The state plantations employed slaves during the Dutch period and even the private Dutch citizens would appear to have employed slaves in their household.

There is a picture of the Supreme Court sessions which is a representation of the sitting of the Supreme Court in 1816 on the occasion of a murder trial under the jury system introduced in 1811. This would appear to have some bearing on this subject as it is to the jury men that Sir Alexander first appealed to free the children of the slaves. This slave community took this occasion to thank Sir Alexander Johnston for this magnificent endeavour on his part. Representatives from various parts of the country would appear to have been present in what can unhesitatingly be described as an epoch making event. Three dancing girls who had walked all the way from Jaffna have also been represented in the picture of this great historical event. I am indebted to Mr. J. T. Rutnam, a member of this society, for the data referred to above.

Reference may be made in this context to the article on "Slavery in Ceylon" appearing in the Asiatic Journal, (1822, Vol. 14, p. 570), where the Directors of the African Institution who were interested in the subject of eradicating slavery in the Eastern Islands have gratefully acknowledged the service rendered by Sir Alexander Johnston in this cause in the following words "The Directors are persuaded that they express the cordial feelings of the Institution at large, in offering the tribute of their grateful acknowledgement to Sir Alexander Johnston, for his successful exertions in promoting, and to the special and other Jurymen of the island, for their general

adoption of this important change in the condition of their country; and for the bright example which they have taken and lead in exhibiting to the world, of fixing a period for the extinction of the state of domestic slavery: an example which the Directors trust will speedily be followed, wherever it may be done with safety. But whether this hope shall be realized or not, it will never be forgotten that the inhabitants of Colombo were the first of the British colonists to act upon this grand, noble, liberal, and disinterested principle, and they will for ever deserve the best thanks of every individual who has at heart the advancement of the happiness of mankind, and the improvement of human nature".

The Origin and Development of Simhala Nāḍagam

Public Lecture delivered by the Right Revd. Dr. Edmund Peiris
O.M.I., Bishop Emeritus of Chilaw before the Society on 27-6-74.

Speech, song, dance and acting or personation are innate human qualities. They manifest themselves in individual behaviour and, in an organized form, in group behaviour. With progress in literacy, in economic conditions, and in social relations, either within the group or with other ethnic groups, the organised form develops into folk plays and even dramas of literary and cultural value. Drama, in the generally accepted sense, is a composition in prose or poetry, usually intended to be acted upon a stage, presenting a story by means of characters, speaking and acting in situations contrived to develop a plot, and with such accessories of scenery, stage machinery, costumes etc., as are fitted to produce an impression of reality. (rf. *New Dictionary* s.v.) Simhala drama, in the above sense, is a product of the last two decades of the nineteenth century (rf. *Folk Play*, p. 116; JCBRAS, No. 54, pp. 90, 139).

This does not mean that for nineteen centuries or more the people of Sri Lanka led a dull, drab life without song, dance, music and theatricals. They were fond of every kind of music, dancing, and singing, and were very clever at inventing various forms of pastimes and entertainments. Royal functions, national and religious festivities and ritualistic observances provided the occasion for *pañcāṅgatūriya nāda* (sound of the five-fold musical instruments), *nāṭiya* (dance) and *gīta* (song). There were water sports (rf. *Mahav.* 26.7), mimic dances and concerts (rf. 34, 60, 77), wandering musicians and many *Damilas* and others practised in dance, song and puppetry (rf. *ib.*, 66.131-3), and many hundreds of dancing girls (rf. *ib.* 74.215 ff.) and even stages for the music-makers and dancers (rf. *ib.* 31.82; 85.43). Although we may treat some of the grandiose descriptions of festivities as merely formal, surely there must be some core of truth in them. (rf. *Culture of Ceylon*, pp. 62-64).

But, in all this, "there is nothing to indicate that any spoken drama was acted either in the court or in the circles of the educated laity. The fact that writers did not produce anything in this genre, and did not even translate the Sanskrit plays that were known to them, would naturally have stood in the way of drama becoming a form of royal entertainment. Later contacts with South India

brought about no change in the situation, doubtless because of the language difficulty that importations would cause, as well as because the South Indian drama was at a folk level and hardly a fit entertainment for the educated". (*Folk Play*, p. 16).

Sinhala writers were not unaware of the existence of drama or *nāṭiya*. *Siyabas Lakara*, said to have been written by King Salamevan (A.D. 617-626) and modelled on *Kāvyaḍarśa*, has this:

පෙදෙන් බුදු සිරිපා—බසින්වත් සිරිත් ඇ
පද යුතු බසින් නම් ඇ—අනතුරු ලැබුණු දක්වමි. (vs. 20)

The words *pada yutu basin nalu* suggest that drama is a composition in prose and poetry. Dr. Godakumbura remarks that this particular verse is not a translation from the *Kāvyaḍarśa* (rf. *Sinhalese Literature*, p. 304). Probably, Salamevan had his information from something known in the country at the time. Among the *sivū-sāta kalā* or the sixty four Arts, *bharata* or drama was one, and it was reckoned among the accomplishments which a prince should possess. (rf. *Ariyapala*, p. 276; *Kāvyaśekhara*, I, 86). One of the rites enjoined by the *Dala-dā sirita* (cir. A.D. 1325) in connection with the sacred Tooth Relic at Kurunegala was that "those skilled in drama (*bharatayehi*), dressed in colourful garments and bedecked with bright ornaments" should perform before the Relic (rf. p. 49). The *Girā-sandēśaya* (cir. A.D. 1450-1460) explicitly mentions that the pupils of Toṭagamu pirivena of Sri Rahula studied, besides Sanskrit Pali, Sinhala and Tamil, also the art of poetry and drama (*naṭu*). (rf. vs. 227).

Although we have no way of determining the sort of the dramatic art practised in this country in the past, we have plenty of information about the folk plays prevalent here, thanks to the comprehensive research work done by Dr. Sarathchandra. In the first place, there were the ritualistic dances and plays performed by the people from ancient times to ward off disease and evil spirits, and to invoke the help of gods in crises of life. (rf. *Folk Drama*, ch. 2). Puppetry is mentioned as early as the 12th century A.D. (rf. *Mahav.* 66, 133), and there is an elaborate description of how puppet shows were used to enhance a religious procession in the time of Parakramabahu II (A.D. 1234-1269). (rf. *ib.* 85, 15 ff). But, puppet plays or *rūkaḍa nāṭima* is a thing of very recent origin. (rf. *Folk Play*, ch. 6). Puppetry as a dramatic art is said to have been stimulated by the folk play or folk opera, known as *nāḍagam* (rf. *The Puppet Theatre of Asia*, ch. 2, p. 30). There was also the form of folk play, known as *kōlam nāṭima* or masked play. It presented an array of masked dancers, representing characters drawn from various sources and not connected with any particular story, and ended with the enactment of a story or two in the form of a play, through the medium of song and spoken language, the latter being for the most part, impromptu. (rf. *Folk*

Play, ch. 3, p. 51; *Kōlam Nāṭaka*, ch. 3). The dancers did not themselves sing; they merely depicted the movements while the singing was done by different people. (*Folk Play*, p. 52). At a much later stage, probably under the influence of the *nāḍagam*, some characters in the play seem to have spoken or sung their parts, putting aside their masks. (rf. *ib.* p. 54). Another variety of folk play was the *Kavi nāḍagama*. It is a natural culmination of *Kōlam*. The masks being found to be an unnecessary encumbrance and a hindrance to the development of the dialogue, came to be dropped entirely. It emerged as a kind of folk play only in recent times, that is, within the last hundred years, and the influence of the *Nāḍagam* on its growth cannot be entirely discounted. (rf. *ib.* p. 69). *Sokari* is a form of dramatic entertainment confined to the Kandyan peasantry, with its several incidents strung together to yield a play of intense rustic appeal. It bears the stamp of being one of the earliest folk plays. Its humour, which is always produced by the deliberate misunderstanding of words, and by the repetition of the same action, the long-drawn out miming, and its innocence of any kind of dramatic unity, give it an unmistakable rustic character. (rf. *Folk Play*, ch. 4; *Sinhala Nāṭum*, pp. 158 ff.)

"It certainly strikes one as strange that Singhalese literature, fairly full in other respects should be entirely lacking in works of dramatic character" (*JCBRAS*, No. 54, p. 139). One reason for this deficiency is said to be "the religious view that regarded all kinds of dramatic shows and performances as vain and even spiritually harmful" (*ib.*). As you know, there are two forms of Buddhism: Mahāyāna and Theravāda. Mahāyāna was not averse to absorbing all the local cults and making all sorts of concessions to the customs of the people. Whereas, Theravāda was very slow to make such alliances and preferred to keep its doctrines uncontaminated, even if that would limit the range of its appeal and popularity. In India Buddhist drama flourished for a while under the patronage of Buddhism. Even in the two Theravāda countries, Burma and Siam, well developed drama was in vogue in the royal courts. (rf. *Folk Drama*, pp. 8, 18, 19). But not in Lanka, where poetry and drama were relegated to the class of "despicable arts" even in a public document, like the *Dambadeṇi Katikāvata* of Parakrama Bahu II (A.D. 1234-1269). It says that Buddhist monks should not study such despicable arts, like poetry and drama, nor teach them to others. (rf. *Dambadeṇi Katikāvata*, p. 15). Of course, this was an injunction on the monks, and inspired by ascetical rigidity; but it served also as a damper on the literati, who might have ventured on poetic and dramatic compositions, with the result that for two centuries or more after the *Kavsilumina* of Parakramabahu II no poetical works of note appeared. (rf. *Sinhala Sāhitiyā Nāḍima*, p. 72). Any way, dancing, drumming, feasting and public demonstrations went on at court and religious functions, without let or hindrance, even in the time of this king.

(*rf. Mahav. ch. 85*). Whatever the obstacles may have been, the fact is that folk play did not develop into drama, in the accepted sense, in spite of the rich dramatic material found in the Jataka stories, in the history of the country and in poems like *Saṇḍakīṇḍuru-dā-kava*. (*rf. Sīmhala Nāḍakaya hā Saṇḍakīṇḍuruva*).

But, towards the last quarter of the eighteenth century there appeared a form of dramatic entertainment in Sīmhala, which had the unself-consciousness, the spontaneity and the boisterous naivety of the folk play together with some of the graces of the stylized drama. The Sīmhala Nāḍagama is a direct descendant of the South Indian *Tērūkūttu* (*tēru*=street, *kuttu*=play or dance), but in the local setting. "Life in India is in the street. Shops, stalls, rituals, bathrooms are exposed to the sun and to the gaze of the people. So is the folk theater. The idea of the closed theater is almost foreign to the Indian Masses. In the nineteenth century, when the British introduced their educational system, they also brought in the concept of the picture-frame stage. In big cities where the amateur movement developed; a few theater halls were built in mid-Victorian style with plush curtains, gilded chairs, and chandeliers. But in seven hundred thousand villages of India the traditional dance-drama, pageants, operatic ballads, and folk plays continue to entertain audiences in open air". (*Folk Theatre of India*, p. 6).

Terukuttu, which had existed in South India for centuries and was known as *nāḷagam*, did not find favour among the elite and the literati. That was the fate of most folk plays, and, at times, even of dramatic poetry. Speaking of South Indian drama, Fr. C. J. Beschi S. J. says: "Dramatic poetry is so completely disregarded, that the ancient writers have left us neither models of it, nor rules for its composition; the natives are, nevertheless, extremely fond of dramatic representations. Short comedies are termed *kūttu* (கூத்து), while tragedies and tragi-comedies are called *nāḍagam* (நாடகம்) and, on the sea coast *vāsakappā* (வாசகப்பா). These are all written in various kinds of verse, among which, the *cimlu* (சிந்து) is constantly introduced. In representation, they are always accompanied with singing and dancing, but they display no higher degree of skill or contrivance than is sufficient to please the vulgar and to excite mirth; to search for art in them, would, therefore, be a useless attempt" (*A Grammar of High Tamil*, p.149).

Jaffna is given the credit of taking the lead in the production of Tamil drama in nāḍagam style (*rf. Tamil Literature*, pp. 363 ff.) One such, the *Gna-nap-pallu* (spiritual pastoral) was written about the middle of the seventeenth century, on a Christian theme, under the guidance of a Jesuit Father, who lived in Jaffna between 1644 and 1650. According to the late Fr. S. Gnana Prakasar O.M.I.: "The doem is brimful of interest to the lover of Tamil, as it is couched in

elegant classical language and abounds in poetical fancies" (*Tamil Culture*, Vol. II, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 234). The *Puthaththampi Nāḍagam*, has for its theme the murder of Puthaththambi by the Dutch on a false charge. Since King Kirti Sri Rajasimha (A.D. 1747-1781) is mentioned, it must have been written in the latter part of the eighteenth century. (*rf. Yālpāna-Vāipava-Mālai*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv). There were several other *nāḍagams* and *vilasams*, composed by well-known poets of Jaffna, during the last two centuries, some of them on Christian themes. (*rf. Tamil Literature*, pp. 363, 369 ff.)

Christianity was not averse to dramatic performances as long as they did not infringe Christian morals and beliefs. "The primary constituents of drama are dialogue and representation. Both are present in the happenings which the liturgy records. The Mass is a *mimesis* and the elaboration of its ritual was the first step towards a Christian theatrical art. The sanctuary, however primitive, was a stage, and the faithful, however few, were audience as well as actor. The play was at once a ceremony in which they took part and a spectacle at which they assisted. From these germs the Christian theatre, almost inevitably, was born. The central events in the Christian economy of redemption were both narrative and act; and the sacred ministers, day by day, retold from Scripture and, where necessary, underlined in homily the things that they were representing. Just as in the Mass itself narrative and petition become fused into pure act and strict imitation, so Christian drama developed as a commentary before it discovered its native form". (*The Christian Theatre*, p. 9). From the liturgy grew the Mystery, the Miracle and the Morality Plays of England and they passed on to modern drama, though the imitation of the ancient classical drama coloured, shaped and chiselled it. (*rf. History of English Literature*, pp. 219, 220).

In Lanka, the early Christian missionaries encouraged and even composed Christian drama in Sīmhala and in Tamil. The Jesuit Fathers who, at that time, had a reputation in Europe for the encouragement they gave to Christian drama, put on the boards several religious plays, in their College in Colombo and in their parishes of Kammala and Chilaw. (*rf. C.A.L.R.*, Vol. II, pp. 80, 90; *Jesuits in Ceylon*, p. 48). Friar Antonio de Peixoto, a Franciscan monk, who was in charge of Matara, and had a reputation for his knowledge of Sīmhala, is credited with the authorship of several Sīmhala dramas and poems. (*rf. Early Christianity in Ceylon*, pp. 127, 128, 152). Since their literary works are not in existence now, we cannot say anything about their value, except that they created a taste for drama among the people. Baldaeus says: "There are stages attached to almost all their churches, there being a spacious theatre for the church of *Telipole* built by the *Portugeseche Padres, Jesuiten*, where some scriptural dramas are wont to be represented to the people on their holy days". (*Ceylon*, p. 320). The Portuguese missionaries, in their dramatic

compositions, must have followed the *autos*, an Iberian variety of Mystery and Miracle plays, which were popular in their country.

In 1658, the Dutch conquered the Portuguese possessions in Ceylon. They were much exercised over the suppression of, what they called, 'Popery'; they drove out of the country all Catholic priests; confiscated all Catholic churches and institutions; they harried and proscribed the Catholics. Though persecuted and deprived of the ministry of their priests and all forms of public worship, the Catholics stuck fast to their Faith. In 1687, the Venerable Fr. Joseph Vaz came to Lanka from Goa and revived the drooping spirits of the down-trodden Catholics. He was a Brahmin from Goa, and so were the other priests, who joined him subsequently. Their combined efforts not only saved the Church from extinction, but gave it a place in the cultural life of the country.

Although the puppet play is a thing of very recent origin in the South of our Island, it seems to have been popular in Jaffna from ancient times, owing to the close cultural contacts with South India, where this variety of entertainment had been well known for centuries of years. (cf. *The Puppet Theatre of Asia*, pp. 28 ff). The missionaries from Goa had seen during their student days in St. Paul's College, Goa, how their teachers, the Jesuit Fathers, had used the technique of the puppet play to instruct and edify the masses, especially during Lent. They were acquainted with the local variety, improved it, obtained the necessary apparel from Goa, and had Passion Plays, with images of the sacred personages in the churches of Kandy and the Vanny, during the Lent of 1706, and later in Trincomalee and in several other places. (cf. *Oratorian Mission*, pp. 54, 167, 185). Fr. Jacome Gonsalvez wrote the Sermons on the Passion of Christ and the *Pasañ* or sorrowful chants in Sinhala and Tamil to be read and sung during the shows. (cf. *ib.* 242).

Mid-eighteenth century, the Dutch relaxed their hostility towards the Catholics of Lanka, for, they saw that Catholic resistance especially in Negombo and Kalutara, was getting tough and that it would be an impediment to a joint effort against the King of Kandy, with whom war was imminent. In the wake of dawning freedom Catholics felt the urge to manifest their religious beliefs in song and drama as well. Pilgrim songs were written and sung, and the sacred chants composed by Fr. Jacome Gonsalvez and embodied in the *Mamgala Giliya* of 1730, were revived. The musical tradition followed in all these was South Indian and, to a small extent, local. But, in the absence of models of Sinhala drama, the Catholics of the Western coastal districts turned to the Tamil *nāḍagam*. Christmas season is the season of joy and festivity among the Christians, and its central theme is the birth of Christ and the incidents connected with it. There is excellent dramatic material in them. Another favourite theme was

the lives of the early Christian martyrs, which celebrate the victory of Faith and provide a pretext for controversy. These themes had proved to be source of inspiration also to the early English dramatists.

As far as I know, the earliest Sinhala *nāḍagama* is the *Raja Tun Kattuwa*; its theme is the worship of the new born Christ by the three Kings, as narrated in the gospel according to St. Matthew, chapter 2. It is modelled on the Tamil *nāḍagam*, *Mūvirāsākkal Nāḍagam*, generally attributed to Lorenzo Pulaver, born "at Pasikulam, in Mantotte, and brought up in the Catholic religion, which his family professed from the time of its introduction. He lived in the middle of the last century (18th century), and though he did not write any large poems yet his abilities are manifest from the many excellent hymns which he composed in honour of our SAVIOUR, and the BLESSED VIRGIN". (*Tamil Plutarch*, p. 57). He is supposed to be the grand father of Kittāmpillai, the author of *Endirikkū Em-paradōr Nāḍagam*. Lorenzo Pulaver's work is "one of the oldest and one of the best folk dramas of the Mannar district". (cf. *Mūvirāsākkal Nāḍagam*, pp. vii, x). The presence of the word *polisu* (=police) on pages 66, 67 of this *nāḍagam* does not postulate a date posterior to the British occupation of Lanka, for, one finds the Portuguese word "policia" for the English word "police", even in the English-Portuguese dictionary by Antonio Vieyra, printed in 1773, 25th July, in London.

The author of the above-mentioned *Raja Tun Kattuwa* is one M. S. Gabriel Fernando, a Catholic of Chilaw. This is stated in the Prologue or *vivarāṇa viriduwa* of the drama, and repeated in its amended version of 1882. When did he write his drama? Most probably towards the latter half of the eighteenth century. His grand-son's son (great-grand-son) died on the 6th of May 1953 at the age of 89 years. Gabriel Fernando's father was Manuel Fernando, who, in addition to his clan name of Mihindukula Suriya, had the title of *Liyanagē*, and was an *āracci* (a superior headman in charge of a few minor headmen) as well as an *āṇṇvi* (a church leader of minor rank). These titles and offices are explicitly mentioned in an official document, dated the 13th of January 1805, by which Carel Loduyk Vienekan, Registrar of Lands of the Chilaw district, recognized and confirmed Manuel Fernando's titled to certain lands granted to him by the Dutch Government on the 10th September 1793. (cf. *Catholic Chilaw*, pp. 30, 31). The said grant must have been made in recognition of services he had already rendered to the Government. One of his ancestors Philip Fernando, probably his grand-father, had been appointed Muhandiram of Chilaw, on the 25th August 1766. (cf. *Report on the Dutch Records*, p. 57; G.A. 2556/402). It may be mentioned here that no-where in the *Raja Tun Kattuwa* is it said that Gabriel Fernando was *āṇṇvi* probably because he was appointed to that post only after his father's death: later on he became the *muhuppu*, the chief lay officer of the church. In fact, the amended version of

1882 calls him *muhuppu*. From these details, it can be safely concluded that Gabriel Fernando was an influential person in his home town, Chilaw, that he had a good education, according to the local standards, and that he was born about mid-eighteenth century.

In the *vivarana viriduwa*, the opening song or prologue, the author states that he drew his material from the *Saṁśēpaya* of Fr. Gonsalvez; this is the *Dēva Vēda Purāṇaya*, a compendium of the Bible. In fact, the shepherds' song in this drama is taken bodily from Fr. Gonsalvez' *Maṅgala Gitiya*. Although no reference is made to a Tamil version, it is clear that the *Raja Tun Kattuwa* took that as a model, and followed it. The dramatic characters are the same in both: the three Kings, each with his drummer, herald, captain, Minister and retinue. Herod has, in addition, his guards with their commander. Then, there are the shepherds, the angel, the sailors, the learned seer and the women of Jerusalem. Two additional characters are found in the Sinhala version: Caesar Augustus and Lucifer. The clown, *kēṇangivā* or *kolāndanā* is given a place in the Sinhala version, but not in the Tamil, probably because he is taken for granted and left to his own devices. In the Tamil version, the presenter, who introduces the theme of the play, is called *pulasantēr*, perhaps, a corruption of the Portuguese *apresentador*; in the Sinhala version, he is *dēsanā vādiyā*. The epilogue in the Tamil version is the lament of the women of Jerusalem over their slaughtered babes: in the Sinhala version, the *maṅgalam*, an invocation for divine blessings on the audience and the author of the drama. The Sinhala version also uses some of the Tamil metrical indications, like *vēṇpā kalippā*, *tālisai* and *innisai*. At most, the Sinhala version is only an adaptation of the Tamil model and not a translation of it.

Gabriel Fernando wrote another *nāḍagama*, known as the *Marigidā Nāḍagama*, about the life of St. Margarita, who died a martyr at Antioch about the year A.D. 275. It repeats, word for word, the introductory *viriduwa* of the *Raja Tun Kattuwa* about the author. As it generally happens, such laudatory passages are introduced at a later date, when the play is actually put on the boards. Its pattern is the same as in his previous play. I am not aware of any Tamil model from which he could have borrowed. Copies of both *nāḍagam* are extant.

The *Raja Tun Kattuwa* was recast and put into better form in 1882 by Pandit M. S. Weerasimha Bras Juan Pinto, Divisional Officer of Chilaw. He had a good knowledge of English, Sinhala and Tamil as well as some acquaintance with Sanskrit and Prakrit. From 1853 to 1858 he was engaged in translating into Sinhala prose and verse the famous poem of Fr. Beschi S. J., the *Tēmbāvani*, which consists of 3615 strophes of four verses each, in 36 cantos, a work highly valued by all Tamil scholars. The entire prose translation is extant,

but only a small part of the verses has so far been found. Besides the new version of the *Raja Tun Kattuwa*, Pinto composed the *Jnānasavundara Nāḍagama* and *Alēsu Nāḍagama* and according to some, the *Katārinā Nāḍagama*. Of these, the first two are extant, and occasionally read or acted; but the third has mysteriously disappeared. There is a *Jnānsāvundari Nāḍagam* written in Tamil by Soosaipillai Marisarpillai, born in 1862 at Nanattan, Jaffna; and another of the same name, by Kittāmpillai of Matoddam, the author of *Endirikkū Emparadōr Nāḍagam* (cf. *Jnānasavundari Nāḍagam*, pp. ix, x). Pinto may have followed this model. So far, I have not found any Tamil model for his *Alēsu Nāḍagama*, except that he had taken the story of St. Alexis or Alensu or Alesu from Fr. Gonsalvez' *Dharmōdyānaya* (pp. 161 ff). Besides these literary works, Pinto has to his credit several pilgrim songs, *paṣaṇ* and a long poem celebrating the visit of Prince Albert, Duke of Edinburgh, to Kurunegala in 1870 and the elephant kraal held at Ebbavalapitiya on that occasion.

Towards the latter part of that century, another variety of *nāḍagam* made its appearance in Chilaw, namely the *vāsāppu* or *vāsagappā*. It is written partly in prose and partly in poetry, and action is in the form of a dialogue between two parties; one asks questions about the subject in hand, and the other replies. Each party is accommodated on a platform, the platforms being ranged one facing the other. Some parts are spoken, the others sung. *Jōṣuvāgē Yuddhaya* by M. S. Liyanage Joseph Fernando, and *Dēvamāṇṇiyangē Vāsāppuva* about the Mother of GOD by M. S. Juse Diego Fernando, were composed in this form. Even this variety of *nāḍagam* was imported from South India. The infatuation for *nāḍagam* spread southwards to the areas of the Western seaboard, where Catholics predominate. In Pamunugama, the leading dramatist was J. D. Hendrick, Muhuppu, born in 1888. He is said to be the author of about fifteen dramas, mostly in the *nāḍagam* style; but one cannot be too sure whether they were all his compositions or partly adaptations of works written by others, because previous writers have written *nāḍagam*, which bear the same titles as some of the works attributed to him, e.g. *Bālasanta*, *Alensu*, *Jnānasavundari*, *Helēna*. Only a comparative study of these dramas can reveal the truth.

It is often said that the earliest *nāḍagam* were written by one Pilippu Siñño, of whom very little is known, and that too through some oral traditions recorded by D. P. D. Alwis in his preface to the *Āhālēpola* or *Simhalē Nāḍagama*, printed in 1870. According to this tradition Pilippu Siñño was born about the year 1770, was a blacksmith by profession, a good singer and a prolific versifier. The plays traditionally attributed to him are the following: *Āhālēpola*, *Sēnagappu*, *Simhavalli*, *Jusēpat*, *Sūsevu*, *Helēna*, *Visvakarma*, *Varthagam*, *San Nikulā*, *Raja Tun Kattuwa*, *Sulambāvati*, *Hunukoṭuvē* and *Estākki*. "We

cannot, however", says Dr. Sarathchandra, "be sure of the authenticity of this list On account of the legendary halo that gathered round the name of Philippu Siñño as the father of the Sinhalese *nāḍagam*, there was a tendency to attribute to him almost any *nāḍagam*, whose author was unknown or whose author did not become a famous personage In the absence of several of the texts referred to above, therefore, we are unable to verify the authenticity of the list". (*Folk Play*, p. 84).

Pilippu Siñño was a Catholic. His Catholic mind comes out in the invocatory stanzas of even *Ahālēpola Nāḍagama* and *Sulambāvatī Nāḍagama*, which are not on Christian themes. Of the plays attributed to him, six are on Christian themes. *Jusēpat* is probably based on the Barlaam and Jusēpat story found in Fr. Gonsalvez' *Dharmōdyānaya* (pp. 147 ff). This is a Christian romance, found in the works of St. John Damascene (cir. 675), and gained such popularity in the West, as to get a place even in an early English play, entitled *Castell of Perseverance* (rf. *Chambers' Cyclopaedia*, Vol. 1, p. 151). Since St. John Damascene was the son of the *Khalifat's grand vizier*, he may have borrowed the story from a Persian writer, who, in turn, got it from a Jataka story. (rf. *Buddhist Birth-Stories*, pp. xxxiv ff.). *Sūsevu* is Joseph, the Patriarch, of the Old Testament; *San Nikula* is St. Nicholas of Santa Claus fame; *Estākki* is St. Eustachius, a Roman officer, martyred in 118 A.D. *Helena* is based on the story of a certain Princess Helena, the daughter of Antonius, the King of Constantinople. In the Hugh Nevill Collection of *Siṃhala Kāvī*, there is a long poem of 1084 verses, called *Helēna Katāva* (rf. *Sinhala Verses* or *Kāvī*, No. 130). My *ola* copy of the same poem has 1383 verses.

According to the British Museum Catalogue, *Ahālēpola Nāḍagama* was printed in 1870, *Mātalam* in 1875 *Estākki* in 1881 and *Sulam-bāvatī* in 1874 (rf. *Wickremesinghe*, pp. 158, 159). *Ahālēpola* N° and *Estākki* N° had for their predecessors the Tamil *Kaṇḍi Rājā* N° and *Estākkiyar* N°, an edition of which was printed by S. J. Tambimuttu-pillai of Jaffna, towards the latter part of the last century. (rf. *Folk Drama*, p. 89; *XXV Years' Catholic Progress*, p. 228). If the list of plays attributed to Pilippu Siñño is authentic, then to him goes the credit of having taken the *Siṃhala Nāḍagam* from the religious to the secular sphere.

Following his example, several other writers produced *nāḍagam*, during the last century. Three of these, namely, *Iyujin*, *Bālasanta* and *Brampōrd* are attributed to V. Christian Perera; but according to the B. M. Catalogue, *Bālasanta* and *Brampōrd* are said to have been written by W. C. Perera, one in 1888, the other in 1887 (rf. p. 153). In 1892, the same writer published a poem of 251 stanzas on the life of Archbishop Bonjean. (rf. *ib.*), *Bālasanta* N° is based on a novel written under the name of Orison and Palenten in Ceylon Portuguese,

and later translated into Tamil prose as *Ūson Pālantai Katai* (rf. *XXV Years' Catholic Progress*, p. 228). I have an *ola* manuscript of a *Siṃhala* poem of 1176 stanzas, which contains the story of Orison and Palenten or Bālasanta. The first two lines of the last stanza are:

සිංහත් කළෙමි පළමුව පොතකින් මෙ ලෙස ස
සිංහත් මුද්‍රන් දී වදිමින් දෙවි සතොස

"With hands uplifted, worshipping GOD gladly, I have made this translation from a book, which already existed".

The *Dinatarā Nāḍagama* and *Albārtu* N° attributed to Lindamulage Stephen Silva Wickremesinghe Jayawardene of Moratuwa, *Pōrsiyā* (Merchant of Venice) and *Harischandra*, by an unknown author, *Selestina Nāḍagama* by Charles de Abrew, *Vesaturu Nāḍagama*, based on the *Vessantara Jatakaya* by Hendrik de Abrew Rājapaksha Vaithyanātha (1873) and *Protias Vālentain Nāḍagama* (Two Gentlemen of Verona) by an unknown author (1883), are some of the dramas written during the last century. The story of Harischandra is in the *Harischandra-purānam* by Virak-Kaviroyar of Nallur, Tinnevely District. (rf. *Folk Play*, pp. 84, 85; *Wickremesinghe*, pp. 42, 181; *Tamil Literature*, p. 289).

There are certain features common to all *nāḍagam*. They are performed on a platform, almost circular in shape, and covered with a cadjan roof, tapering at the top like the Kandyan roof. The back side of the stage is reserved for the musicians, while the audience sits on the bare ground or on mats around the other three sides. Painted scenes were a later introduction. Each actor entered the stage from a side closest to the place reserved for the musicians. A curtain was held before him, while the *potē gurā*, the leader of the chant, introduces him in florid verses. The language of the *nāḍagam* is *miśra Siṃhala*, a mixture of Sanskrit and *Siṃhala* words, with greater attention to rhythmic embellishment than to accuracy of language. Tamil metrical devices, like *innisai*, *tālisai*, *vēnpa*, *kalippu*, *kocakam*, *todayam* and *kalitturai*, were generally used. In the earlier stages, only the drum, known as the *demala berē*, and *attālam* or *kaitālam* accompanied the singing; the violin, *horanā* and harmonium of the variety locally known as *seraphina*, came later. The music was, as a rule, South Indian in character.

The *Kōmāli* or *Kōnangiya* or *Kōlamā* is a stock character in *nāḍagam*. He is the darling of the spectators. His business is to keep the audience awake and in good humour. He knows the gossip of the place; he can make fun of everybody and parody even the king who comes on the stage. He is free, gay and uninhibited. He wears a conical cap, like the head-dress of the clown on the cover of the "Punch", multi-coloured bellows-shaped trousers, and a long beard, made out

of flax (*hana*). He is generally described as a pot-bellied glutton and dunkard. Any way, he can poke fun at life and even mock at death.

He is followed by the *dēśanā vādi*, two boys dressed in long white robes, who describe briefly the theme of the play. Every king is announced by drummers, in the traditional dress of *berakārayō* or *ganitayō*; after them come the *hanḍa dūtayō* (criers) or heralds, in garbs fitting their status in the royal court. Finally, the king makes his appearance, parades round the stage, then sings his song and seats himself on the throne. The Minister is sent for, and he gives a report on the state of the kingdom. When there are five kings, as in the *Raja Tun Kattuwa*, action becomes tediously long. In the Colombo cycle of *nāḍagam*, a stock character is Sellam Lamā or Sellampillai, which means a play boy, he is described as a learned man, fond of fun and frolic. One would think he has been cast in the same mould as the famous Court jester, Andarē.

In most *nāḍagam* the tendency is to give a local setting to the dramatic action, even when the theme is foreign. For instance, in the *Raja Tun Kattuwa*, the shepherds wear a guise familiar to the people of the locality; "the wise men" consulted by Herod do not appear in gaberdines but as Brahmin *gurus*, complete with sacred ashes on their foreheads and the sacred thread across their shoulders. The kings return to their countries in a ship, just a ship-shaped structure mounted on a double bullock cart and the sailors sing the local boatmen's songs. In this setting, the audience can grasp better the significance of the dramatic characters.

Balwant Gargi wrote this of the Indian folk drama: "Folk drama is unself-conscious, spontaneous, boisterously naive. The classical theater is rigid, complex, sophisticated. The folk is unhewn, the classical is chiselled. The folk sprawls, the classical demands mathematical exactness. One is rural, the other is regal. Folk theater can make a whole community take part; the classical is for the chosen few. The folk play has mass appeal and caters to the lowest common denominator, the ordinary man; the classical is for the elite and demands previous knowledge from the spectators. The folk theater has a universality which the classical lacks. Folk art (singing, dancing, acting) crosses the borders of class, religion and country. The classical often imposes these barriers because of its esoteric nature". (*Folk Theater of India*, ch. 1, p. 3).

What has been said above about folk play, applies equally well to our *nāḍagam*, though we never had classical drama in our language. Towards the last two decades of the nineteenth century, Parsee theatricals came here from Northern India, and amateur English theatricals. The modern stage, with its painted scenes, curtains,

lighting, make-up and other devices appealed to the imagination of the elite and the rich, especially those who had a flare for Western culture. They looked down upon *nāḍagam*, as a rigid Brahmin would upon a pariah. The new drama, known as *nūrti* (*nūrtiya*), with its new music, well developed orchestras, better stage craft mixed acting, new themes, often borrowed from the West and sometimes erotic, and the veneer of high society, gradually pushed the *nāḍagam* into the shades of the past. But, there are features in the *nāḍagam*, which are worth preserving, for instance, its universal appeal, its superior motivation, some, at least, of its songs, and its local setting. The *Manamē nāḍagama*, as chiselled and polished by Dr. Sarathchandra, has shown that this can be done. Let us not throw away the baby with the bath.

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History of the Sinhalese Verb

Public Lecture delivered

By PROFESSOR D. E. HETTIARATCHI

Before the Society on 28-2-75

Professor S. K. Chatterji, in his *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language* (§ 614 ff.), makes a historical classification of Verb-roots from Old Indo-Aryan through Middle Indo-Aryan up to New Indo-Aryan, and describes the vicissitudes roots have gone through during the course of their development.

Coming more particularly to Middle Indo-Aryan, Sir George Grierson points out, in his Introduction to the *Prakrit Dhātuvādeśas* (p. 82) that there was never an uniform school of Prakrit grammarians for the whole of India. There were certainly at least one Eastern and one Western School, which had marked variations in their teachings. Each school had its own distinct line of descent, and each school developed independently of the other, so that after the lapse of centuries the divergences became very wide. Among the leading exponents of the Eastern School, Grierson mentions Vararuci (*Prākṛta-Prakāśa*), Kramadīśvara (*Samkṣiptasāra*), Rāmaśarma Tarkavāgīśa (*Prākṛta-kalpataru*) and Mārkaṇḍeya (*Prākṛta-Sarvasva*). The followers of the Western School mentioned are Trivikrama (*Śabdānuśāsana*), Lakṣmidhara (*Śadbhāṣā-candrikā*), Siṃharāja (*Prākṛta-Rūpavatāra*) and Hemacandra. Thus the two lines of Prakrit teachers are said to have been entirely distinct. The one link between them is said to be the Kāśmiri Bhāmaha. The divergences in the different schools of Grammar as reflected in the Prakrit verbs and the Dhātuvādeśas of different schools must have been projected on the verbal forms of modern Indo-Aryan. It has been noticed that while certain verbs are common to many North Indian Languages, verbs in one set of languages are traceable to one Prakrit verb while others go back to still others. Sanskrit $\sqrt{takṣ}$ conjugated as *takṣati* or *takṣnoti* is represented in Prakrit by *takkhai*, *tacchai*, *cacchai* or *camchai* and *ramphai*. Sindhi *tachamu*, Gujarati *tāchvū*, Marāṭhi *tāsne*, Punjabi *tacchnā* correspond to Prakrit *tacchai*. Panjabi has *takhān* and Hindi *takhān* 'carpenter' corresponding to Prakrit *takhāna*, *takkhai* and Sinhalese has *sasī*, *sahī* corresponding to Prakrit *camchai*. In this sense, Oriya has *rampiba* 'to scratch, peel off' corresponding to the dhātuvādeśa *rampai*.

Besides the roots mentioned by Pāṇini and other Sanskrit Grammarians, Westergaard published in 1841 his roots of the Sanskrit Language, and since then they have been the subject of close study among scholars of Indo-Aryan. Dr. S. M. Katre points out in 'Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan, Bombay, 1944 (Lecture II page 37) how Delius published in 1839 his Prakrit Roots (Radices Pracriticae) as a supplement to Lassen's Institutiones Linguae Pracriticae, 1837. Sir George Grierson has made a large collection of Dhātuvādesās in his Monograph 'The Prakrit Dhātuvādesās according to the Western and Eastern Schools of Prakrit Grammarians', Calcutta, 1924. Sir George had based his work on numerous Dhātuvādesās mentioned by Prakrit Grammarians. The Dhātupāṭhas, the Dhātumañjūsā and the Dhātumālā of Saddanīti enumerating the roots in Pali enable us to form a fuller picture of Middle Indo-Aryan. Some of the Dhātuvādesās mentioned by the Prakrit Grammarians and as listed by Grierson seem to have been used to indicate a special sense or aspect of the verb rather than a generalised sense e.g. certain verbs meaning 'to go' 'to look' etc.

The gradual simplification of the Old Indo-Aryan verbal system has been discussed at some length in L'Indo-Aryen of Professor Jules Bloch (pp. 207-236) and in the Origin and Development of the Bengali Language (vol. II Ch. V. § 611 ff.) of Professor S. K. Chatterji. Other works such as those mentioned below throw further light on the problem.

A Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Language, 1880 (338 ff.)
by A. F. Rudolph Hoernle

La Formation de la Langue Marathi, by Jules Bloch

Comparative Grammar of Middle Indo-Aryan, 1951 by Sukumar Sen

Some Problems of Historical Linguistics in Indo-Aryan by
S. M. Katre, 1944

Prakrit Languages and their contribution to Indian Culture,
S. M. Katre, 1964

Historical Grammar of Apabhraṃsa, by G. V. Tagare, 1948

Verbal Composition in Indo-Aryan by P. N. Vale

Assamese, its formation and development by B. Kakati, 1941

Historical Linguistics and Indo-Aryan Languages by A. M. Ghatge, 1962.

Regarding NIA Prof. S. K. Chatterji observes: "Roots in Bengali as in other cognate IA speeches can be classified on the lines indicated below taking into consideration their origin and partly also their functions:

I. Primary Roots

1. Primary Roots inherited from OIA
(a) Simple Roots without a prefix (b) Prefixed Roots
2. Primary Roots from Causatives in OIA
3. Primary Roots re-introduced from Sanskrit
4. Primary Roots of doubtful origin

II. Secondary Roots

1. Causatives in —a
2. Denominatives
3. Compounded and suffixed
4. Onomatopoeic
5. Doubtful

Professor Chatterji's classification has been slightly modified here to suit the special requirements of Sinhalese.

He gives copious examples for each category, and adds further (§ 619): "Apart from phonetic modifications and decay, and the analogical tendency which brought about a general uniformity in the stem seeking to marshal the roots under one head, primary roots underwent certain modifications in MIA which could appear erratic and inexplicable. The analogical tendency levelling down the diversities in the forms of roots is plain enough. The striking thing is that in MIA, the bases of active roots are frequently derived not from the active form in OIA, but rather the passive one, and in some cases apparently from the future base rather than of the present. Causative bases of OIA also supplied the simple root forms of MIA and NIA. The deponent forms in MIA can be explained as taking up a reflexive character, from which the active sense easily evolved, and this was sometimes accompanied by slight semantic changes, e.g. *abhiyajyate* 'is anointed, anoints oneself'; *bhiḥ* 'gets wet'; *tapyate*, MIA *tappai*, 'is heated, heats oneself' > *tape* 'gets hot', *brūyate* 'is said' > *buryati* > *bolai*, > *bole* 'says';

A number of derivations from passive participles are similarly used actively..... After Bengali emerged from Māgadhī Apabhraṃsā, as a distinct speech literature began to be produced in it, the habit of borrowing from Sanskrit obtained a great impetus. This use of Sanskrit forms, even when their tadbhava counterparts were in actual use is not peculiar to Bengali..... It was the inevitable effect of a revival of classical studies.

The causatives are the most characteristic of the Secondary or Derivative roots. Denominatives are made up from nouns and participial adjectives, those nouns and participles being treated exactly like roots. There are over 125 roots which are derivatives

being made up of either two roots combined, or a root preceded by a noun or adverb, or in the majority of the cases, of a root (primary or derivative) modified by a suffix. Onomatopoeics also fall under denominatives. These can be classed under two heads—Onomatopoeic proper, and roots reduplicated or repeated, which produce a jingle”.

These remarks of Professor Chatterji, made with special reference to Bengali, apply with equal force to all NIA languages as they all share similar features. In connection with the sources of the verbal bases in Apabhramśa, Dr. B. Kakati, in his 'Assamese, its Formation and Development' (1941) (pages 715-747) follows the above classification of roots made by Dr. Chatterji, and gives under each category copious examples of Assamese roots. Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle in his Comparative Grammar of the Gaudian Language (1880) has also mentioned several types of verb-formation in NIA and has given examples of each.

I. Primary Roots Inherited from OIA, (a) without a prefix:

The vast majority of the verbs or verbal bases in Sinhalese have been inherited from OIA through MIA, with or without a prefix. Such verbs as the following belong to the first category without a prefixal element.

<i>agī</i>	'is worth' (Sk. <i>arghati</i>)
<i>idī</i>	'increases, flourishes' (P. <i>ijjhati</i> , Sk. <i>rdhyati</i>)
<i>ivasayi</i>	'has patience, bears, agrees to' (P. <i>adhivāseti</i>)
<i>isī, hisī</i>	'sprinkles' (P. Sk. <i>siñcati</i>)
<i>ovī</i>	'deposits' (P. <i>opeti</i>)
<i>kaṭi</i>	'spins' (* <i>krntati</i> , <i>krnatti</i>)
<i>kaḍayi</i>	'breaks' (P. <i>khaṇḍati</i> , Sk. <i>khaṇḍate</i> , <i>khaṇḍayati</i>)
<i>kaṇi</i>	'digs' (P. <i>khaṇati</i> , Sk. <i>khanati</i>)
<i>kaṇayi</i>	'cuts, trims' (Sk. <i>kalpayati</i> , P. <i>kaṇṇpeti</i>)
<i>kaṇi</i>	'trembles' (<i>kamṇati</i>)
<i>kamayī</i>	'endures, forgives' (Sk. <i>kṣamati</i> , <i>kṣamate</i>)
<i>karayī</i>	'does' (Pk. <i>karai</i> , Sk. <i>karoti</i>)
<i>kayī</i>	'eats' (Pk. <i>khāi</i> , Sk. <i>khādati</i>)
<i>kiyayī</i>	'says' (Sk. <i>kathayati</i> , P. <i>katheti</i>)
<i>kipe</i>	'is angry' (Sk. <i>kūpyati</i>)
<i>keḷi</i>	'plays' (P. <i>kīlati</i> , Sk. <i>kṛḍati</i>)
<i>koṭayī</i>	'beats, pounds' (P. <i>koṭṭeti</i>)
<i>koba-</i>	'agitates', (Sk. <i>kṣobhayati</i>)
<i>gaja-</i>	'roars, thunders' (Sk. <i>garjati</i>)
<i>gaṇi</i>	'counts' (Sk. <i>gaṇayati</i>)
<i>gata-</i>	'strikes, knocks against' (P. <i>ghaṭṭeti</i> , Sk. <i>ghaṭṭayati</i>)
<i>gaṇi</i>	'takes' (P. <i>gaṇhati</i> , <i>gaṇhāti</i> , Sk. <i>grhnāti</i>)
<i>gayayī</i>	'sings' (P. <i>gāyati</i>)
<i>garahayī</i>	'reproaches' (P. <i>garahati</i> , Sk. <i>garhati</i>)
<i>galayī</i>	'swallows' (<i>galati</i>)

<i>gahata-</i>	'strikes' (P. <i>ghaṭṭeti</i>)
<i>gahayī, gāyī</i>	'rubs' (P. <i>ghaṃsati</i> , Sk. <i>gharṣati</i>)
<i>gevayī</i>	'rubs off, passes time' (P. <i>khepeti</i> , Sk. <i>kṣepayati</i>)
<i>gohayī</i>	'shouts, proclaims' (P. <i>ghoseti</i> , Sk. <i>ghoṣati</i> , <i>ghoṣayati</i>)
<i>daṣi</i>	'bites' (P. <i>daṃsati</i>)
<i>tavayī</i>	'shines, parches' (P. Sk. <i>tapati</i>)
<i>tara-</i>	'crosses' (P. Sk. <i>tarati</i>)
<i>talayī</i>	'strikes, beats' (P. <i>tāḷeti</i> , Sk. <i>tāḍayati</i>)
<i>tusi</i>	'is pleased, rejoices' (P. <i>tussati</i> , Sk. <i>tusyati</i>)
<i>temayī</i>	'wets' (P. <i>temeti</i> , Sk. * <i>temayati</i>)
<i>daṇi</i>	'knows' (<i>jānāti</i>)
<i>dapayī</i>	'mutters, recites' (<i>japati</i>)
<i>darayī</i>	'bears, supports' (P. Sk. <i>dharati</i>)
<i>dala-</i>	'burns, shines' (P. <i>jalati</i> , Sk. <i>jvalati</i>)
<i>dahayī</i>	'gives up, abandons' (P. <i>jahati</i> , <i>jahāti</i>)
<i>dinayī</i>	'wins, conquers' (P. <i>jināti</i>)
<i>dirayī</i>	'grows old, decays' (P. <i>jirati</i>)
<i>duvayī</i>	'runs' (P. <i>dhāvati</i>)
<i>deyī</i>	'gives' (P. <i>deti</i>)
<i>desayī</i>	'points out, teaches' (P. <i>deseti</i> , Sk. <i>deśayati</i>)
<i>dovī</i>	'washes' (P. <i>dhovati</i>)
<i>naṅgī</i>	'jumps over, mounts' (P. <i>laṅghati</i>)
<i>navatī</i>	'turns back' (P. <i>nivattati</i>)
<i>nasi</i>	'perishes' (P. <i>nassati</i> , Sk. <i>naśyati</i>)
<i>nahayī, nāyī</i>	'bathes' (Sk. <i>snāti</i>)
<i>nahasī</i>	'rubs on the touchstone' (Pk. <i>nīhasai</i> , P. <i>nikasati</i> , Sk. <i>nikāṣa-</i>)
<i>niṇḍayī, niḍayī</i>	'sleeps' (P. <i>niddāyati</i> , Sk. <i>nīdrāyati</i>)
<i>nivayī</i>	'extinguishes' (P. <i>nibbāpeti</i> , Sk. <i>nirvāpayati</i>)
<i>paṭayī</i>	'wishes for, longs for' (P. <i>paṭṭheti</i> , Sk. <i>prārthayati</i>)
<i>paṭurayī</i>	'spreads' (P. <i>paṭṭharati</i>)
<i>paḍi</i>	'drives, paddles' (P. <i>pāḷeti</i>)
<i>palayī</i>	'runs away, flees' (P. <i>palāyati</i>)
<i>paharayī</i>	'strikes' (P. <i>paharati</i> , Sk. <i>praharati</i>)
<i>pāseyī</i>	'is cooked' (Sk. <i>pacyate</i>)
<i>pinayī</i>	'pleases, rejoices' (P. <i>pineti</i> , Sk. <i>prīṇāti</i>)
<i>pisayī</i>	'cooks' (P. <i>pacati</i>)
<i>pudayī</i>	'respects, worships' (P. <i>pūjeti</i> , Sk. <i>pūjayati</i>)
<i>purayī</i>	'fills' (P. <i>pūreti</i>)
<i>pulusayī, pulussayī</i>	'burns' (Sk. <i>pluṣyati</i>)
<i>puvasayī</i>	'makes known' (P. <i>pakāseti</i>)
<i>puṣi</i>	'questions' (P. <i>pucchati</i>)
<i>pelayī</i>	'molests, troubles' (P. <i>pīleti</i> , Sk. <i>pīḍayati</i>)
<i>poyayī</i>	'flogs, beats' (P. <i>poḷheti</i>)
<i>bajayī</i>	'associates with' (P. Sk. <i>bhajati</i>)
<i>baṇi</i>	'speaks' (P. Sk. <i>bhaṇati</i>)
<i>baḍi</i>	'fries, roasts' (P. <i>bhajjati</i> , Sk. <i>bhṛjjati</i>)
<i>baṇḍi</i>	'binds' (P. <i>bandhati</i> , Sk. <i>badhnāti</i>)

<i>bamayi</i>	'whirls, roams about' (P. <i>bhamati</i> , Sk. <i>bhramati</i>)
<i>basī</i>	'descends' (P. <i>bhassati</i> , Sk. <i>bhramśate</i> , <i>bhraśyati</i>)
<i>biṇḍi</i>	'breaks' (P. <i>bhindati</i> , Sk. <i>bhinatti</i>)
<i>budi</i>	'eats' (P. <i>bhuñjati</i> , Sk. <i>bhuñjate</i>)
<i>bedayi</i>	'divides, distributes' (P. <i>bhūjeti</i>)
<i>maḍi</i>	'tramples' (Pk. <i>maddai</i> , Sk. <i>mardati</i> , <i>mardayati</i>)
<i>maḍi</i>	'polishes' (P. <i>majjati</i>)
<i>maṇi</i>	'measures' (P. <i>mināti</i>)
<i>mudayi</i>	'releases' (P. <i>moṇeti</i>)
<i>musi</i>	'releases' (P. Sk. <i>muñcati</i>)
<i>yatayi</i>	'exerts, strives' (P. <i>yatati</i>)
<i>yadi</i>	'begs' (P. <i>yācati</i>)
<i>raki</i>	'protects' (P. <i>rakkhati</i> , Sk. <i>rakṣati</i>)
<i>ramayi</i>	'delights in' (P. <i>ramati</i>)
<i>labayi</i>	'gets', obtains' (P. <i>labhati</i> , Sk. <i>labhate</i>)
<i>vadayi</i>	'gives birth to, brings forth' (P. <i>viṣayati</i>)
<i>vandi</i>	'salutes' (P. <i>vandati</i>)
<i>vanayi</i>	'praises' (P. <i>vaṇṇeti</i> , Sk. <i>vaṇṇayati</i>)
<i>vasayi</i>	'lives' (P. Sk. <i>vasati</i>)
<i>vaḷaṇḍi</i>	'eats, enjoys' (P. <i>vaḷaṇḍeti</i>)
<i>vikunayi</i>	'sells' (Sk. <i>vikrīṇāti</i>)
<i>vidi</i>	'pierces' (P. <i>viṣṇati</i> , Sk. <i>vidhyati</i>)
<i>viṇḍi</i>	'feels, experiences' (P. <i>vindati</i>)
<i>velayi</i>	'wraps round' (P. <i>vettheti</i> , Sk. <i>vestate</i>)
<i>sadayi</i>	'prepares, adorns' (P. <i>sajjēti</i> , Sk. <i>sajjayati</i>)
<i>sapayi</i>	'chews' (P. <i>cabbai</i> , Sk. <i>carvati</i>)
<i>samarayi</i>	'remembers' (Sk. <i>smarati</i>)
<i>sarayi</i>	'moves about' (P. Sk. <i>carati</i>)
<i>sasi</i>	'pares, chops' (Pk. <i>camchai</i> , Sk. <i>takṣati</i>)
<i>sāhayi</i>	'accomplishes' (Sk. <i>sādhayati</i>)
<i>siṭi</i>	'stands' (Pk. <i>cittai</i> , Sk. <i>tiṣṭhati</i>)
<i>sitayi</i>	'thinks' (P. <i>cinteti</i>)
<i>siṇḍi</i>	'cuts' (P. <i>chindati</i>)
<i>simbi</i>	'kisses' (P. Sk. <i>cumbati</i>)
<i>sorayi</i>	'steals' (Sk. <i>corayati</i>)
<i>sosi</i>	'mourns, regrets' (Sk. <i>śocati</i>)
<i>hivayi</i>	'sews' (Sk. <i>śivayati</i>)
<i>hobi</i>	'looks beautiful' (P. <i>sobhati</i> , Sk. <i>śobhate</i>)
<i>hovi</i>	'sleeps' (P. <i>supati</i>)

Primary Roots inherited from OIA, (b) with prefix :

Some examples of verbs inherited from OIA verbs with prefixes are noted below.

<i>atavayi</i>	'places in position, sets a trap, settles, adjusts' (P. <i>saṇṭhapēti</i> , Sk. <i>saṁsthāpayati</i>)
<i>atarayi</i>	'spreads' (P. <i>attharati</i> , Sk. <i>ā + √ str</i>)
<i>anumovi</i>	'expresses thanks' (P. <i>anumodati</i>)

<i>apolayi</i>	'claps the hands' (P. <i>apphoteti</i>)
<i>abibavayi</i>	'overcomes' (P. Sk. <i>abhibhavati</i>)
<i>amatayi</i>	'speaks, addresses' (P. <i>āmanteti</i> , <i>āmantrayate</i>)
<i>amaḍi</i> , <i>hamaḍi</i>	'sweeps' (P. <i>sammajjati</i>)
<i>ayadi</i>	'requests, begs' (P. <i>āyācati</i>)
<i>arambayi</i>	'begins, undertakes' (P. <i>ārabhati</i> , Sk. <i>ārabhate</i>)
<i>alaḷayi</i>	'agitates' (P. <i>ālulati</i>)
<i>avaji</i>	'reflects upon' (P. <i>āvajjati</i> , Sk. <i>avarjayati</i>)
<i>avadi</i>	'gets into, commits' (P. <i>āpajjati</i> , Sk. <i>āpadyate</i>)
<i>avunayi</i>	'strings together' (P. <i>āvunāti</i>)
<i>avusi</i>	'takes leave of' (P. <i>āpucchati</i>)
<i>asiṇḍi</i>	'snatches' (P. <i>acchindati</i>)
<i>ikmeyi</i>	'goes beyond' (P. <i>atikkamati</i> , Sk. <i>ati + √ kram</i>)
<i>itayi</i>	'makes up one's mind, resolves' (P. <i>adhiṭṭhāti</i>)
<i>uganī</i>	'learns' (P. <i>uggaṇhāti</i>)
<i>ugulayi</i>	'unfastens, pulls out' (P. <i>ugghāṭeti</i> BSk. <i>udghāṭayati</i>)
<i>udahayi</i>	'gets irritated' (P. <i>ujjhīyati</i>)
<i>udurayi</i>	'lifts up, removes' (P. <i>uddharati</i>)
<i>upadi</i>	'is born' P. <i>uppaṭṭhāti</i> , Sk. <i>utpadyate</i> ,
<i>epseyi</i>	'steps down', sets' (Sk. <i>ava + √ srp</i>)
<i>kasi</i>	'coughs' (Sk. <i>kāśate</i> , Pk. <i>kāśai</i>)
<i>nahamayi</i>	'attends to, observes' (P. <i>nisāmeti</i>)
<i>nikmeyi</i>	'goes out, goes forth' (P. <i>nikkhamati</i>)
<i>niganī</i>	'rebukes' (P. <i>niggaṇhāti</i>)
<i>nipadi</i>	'is produced' (P. <i>nippajjati</i> , <i>nippahajjati</i> , Sk. <i>niṣpadyate</i>)
<i>pakulu-</i>	'to stumble' (P. <i>pakkhalati</i>)
<i>pamadi</i>	'is negligent' (P. <i>pamajjati</i>)
<i>palaṇḍi</i>	'wears ornaments' (P. <i>pilandhāti</i>)
<i>pāmineyi</i>	'reaches' (P. <i>pāpūṇāti</i>)
<i>paradi</i>	'is defeated' (P. <i>parāṇiyati</i>)
<i>pavati</i>	'exists' (P. <i>pavattati</i> , Sk. <i>pravartate</i>)
<i>pavasayi</i>	'says, declares' (P. <i>pakāseti</i> , Sk. <i>prakāśayati</i>)
<i>pasasayi</i>	'praises' (P. <i>pasamsati</i>)
<i>pasvatayi</i>	'waits upon, attends to' (P. <i>paccupaṭṭhāti</i>)
<i>pasvikayi</i>	'contemplates' (P. <i>paccavekkhati</i>)
<i>piyoda-</i>	'to engage in, employ' (P. <i>payojeti</i>)
<i>piribudi</i>	'enjoys' (P. <i>paribhuñjati</i>)
<i>pirimadi</i>	'strokes, rubs' (P. <i>parimajjati</i>)
<i>piriramba-</i>	'embraces' (Sk. <i>parirabhate</i>)
<i>pirivarayi</i>	'surrounds' (P. <i>parivāreti</i>)
<i>piriheyi</i>	'deteriorates' (P. <i>parihāyati</i>)
<i>piligani</i>	'receives, accepts' (P. <i>patigaṇhāti</i>)
<i>pilidagi</i>	'nourishes, takes care of' (P. <i>patijaggati</i>)
<i>pilipadi</i>	'follows, practises' (P. <i>patipajjati</i>)
<i>piliviāi</i>	'penetrates, comprehends' (P. <i>pativijjhati</i>)
<i>pilivusi</i>	'questions, asks' (P. <i>patipucchati</i>)
<i>pobayayi</i>	'enlightens, arouses' (P. <i>pabodheti</i>)

<i>polambayi</i>	'allures, entices' (P. <i>palobhetai</i> , Sk. <i>pratobhayaui</i>)
<i>pohoyi</i>	'is adequate, is able' (P. <i>pahoti</i> , Sk. <i>prabhavati</i>)
<i>bisesi</i>	'anoints' (Sk. <i>abhishīcati</i>)
<i>vatayi</i>	'waits upon' (P. <i>upaṭṭhāti</i>)
<i>valapi</i>	'weeps' (P. <i>vilapati</i>)
<i>vimasayi</i>	'investigates' (P. <i>vīmaṃsati</i>)
<i>viramayi</i>	'refrains from' (P. <i>viramati</i>)
<i>visalvayi</i>	'washes off' (P. <i>vikkhāleti</i> , Sk. <i>vikṣālayati</i>)
<i>visinayi</i>	'investigates, discriminates' (P. <i>vicinati</i> , <i>vicināti</i>)
<i>vulumbi</i>	'robs, steals' (P. <i>vilumpati</i>)
<i>saṅgavayi</i>	'keeps in safety, conceals' (P. <i>saṃgopeti</i>)
<i>satapayi</i>	'satisfies' (P. <i>santappeti</i>)
<i>samavadi</i>	'attains' (P. <i>samāpajjati</i>)
<i>hati</i>	'stands, arises' (P. <i>santhāti</i>)
<i>haṇḍunayi</i>	'recognizes' (P. <i>saṃjānāti</i>)
<i>hamadi</i>	'sweeps' (P. <i>sammajjati</i>)

2. Primary Roots from Causatives in Old Indo-Aryan:

eg. *upayayi* 'earns = Sk. *utpādayati*; *nipayayi* 'manufactures, produces' (P. *nippādeti*, Sk. *niṣpādayati*); *tohayi* 'pleases, propitiates' (P. *toseti*, Sk. *toṣayati*)

3. Primary Roots introduced from Sanskrit:

Besides the inherited forms, with or without prefixes, there are some semi-loan forms of verbs that are presumably later borrowings as is proved by the existence of inherited forms corresponding to some of them. e.g.,

<i>piriksayi</i>	'examines' (Sk. <i>parīkṣate</i>), Cf. <i>pirisayi</i>
<i>aveksayi</i>	'looks for' (Sk. <i>apekṣate</i>)
<i>asvasayi</i>	'consoles' (Sk. <i>āśvasiti</i> Cf. <i>asas paśas</i> < <i>āśvāsa-praśvāsa</i> and <i>āśvāśyati</i>)
<i>iksayi</i>	'sees, looks' (Sk. <i>īkṣate</i>)
<i>uveksayi</i>	'considers, expects' (Sk. <i>upekṣate</i>)
<i>niriksayi</i>	'observes' (Sk. <i>nirīkṣate</i>)
<i>visma-</i>	'to be surprised' (Sk. <i>vismayate</i>)
<i>visvasi</i>	'trusts' (Sk. <i>viśvasiti</i> , Cf. <i>visat</i> 'trusted' Sk. <i>viśvasta</i>)

4. Primary Roots, probably indigenous, or of doubtful origin:

There is a considerable number of Sinhalese verbs that cannot be traced to any known source and which have therefore to be considered to be of indigenous origin. e.g.

<i>aṇḍavi</i>	'weeps'
<i>aṇḍarayi</i>	'twists, grinds'
<i>amayī, hamayi</i>	'blows'
<i>amōrayi</i>	'holds threateningly'
<i>ārayi</i>	'grows fat'

<i>illayi</i>	'asks for, begs'
<i>unayi</i>	'oozes, springs'
<i>ulayi</i>	'rubs'
<i>usulayi</i>	'bears, supports'
<i>elambeyi</i>	'comes, reaches'
<i>elavayi</i>	'produces yields; chase'
<i>otayi</i>	'wraps'
<i>obayi</i>	'presses down'
<i>oyayi</i>	'peels off'
<i>kalatayi</i>	'churns stirs'
<i>kalambayi</i>	'stirs, agitates'
<i>kāṇḍavayi</i>	'invites'
<i>kiṇḍa-</i>	'sinks'
<i>kirayi</i>	'weighs'
<i>koṇḍurayi</i>	'whispers'
<i>garayi</i>	'cleanses the grain, sifts'
<i>galapayi</i>	'joins'
<i>givisayi</i>	'agrees to, pledges'
<i>tatamayi</i>	'strains'
<i>tatanayi</i>	'strains, strives'
<i>tanayi</i>	'makes'
<i>tambayi</i>	'boils'
<i>tavarayi</i>	'smears'
<i>tepalayi</i>	'speaks'
<i>terapayi</i>	'presses'
<i>tōrayi</i>	'chooses'
<i>damayi</i>	'puts'
<i>davatayi</i>	'envelopes, wraps'
<i>doḍayi</i>	'speaks, talks'
<i>narambayi</i>	'looks'
<i>niyavayi</i>	'grins, makes grievances'
<i>nerayi</i>	'juts out'
<i>nerapayi</i>	'expels, banishes'
<i>patalayi</i>	'ties round, confuses'
<i>pani</i>	'jumps'
<i>pāyi</i>	'shows'
<i>pirimasayi</i>	'economizes'
<i>pihinayi, pinayi</i>	'swims'
<i>pīrayi</i>	'combs'
<i>pūḍi</i>	'flowers'
<i>poṅgayi</i>	'soaks'
<i>babalayi</i>	'shines'
<i>burayi</i>	'barks'
<i>bērayi</i>	'saves, spares'
<i>meheyayi</i>	'urges'
<i>molavayi</i>	'kindles fire'
<i>yomayi</i>	'directs, pays attention'
<i>ravayi</i>	'frowns'

<i>ravaṭayi</i>	'deceives'
<i>layi</i>	'puts, inserts'
<i>vagurayi</i>	'sheds'
<i>valakayi</i>	'prevents, avoids'
<i>valaṇḍayi</i>	'embraces'
<i>vilikseyi</i>	'ripens'
<i>sarahayi</i>	'decks, adorns'
<i>salasayi</i>	'causes to do, provides'
<i>sādayi</i>	'makes'
<i>sārayi</i>	<i>hārayi</i> 'digs'
<i>siṅgayi</i>	'begs'
<i>helayi</i>	'drops down'

The verb *nelayi*, 'weeds' corresponds in Old Sinhalese Glossaries to P. *niddeti* e.g. Dhampiyā Atuvā Gāṭapadaya 224-30. The Pali Text Society's Pali Dictionary mentions *niddāyati* 'to weed' and equals it to Sanskrit *nirdāti*. Although a reduplicated consonant or a consonant cluster normally develops in Sinhalese into a single consonant, sometimes that consonant undergoes a further change e.g. *kaivarta* 'fisherman' > P. *kevaṭṭa* > *kevulu*; Sk. *kusṭhin* 'leper' P. *kuṭṭhi* > *kili*. Likewise *niddeti* may have given rise to *nelayi*. Although *gāvasenavā* 'to frequent, to be densely crowded with' cannot be traced to a Pali or Sanskrit verb, its participial form *gāvasiṅga* 'crowded with, full of' is given as the Sinhalese equivalent of Pali *gavacchita* in Jātaka -atuvā Gāṭapadaya (Sir D. B. Jayatillake's edition page 37-7). The verbal form is presumably derived from the past participle.

urayi 'sucks' is in all probability a borrowing from Tamil Cf. *urital* 'sucking'.

mumunayi, *manu-munu-gāyi* 'whispers, hums' is strongly reminiscent of Tamil *munu-munenru pesinān*. Vide Pope's Handbook of the Tamil Language, Lesson 100.

II. SECONDARY ROOTS

5. Causatives

There are some verbs in Sinhalese which derive their origin from the M.I.A. Causative but which have virtually lost their causative significance. Hence they give rise to double causatives. e.g. *hikmāyi*, *hikmavāyi* 'disciplines' < *hikvāyi* (Dhampiyā Atuvā Gāṭapadaya 142-10, 216-27) = P. *sikkhāpeti* Sk. *śikṣayati*; *bojavāyi* 'feeds'; *toṣvāyi* 'pleases, causes to be delighted'.

6. Certain verbs, originally passive, lose in course of time their passive significance and pass as active verbs, e.g., Sk. *badhyatē*, P. *bandhīyati*, Pk. *bajjhai*, Sindhi *bajhanu*, *badhijanū* 'to be tied', Sinh. *bāṇḍeyi*; Sk. *tapyate* 'is heated', Pk. *tappai*, Hindi *tape* 'becomes hot'; Sk. *vidyate*,

P. *sijjate*, Pk. *sijjai* 'is boiled or cooked' Sinh. *hideyi*, *ideyi*, 'gets' boiled or cooked, ripens; Sk. *pacyate* Sinh. *pāseyi* 'gets cooked, ripens' Sk. *dahyate* 'is burnt' Sindhi *ḍajhanu* 'to burn'; Sk. *duhyate* 'is milked' Sindhi *dubhanu*, *duhanu*, *duhijanū* 'to milk'; Sk. *ḍṛśyate* 'is seen' Sindhi *disanu* 'to see' Sinh. *dise* 'is seen, appears'; Pk. *dhamijjai* 'is blown, Sindhi *dhamijanū* 'to blow'.

Sometimes confusion arises between the Sk. verbs of the 4th conjugation and the passive voice, as early as Prakrit, and the resultant forms occur more in an active sense. e.g. Sk. *nahyati* and *nahyate* both give rise to *najjhai* in Prakrit.

Sometimes a historical reason such as the continuance of Vedic conjugational forms, lost in Classical Sanskrit, but preserved in Prakrit, is said to account for an active verb in Prakrit along side. Thus Hoernle points out E. Hindi *odhrai* (Pk. *uadḍhai*, *uadḍhei*, Sk. *upadhriyate*) which is both active 'he wears' and passive or intransitive 'is worn, it wears'.

7. Secondary Roots—Future

Just as the Prakrit bases *dakkha* and *dekkha* as noticed in Sinh. *daki* 'he sees' and Hindi *dekhtā* 'sees' arose from the future base in Sk. *drakṣya* which was mistaken to be a present base, it is possible that *kivisī* 'sneezes' too had a similar origin. In his Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages (§ 3754), Sir Ralph Turner explains Sinh. *kivisinavā* (to sneeze) through future *khavissai* in Pk. < Sk. *kṣaviṣyati* from Sk. *kṣauti*. Cf. P. *khiṭṭissati* Wilhelm Geiger looks at it differently in his Etymological Glossary of the Sinhalese Language.

8. Secondary Roots—Denominatives

Sinh. *tenayi* 'steals' = P. *theneti*, Sk. *stenayati*; *tomayi* 'praises' = P. *thometi*, Sk. *stomayati*; *uyayi*, *huyayi* 'cooks' = Sk. *sūdayati* 'makes ready, makes fit'; *dumayi* 'smokes' = Sk. *dhūmayati*; *raṅgayi* 'dances' < Sk. *raṅga* 'dancing stage' are some denominatives in Sinhalese.

In other modern Indo-Aryan Languages one comes across forms like E. Hindi *jamae* 'germinates' = Pk. *jammei*, *jammai*. Sk. *janmayati*; Bengali *kamay* 'shaves with a razor', Oriya *kamaiba* 'shaves' = Pk. *kammai* (denominative from *kamma*, Sk. *karman*).

Besides such denominative verbs, there are roots derived from participles, usually the past passive participles, e.g. E. Hindi *palatai*, *palatḥai* 'turns over' Sk. *paryastayati* from Sk. *paryasta* 'turned over'; E. Hindi *piṭai*, Assamese *piṭi* 'beats, thrashes' = Pk. *piṭṭhei*,

pitṭei, pitṭai = Sk. *piṣṭayati* from Sk. *piṣṭa*: Hindi *baiṭh* 'to sit' = Sk. *upaviṣṭa* 'seated'; Hindi *paṭh* 'to enter' = Sk. *praviṣṭa*; E. Hindi *sut* 'to sleep' Marāṭhi *sutaṇem* = P. *sutta*, Sk. *supta*: Cf. Sinh. *tiṭi, tuṭu & tiḷi*.

9. Secondary Roots—Intensives

Among the verbal forms traceable to intensives in Sanskrit, mention may be made of Sinh. *kakiyai* 'boils intensively' = Sk. *kākva-thati*, P. *kakkuthati* and *sanahayi* 'bathes to one's heart's content' = Sk. *sāsnāti* (or *samsnāti*).

Adjectival forms like *dāṅgum* 'mobile' = P. Sk. *jaṅgama*; *dāduru* 'decaying' = P. *jajjara*, Sk. *jarjara*; *sasala* 'moving, unsteady' = P. Sk. *cañcala* seem to go back to frequentatives in old Indo-Aryan.

10. Secondary Roots—Desiderative

Vivakayi 'wishes to say' = Sk. *vivakṣati* seems to be a relic of an Old Indian desiderative.

11. Secondary Roots—Analogical

The Sinhalese verb *asayi* 'hears, listens to' seems to be a back formation due to Analogy, based on the causative *asvayi* = P. *assāveti*, Sk. *āśrāvayati*. Sir Ralph Turner in his Comparative Dictionary of the Indo-Aryan Languages (§ 1460) traces it to the preterite verb *āsuvā*. The verb *upurayi* 'roots out' too seems to be an analogical formation based on the past participle *upūla* from *utpalati* or *utpātayati*. The verb *sakasayi* 'fashions well' as in Dhampiya-Aṭuva-Gātapadaya 278-26, seems to be an analogical formation based on *sakāsā* 'well' = P. *sakkaccaṃ*, *sakkaccaka*, Sk. *sat-kṛtya*.

12. Compound—Roots

The verbal bases *rukura* 'to do', *porora* 'to put on, wear, robe one self', *namada* 'to salute, bow down, seem to consist of two radical elements. Professor Helmer Smith sees in *namaṇḍi* a contamination of *namati* and *vandati* (Journal Asiatique, 1950, § 20-7).

There is a small group of verbs in Sinhalese in which a noun has coalesced with the verb *karayi* 'does' to form verbs like *hajārayi*, *hadārayi* 'studies' literally 'does studying, does the recitation' = *saj-jhāyaṃ-karoti*, *vaḍārayi* 'says', *vaṃārayi* 'vomits', *vaṇurayi* 'sows', *kaṃburayi* 'does menial work'. Although they do not have any causative sense, certain modern Indian languages like Sindhi have forms like *piyāraṇu* 'to cause to drink' *sikhārāyaṇu* 'to cause to learn', and Apabhramsa has *vaisārai* (caus. of *upa-viś*) and *dekhālai* 'shows' all of which are causatives. With them may be compared the Hindi

causatives such as *khilānā* and *khilavānā* from *khānā* 'to eat' *pilānā* and *pilavānā* from *pīnā* 'to drink' *sulānā* and *sulavānā* from *sōnā* 'to sleep', *baiṭhalānā* from *baiṭhanā* 'to sit' *paiṭhalānā* from *paiṭhanā* 'to enter'.

The Sinh. verb *nāṅgiṭi* seems to be an expanded root like Prakrit *bhamadai* from Sk. *bhramati*, or a contamination with another verbal element. Sk. *bhramati* develops in Pk. into *bhamadai*, *bhamādai*, *bhamandai*.

As has been pointed out by Prof. S. K. Chatterji, certain terms like *sphut* (*phut*) *dhak*, *bahis*, *camat*, *rudh* and *cyut* are compounded with a verbal form of √ kṛ. Though the two elements are clearly discernible in Sanskrit, they seem to have coalesced in Prakrit and pass as single verbs in modern Indo-Aryan. Thus *sphut-karoti* or *phut-karoti* 'blows' = Pk. *phukkei phukkai* > E. Hindi *phukai*; *dhak karoti* + Pk. *dhakkai* 'destroys' *dhakk-* 'to destroy', *bahis-kriyate* > Pk. *bahikkei, bahikkai* > *bahak-* 'to stray', E. Hindi *bahakai*; *camat+kriyate* > Pk. *camakkai, camakkei* > *camak-* 'glitters'; *rudh+kriyate* > Pk. *rukkei, rukkai* > Hindi *rok-* 'to hinder'; *cyut+kṛ.* > Pk. *cukkei, cukkai* > Hindi *cuk-* 'cease, drop'.

13. Onomatopoeic verbs

The Sinhalese verbs *gugurayi* 'thunders', *pupurayi* 'bursts' *mumunayi* 'whispers, hums' and probably *burayi* 'barks' may be due to onomatopoea. Cf. *bhukkai* 'barks' in Prakrit.

Thus one notices that the Sinhalese verb has also developed from OIA through MIA or Prakrit along parallel lines. The indigenous element, not traceable to old or Middle Indo-Aryan may go back to an older stream, probably pre-Vijayan or pre-Aryan.

The Munnesvaram Tamil Inscription of Parākramabāhu VI

By

S. PATHMANATHAN, PH.D.

The Tamil inscription of Parākramabāhu at the Hindu shrine of Munnesvaram records the grant of land and money by the king to that temple and its Brahmins. The inscription is of considerable academic interest as it throws some light on the history of the reign of Parākramabāhu and on Munnesvaram which is one of the principal Hindu shrines in the island. It is one of the three Tamil inscriptions of Parākramabāhu that have hitherto been brought to light,¹ and being one of the important Tamil documents of the Kotte period that have survived it cannot be ignored in any study of the development of the Tamil language and script in the island. Besides it gives some idea of the importance of Munnesvaram in the fifteenth century.

The inscription is engraved in an admixture of Tamil and Grantha characters. The text of the inscription is drafted in two languages—Tamil and Sanskrit. The main portion of the text concerning the grant is in Tamil but the initial and concluding portions are in Sanskrit. All the Sanskrit expressions and passages are written in Grantha. The epigraph begins with a conventional description of the king's descent, titles and epithets and concludes with a Sanskrit *sloka*.

The use of Sanskrit and Tamil languages in this and several other records testifies that some of the court officials were familiar with those languages. The initial portion of the record giving a description of the king slightly varies from that given in the Sinhalese inscriptions of the period. Instead of the expression *Dinakara vamsābhijāta* the Oruvala *sannasa* contains the expression *sūryavamsōt-bhūta*.² The Kudumirisa epigraph, however, contains the expression *sūryavamsābhijāta*.³ Moreover, instead of the phrases *Samanābhadrā Caranāravinda vandita* the phrases *Mahasammata paramparānuyāta*

occur in the Sinhalese inscriptions.⁴ In drafting the texts of inscriptions the court officials of this period do not appear to have been concerned about maintaining uniformity as regards the language and form of the introductory portions of the official records.

Fowler's translation and Velupillai's edition

Fowler's translation of this epigraph was published in 1887.⁵ In his introductory remarks Fowler observes:

I have examined the Monnisvaram inscription several times and much of it is illegible. It has I think been removed from an older building and built into the present one. Several of the letters near the joints of the stones are covered by mortar which I think would not be the case if it has been cut in situ. The inscription runs along a kind of cornice and consists of four lines extending for about thirty or forty feet.⁶

Fowler frankly admits that much of the inscription was illegible to him but he gives the translation of almost the whole text. We are therefore led to imagine that he had access to a copy of a record preserved presumably in manuscript form by the temple authorities.⁷

An article on this inscription by A. Velupillai has been published recently.⁸ He has used the estampage prepared by the Archaeological Department of the Government of Ceylon and in his article a photo copy of the estampage and a transliteration of the text of the inscription have been published for the first time. The letters in the last few expressions of each of the four lines of the inscription were mostly obliterated and any clear trace of them is not to be found in the estampage. The full text of the inscription cannot, therefore, be restored from a reading of the estampage.

The text of the inscription as given by Velupillai is incomplete; there are some important gaps. There are some errors in the decipherment; as will be seen later some of the expressions which are quite clear and legible on the estampage have been deciphered wrongly. Moreover, the historical significance of the inscription and its contents deserve an elaborate discussion—a sort of which has not been attempted

1. The other two are from Naimmana and Jaffna. S. Paranavitana, *The shrine of Upulvan at Devundara, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon*, Vol. VI, p. 73; A. Velupillai, 'The Naimmana inscription of Parākramabāhu', *Ceylon Tamil Inscriptions* (CTI), Pt. II, Peradeniya, 1972, pp. 56-67; K. Indrapala, 'The Jaffna (Main Street) Inscription of the reign of Parākramabāhu VI', *Epigraphia Tamilica*, (ET) Pt. I [Jaffna Archaeological Society, 1971] pp. 29-31.

2. H. W. Codrington, 'The Oruvala Sannasa', *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, (EZ), Vol. III, No. 3.

3. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekara, 'Three Sinhalese Inscriptions', *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JCBRAS), X, (34), p. 98.

4. *ibid.*, EZ, Vol. III, no. 3; H. W. Codrington, 'Gadaladeniya slab pillar inscriptions', EZ, Vol. IV, p. 24.

5. J. M. Fowler, 'Translation of an Inscription at the temple of Monnisvaram', *JRASC*, 10 (35), 1887, pp. 118-119.

6. *ibid.*

7. Fowler is not quite correct in saying that much of the inscription is illegible. Much of it is legible. It is indeed strange that he gives the translation of the whole text although he observes that much of the text was illegible.

8. 'An inscription from the Munnesvaram Siva Temple', CTI, Pt. I, pp. 37-43.

in his paper. Moreover we now have the means of restoring even those portions of the text that have become obliterated in the stone and are therefore not portrayed in the estampage taken by the Archaeological Department.

Errors in the decipherment:

The expressions *svasti Srī samantabhadra caranāravintan āditya Vamsābhijāta*⁹ as read by Velupillai have to be modified to read as *Svasti Srī Samantabhadra caranāravinda vandita Dinakaravamsābhijāta*. In the estampage there is no trace of the expression *āditya* but the letters representing *Dinakara* are quite clear. The last few expressions in the preserved portion of the first line are read by Velupillai in a curious manner as *sarama svapaṇam tā purōhi*¹⁰ but as far as I could make out, there is no trace of any such thing and the expressions *Vijasūmagava paṇṭitar purōhita* are quite clear in the inscription. Velupillai has not deciphered them correctly. In the third line the expression *candrādityavarai* is followed by that of *sarvamānyamāka*, but instead of the latter the text as given by Velupillai contains the expression *sthrāmāka*¹¹ which does not make any sense. In the concluding portion of the inscription a Sanskrit verse is engraved in Grantha characters. The initial portion of the verse is very clear and reads *tadīdam Ganānāthasya saivaṇana Mahōdadheh*. This expression is, however not deciphered correctly by Velupillai.¹²

A manuscript copy of the inscription

A manuscript copy of the text of this inscription is found in the Oriental manuscripts collection of the British Museum.¹³ It is bound together with a manuscript of the Tamil chronicle, the *Yālpāna-vaipavamālai*. No details of this manuscript copy seem to be recorded anywhere. The interesting feature about this manuscript is that it gives almost the entire text of this inscription; there are no gaps except at one instance. Any study on this inscription which ignores this manuscript could only be partial and incomplete. The manuscript contains also a paraphrase of the text which helps to interpret and translate the obscure passages in the text which are archaic in style and obscure in meaning. The paraphrase as found in the manuscript is given here in the form of an appendix.

9. *ibid.*, p. 41.

10. *ibid.*

11. *ibid.*, p. 42.

12. He gives the reading *taddamgaṇanāthalla Saiva araṇ mahōdayamon*; *ibid.*, p. 42.

13. British Museum Oriental Manuscripts: 6616. This was published in 1972 by the present author. S. Pathmanathan, *Tamilccācanankalum ila vara lārru āraycciyum* (Tamil Epigraphy and studies on Ceylon History) *Ilantēnrai* (Colombo, 1972), p. 24.

The text as found in the manuscript mostly conforms to the original and if it is the product of the decipherment of the stone inscription it represents a most successful attempt at decipherment of the epigraph. But, unfortunately there is no means of knowing when and by whom this inscription was originally deciphered. It could be surmised that some learned Brahmin attached to the shrine deciphered the inscription at a time when the engraved stone was in a better state of preservation. It is even probable that this manuscript reproduces a copy of the text either engraved on copper plate or written on palm-leaf. The expression *kallilum cempilum eluṭikkōṭuttom* as found in some inscriptions in India and Ceylon testify that sometimes inscriptions were issued in two copies—one engraved in copper and the other in stone.¹⁴ A few copies of inscriptions in palm leaf also have been brought to light in Ceylon.¹⁵

Parakramabahu: Titles, epithets and religious policy

As Parākramabāhu is said to have been residing at Jayavardhanapura by which name Kotte was known in medieval times, he was undoubtedly a ruler of Kotte. Among the kings of Kotte there were four rulers who had the name Parākramabāhu: Parākramabāhu VI (1412-1467), Parākramabāhu VII (1477-1485), Parākramabāhu VIII (1485-1505) and Parākramabāhu IX (1506-1520).¹⁶ As the inscription is dated in the 38th regnal year the ruler mentioned in it is evidently Parākramabāhu VI because none among the other rulers mentioned earlier had a reign of more than twenty years duration. There is some confusion about the date of Parākramabāhu's accession in the sources that relate to his reign. According to some of them he ascended the throne around A.D. 1412 while others reckon the year A.D. 1415 as the year of his accession.¹⁷ The 38th year in which the grant was made would correspond to either A.D. 1450 or A.D. 1453.

14. This expression is found in the slab inscription of the Velaikkāras at Polonnaruwa and the Lankātilaka inscription. See *SII*, IV : 1396; *UCR*, XVIII, Nos. 1 & 2, January, 1960, pp. 16-23.

15. The texts of the Niyamgampaya and Madawela inscriptions are among those that are known only from palm-leaf manuscript copies.

16. *EZ*, III, p. 40.

17. According to the Sinhalese chronicle, the *Rājāvaliya*, Parākramabāhu VI had a reign of 52 years. The contemporary sources, however, are not agreed on the date of his accession. According to the evidence from some of them he ascended the throne in 1412 while others make 1415 the year of his accession. This contradiction could be reconciled if we assume that he came to power in 1412 but underwent the ceremony of consecration in 1415 after shifting to Kotte from Rayigama. See *University of Ceylon: History of Ceylon* (UCHC) Vol. I, pt. ii, ed. H. C. Ray and others [Colombo, 1960], p. 669.

Sankabodhi-varmar: The king according to the inscription, had the title *cankabodhi-panmar*, *Rājādhirāja* and the epithets *Tiribhuvanaccakkaravarṭti* and *Pararājasēkharabhujāṅga*. The expression *cankabōdhivanmar* is the Tamilised form of *Sanghabodhi-varman*—a compound of the words *Sanghabōdhi* and *varman*. *Sanghabodhi* (s. Sangabo) was one of the two alternate titles assumed by the kings of Ceylon on their consecration, the other being *Abhayasālāmēgha*.¹⁸ Both titles are mentioned in Sinhalese and Tamil inscriptions. The title *sanghabodhi* occurs in varying forms in the Tamil inscriptions set up in Ceylon from the ninth century onwards. This title is of some significance as it implies a reciprocal connexion between kingship and Buddhism. It may be regarded as the Ceylonese (Buddhist) counterpart of such titles as *Paramabhāgavata*, *Paramamāhēśvara*, and *Paramabrāhmaṇya* borne by some of the Hindu rulers of medieval India.¹⁹

In the Tamil inscriptions issued in Ceylon the honorific particle *varmar(n)* is mostly suffixed to the title *Caṅkapōti* as a result of South Indian influence. *Varman* derived from *Varmma* meaning armour or coat of mail is suffixed to the names of several kings perhaps to indicate their kṣatriya origin.²⁰ All the rulers of certain dynasties had names ending in *varman*. The rulers of Kāmarūpa, the Sālaṅkāyanas, the Viśṇukunḍins, the Pallavas of kāñci, the Maukharis of Kanauj, the Khmer rulers of Cambodia and the Hindu kings of Champā are the most notable among such dynasties.²¹ In the genealogy of Ceylonese kings only two rulers of the Anurādhapura period—Mānavamma (Mānavarman) and Sēnāvarman are known to have had personal names ending in *Varman*. This was undoubtedly a result of Pallava influence. Mānavamma had lived at the Pallava court and subsequently secured royal power in Ceylon with the aid of an army supplied by Narasimhavarman. In the case of Sena (IV or V) only a Tamil inscription refers to him as Sēnāvarman.²²

18. Two Tamil inscriptions of the Anurādhapura period mention the title *Caṅkapōtivanmar*. Vijayabāhu I (1070–1110) and Nissankamalla (1188–1197) are said in Tamil inscriptions to have borne this title. Two Tamil epigraphs from Tirukkōvil also mention a ruler called Vijayabāhu who had this title. SSI, IV, 1396, 1404, 1405; S. Paranavitana, 'A Tamil Inscription from Palamottai', EZ, IV; no. 23, p. 191; CTI, pt. I, pp. 4, 6.

19. In some of their records the Gupta Emperors are given the titles *parama-daivata* and *paramesvara*. The Pāṇḍuvamsis of Baghelkhand had the epithets *Parama-mahesvara* and *Parama-brāhmaṇya*, see *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III—*The Classical Age*, ed. R. C. Majumdar [Second Impression, Bombay, 1962], pp. 31, 349.

20. *Madras Tamil Lexicon*, VI, p. 3506; Jibananda Vidyasagara, *Shabda Sagara* [Calcutta, 1900], p. 634.

21. *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III—*The Classical Age*, pp. 67, 68, 70, 80, 282, 283, 204, 206, 643, 646.

22. SII: 1403, 1404.

In South India the word *varman* was suffixed to the alternate titles assumed by the Pāṇḍya and Cōla rulers on their accession to the throne. The Pāṇḍyas had the alternate titles *Māravarman* and *Jaṭa-varman* while the Cōlas had the titles *Rājakēsarivarman* and *Parakēsarivarman*. As *varman* was suffixed to the alternate consecration names of the Sinhalese rulers only from the 11th century onwards it may be assumed that it was the result of Cōla influence. In this connexion it may be mentioned that the Cōla prince who was consecrated as the king of Ceylon had the title *Caṅkavanmar* which is an abbreviation of *Caṅkapōtivanmar*.²³

Rājādhirāja: The title *Rājādhirāja* which signified imperial power and status was widely used in India and in the other countries of Asia which came under the influence of Indian culture from the time of the Hūṣāṇas onwards. However, in course of time it lost its original significance. *Rājādhirāja* also was the personal name of two Cōla kings who ruled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. In Ceylon this title came into vogue during the fifteenth century and is mentioned in the records of the kings of Kotte and Kandy.²⁴ The assumption of the title *Rājādhirāja* by Parakramabāhu VI may have been inspired by the partial revival of the power and glory of the Sinhalese monarchy after a long period of decline covering a period of nearly three centuries. He brought the 'whole island under one umbrella' during his long and eventful reign and this was a remarkable achievement. Nevertheless, his unification of the island was only nominal; it did not lead to the administrative integration of all the kingdoms and principalities in the country. To his subjects, Parakramabāhu's use of the title *Rājā dhirāja* may have implied his overlordship over the whole island. The Oruvala *sannasa* also refers to Parakramabāhu VI as *Rājādhirāja*. The epithet *Māhārājādhirāja* also came into vogue during the Kotte period. It had become a conventional epithet and had no special significance.

Tiribhuvanaccakkaravarṭti: The epithet *Tiripuvanaccakkaravarṭti* meaning 'the emperor of the three worlds' was assumed by the Sinhalese rulers in imitation of the practices of the Tamil monarchies of South India. In the Cōla kingdom the epithets *Cakkaravarṭti* and *Tiripuvanaccakkaravarṭti* were widely used in connexion with royalty only after the accession of the Cōla-Cālukya prince, Kulōttunga I (1070–1122).²⁵ The second of these epithets was assumed by Kulōttunga I and all his successors and in this respect the Cōla practice was soon adopted by the Pāṇḍyas.

23. S. Pathmanathan, 'Cōla Rule in Ceylon, 993–1070: Administrative Organization', Paper presented at the 4th Conference Seminar, International Association of Tamil Research, Jaffna, 1974.

24. EZ, Vol. III, no. 3; EZ, Vol. IV, no. 3, p. 24.

25. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas* [Second edition, University of Madras, 1955], pp. 302, 330.

Indian influences on kingship in Ceylon during the Polonnaruwa period were mainly from two regions—the Tamil country and Kalinga. The term *cakravartti*, which was used as a royal epithet in both these regions, was used in official documents from the time of Jayabāhu during the early twelfth century.²⁶ Whether the epithet *Tiripuvanaccakkaravaratti* implied any notion of the Divinity of Kingship—the Devarāja cult of some of the oriental courts of the medieval age, is debatable. This epithet does not seem to have been assumed by any Sinhalese ruler during the Polonnaruwa period despite the close political and dynastic connexions between Ceylon and South India.

The earliest reference to the epithet *Tiripuvanaccakkaravaratti* is found in two Tamil inscriptions from Tirukkivil both of which are dated in the tenth year of a ruler named Vijayabāhu²⁷ who may be identified as the fifth ruler of that name. The assumption of this title by Parākramabāhu VI of Kotte may suggest that some hazy ideas about the Divinity of Kingship were sustained by his court. The reference to him as *Bōdhisattvāvatāra* (an incarnation of Bōdhisattva) in an inscription of one of his successors seems to lend some support to this view.²⁸

Pararājasēkharabhujanga: The epithet *Pararājasēkharabhujanga* is of considerable historical interest as it signifies one of the major political achievements of Parākramabāhu. *Pararācacekharan* was one of the alternate titles assumed by the rulers of Jaffna on their accession to the throne.²⁹ Parākramabāhu's epithet which may be rendered as 'serpent to Pararājasēkhara' implies that he vanquished his contemporary ruler of Jaffna. The conquest of Jaffna by Sapumal, the general and adopted son of Parākramabāhu, is a favourite theme in contemporary Sinhalese literature, notably the *Kokila sandesaya*³⁰. According to the latter, Arya Cakravartti, the king of Jaffna fled to India when he lost his kingdom. Our inscription provides some confirmation of the claims made in Sinhalese literature about Sapumal's conquest of Jaffna.

Patronage of Hinduism: Hindu and Tamil influences were increasingly felt in Sinhalese society as a result of active social and cultural contacts between the Sinhalese kingdom and South India. Such influences were further strengthened by the arrival of a considerable number of Indian Brahmans, the activities of mercantile communities of Indian origin and the settlement of several such groups of Indians in the towns and the coastal regions. The court which inherited the legacies of the Malabar aristocracy of Gampola³¹ was very receptive to the new influences. Some members of the royal family had even Tamil names. The daughter of Parākramabāhu VI had the name Ulakudayadevi.³² Sapumal, the adopted son and general of Parākramabāhu VI, is known to have had the name Cenpakapperumāl.³³

The royal documents of the Kotte period are reminiscent of South Indian influences. In drafting the texts of some of the Tamil inscriptions the court officials adhered to the Pāṇḍya practice with respect to the manner of recording the regnal years. The Naymmāna inscription mentions the regnal year in the following manner: *yāṇṭu 20 āvatukku eṭirāvatu*, 'in the year opposite the 20th'.³⁴ Such manner of recording the regnal years, which is followed also in the Tamil inscription of Parākramabāhu VI from Jaffna,³⁵ is undoubtedly an imitation of the Pāṇḍya way of recording regnal years. The Sanskrit *sloka* that runs:

dāna pālanayōrmmadhyē dānāt srēyōnu pālanam 1
danāt svarggam avāpnōti palānād accutam padam 11³⁶

and which occurs in the concluding portion of many Vijayanagara inscriptions set up from the fourteenth century onwards is included in the Oruvala sannasa issued by one of the successors of Parākramabāhu VI.³⁷ It may be assumed that such South Indian influences on the epigraphy of Ceylon were in some measure due to the employment of South Indians as court officials in the Kotte period. Indeed, Tiruvarāṅgamperumāl, a Tamil officer of Indian extraction was in charge of royal documents in the reign of Bhuvanēkabāhu VII during the sixteenth century.³⁸

26. In the Polonnaruwa slab inscription of the Vēlaikkaras Vijayabāhu I is referred to with the epithet *cakkaravarttikal*.

27. In two inscriptions from Tirukkivil, which could be assigned to the Kotte period, a ruler called Vijayabāhu is described as Cankapotivanmar and Tiripuvanaccakkaravarti. *CTI*, Pt. I, pp. 4, 6.

28. *EZ*, Vol. III, no. 3.

29. S. Pathmanathan, 'The kingdom of Jaffna: Administrative organisation', paper presented at the 4th Conference Seminar on Tamil Studies, *IATR*, Jaffna, January 1974.

30. *Kokila Sandesaya*, ed. P. S. Perera [Colombo, 1906], v. 263; *UCHC*, Vol. I, pt. (ii), p. 671.

31. The two most influential and powerful families in the Sinhalese kingdom during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries were those of Alagak-konāra and Senālakādhikāra both of which were of Malayāla extraction. Both families were *menavar* (Menons) *libid.*, pp. 640, 655.

32. *ibid.*, p. 767.

33. *ibid.*, p. 766.

34. *CTI*, pt. II, p. 57.

35. *ET*, p. 31.

36. The protection of a donation is more meritorious than making a donation. Through making donations one attains heaven but one who protects a donation attains the state of Viṣṇu.

37. *EZ*, vol. III, p. 67.

38. P. E. Pieris, 'The Date of King Bhuvanēkabāhu VII', *JRASC*, XXII No. 65-1912, pp. 272-273.

Hindu influences permeated Sinhalese society at different levels and in greater measure than ever before during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The Lankātilaka inscription of the time of Bhuvanekabāhu IV (1344–1354) testifies that the images of Brahma, Vishṇu, Mahēśvara, Ganapati, Skanda and other gods of the Hindu pantheon were installed at the lowest storey of the Lankātilaka temple erected by the chief minister Senālaṅkādhikāra.³⁹ The worship of the images of Hindu deities in a Buddhist shrine presupposes an atmosphere of harmony between the adherents of Hinduism and Buddhism. As a religion Buddhism did not demand from its adherents exclusive allegiance to and faith in the *triratna*. In popular estimation the worship of Hindu deities like Vishṇu and Skanda did not conflict with one's devotion to Buddhism. The cults of Skanda kumāra and Pattini seem to have become popular during this period and in some documents recording the transactions of kings it was felt necessary to invoke the names of Brahma, Vishṇu, Mahesvara, Skanda and Pattini along with the *triratna* perhaps on account of the popularity of their worship.⁴⁰

Parākramabāhu VI and his successors supported Hinduism and Hindu institutions. Parākramabāhu had as *Purohitas* two Telugu Brahmins, Pōta ojhalun and Avuhulu ojhalun, who were rewarded for their services with a land grant by one of his successors.⁴¹ Parākramabāhu had set up an alms hall for the purpose of providing requisites for twelve Brahmins and made endowments for its maintenance. Moreover, he made a grant of land (*dānaksetra*) to 24 Brahmins most of whom were Tanils, the rest being Telugus.⁴² Parākramabāhu VI is said to have constructed a three storied Pattini temple in Kotte.⁴³ His solicitude for Munnesvaram may be explained in the light of the religious conditions in the Sinhalese kingdom and his religious policy.

Munnesvaram: Tradition claims a hoary antiquity to Munnesvaram but its origins are obscure.⁴⁴ There are no reliable literary or epigraphic notices on this shrine before the Kotte period. It had, however, become famous in the reign of Parākramabāhu VI so as to attract the attention of the king. In the fifteenth century it appears

39. Mudaliyar B. Gunasekera, 'Three Sinhalese Inscriptions'—I. Lankatilaka inscription', *JCBRAS*. X (34)

40. H. W. Codrington, 'Gadaladeniya Slab Inscription', *EZ*, Vol. IV, no. 3, pp. 16–27.

41. *EZ*, III, no. 3, p. 51.

42. Kudumirissa Rock Inscription', *JCBRAS*, Vol. X, pp. 96–102.

43. *UCHC*, Vol. I, pt. II, p. 766.

44. The *Takṣiṇakailāsa Mahātmyam*, a work which appears to have been written in Ceylon and which could not be regarded as authentic by any means, incorporates most of the legends concerning Munnesvaram. The legendary accounts incorporated in that work claim a pre-historic origin to this temple and even attribute its foundation to Rāma. See, P. Sivarama-krishna Sarri a, Sri Munnesvara varalaru [Colombo, 1968], pp. 4–5.

to have been one of the two principal Hindu shrines in the territories of Kotte, the other being the Vishṇu temple at Devinuvara in the southern coast of the island. The division of Munnesvaram which is so named after the temple had come to be so called by the time of Parākramabāhu. The *kōkila sandesaya* mentions of this locality.⁴⁵ It may, therefore, be inferred that the origins of the shrine go back to a period very much earlier than the reign of Parākramabāhu VI.

Its location in the neighbourhood of Chilaw may perhaps provide the clue for the explanation of its origins. Chilaw, one of the minor ports on the western littoral, became a centre of commercial importance in the medieval period, especially after the drift of Sinhalese political power to the southwest. By virtue of its geographical position it supported a population of seafarers, some of whom were engaged in chank and pearl fisheries. As a port town of some significance, it was also frequented by Indian traders operating from Malabar and the Coromandel. The temple of Munnesvaram must have developed for catering to the religious needs of the Tamil settlements in the neighbourhood.

Munnesvaram which is sometimes called Munṇiśvaram by the Hindus in modern times is however, referred to in the inscription as Monṇiśvaram. The contemporary Sinhalese text has the form Munnesarama. The use of the two variant forms of the name in two contemporary sources makes it difficult for one to decide which of the two forms is the earlier and the correct one. The form Monṇiśvaram is not altogether inexplicable and a clue for its explanation may be found in some of the expressions found in South Indian inscriptions.⁴⁶ Monṇaiappār and Monṇaiappirān are names that occur in medieval South Indian inscriptions. The exact significance of the term Monṇai is not known. It could be surmised that it is a toponym. Monṇiśvarar could be a compound of the words monṇai and iśvarar. This expression may signify either a temple of Siva constructed by a dignitary who had the name beginning with the element monṇai or a temple situated at the locality of Monṇai. It is even probable that the name was introduced by settlers from South India who were familiar with such a name in their original homeland. Another explanation is that Monṇiśvaram is a corruption of the name Munṇiśvaram.⁴⁷ The name Munṇiśvaram could be explained as a combination of the words *muni* and *iśvaram* and would denote a temple of Siva, the foremost of sages.

45. *Kōkila sandesaya* ed. P. S. Perera [Colombo, 1906], v. 263; *UGG* Vol. I, pt. II, p. 671.

46. Annual Report on Epigraphy (ARE) Madras, No. 2401, 1916.

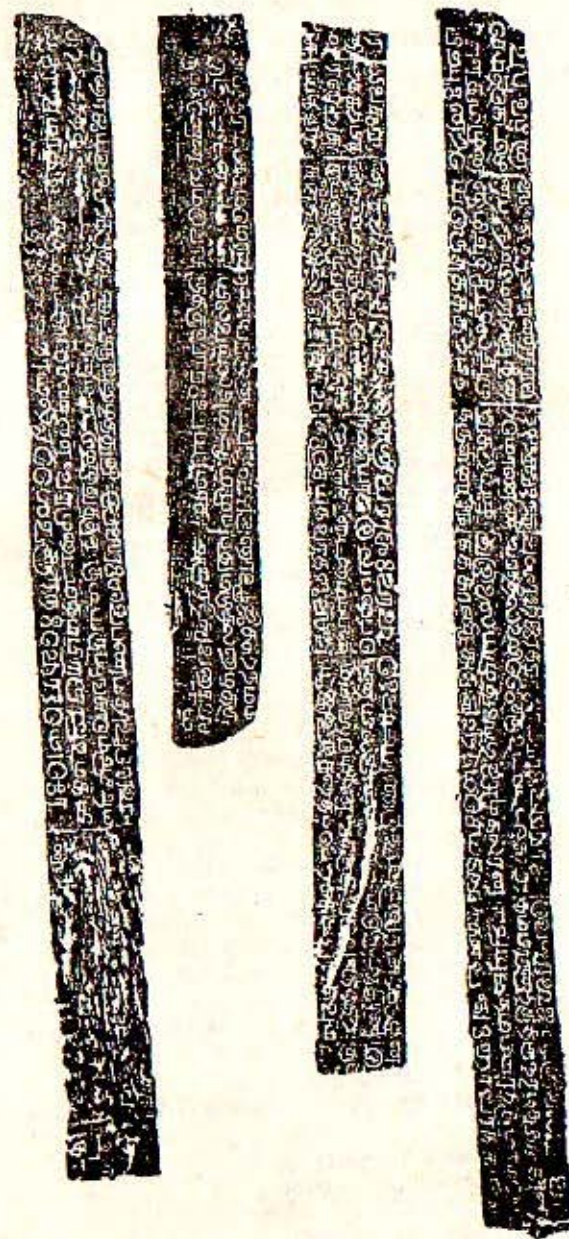
47. *CTI*, pt. I, p. 39.

The temple of Munnēsvaram appears to have enjoyed royal patronage throughout the Kotte period. In the early years of the sixteenth century another ruler of Kotte, Parākramabāhu IX issued a copper plate recording a royal grant of extensive lands to the temple.⁴⁸ Munnēsvaram fell on evil days with the decline in the power and influence of the Sinhalese monarchy and the corresponding rise of Portuguese power in the kingdom of Kotte. The Portuguese soldiers under the command of Diogo de Mello had this temple razed to the ground when they ravaged the lands of Chilaw and Negombo in 1578.⁴⁹ Subsequently the sixty-two villages of Munnēsvarampattu which belonged to the temple were given over to the Jesuits who constructed the church of St. Paul in 1606 and began the propagation of the faith.⁵⁰ Chilaw was brought under Kandyan rule in the seventeenth century and in the subsequent century the Nāyakkar ruler, Kīrtti Sri Rājasinha (1747-1782) had the temple reconstructed by architects brought from India. The work is said to have been completed in 1753.

48. *Srī munnesvara varalāru*, p. 9.

49. *The Temporal and spiritual conquest of Ceylon* by Fr. Fernao de Queyroz trans. S. G. Perera (Colombo, 1930), pp. 424-425.

50. P. E. Pieris, *Ceylon: The Portuguese Era*, Vol. II, p. 37.



Text

(மொண்ணீஸ்வரர் கோயிலிற் பதிவாகியிருக்கின்ற
சமஸ்கிருதமுந் தமிழுங் கலப்பான சாசனத்தின்
உண்மையான வாசகம்)

ஸ்வஸ்தி ஸ்ரீ ஸமந்த பத்ர சரணா விந்த
வந்தித் திநகரவம்ஸானிஜாத ராஜாதிராஜ
பரராஜஸேகர ஸுஜங்க ஸ்ரீ சங்கபோதி
வத்மரான திரிபுவனச் சக்கரவர்த்தி ஸ்ரீ
பராக்கிரமபாகு தேவற்கு யாண்டு
38 ஆவது அற்பசி முன்பத்தாம் பக்கம்
மொண்ணீஸ்வரமுடைய தம்பிரானுரை
பூஜிக்குற நம்பிமாரை ஜயவர்த்தனக்
கோட்டைக்கு அழைத்து விஜயமகவ
பண்டிதர் புரோகிதரிடம் தம்பிரானுடைய
கேடத்திரங்கனிற் செய்தி கேட்டு முன்பு
நம்பிமார்க்கு நின்ற மொண்ணீஸ்வரத்தில்
சீமைக்கு உட்பட்ட கேடத்திரத்
தம்பிரானற்குத் திருமாமத்துக் காணியாக
கற்பித்து நம்பிமார்க்குப் பூஜைக்காணியாக
இலுப்பை தெணியில் வயல் அமணம்
இருபத்திரண்டும் கோட்டைப் பிட்டியில்
வயல் அமணம் முப்பதும் முதல்மைக்குக்
கற்பித்துத் தித்தக் கடையில் வயல் அமணம்
எட்டும் இதுக்குள்ள குடியிருப்புங் காடும்
ஆகவும் நியமித்து மொண்ணீஸ்வரத்தில்
நம்பிமார்க்கு இருக்கக் கற்பித்து
மனை உள்ளதும் முன்னாளியரிசியில் அமுது
கறியமுது இலையமுது சுகந்தம் முதலான
வையும் நம்பிமாற்கு மாதமொன்றுக்குப்
பணம் முப்பதும் முதல்மைக்குடைமைப் பணம்
மாசமொன்றுக்கு ஒவ்வொருத்தற்கு பதினொன்றும்
இவர்களுக்குப் பாரம்பரியமாக சந்திராதித்ய
வரை சர்வமான்யமாக நடக்கும்படி
மொண்ணீஸ்வரமுடைய தம்பிரானார் ...
அபமதியவர்களுக்கு நியமித்த அளவுக்கு
மேல் ஒருவராலும் விக்னம் இன்றியே இருக்கச்
கற்பித்தருளின இந்தக் காணிக்கு அஹிதம்
செய்தவர்கள் பஞ்சமகா பாதகம்
செய்தவர்களாகவும். இதற்கு உறிதம்
செய்தவர்கள் சூர்யபதத்தைப் பெறக் கடவராகவும்.

ததிதம் கண நாதஸ்ய
சைவ ஞான மகோததே
மொண்ணீஸ்வர பிரசாதேந:
சண்ட நாதஸ்ய சாசனம்.

Transliteration Of The Text

Svasti Sri. Samantabhadra caraṇāravinda
vandita dinakara vamsābhijāta
Rājādhirāja Pararāja sēkhara bhujanga
Sri Sanghabōdhi vatmarāna
Tribhuvanaccakkaravaratti Sri Parākrama
bāhu dēvarku yāntu 38 āvatu
arpaci Muṇpattām pakkam
moṇṇisvaramuṭaiya tampirānār ai
Pūjikkira Nampimārai Jayavardhanak
Kōṭṭaikkū alaittu vija
sāmagava paṇṭitar Purōhita (rai)
Tampirānāruṭaiya kshēttiraṇkalir
ceyti kēṭṭu muṇpu nampimārkkū
niṇra moṇṇisvarattil cīmaikkū
uṭṭaṭṭa kshētrat Tampirānārkkū
tirunāmattukkāṇiyāka karpit
taruṇa ma'kkū pūja kkāṇiyāka
nampimārkkū
iluppaiteniyil vayal amanam
irupattiraṇṭum kōṭṭaippittiyil vayal
amanam muppatum mutalmaikkū
karpittut tittakkataiyil vayal
amanam eṭṭum itukkuḷla
kuṭiyiruppuṇ kāṭum ākavum niyamittu
moṇṇisvarattil nampimārkkū
irukkak karpittu maṇai
uḷlatum munnāli ariciyil amutu
kaṇiyamutu ilaiyamutu sugandha
mutalāṇavaiyum nampimārku māta
moṇṇukku paṇam muppatum
mutalmaikkūtaima paṇam
māsamoṇṇukku ovvoruttar
ku Patinoṇṇum ivarkaḷukku pārampariya
māka cand-āditya varai sarvamānyamāka
natakkumpati Moṇṇisvaramuṭaiya
tampirānār Avamatiyavarkaḷukku
niyamitta alavukku mēl oruvarālum
vignam iṇṇiye irukkak karpit
taruṇa intak kāṇikkū ahitam
ceytavarkaḷ pañca mahā pātakam
ceytavarkaḷākavum, Itukku hitaṇ
ceytavarkaḷ sūrya patattaip
perakkaṭavārākavum
Tad'dam Gana nāthasya
Saiva jñāna mahō dadhē:
moṇṇisvarap prasādēna
candā nāthasya śāsanaṁ.

Translation

Let there be happiness and prosperity:

The king of kings and 'Emperor of the three worlds', Sri Sangha-bōd'hi Parākramabāhu dēver of the solar dynasty who is (like) the serpent to (the king) Pararājasekhara(n) adores the lotus like feet of the Buddha. In the 10th day of the waxing moon of the month of arpaci (October–November) in the 38th year of his reign His majesty invited the chief priests who propitiate the God of munnesvaram and inquired of the affairs of the temple from the (learned) Purōhita(r) called vijasāmagava paṇḍita and endowed the lands in the temple district of munnesvaram which formerly belonged to the priests as temple land. For the performance of worship, he granted to the priests, 22 *amanam* of field at Illuppa(i) deṇi(ya) and to the chief priests, 30 *amanam* of field at kōttaippitti and 8 *amanam* of field at Tittakkaṭai with the inhabited localities and forests attached to them. (Moreover), he provided for the (daily) offering of three measures of cooked rice, curry, betel and incense and a monthly grant of 30 *paṇam* to the chief priests and 11 *paṇam* for each of the priests to be enjoyed in perpetuity (till the sun and the moon endure) and from generation to generation as a gift free of all taxes. Those who cause any obstruction to this grant will incur the sin of committing the five most heinous crimes while those who support it will attain the position of the sun.

This proclamation has been issued by Parākrama (bāhu) through the grace of the lord of Munnesvaram, the lord of all beings and the ocean of the knowledge of saivism.

அட்டவணை

நன்மை பொருந்திய புத்தருடைய பாதத்திலுண்டான வரையும் இராசாதி ராசனாகியும் அன்னியராஜாக்களுக்கு நாயகராகியும் சிறிசங்கபோதி என்ற நாமதேயத்தையுடைய வராகிய ஸ்ரீ பராக்கிரமபாகு இராசனுடைய 38 ஆவது ஆண்டு ஐப்பசி பூருவ பக்கம் 10ம் திகதி முன்னீஸ்வரமுடைய தம்பிரானுரைப் பூசிக்கப்பட்ட குருக்கள்மாரை ஜயவர்த்தன கோட்டைக்கு அழைத்து முன்னீஸ்வரருடைய தலத்தின் செய்தி கேட்டு முன்பு குருக்கள்மாருக்கு நின்ற முன்னீஸ்வரத்தின் எல்லைக்குட்பட்ட தம்பிரானுருக்குத் திருநாமத்துக் காணியாகவும் இலுப்பத் தெனியில் அவணம் 22 கோட்டைப் புட்டியில் அவணம் 30 முதன்மைக்குக் கற்பித்து தித்தக்கடையில் அவணம் 8 இதுக்குள்ள குடியிருப்புங் காடும் ஆகவும் முன்னீஸ்வரத்தில் குருக்கள் மாருக்குக் கற்பித்த மனையுள்ளதும் முன்னாழி அரசியில் அமுது கறியமுது இலையமுது சுகந்தம் முதலானவையும் குருக்கள்

மாருக்கு மாதமொன்றுக்குப்பணம் முப்பதும் முதன்மைக்கு உடமைப்பணம் மாசமொன்றுக் கொவ்வொருவருக்குப் பதினென்றும் இவர்களுக்குப் பாரம்பரியமாக சந்திராதித்யர் வரைக்கும் சருவமான்யமாக நடக்கும்படி முன்னீஸ்வரமுடைய தம்பிரானார் . . . அபமதி . . . மேலேயொருவராலும் விக்கின மின்றியே இருக்கக் கற்பித்தருளின இந்தக்காணிக்கு தீமை செய்தவர்கள் பஞ்சமாபாதங்களைச் செய்தவராயும் நன்மை செய்தவர்கள் சூரிய பதவியைப் பெறக் கடவராகவும்.

இப்படிக்கு தேவகணங்களுக்கெல்லாம் நாதனாயிருக்கப் பட்ட, சிவஞான சமுத்திரரான மொண்ணீஸ்வரருடைய கிருபை யினால் பராக்கிரமனாற் பதிதற் பண்ணப்பட்டன.

A Note on Rasmus Rask and the Ceylonese Manuscripts at the Library of the Wesleyan Mission, Colombo, in 1822.

BY OVE K. NORDSTRAND

A precious collection of Ceylonese palm-leaf manuscripts is preserved at the Royal Library, Copenhagen.¹ The collection, which is no doubt one of the best outside Ceylon, was brought to Denmark in May 1823 by the linguist, Rasmus Kristian Rask,² when he returned from his great Indian journey.³ With a short interruption⁴ he had stayed in Ceylon for nearly nine months, from November 1821 to August 1822, and he had spent his time in the island well.

The primary aim with Rask's stay in Ceylon was to study Pali and Sinhalese. Secondly he wanted, if possible,⁵ to acquire some Pali and Sinhalese manuscripts so that his studies of these languages could be continued after his return to Denmark. In both respects he was very successful, indeed. After having studied Pali for a couple of weeks only he was able to draft an elementary Pali grammar,⁶ and before he left the island he had written the introductory chapter for Clough's Pali Grammar,⁷ and a small Sinhalese syllabary in Danish, 'Singalesisk Skriftlaere'.⁸ Like Clough's Pali Grammar the

Sinhalese syllabary was printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press in Colombo.⁹ At the end of January 1822 Rask wrote a list of the texts, Pali and Sinhalese, he would like to acquire.¹⁰ With a few exceptions the list which comprises 223 numbers was written in Sinhalese characters.¹¹ At the time when he wrote his list he had already purchased his first manuscripts with the aid of his Pali teacher, the mudelliar George Nadoris de Silva.¹² The list served as a guide for all later purchases.

During his stay in Ceylon Rask lived, at least in periods, at the Wesleyan Mission House at Kollupitiya.¹³ Here he studied intensely the palm-leaf manuscripts of the Mission Library. And he made many notes,¹⁴ so that at the present time we can reconstruct a list of at least part of the manuscript collection of that library as it was in 1822. With a few lacunae the reconstructed list which is reproduced below reaches from No. 1-84. The lack of system in arrangement and numbering of the manuscripts clearly demonstrates that whoever acquired them¹⁵ did it quite planlessly. The same does the fact that some texts evidently existed in the library in two or three copies, acquired at different dates. Some numbers, No. 23-24, 29, 43, 50, 53-58, 77 and 79-83 are missing in the present list because Rask did not mention them in his notes. This fact seems to indicate either that the manuscripts were not present at the library at Rask's time or that they contained texts which were outside his field of interest. Of these the former hypothesis seems to be the most probable, since it would no doubt be difficult to find a manuscript which did not have Rask's interest.

1. A catalogue of the collection, prepared by Dr. C. E. Godakumbura, Nugegoda, Sri Lanka is in print.
2. 1787-1832.
3. During the years 1816-1823 Rask made a journey which led him through Russia, Armenia, Persia, India and Ceylon. It was later to be known as his 'great Indian journey'.
4. On 30th March Rask left Colombo on board the ship 'Colombo' in order to return to Denmark via England. Outside Galle the ship wrecked and Rask returned to Colombo to wait for another ship.
5. The news of the 1817-uprising in Ceylon against the British reached Rask in St. Petersburg in Russia. After this he was not quite sure that he would be able to acquire any manuscripts in Ceylon.
6. Rask mentions this in his diary about 15th December 1821. (R. Rask: Dagböger (the diaries) MS. in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kongelig Samling 339 ek - 8° vol. I.)
7. Rask's diary, 8th June, 1822.
8. It was Rask's intention also to let the syllabary comprise Pali. However, this plan was never realized. The Sinhalese syllabary was printed in 750 copies and was ready from the printing office immediately before Rask left Ceylon on 19th August 1822.

9. Rask had prepared his own system for transliteration of the Indian languages (described in a paper presented to the 'Literary and Agricultural Society of Colombo' in February 1822.

The MS of the draft of the paper is preserved in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kongelig Samling 149c - 4°, 84, Indo-Roman Orthography) Rask's system was to be used in the grammar. Therefore some special types had to be cut.

10. R. Rask: Optegnelser om Skrifter i Pali og Singalesisk med adskillige Uddrag af samme. (Notes on writings in Pali and Sinhalese with various extracts of the same). MS in the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Ny kongelig Samling 149c - 4°, 81, B fol. 1 R. - 2 V.
11. In the list Rask has marked with asterisks the manuscripts acquired by him, and in some cases he has written the price paid after the title. Outside No. 16 Rask has written (in Danish): 'the following were not in Ceylon before George Nadoris brought them.'
12. He had formerly been a thera at the Daḍālavihāra under the name Dhammakhandha rājaguru.
13. This fact may be deduced from the notes of the diary.
14. For instance Rask's (Notes of writings in Pali and Sinhalese with various extracts of the same) (Ny kongelig Samling 149° - 4°, 81. A - Z)
15. No doubt the Rev. Benjamin Clough acquired at least part of the MSS.

The list has the following appearance,¹⁶

- No. 1 - 14. Jātaka-pota
 15 - 19. Milinda-pañha
 20 - 22. Dhammapadaṭṭhakathā
 25 - 26. Pradīpikāva
 27 - 28. Sāra-saṅgaha
 30. Vimāna-vatthu
 31. Nighaṇḍusannē
 32. Vimāna-vastuva
 33. Bālapaṇḍita-sutta
 34. Subha-sūtraya
 35. Saleya-sūtraya
 36. Upāsaka-janālaṅkāra
 37. Aṅguttara-nikāya
 38. Bālāvatārasannē
 39. Vimāna-vatthu
 40. Padavītiḥara-jātaka
 41. Mahā-anāgata-vamsa
 42. Dhamsaraṇa (or Baṇa)
 44. Pūjāvaliya
 45. Saṃskṛṭa-akārādiya
 46. Salaya-sūtraya
 47. Eḷu-akārādiya
 48. Ge-bin-ṣāstraya
 49. Siṅgāla-ovada-sūtraya
 51. Vadan-kavi-pota
 51 (7). Nāmāstakaya
 51 (b). Maṅgullakunusāntiya
 52 (2). Navaratna
 52. (last pt). Vyāsa-kāraya
 59 - 60. Amarasimha
 61. Eḷu-akārādiya
 62. Janavamse
 63. Veda-akṣarādiya
 64 - 66. Ākhyāta-padaya
 67. Eḷu-akārādiya
 68. Lōkopakāraya
 69. Girā-sandēśaya
 70. Rūpamālā
 71. Ruvanmalnighaṇḍuva
 72. Lōvāḍasaṅgarāva
 73. Sidatsaṅgāra
 74 - 75. (unidentified astrological texts) Nākat-pota

16. In Rask's notes the titles are transliterated in his own system. For practical reasons they are, however, given here in the transliteration used at the present time.

76. Subha-sūtraya
 78. (unidentified astrological text) Nākat-pota
 84. Dhātu-pāṭho.

For the average missionary the manuscripts apparently had interest only as aids in learning Pali and Sinhalese, and thus, indirectly, in propagating Christianity among the Sinhalese. Rask, however, to judge from his notes seems to have taken a keen interest in the textual contents of the manuscripts, too. From his notes we also learn that he took every opportunity to compile from other sources information of the literature of Ceylon.¹⁷ In April 1822 for instance he had an interview with the Mahāthera Karatoṭa in Matāra, discussing with him Eḷu language and literature.¹⁸

Rask had free access to the manuscripts of the Wesleyan Mission Library, and studied them very intensely¹⁹ but his stay in the island was only short, and his chief aim was the study of Pali and Sinhalese. Therefore his knowledge of Ceylonese literary history was confined to a few aspects of that great subject and especially such as were connected with the manuscripts in his own collection. However, this collection of manuscripts together with Rask's own fundamental work became the basis on which a Pali tradition gradually grew up in Denmark;²⁰ a tradition which is still alive and which may perhaps some day again set flowers as those of the past.

17. In the diary Rask mentions the names of many natives with whom he has discussed these matters.

18. The diary, 8th and 9th April 1822.

19. In March 1822 we learn from Rask's diary that he is overworked, for which reason he decides to return to Denmark. (see above note 4).

20. Among the foremost representatives of the Danish Pali-tradition may be mentioned V. Fausbøll (1821-1908), V. Trenckner (1824-1891), and Dines Andersen (1861-1940).

Book Reviews

GHOSH, A: *The City in Early Historical India*, Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, 1973. 22 x 14 cm., viii + 98 pages; one folding map. Price 17 Indian rupees.

This valuable piece of research in pre-history and proto-history of the Indian sub-continent is the result of the author's work as a Fellow at the Indian Institute of Advanced Study, Simla, for a number of years from 1968. Having served a very long time in the Archaeological Survey of India finishing his career as the Head of that well-organized institution GHOSH had a first hand knowledge of the ancient sites of India and finds therefrom. Our author in addition is equipped with a sound first hand knowledge of the old literature of the country he is dealing with—a very necessary pre-requisite in an undertaking of this nature,—and this is reflected through every page of the monograph. Modern authorities have also been critically examined, and relied on where admissible only; and the thesis is not only a study of the emergence of cities in the early history of India, but an important original contribution to the whole question of urbanization in several other regions of the inhabited world, beyond the limits specially selected.

GHOSH takes as his background the urbanism of the Indus valley, to critically examine whether the historical cities in India, mentioned in early literature, and remains of which have been found are a survival or revival of this or, whether they are the result of an entirely different idea. This makes the first chapter a mine of information. The Vedic texts are cited. Taking a number of sites as his premise he concludes that copper (Sanskrit: *ayas*) was coeval with Painted Grey Ware. Geographically the reader is taken from Baluchistan highlands, through the Indus Valley, Ganga-Yamuna *doab* and Bihar to Karnataka in the South. He dates the early historical period in the sixth century with the kings and religious teachers whose historicity is reliable, and depends on the lists of political units (*mahājanapada*, and *janapada*), and names of countries and royal personages found in the Buddhist and Jaina literature, and also the Sanskrit epics and *purāṇa* texts. With this period he associates the Northern Black Polished Ware. In certain instances iron was at this time substituted for copper-bronze, punched marked coins were prolific in silver, and there were also baked bricks.

The second chapter is devoted to a consideration of circumstances postulated by GORDON CHILDE as events which led to what he called the Urban Revolution. Ten such conditions are briefly defined (pages 23-24). Before coming to the main problem of the thesis, the city in the early historical period of India, the author profounds his main finding: "India had her second urbanism borrowing nothing from the Indus civilization, in the middle of the first millennium B.C., after which urbanism has a continuous history in the country.

The third chapter is mainly devoted to units of settlement occurring in ancient Indian Literature. Texts cited are : Kautilya's *Arthaśāstra*, Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, Patañjali's *Mahābhāṣya*, *Amarakoṣa*, *Mahāvastu*, *Bhagavāt-sūtra* and *Brhat-kathā-kōśa*. The modern equivalents used by present day writers for old settlement terms such as *janapada*, *mahājanapada*, *grāma*, *ghoṣa*, *nagara*, *saṃvāha*, (*saṃvāhana*), *sannivesa*, *niṣama*, *pura*, *drona-mukha*, *kharvata*, *kharvatika*, *matamba*, *saṃgrahana*, *śākhā-nagara*, *paṭṭana*, *puṭa-hhedana* are explained. Referring to a large number of further texts, beginning from the epic *Rāmāyana*, *Aśvaghōṣa's Saundara-nanda* and *Buddhaghōṣa's Papañcasūdanī*, the

origin of a number of cities such as Kauśāmbi, Rājagha-Girivraja, Kuśā-grapura and Mithilā is discussed. Our author, with his first hand experience as a field archaeologist places but little reliance on the conventional picture of cities given in literature (pages 49-50); and he doubts the distinction given to Taxila as a centre of learning in the Buddhist Jātakas (page 57). Equally instructive is also to learn in connection with places of pilgrimage that even Vārāṇasī was initially only a political and commercial centre, devoid of any religious importance (page 58).

After the discussion of the literary survey, GHOSH comes to the examination of the archaeological evidence very concisely, but with full references in the copious footnotes for detailed study. Rightly as the reader should expect he leaves out the development of sculpture "as the dates of isolated early stone sculpture have not been established archaeologically". He has taken up the extent of inhabited area and planning, fortifications, monumental buildings and building-material, sanitary arrangements and coinage. Evidence of horizontal excavations has been made use of to measure the extent of occupation, and the report from the excavator of Atranjikhra has been cited (p. 6c). Some of the other city sites discussed are: Taxila, Sirkap, Sisupalgarh, Kauśāmbi, Ujjain, Rājghat (the site of ancient Vārāṇasī), Ahicchatrā, Vaiśālī, Chandraketugarh, Pāṭaliputra and Hastināpura. Having discussed materials used for building purposes our author concludes "that burnt brick became popular very well after the appearance of N.B.P. ware". He adds, "It became common only in the second century B.C. and abundant later on". Does "The application of this criterion", to use GHOSH'S own words, "deny a civic status even to those places which were renowned cities at the time of Buddha?" Here I should like to draw the reader's attention to H. D. SANKALIA, *Indian Archaeology Today*, London, page 11: "the N.B.P. is primarily confined to the Gangetic Valley, having come into existence about the 6th-5th century B.C." What has the finds of the decade which followed SANKALIA'S statement has to add? The Buddhist texts should enlarge our knowledge concerning sanitary arrangements and coinage also.

The sixth, the one but the last chapter is headed, "Survival? Revival? Import?" and is divided into eleven sections. Harappan survivals in historical urbanism are examined with great caution. Commenting on the evidence for Harappan influences on the southern neolithic cultures, particularly black-on-red pottery, GHOSH remarks, "To say that the neolithic folk adopted the Harappan tradition of painting pots but not the potter's wheel is to give away the show; surely, if there was any borrowing at all, it would have been of the technology of the potter's wheel rather than of the tradition of pot painting". In section 5 of this chapter G. R. SHARMA'S dating of the impressive fortifications of Kauśāmbi (*Excavations at Kauśāmbi*, Allahabad, 1960) has been critically examined, and a later date has been suggested. Our author's conclusion for this chapter is "that Harappan urbanism could not have even remotely produced or inspired the historical urbanism, for the simple reason that there is no perceptible link between the Harappa and the later Indian cultures" (page 85).

In the cis-Aravalli Banas culture at Gilund (in East Punjab) some lingering elements of Indus civilization may be surviving. Our author does not accept that later-day Hindu religio-ritualistic practices and spiritual thoughts were derived from Harappa (pages 83-84). He cites SANKALIA'S authority that the so called *linga* symbols of Mohenjo-daro were found in streets and drains and were not enshrined in rooms as one would expect sacred objects to be. These discussions make the book interesting to a wider reading public other than archaeologists, historians and anthropologists.

No conclusion has been arrived as to where North West India got the idea of the city from. There was a semblance of a city in the stronghold built by Darius. Nothing Persian has been revealed in the excavations at Charsada and the Bhir mound. Equally the idea of the city could not have come from Central Asia or Afghanistan.

Our Indian colleagues omit Ceylon in their studies. The primitive fortification of stone of Ritigala a small version of Rajgir, and Anuradhapura where a village (*grāma*) Anurogramma of Ptolemy was converted into a city (*pura*) at least fall within the period covered by the work of GHOSH. Unlike in ornate poetry there is a realistic account of Anuradhapura and its suburbs in chapter ten of the *Mahāvamsa* (verses 73-102), and the commentary to the chronicle supplements the information (see *Vamsatthappakāsinī* P.T.S. ed. 1955, pages 292-296 pages). Further details of the planning of Anuradhapura are obtainable in the Pali *Mahābhodhivamsa*, the Sinhalese glossarial commentary to the same the *Mahābhodhivamsa-gāṭhapadaya* and the *Simhala-bodhivamsaya*. Some parts of the older parts of the ancient city, including a portion of the Southern Gate have been excavated. See also Malalasekera, Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, London, 1960, Vol. I-s.v. Māgama in the South of the Island did not attain the status of a *pura*. Several other seats of rulers remained *grāma* (Pali: *gāma*, Sinhalese *gama*). Ancient cities and villages in Ceylon should be helpful in a study of the city in early historical India.

The southernmost city in the map is Sisupalgarh, latitude 20 degrees North. In the final short chapter, "Conclusion", GHOSH, after emphatically repeating his theme on the survival of the Harappan culture or an impact of foreign traditions on the early Indian urbanism, justifies the title of his thesis in relation to the area chosen; "No survival nor revival of the long-dead Harappan urban tradition was necessary, and it is certain that there was none. Any motivating foreign influence can be easily ruled out, as it could not have come from any quarter. In building their cities in the early historical period the people were writing on a clean slate, with no Harappan nor any other mark on it. All these developments took place in North India. They were to spread to other parts of the country only later on, largely as a result of impact from that region. There is therefore every justification for having confined the present study mainly to the north" (page 89).

These remarks should be helpful in a critical study of the development of large settlements and cities in Ceylon also as very early the island was influenced by the north-west and then the eastern Gangetic basin of North India.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

Maga-salakuna: ed. by Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., 2nd. edn. (Sinhalese), Colombo, 1974, Cr. 800, pp. xvii + 59, 21.5 x 14 cm. Rs. 3/50.

On June 20th 1947, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris read a quite exhaustive paper on "The Maga-salakuna", and comments on the same were offered by the audience, particularly in regard to the date assigned to the poem by the learned lecturer. (See *Journal*, vol. XXXVII 1947, pp. 205-220 and 244-246).

About the same time there appeared an edition of the poem by the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris and Mr. M. E. Fernando, with bibliography, English introduction, text with notes in Sinhalese, English translation with notes and two indexes—Sinhalese and English. That edition, published in Colombo bears no date of issue, but the introduction is dated 21.6.47. The bibliography appended to the lecture contains further titles and is more detailed than that which opens the first edition.

The present Sinhalese edition which is meant exclusively for the Sinhalese reader rightly contains more Sinhalese titles in its bibliography (pp. 53-54), but fewer English references. The introduction has been re-written for the non-English educated. Some additional matter has been brought in and material

has been re-arranged under metre, style and figures of speech. In the geographical accounts *Mandārapura-puvata*, published in 1958, after the first edition of the poem under review, has been used. The text is identical with the sectional divisions. The notes follow the text, unlike in the first edition where they were printed in the bottom half of the page giving the text. The few Pali and Sanskrit quotations in the comments, e.g. notes on verses 9, 20, have been left out perhaps as the Sinhalese student is now not interested in these classical disciplines. Further explanations, however, are added.

The *Maga-salakuna* has a great deal of information very useful for the study of Sinhalese society and the historical geography of the country through which the messenger journeys from Badulla to Kandy. The language and style also is representative of a particular epoch. In making use of Sinhalese texts as source material for any project, one has to be sure of their date. Our reputed editor tenaciously holds on to his decision of dating the poem in the first half of the seventeenth century (A.D. 1612-1629), making a reference only to the present reviewer's comment in *Journal*, new series, vol. III, page 55, note 11, but takes no notice of the criticisms recorded in vol. XXXVII, at pages 244-246. Mr. C. M. Austin de Silva who had been librarian in the Colombo Museum for some time and was acquainted with Sinhalese manuscripts had pointed out that no King of Kandy is mentioned in the description of that city, and thus the poem must be placed after A.D. 1815 (*Journal* cited p. 244). Julius de Lanerolle, the editor of the *Sinhalese Dictionary*, has drawn attention to the use of the word *dalādā-māligāva* (p. 246). It is possible that the note to verse 203 on page 51, is meant to be taken as an answer to de Lanerolle, but it is vague, and *Uda-ṛaṭa-vitti* on which the editor relies does not represent traceable ancient documents. So is the version of the *Mandārapura-puvata* published in 1958 (See Godakumbura: *Śāstriya lipi hā kathā*, 1971, page 321).

Our editor in order to get his date forces a meaning to *Kumārā simhāsana* in verse 33 line 1, in taking it to stand for Kumārasimha or Kumārā-asthāna, the son of King Vimaladharmasūriya (A.D. 1593-1604) and Dona Catherina, the prince to whom was allotted the Uva Kingdom. Sinhalese versification of this period was not free from repetition (*punar-ukta*), and both *kumārā-simhāsana* and *bara-nata-simhāpanaya* in lines 1 and 4 respectively of the verse cited mean the 'the throne of Skanda'. *Bara-neta* in line 4 means the Twelve-eyed God, that is Skanda or Kārttikeya. *Kumārā* in line 1 also means the same. Reference may be made to any well-known Sanskrit Dictionary, Monier-Williams, Macdonell, Apte, etc. Skanda is represented as a beautiful youth. One may also compare the use of the title of Kālidāsa's poem the *Kumārā-sambhava*, the Birth of Kumārā, the War-god. Note also Mallinātha's explanations on the *Raghuvamsa*: III, 55 : *kumārā-vikramah = kumārasya skandasya vikramah* *iva...ibid.* V, 36: *kumārā-kalpam = skanda-sadrśam*.

Further, even if there were a tradition* that the *Simhāsana*-throne was built by Prince Kumārasimha it need not necessarily follow that the poem, the *Maga-salakuna*, was contemporaneous. One does not notice any evidence in the description of Badulla, Diyatilakapura or Senkadagla-pura to ascribe the poem to the early seventeenth century. They are imitations of the stereotyped accounts of cities obtained in *havya* court-epics, except for the mention of an important monument in the city, or nearby.

The poem, however, is valuable in other respects. The historian's attention should be drawn to verse 21 line 4 : උදා රඳු දෙ රදන රසන where the poet follows the tradition that appears to have gained ground in the Kotte times, namely, that it is the right canine tooth of the Buddha that was brought to the Sinhalese Island from Kālinga and enshrined in the Tooth Relic Temple in the capital. In the ancient tradition it was the left canine tooth. (See *Daladāsiriya*, ed. E. S. Rajasekera, Colombo, 1920, pp. 18-19). The *Rājāvaliya*, the present text began in about the Kotte times, and continued up to later times records a tradition of a right Tooth Relic (op. cit. ed. B. Gunasekera, †

Colombo, 1911, p. 37. This is the sort of information that makes the efforts to publish the lesser known Sinhalese texts the more welcome. The linguistic peculiarities, including orthography, are of immense value in the tracing of the development of the language. The editor has corrected the orthography, and this gives a wrong picture of the state of the Sinhalese language at the relevant period. In the use of *n*, *ṇ*, *l*, *ḷ*, the author himself would not have followed the classical rules. And what was the need to change *Sengadagala* to *Senkadagala* in verse 22? We are grateful to the editor for the few MS readings he has preserved in the notes.

It is a pity that verse 29 which is a contrast to the next verse has been omitted from the text. The inquisitive peruser's attention would be better drawn to it now placed among the notes (p. 32). One can understand the difficulties in rendering verse 29 into English, in the first edition, but in the present Sinhalese edition notes could have been easily written. Here is a rare phrase *līna velā* in line 4. Is this the Sanskrit past passive participle *līna* employed as a borrowed word? A lexicographer will find this a rare occurrence.

All students of the Sinhalese language, literature, history of Ceylon and sociology should be grateful to His Lordship the Rt. Rev. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I. for presenting to us the rare Sinhalese texts which are now difficult to be got at

*For a tradition relating to the foundation of the Badulla Kataragama devāle see JCBRAS., NS. Vol. XV (1971), p. 8.

†op. cit : *guha-siva nam raju ala tibū dakunu daḷadā-sāmin*. B. Gunasekara, ibid., translation, 1900, p. 53: "king Guhasiva . . . had in his possession the Right Tooth-relic (of Buddha)." MSS of the *Rājāvaliya* has *dakunu*. See A. V. Suravira, Ph.D. Thesis *Rājāvaliya* now being published. Watuwatte Pemananda Bhikkhu in his *Rājāvaliya*, ed. Colombo, 1926, p. 51 has omitted *dakunu* perhaps in an attempt to make this Sinhalese chronicle tally with the Pali, the *Mahāvamsa*.

July 11, 1975.

C. E. GODAKUMBURA.

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Hony. Treasurer

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

Annual Report for 1973

Meetings.—Three Council Meetings were held during the year 1973. The 127th Annual General Meeting was held on 28th December 1973. The Presidential address was delivered by Dr. N. D. Wijesekera on "A Plea for Humanistic Studies and Research in Sri Lanka".

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

Membership.—7 new members were admitted during the year. The Society had at the end of 1973 on its roll 415 members. Of these 6 were Honorary Members, 201 Life Members (Resident and Non-Resident), 188 Ordinary Resident Members, and 20 Ordinary Non-Resident Members.

It is with sorrow that the Society records the deaths in 1973 of the following members: Mr. Wilmot A. Perera, Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala, Ven. G. Sri Dheeranda Thero, Dr. G. P. M. Lalasekera and Ven. M. Pannalankara Thero.

Life Members.—The following ordinary members were transferred as Life Members of the Society under Rule 36 of the Constitution and Rules: Messrs. J. P. Obeyesekera, M. J. Perera, R. J. G. de Mel, Sir Razik Fareed, Dr. D. C. Gunawardena, Messrs. H. A. J. Hulugalle, E. S. Mohotti, B. J. Perera, L. J. de S. Seneviratne, P. A. Silva, S. Somasundaram, H. P. Wanigatunga and N. P. Wijeyeratne.

The following ordinary members were transferred as Life Members from 1973. Professor B. A. Abeywickrema, Mrs. M. D. M. Perera, Messrs. P. T. Perera and T. G. Piyadasa.

Office-Bearers of the Society for the year 1973:

Patron: His Excellency Mr. William Gopallawa, M.B.E. President of Sri Lanka.

President: Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, Ph.D.

Past Presidents: His Lordship Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Drs. R. L. Brohier, G. C. Mendis, N. D. Wijesekera and C. E. Godakumbura.

Vice Presidents: Prof. K. W. Goonewardena, Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., and Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi.

Members of the Council: Messrs. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, D. G. Dayaratne, Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema, Messrs. J. T. Rutnam, Th. W. Hoffmann, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. D. C. Gunawardena, Mr. W. J. F. La Brooy, Prof. N. Mudiyanse, Mr. D. J. Moldrich, Prof. T. Nadaraja and Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva.

Joint Honorary Secretaries: Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu.
Honorary Treasurer: Al-Haj A. H. M. Ismail.

Library.—14 Miscellaneous Journals and Periodicals were received as donations from local and foreign institutions and individuals and 248 Journals and Periodicals in exchange for the Society's Journal. A list of all such donations and exchanges is published annually in the Society's Journal.

Publications.—Journal Vol. XVII for 1973 is being printed and will be distributed to members shortly.

Library Books.—Several members who borrow books from the Society's Library do not all return the books within the time specified in Rules 43 to 48, and this has caused considerable inconvenience to other members and visitors. Members are kindly requested to abide by the Rules.

P. R. Sittampalam
K. M. W. Kuruppu,
Joint Honorary Secretaries.

Honorary Treasurer's Report for 1973

The Balance Sheet for the year ended 31st December 1973 discloses an Excess of Expenditure over Income of a sum of Rs. 1,235.14.

The Bank Balances were:

					Rs. cts.
1. State Bank of India	..	..			11,620.18
2. Ceylon Savings Bank	..	..			4,731.00
3. Chalmers Oriental Text Fund	..	..			4,635.43
4. Society Medal Fund	..	..			3,390.46
5. Chinese Records Translation Fund	..	..			6,636.96
Receipts by way of Annual Subscriptions					
amounted to	..	..			1,760.00
Arrears of Subscriptions recovered					
amounted to	..	..			1,203.00
Entrance Fees	..	..			70.00
Life Membership fees	..	..			255.00
Sale of Journals	..	..			1,016.56

A sum of Rs. 45/- was expended on purchase of books.

A sum of Rs. 6,630.88 is due as arrears of Subscription for 1973 and earlier.

Attention must be invited to the remissness of a large number of members in payment of their subscriptions. Action has been taken by writing to the defaulting members on several occasions requesting payment of the arrears, but no response has been received.

Efforts to recover the arrears of subscriptions are being continued. Defaulting members are not allowed the use of the Library, and the Journals of the Society are also not made available to them until they have paid their membership subscriptions.

Members are reminded that from 1967 the annual subscription of the Society has been increased from Rs. 15/- to Rs. 20/- for Resident members and from Rs. 7/50 to Rs. 10/- for Non-Resident members.

The Society would be greatly obliged if members would pay their annual subscriptions regularly and promptly, and thus avoid the need for unnecessary expenditure on postage and reminders.

(Sgd.) A. H. M. Ismail,
Honorary Treasurer.

Colombo, 6th December, 1974.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (Sri Lanka Branch)

Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1973

Accumulated Fund		Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
As at 31st December, 1972		17,165.05	
Less: Excess of Expenditure over Income for the year		1,235.14	
Income Tax paid during the year ..		430.00	
		<u>15,499.91</u>	
Specific Funds			
Chalmers Oriental Text Fund		4,635.43	
Chinese Records Translation Fund		6,636.96	
Society Medal Fund		3,515.46	
		<u>14,787.85</u>	
Less: Cost of Society Medal		300.00	
		<u>Rs. 29,987.76</u>	
Fixed Assets			
As at 31st December, 1972		4,114.47	
Less: Depreciation		207.81	
		<u>3,906.66</u>	
Net Current Assets			
As per Schedule B I ..		23,182.90	
Less Provisions and Current Liabilities			
As per Schedule B II ..		11,764.65	
		<u>11,418.25</u>	
Assets Representing Specific Funds			
As per Schedule B III			
		<u>14,662.85</u>	
			<u>Rs. 26,987.76</u>

Report of the Auditors

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at 31st December, 1973. We have obtained all the information and explanations we have required. In our opinion, subject to our report of even date, the above Balance Sheet correctly exhibits the position at 31st December, 1973 according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of accounts.

N. D. Wijesekera
President

A. H. M. Ismail
Honv. Treasurer

POPE & Co.
Chartered Accountants

Auditors

Current Assets as at 31st December, 1973

Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
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Arrears of Subscription for 1973 and earlier years	Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
Educational Publications Dept.	6,630.88
		179.72

State Bank of India	11,620.18	
Ceylon Savings Bank	4,731.00	
Cash in Hand	15.92	
Stamps in Hand	5.20	16,372.30
Total as shown in Balance Sheet		Rs. 23,182.90

Schedule B II

Provisions	Rs.	cts.	Rs.	cts.
Audit Fee 1973 Messrs. Pope & Co. ..			350	00

Sale of Journals—Vol. VI,	1,362.15	
Dept. of Cultural Affairs	10,000.00	
Subscriptions paid in advance	52.50	11,414.65
Total as shown in Balance Sheet	..		<u>Rs.</u>	11,764.65

AS AT 31.12.1973

Rs. cts.

				Rs.	cts.
Ceylon Savings Bank Account No. 133495					
Chalmers Oriental Text Fund .. ..	..	..	..	4,635.	43
Ceylon Savings Bank Account No. 141850					
Chinese Records Translation Fund .. ..	..	..	..	6,636.	96
Ceylon Savings Bank Account No. 226282					
Society Medal Fund .. ..	..	..	..	3,390.	46
Total as shown in Balance Sheet ..				Rs.	14,662.85

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (Sri Lanka Branch)

Income & Expenditure Account for the Year Ended 31st December, 1973

General Expenses	R ^{s.} c ^{ts.}	R ^{s.} c ^{ts.}		R ^{s.} c ^{ts.}
As per Schedule E1 ..		6,646.41	Subscriptions	
			Annual Subscriptions	3,960.00
			Entrance Fees	70.00
Other Expenses			Life Membership Fees	255.00
Depreciation ..		207.81		<hr/>
				4,285.00
			Other Income	
			Sale of Journal	1,016.56
			Interest from Ceylon	
			Savings Bank	317.52
				<hr/>
			Excess of Expenditure over Income	
				1,235.14
				<hr/>
				Rs. 6,854.22

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY (Sri Lanka Branch)

GENERAL EXPENSES

SCHEDULE E1

					Rs. cts.
Salaries	..	..	..	..	5,100.00
Bicycle Allowance	..	..	..	..	60.00
Printing & Stationery	..	..	..	..	517.24
Bonus to Peon	..	..	..	..	15.00
Audit Fees	..	..	..	..	350.00
Audit Expenses	..	..	..	..	35.00
Postage	..	..	..	..	316.15
Lectures & Meetings	..	..	..	..	25.50
Purchase of Books	..	..	..	..	45.00
Bank Charges	..	..	..	..	11.70
Maintenance of Typewriter	..	..	..	..	42.00
Bank Debit Tax	..	..	..	..	12.92
Commission on Sale of Journal	..	..	..	..	71.40
Travelling	..	..	..	..	11.50
Sundry Expenses	..	..	..	..	33.00
					<u>Rs. 6,646.41</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY

Receipts and Payments Account for the

				Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
Cash and Bank Balances on 1.1.1973					
State Bank of India	..	..	..	17,540.58	
Ceylon Savings Bank	..	..	..	4,413.48	
Cash in Hand	..	..	..	110.37	
Stamps in Hand	..	..	..	1.45	22,065.88
				<u> </u>	
General Account					
Life Members	..	..	..	255.00	
Arrears of Subscription	..	..	..	1,203.00	
Current Subscription	..	..	..	1,760.00	
Entrance Fees	..	..	..	70.00	
Sale of Journals	..	..	..	1,016.56	
Sale of Journals Vol. VI	..	..	..	75.00	
Interest from Ceylon Savings Bank	..	..	..	317.52	
Repayment of Staff Loans	..	..	..	220.00	
Subscriptions in Advance	..	..	..	52.50	
Withdrawal from Savings Bank Medal Fund	..	..	..	250.00	5,219.58
				<u> </u>	<u> </u>

Rs. 27,285.46

(SRI LANKA BRANCH)

Year Ended 31st December, 1973

General Account	Rs. cts.	Rs. cts.
Salaries	5,100.00	
Bicycle Allowance	60.00	
Purchase of Books	45.00	
Printing and Stationery	517.24	
Lectures and Meetings	25.50	
Postage	316.15	
Bank Charges	11.70	
Bonus to Peon	15.00	
Commission on Sale of Journals	71.40	
Income Tax	430.00	
Bank Debit Tax	12.92	
Travelling	11.50	
Audit Fees & Expenses	335.00	
Colombo Apothecaries' Ltd.	3,586.75	
Cost of Medals	300.00	
Maintenance of Typewriter	42.00	
Sundry Expenses	33.00	10,913.16

Cash and Bank Balances on 31.12.1973

State Bank of India	11,620.18	
Ceylon Savings Bank	4,731.00	
Cash in Hand	15.92	
Stamps in Hand	5.20	16,372.30
	Rs.	27,285.46

Abstract of Proceedings

Minutes of the 127th Annual General Meeting of the Sri Lanka Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society held at 5.15 p.m. on Friday 28th December 1973, at the New Arts Theatre, University of Sri Lanka, Colombo.

Present.—Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, the President of the Society, presided. A large gathering of members and visitors were present.

Absent.—Letters received from Mr. W. J. F. La Brooy and Professor K. W. Goonewardene intimating their inability to attend the meeting, were tabled.

Vote of Condolence.—The President proposed a vote of condolence on the death of the following members of the Society during the year 1972 and 1973: Prof. S. Paranavitana and Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala (Former Presidents of the Society), Dr. G. P. Malalasekera and Mr. Wilmot A. Perera (Former Members of the Council) and the Ven. G. Sri Dheerananda Thero (Life Member) The President referred to the services rendered by each of them and mentioned that they were of considerable service to the Society and their contributions to the discussions of the Council were always very useful. The vote of condolence was passed in the usual manner.

BUSINESS

Minutes.—The President called upon Mr. P. R. Sittampalam the Honorary Secretary to read the Minutes of the 126th Annual General Meeting held on 29th September 1972. Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., proposed the adoption of the Minutes, which was seconded by Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi. The Minutes were adopted unanimously. The President called upon Mr. P. R. Sittampalam the Honorary Secretary to read the Annual Reports of the Society for the years 1971 and 1972, which had been printed and circulated among the members. Mr. J. T. Rutnam proposed the adoption of the Annual Reports for 1971 and 1972, which were seconded by Prof. K. Kularatnam.

Audited Statement of Accounts and Honorary Treasurer's Reports for 1971 and 1972.—Dr. N. Mudiyanse proposed and Mr. Th. W. Hoffmann seconded the adoption of the audited statement of accounts and Hon. Treasurer's Reports, which had been printed and circulated among the members. The Statement of Accounts and the Reports were adopted unanimously.

Donations.—The Hon. Secretary announced the names of the Donors from whom donations of books had been received during the year under review.

Acquisitions.—The Hon. Secretary tabled the list of books which had been purchased during the year under review and announced that the list of books donated to the Society and acquired by the Society were available at the Society's Library for perusal by the members.

Announcement of New Members.—The Hon. Secretary announced the names of 10 new members who had been admitted during the year 1973.

The President announced that the Council of the Society has decided that the Society's Medal donated in 1945 by Lady Hilda Pieris in memory of her uncle the late Hon'ble Sir Christopher Obeyesekere to be awarded once in 3 years at the Council's discretion to such member as in its opinion has made a contribution towards the furtherance of the Society's aims, which merits special

recognition, should be awarded to the Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Emeritus Bishop of Chilaw and to Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekera. At the request of the President Mr. D. G. Obeyesekera presented the two medals.

The President announced that under section 21 of the Constitution and Rules of the Society Mr. N. P. Wijeyeratne and Mr. W. B. Marcus Fernando had retired from the Council, and therefore Council recommended the election of Prof. T. Nadaraja and Mr. A. Devaraja in their places. Council also recommended that Mr. P. R. Sittampalam and Mr. K. M. W. Kuruppu be re-elected Joint Hony. Secretaries, Al-Haj A. H. M. Ismail be re-elected Hony. Treasurer and Messrs. Pope & Co., Chartered Accountants be re-elected Auditors. Proposed by Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., and seconded by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.

Mr. L. A. Adithiya explained regarding the land site for the building of the Society.

Lecture.—Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, President of the Society, then delivered his Presidential Address on "A Plea for Humanistic Studies and Research in Sri Lanka."

Vote of Thanks.—Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., proposed a vote of thanks to the President.

The President in winding up the proceedings thanked the members and guests for their presence.

The meeting was then declared closed.

COUNCIL MEETING

Summary of Proceedings

Date & Venue.—28th February 1974 at 5.15 p.m. at the Biology Lecture Hall.

Present.—Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, President in the Chair, and the following members: Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Messrs. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, J. T. Rutnam, Th. W. Hoffmann, Dr. D. C. Gunewardene, Dr. N. Mudiyanse, Mr. D. J. Moldrich, Prof. T. Nadaraja, Al-Haj A. H. M. Ismail (Hony. Treasurer) Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu (Joint Hony Secretaries).

Minutes.—The Minutes of the meeting held on 30.11.73 were confirmed.

Election of New Members.—5 new members were elected. Mr. S. S. Wijesinghe (Life Member) Mr. V. Mutu Cumara Swamy (Non-Resident member) Mr. A. L. de Silva, Mr. N. F. Guneseekera, Rev. Fr. Marius Peiris.

Donations.—Sir D. B. Jayatilake Biography by Dr. N. D. Wijesekera; The Journal of the Tamil Studies (Reprint) by Mr. J. R. Sinnatamby; Colombo Plan-Intra-Regional Technician Training by the Director, Colombo Plan Bureau.

The Council was informed that a sum of Rs. 6,000/- was received from the Govt. by way of Grant for 1973. In order to get an enhanced grant, the President suggested that a deputation consisting of Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., Prof. T. Nadaraja, Dr. D. C. Gunewardena and Hony. Secretary, should interview the Minister of Cultural Affairs and get the grant increased.

The Council was informed that a sum of Rs. 6,000/- was paid to the Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd. for printing and supplying 800 copies of R.A.S. Journals Vol. 16 (1972) and 300 copies of the Index to Journals. Council agreed that in view of the high cost of printing and paper, R.A.S. Journal Vol. 16 (1972) should be sold for Rs. 15/- and the Index for Rs. 10/-.

Tabled Mr. A. Devaraja's letter, and the Council accepting his suggestion elected Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Asst. Director, National Archives to the Council in place of Mr. A. Devaraja, who is away from the island at present.

The Council agreed to transfer Mr. S. Somasundaram to the list of Life Members of the Society, under Rule 36 of the Constitution.

The resignation of Mr. Percy Colin-Thome was accepted.

Permission was granted by the Council to write-off the sum of Rs. 60/- due as subscriptions for 1971-73 from the late Mr. Wilmot Perera.

Permission was granted by the Council to keep open the Society's Library on Saturdays and Sundays from 10 a.m. to 4 p.m. in order to enable the members to make use of the Library, and to close the Library on Mondays and Tuesdays instead, and on all public holidays, in view of the five day week.

Programme of Lectures.—Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., agreed to deliver a lecture on "Administration of Justice by the Kings of Sri Lanka on 18th March 1974. Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., agreed to deliver a lecture on "The Origin of the Sinhala Nadagam" in May or June 1974.

The Hony. Secretary Mr. P. R. Sittampalam appealed to the Members of the Council to contribute suitable articles for the next publication of the Society's Journal.

Special allowance to the Librarian and the Peon.—The Council authorised payment of Rs. 20/- to the Librarian, and Rs. 15/- to the peon as a special allowance with effect from 1.2.74.

Date & Venue.—27th June 1974 at 5.15 p.m. at the Law Faculty, Colombo Campus.

Present.—Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, President in the Chair, and the following members: Dr. H. W. Tambiah, Q.C., Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi, Dr. R. L. Brohier, Messrs. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, J. T. Rutnam, Th. W. Hoffmann, Dr. D. C. Gunewardene, Mr. W. J. F. La Brooy, Prof. N. Mudiyanse, Prof. T. Nadaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva and Mr. P. R. Sittampalam (Hony. Secretary).

Vote of Condolence.—The President proposed a vote of condolence on the death of Mr. D. C. R. Gunewardene, a former Member of the Council of the Society. The vote of condolence was passed in the usual manner.

Minutes.—The Minutes of the meeting held on 28.2.74, were confirmed.

Election of New Members.—3 new members were elected: Messrs. Chula de Silva, K. Ratnayake and U. L. Kadurugamuwa.

Donations.—Ancient Ceylon No. 1—Journal of the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon (off-print) and *Artibus Asiae* Vol. 28 and Vol. 34 (off-prints) by Dr. L. Prematilleke; Journal Tamil Studies—The Pandyans (reprint) by Mr. J. R. Sinnatamby.

Acceptance of the grant of land by the Colombo Race Course Development Committee to the Society for Institution Building. The council decided to accept the offer and when the decision was communicated to the Ministry of Housing and Construction, we were advised that until the Cabinet Committee approved the proposal, the grant of land cannot be confirmed.

The Council resolved that the printing of the Journal Vol. XVII (1973) should be entrusted to the Colombo Apothecaries' Co., Ltd., as in the past.

Book Review.—"University of Ceylon-History of Ceylon, Vol. 3" to be referred to Prof. N. Mudiyanse.

The resignation of Mr. G. A. Pieris was accepted.

Date & Venue.—22nd November 1974 at 5.15 p.m. at the Law Faculty, Colombo Campus.

Present.—Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, President, in the Chair, and the following members: Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I., Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi; Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty; Mr. D. G. Dayaratne; Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema; Mr. J. T. Rutnam; Prof. M. B. Ariyapala; Dr. D. C. Gunewardene; Mr. W. J. F. La Brooy; Prof. N. Mudiyanse; Mr. D. J. Moldrich; Prof. T. Nadaraja;

Al-Haj A. H. M. Ismail (Hony. Treasurer) Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu (Joint Honorary Secretaries).

Minutes.—The Minutes of the Meeting held on 7th June 1974.

Election of New Members.—2 new members were elected. Mr. Sumitta Kuruppu and Mr. N. A. L. Bilimoria.

Donations.—Wesley College Centenary 1974 by Mr. A. E. H. Sanderatne; Studies in Medical Herbaria (off-print) during the Portuguese and Dutch Times in Sri Lanka by Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris, O.M.I.; 1st Annual Report of the Marga Institute by Marga Institute; The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South-East Asia by the Director Colombo Plan; Senerath Paranavitana Memorial Volume (Sinhalese) by Sanskruthi Dept.; Scientific Documentation in Sri Lanka (Ceylon); Prolegomena to Co-operation and Co-ordination by Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke; An Etymological and Comparative Lexicon of the Tamil Language—4 parts and "We Relations". Author Rev. Dr. H. S. David, by Mr. A. M. Selvanayagam.

Purchases.—The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies—New Series Vol. 3 No. 1 was purchased.

Annual General Meeting.—Council resolved that the Annual General Meeting should be held on 20th December 1974 at 5.30 p.m. The title of the Presidential address to be "Slavery in Sri Lanka".

Nomination of Office-Bearers for the ensuing year:

President.—Dr. H. W. Tambiah in place of Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, who retired under Rule 18.

Members to the Council.—Prof. K. Kularatnam and Mr. Roland Silva were proposed for election to the Council in place of Prof. B. A. Abeywickrema and Mr. J. T. Rutnam, who retired under Rule 21. Messrs. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and D. G. Dayaratne were nominated for re-election.

Joint Honorary Secretaries.—Messrs. P. R. Sittampalam and K. M. W. Kuruppu, who retired under Rule 20, were nominated for re-election.

Honorary Treasurer.—Al-Haj A. H. M. Ismail, who retired under Rule 20, was nominated for re-election.

Auditors.—Messrs. Pope & Co., Chartered Accountants, were nominated as auditors of the Society.

The Audited Statement of Accounts.—The Hony. Treasurer's report and Hony. Secretaries' annual report for the year 1973, were accepted for submission at the Annual General Meeting.

Council was informed that a sum of Rs. 350/- was paid to Messrs. Pope & Co.

Book Review.—The book "A Critical Pali Dictionary" Vol. 2 Fasc 8, was referred to Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi for review. It was decided that the book "University of Ceylon-History of Ceylon, Vol. 3 from the beginning of the 19th century to 1948" by Dr. K. M. de Silva be returned to the author with regrets because the Council was unable to accept the Author's directions as regards the person to whom the Council should refer the book for review.

Tabled the report of the deputation interviewed with the Minister of Cultural Affairs.

Permission was granted to transfer Dr. A. S. Sinnatamby to the list of Non-resident members of the Society from 1975 as he is leaving the island for Singapore.

Mr. A. D. T. E. Perera's letter was tabled and the Hony. Secretary was requested to write to the Editors of the Journals mentioned in Mr. Perera's letter in order to obtain their Journals on exchange basis.

The correspondence with regard to the acquisition of land for the Society's building was read by the Hony. Secretary.

Council was informed that Mr. T. G. Piyadasa, having paid his balance subscriptions, has become a Life Member of the Society.

Mr. Th. W. Hoffmann's letter on the preservation of typical Dutch Fort Buildings and Towns etc., was tabled.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED IN EXCHANGE
PERIOD 1.10.73 TO 30.9.74

America

- American Oriental Society .. Journal Vol. 93 Nos. 2-3.
John Hopkins University .. American Journal of Philology. Vol. 94 Nos. 1-3.
Smithsonian Institute .. Year Book 1973; Contributions to Astrophysics Vol. 12 and 13.

Australia

- Royal Society of New South Wales .. Journal and Proceedings Vol. 105 parts 3-4; Vol. 106 parts 1-4; Vol. 107 parts 1-2.

- Burma .. Report of the Director, Archaeological Survey for the year ending 30-9-1963.

Brunei

- The Brunei Museum .. Journal—Vol. 3 No. 1.

Ceylon

- Ceylon Forester .. Vol. 11 Nos. 1-2.
Department of Archaeology .. Epigraphical Notes—No. 13.
Department of Census and Statistics .. Statistical Pocket Book 1972 (Sinhalese and English); Lanka Varshika Granthaya 1970 (Sinhalese).
Director, National Museums .. Periodicals Directory 1972.
Engineering Association of Ceylon .. Transactions for 1973; Quarterly Journal and Year Book 1973; Quarterly Journal—Vol. 1 Nos. 3-4.
University of Sri Lanka .. Modern Ceylon Studies—Vol. 2 Nos. 1-2.

Denmark

- Det Kongelige Danske Videnskabsnernes Selskab .. Historisk Filologiske Meddelelser, Bind 46 Nos. 1-3; Bind 47 No. 1.

England

- John Rylands Library .. Bulletin—Vol. 55 No. 2; 56 No. 1.
Royal Asiatic Society .. Journal—1973 Nos. 1-2.
(Great Britain and Ireland)
Royal Commonwealth Society .. Journal—Vol. 15 No. 2; 17 No. 4.
Royal Geographical Society .. Journal—Vol. 139 part 2.
Imperial Chemical Industries .. Endeavour—Vol. 32 Nos. 116 and 117; Vol. 33 No. 118.
India Office Library .. Report for the year ended 31st March 1968 and 1972.
School of Oriental and African Studies .. Bulletin Vol. 36 No. 2 and 3; 37 part 1. Report of the Governing Body.

France

- Journal Asiatique .. Tome—CCLXII Nos. 1-2.

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PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

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Germany

- Baessler Archiv .. Neue Folge-Band XIV (1971) XLIV Heft 2; XX (1972).

Holland

- Koninklijke Voor. Taal-Land-En Volkenkunde .. Bijdragen, Deel 129 No. 2.
Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie Van Wetenschappen, Afd. letter-kunde Kern Institute Meddedelingen, Deel 36 Nos. 4-7; Deel 37 No. 1.
Rijksherbarium Leiden .. Blumea, Vol. 21 Nos. 1-2.

Hungary

- Magyar Tudományok Akademia Acta Orientalia, Tomus 27 Fasc. 1-3; Tomus 28 Fasc. 1.

India

- Adyar Library and Research Centre .. Bulletin—Vol. 37 (1973).
Deccan College Research Institute .. Bulletin—Vol. 30.
Indian Council for Cultural Relations .. Cultural News—Vol. 14 Nos. 4-6; Vol. 15 Nos. 1-2.
Mysore Economic Review .. Vol. 58 Nos. 7-12; 59 Nos. 2-4 and 6.
Oriental Institute, Baroda .. Journal—Vol. 23 Nos. 1-3.
Soil and Water Conservation .. Journal—Vol. 18 Nos. 3-4; 19 Nos. 1-4.
The Maha Bodhi .. Vol. 81 Nos. 5-12; 82 Nos. 1-2.

Italy

- Instituto Italiano Per IL Medio Ed. Extreme Oriente East and West Vol. 22 Nos. 3-4.
Historical Institute of the Society of Jesus .. Archivum Historicum—Anno 41 Fasc. 81 and 82; Anno 42 Fasc. 83 and 84.

Sarawak

- Sarawak Museum .. Journal—Vol. 20 Nos. 40-41 (N.S.)

Unesco

- .. Indian Science Abstracts—Vols. 5; 6; 8 and 9.

Vietnam

- De la Societe Des Etudes Indochinoises .. Bulletin—Tome 48 No. 4; 49 Nos. 1-3.
L'Ecole Francaise D'Extreme-Orient .. Publications—Vol. XC; XCIII; LXXXIV; LXXXVIII.

PUBLICATIONS ADDED TO THE LIBRARY
DONATIONS 1.10.73 TO 30.9.74

- Director, The Colombo Plan Bureau .. Colombo Plan—Intra-Regional Technician Training.
The Colombo Plan for Co-operative Economic Development in South and South East Asia.
Marga Institute .. 1st Annual Report of the Marga Institute.

- Peiris, O.M.I., Rt. Rev. Dr.
Edmund Studies of Medical Herbaria (Translation)
During the Portuguese and Dutch Times in
Sri Lanka.
- Prematilake, Dr. L. Ancient Ceylon—No. 1—Journal of the
Archaeological Survey of Ceylon (off-print).
Artibus Asiae—Vol. 28 and 34 (off-print).
- Sanderatne, A. E. H. Wesley College Centenary 1974.
- Sanskruithi Department Senerath Paranavitana-Memorial Volume.
- Sinnatamby, J. R. Journal of Tamil Studies (Reprint).
Journal of Tamil Studies (Reprint) The
Pandyans.
- Wijesekera, N. D. Sir D. B. Jayatilake Biography.

PURCHASED

1-10-73 TO 30-9-74

- The Ceylon Journal of Historical
and Social Studies .. Vol. 3 No. 1 (New Series).

MEMBERS ADMITTED DURING THE YEAR 1974

Non-Resident Ordinary Member

- Muttu Cumara Swamy, V. Teacher, 4 Thurleigh Court, Nightingale Lane,
London, S.W.12.

Life Member Resident

- Wijesinha, Samson Sena, Clerk to the National State Assembly 8, Alfred House
Road, Colombo 3.

Ordinary Resident Members

- Billimoria, N. A. L., Planter, Niriella Estate, Uda-Karawita.
- De Silva, Anslem. L., Faculty of Medicine, Peradeniya.
- De Silva, Chula., Advocate, 21/1, Bullers Lane, Colombo 7.
- Gunsekera, N. F., Medical Officer Port (Cargo) Corporation, No. 2, Longden
Terrace, Colombo 7.
- Kadurugamuwa, U. L., Attorney-at-Law, 98, D. S. Senanayake Mawatha,
Colombo 8.
- Kuruppu, Sumitta., Attorney-at-Law, Colombo Municipal Council, No. 45
Kuruppu Road, Borella.
- Peiris, Rev. Fr. Marius., B.A. (Cey.) S.T.L. (Rome) Professor of Theology,
National Seminary, Kandy.
- Ratnayake, Kolitha, Mercantile Executive, No. 6, 28th Lane, Off Flower Road,
Colombo 7.

Change of Address—Life Members

- Abraham, V. B. S., 243, Hultsdorp Street, Colombo 12.
- Cumaranasinghe, N., "Mihira" 25, Pokuna Mawatha, Boralessgamuwa.
- De Silva, Miss M., 16, George E. de Silva Mawatha, Kandy.
- Dharmaratne, M., 318, Ratnasiri, Makola North, Kelaniya.
- Don Peter, The Rt. Rev. Mgr. Dr. W. L. A., Archbishop's House, Colombo 8.
- Fernando, W. B. Marcus, 63, Kent Road, Colombo 9.

- Goonewardena, Prof. K. W., 22/3, Old Galaha Road, Peradeniya.
- Jayasena, K. L. A. D., M.A. (Cey.), Dip.in.Edu. (C.E.O.) F 22, Marapona,
Kegalle.
- Panawatta, Senerath, 16, Deepthi Mawatha, Watapuluwa.
Housing Scheme, Kandy.
- Perera, Fr. G. Quintus., Bishop's House, Chilaw.
- Saparamadu, S. D., 129, Dutugemunu Street, Dehiwela.
- Thambinayagam, Prof. Xavier S. Bishops House, Velalai, Nilaveli, Jaffna.
- Thananjayarajasingham, Dr. S., Vidyalankara Campus, Kelaniya.
- Weerakoon, T. B., 35/7, Raymond Road, Nugegoda.
- Wijayasundera, Senerat, Buddhist Encyclopaedia Office, 7, Reid Avenue,
Colombo 7.

Ordinary Resident Members

- Abeyawardena, H. A. P., 1/10, Sulaiman Terrace, Colombo 5.
- Arumugam, S., 4/71, Polhengoda Road, Talakotuwa, Colombo 5.
- De Silva, L. D., 4, Colombo Road, Kurunegala.
- De Fonseka, D. R. H., P.O. Box 93, Colombo.
- David, Rev. Dr. H. S., Holy Family Convent, Mattekele, Talawakele.
- Fernando, M. R., Dept. of History, Vidyalankara Campus, University of Ceylon,
Kelaniya.
- Goonewardena, J. S., 7, Boyd Place, Colombo 3.
- Moonesinghe, S. L., 112, Hospital Road, Kalubowila, Dehiwala.
- Marcan-Markar, A. H., C/o. MICH, 3rd Floor, 27, Bristol Street, Colombo 1.
- Perera, Prof. L. S., Commonwealth Secretariat, Marlborough House, Pall Mall,
London SW1Y, 5 AX, U.K.
- Prematilleke, Dr. L., 532/2, Seibel Place, Kandy.
- Pathirana-Wimaladharma, K., B.A. (Socio.) Cey., C.A.S., Director, Agriculture
Diversification Project, Peradeniya.
- Poologasingham, Dr. P., 37-32nd Lane, Wellawatta.
- Perera, A. D. T. E., "Gauri" 14, Sarikkamulla, Moratuwa.
- Silva, P. A., "Kusumsiri" 4, Inner Bagatalle Road, Colombo 3.
- St. John, R. B. L., 449/3, Galle Road, Mt. Lavinia.
- Wijesinghe, Premachandra, Sub. Dept. of English, Vidyodaya Campus, Univer-
sity of Sri Lanka, Nugegoda.
- Wijesundera, Premaratne, 415, High Level Road, Nugegoda.

NOTICE TO CONTRIBUTORS

The editor welcomes from the members original and previously unpublished material for publication in the Journal. "Copy" should be typed in double spacing with a generous margin at the left hand side of a sheet.

In view of the high cost of printing photoprints as illustrations must be kept down to the barest minimum. Likewise scripts should be in their final form. When the article has been approved for printing, any amendments, additions, etc. to the submitted text, if made at the proof stage, may have to be paid for by the author.

Reference to any matter in the text which may have been adverted to in any earlier journal should be specifically mentioned with the relevant details.

A script will be returned only if return postage has been sent.

NOTES AND QUERIES

The Council has decided to review NOTES AND QUERIES as part of the Journal. This section will generally comprise short papers; illustrations accompanying them, too, will be duly considered.

The Editor welcomes papers from Members for consideration in this feature

SĪGIRIYA, KASSAPA AND KUVERA

A key argument for the deification of the king, proffered by Dr. S. Paranavitana is that Sīgiriya, its components and adjuncts, were a representation on earth of the mythical paradise of Kuvera of whom King Kassapa was the earthly counterpart (*J.C.B.R.A.S.*, N.S., Vol. I., chiefly p. 135 ff. Repeated in University of Ceylon, *History*, I, p. 297).

This argument may have a semblance of force if elsewhere in the chronicle the references to Ālakamandā are without exception connected with kings. On the contrary we have the fortress of Yāpahuva (Subhappabbata) described as Ālakamandā, with the *minister* Subha as its genius. ("On the summit of the Subha mountain, hard to ascend by the foe, the Senāpati Subha had founded a town, as Vessavaṇa the town Ālakamandā etc. *Cūlavamsa*, II, trasi. W. Geiger, Ch. LXXXI, v. 2 ff). Vessavaṇa is an alternative name of Kuvera. We thus have a conflict in ideas which runs counter to any parallelism. The deification of the king is, by this sole instance, thoroughly to be investigated.

If Kuvera was held in pre-eminent esteem by the Sinhalese so that he was regarded as a sort of god over all other gods whose form should be (metaphorically) absorbed by Kassapa, how came it to be that about the 5th Cent. A.D., Kuvera was regarded as a humble henchman of the god Śakra (Indra) whose bidding he had to perform? (See *Sihalavāṭṭhupphakarāṇa*, the story of the *upāsaka* Mahādeva).

CULTURAL MISSIONS TO ARAKAN (RAKKHAṆGA-DESA)

Reference *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XXXV, 93, pp. 1-6; Vol. XV (N.S.), 1971, pp. 26-35; *U.C.R.*, XVII, Nos. 1 and 2, Jan.-Apr. 1959, pp. 41-46.

The old document which came into the hands of the late Sir D. B. Jayatilaka (which was considered lost) has since been recovered by me from his niece, (Mrs. E. Sirimanne of Haig Road, Bambalapitiya) and has been deposited in the library of the Y.M.B.A., Colombo. For its text see *The Buddhist* (Organ of the Colombo Y.M.B.A., Vol. XLVI, No. 3., 1975 pp. 26-33).

RAJOVĀDA: AN ADMONITION TO A KING

Reference *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), XVI, 1972, p. 25. The Sinhalese text of this document has since been published by me in *The Buddhist*, Vol. XLV, Jan.-Mar. 1974.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL CODE OF RAJĀDHIRĀJASIMHA

Reference *J.C.B.R.A.S.*, (N.S.), XVII, 1973, p. 22. The above document which includes a history of the Buddhist Church from the reign of Vikramabāhu of Kandy up to the last days of Rājādhirājasiṃha, has since been published by me (the Sinhalese text) in *The Buddhist*, XLVI, Jan.-June 1975.

Nandasena Mudiyanse.

PERADENIYA

Dr. D. G. Gunawardena, in his note published in this *Journal*, New Series, volume XVII, pages 55-56, seeks an explanation of the place name Peradeniya (Sinhalese: Pērā-denīya). The writer points to the analogy of other place names ending in *-denīya*, such as Dambadeniya, Belideniya, Dehideniya, and questions referring to *Pēra* in Peradeniya, "what then is the fruit if it refers to a fruit at all?"

We cannot go here into an explanation of many examples of place names ending in *-denīya*. It is sufficient to point out that there are other words, not only names of fruits (and also trees, shrubs, etc.) which stand as the first part of such place names. I would give only a few examples: Gadalaḍeniya, close to the present Peradeniya Junction Railway Station, Pānideniya (the almost displaced older name of this latter locality), Teldeniya also in the Kandy District. Then we have Koṇḍadeniya (NWP), Maladeniya (NWP), Kannadeniya (CP), Hādeniya (CP), Randeniya (several), Pindenīya (Kegalla District); Diddeniya, etc., etc. Apart from fruits, but connected with flora we have Nelundeniya, Embuldeniya (āmbul), Imbuldeniya, Middeniya, Tōradeniya, Vērvāldenīya, etc. We shall not tarry on the interpretation of these names.

A comment on the literary evidence depended on by Dr. Gunawardena is necessary. He cites the authority of the *Mahāvamsa* relating to events in the fourteenth century. The reference in the chronicle precisely is chapter 91, verse 2. This portion of the *mahāvamsa* was written only in the latter part of the eighteenth century, during the reign of King Kīrti Śrī-Rājasimha (AD 1747-C. 1782) and Pērāḍoṇi and Mahādigangā are Paliazations from Sinhalese. Clearly the source of this part of the Pali chronicle is the Sinhalese *Rājaraṭnākaraṇya* (*Rjk*) dealing with the history of the Sinhalese kings up to AD 1542. Thus this chronicle was also written after the advent of the Portuguese, but there was hardly any time for the Guayavo fruit to have been introduced to the island and carried to the centre of the island. In the *Rjk* we read: *Mahavāli-gaṃ asa Pērādeni-nuvara* (*Rjk*. 1887 edn., p. 49; 1929 edn, p. 42).

As for the species of the fruit or tree *pēra* not occurring in the Sinhalese lexicons of the fifteenth century, this is only an argument from the negative. These lexicons for the most part attempt to supply Sinhalese (Eḷu) equivalents for corresponding lists in the Sanskrit or Pali lexical poems. We may note that *pēra* does not also occur in the eighteenth century Sinhalese lexicons the *Heḷa-diva-navanāmāvaliya* or the *Heḷadiv-abidānavata*.

While we dwell on the etymology of the name *Pērādenīya* it would be of interest to know the geographical location of the site. This was on the Kandy—Gāṭambe side of the river, that is, to the north of the University Camp. Peradeniya Junction Railway Station got its name from the Botanical Gardens, just as Gampaha was formerly Henaratgoda named after the gardens at the latter place close by. New Peradeniya, the present Sarasavi-Uyana, was a later creation. The *Kirala-sandēśaya* of 1815 (ed. Godakumbura, 1961, verse 127) in its description of the journey from Kandy to Embekke has Gāṭambā-toṭa, Halmāsikandura, Pērādeniya, Mivatura and then the river. Santāna Hill (present Hantānē) is above Pērādeniya, which originally must have been about that through like depression of land between the old race course, and the slopes of the Hantane hill over which the railway-line to Kandy now runs. This would have given the name to the new city founded at the site of the present Botanical gardens in the fourteenth century. The present writer recollects that about a half a century back the folk in the Gāṭambe areas speaking of the Peradeniya Junction Station as Pānideniya Station.

Dr. Gunawardena is correct in his assertion that Pērādeniya has no connection with the fruit *pēra*. Apart from the history of the fruit, the first component of the name is *pērā*-and not *pēra*. The name is Pērādeniya even in the manus-

cripts of the *Rājaratnākara* as far as the present writer has examined. In the popular etymology of this place name the difficulty is got over by breaking the compound into three components *pēva + ā + deniya*, "the valley or field into which *pēva* fruits have come (or were washed down by the floods of the river)".

I would venture to suggest a meaning for *Pērādeniya*, on the analogy of certain place names. *Pāni-deniya*, "honey field", can be a field that was allotted to those who supplied honey or treacle to the court. In the same way *Tel-deniya* could mean the field of the suppliers of oil, whatever kind of oil this may have been. I can cite at least one instance where *deniya* occurs after the name of a class of artisans, that is *Badāhāla-deniya* 'potters' field' in my own village of Hewadiwela in the Valgam-pattuwa of the Kegalle District. There are no more potters in the area, but there would have been at some time, and the field jutting into the high land and a house-hold garden bordering it are called *Badāhāla-deniya*. There is also *Kūmbal-deniya*, the Potters' Village somewhere.

Thus it could be that *Pērādeniya* means the "Weavers' Field". The Sanskrit *peṣākāra* (Pali: *pesākāra*) gives the Sinhalese *pehera* (nominative singular: *peherā* which by the elision of the *h* and the coalition of the two *e*'s becomes **pēra* with the possible nominative singular and oblique (historical genitive) case **pērā*. In support of the Sinhalese *pehera* from Pali *pesākāra* I may cite the Glossary of the *Dhammapadamhakkathā* (story no. 144), the *Dhampiyā-aṭṭuwa-gaṭapadaya* (ed. Jayatilaka, p. 199); *pesākāra-dhātavaṃ*, *pehera-duvak*, and the corresponding passage in the *Saddharma-ratnāvaliya* (story no. 151, ed. Jayatilaka, p. 663): *pehera-duvaniyangē vata*. (It has to be pointed out that Jayatilaka's equation of *pehera* with *pesākāra* in his glossary to the same text (p. 57) is, however, not correct. The term *pesākāra* denotes a 'flour-grinder', being derived from the root *pis* 'to crush'. The word *pesākāra* is from the root *pis*, *pim* originally meaning 'to adorn'.)

Further examples may be quoted to establish the meaning of *pehera*. The *Mahābodhivamsa-gaṭapadaya* (1910 edn, p. 140) translates *pesākāra* by *pehera*. The *Sinhala-Bodhivamsaya* (1930 edn, p. 202) lists *pehera-kula aṭṭak* 'eight families weavers' among the various craftsmen that accompanied the Sacred Bo-tree from the Maurya kingdom to the Sinhala island. The employment of the word *hu lavā* in the *Sikhavalanda* leaves no doubt as to its meaning: *sivuvak-peherak-hu lavā viyavuva*, 'if a robe is caused to woven by a weaver—' (ed. Jayatilaka, 1934 p. 3). The lexicon *Ruwanmala* of the fifteenth century, compiled probably with older material (verse 395) also lists *pehera* in its list of craftsmen.

C. E. Godakumbura.

NOTES ON "TWO" OLD SINHALESE SWORDS BY C. M. FERNANDO

These 3 swords were taken from Mudaliyar A. de Roivel for the purpose of Mr. G. A. Dharmaratne's book. The Kara-Goi Contest (1890). A translation of the inscription is given in the Book (pp. 58-59) and inspection of the swords was invited (p. 59). The swords were therefore kept back and were not returned. In 1905, the late Mr. C. M. Fernando, Crown Counsel read a paper before the RAS, Sri Lanka Branch, on the first and second swords and made an attempt to connect the swords with another family—that of the late Lady Catherine de Soysa, Mr. Fernando's mother-in-law (RAS XIII p. 388). The only evidence he adduced in support was a transcript and a translation of an ola which was not accepted by the society and is not published in its journal. The original ola, though it was said to have been shown to Mudaliyar Simon de Silva, Government Chief Translator, was not submitted to the Society for examination (RAS XVIII p. 390 note) and Mr. H. C. P. Bell, the Government Archaeologist in a letter to the Times of Ceylon of 10th March 1905 condemns this ola and says that despite special request to examine the ola it was not shown to him though it was said to have been shown to Mudaliyar Simon de Silva. These 2 swords

as well as the third were submitted for report to Mr. Bell by the Committee of the RAS. Mr. Bell in his report mentions seeing them at the time of the publication of the Kara-Goi Contest and accepted the genuineness of the swords and the inscriptions (RAS XVIII p. 417). Dr. Paul Pieris too commenting on these swords and the inscriptions accepted their genuineness (RAS XVIII pp. 390 to 391). Mr. Dharmaratne in his book (p. 59) indicates that these swords belong to the Varnakula Additiya Arsanillaite families of the Negombo-Chilaw District and Mohotti Mudaliyar F. E. Gooneratne in a letter to the Ceylon Independent recognised the authenticity of these swords and referred to them as the heirlooms of the Varnakula Additiya families of the Negombo-Chilaw District. The late Mr. C. M. Fernando himself in his lecture admitted that the names' Additiya Arsanillaite, have been used by the members of the family whose their head was Mudaliyar Abrosius de Rowel of Pitigal Korale South and that The Dutch Act of Appointment dated 20th January 1765 appointing the great-grandfather of the present Mudaliyar to the office of Mudaliyar of Alut Kuru Korale describes him as Anthony Rowel Varnakula Additiya Weerasooriya Arsanillaite (RAS XVIII p. 388).

The date on the first sword corresponds to AD 1416. The recipient to whom the Patabendi name of Maha Nagate Rajasinghe seems to have been given would be the Arsanillaite Mudali of the old Sinhala Chronicle. The Janavamsa (Tr. Neville's Taprobanian 1886) says that the Court of Parakrama Bahu VI was full of Indians.

On the second sword along with the Royal sign manuel are incised some of the insignia of the Karava Community (Bell's Report on the swords RAS XVIII p. 448 note). All these insignia appear on the Karava Flag (Sinhalese Banners & Standards and The Karawe Flag). The grantor was either Parakrama Bahu VI's second son Kuda Cumara or his grandson, the son of his daughter Oeha Kuda Devi, both of whom administered the Kingdom during Parakrama Bahu VI's lifetime and ascended the Throne later (RAS XXII & Bell's Kegalle Reports p. 42).

The grantor of the third sword is either Pandita Parakrama Bahu (AD. 1471 to 1485) or Weera Parakrama Bahu (AD. 1485-1505). The dates on the second and third swords are incorrectly deciphered.

Sunil Goonewardene.

PARJANYA AND AGNI

Did they make Agriculture productive in Sri Lanka?

Agriculture and famines, is a theme much discussed throughout the history of mankind. This is not unusual in the annals of Sri Lanka's past too. How an early monarch of Sri Lanka averted famines and made the country prosperous through agriculture would be a matter worth recalling.

It was king Kassapa V of Anuradhapura (cir: 929-39 A.D.), who had left a lithic record at the premises of the Abhayagiri temple, wherein is found, inter alia, a sentence referring to the ways and means adopted by the king in his urge to make agriculture productive in Sri Lanka. The particular phrase referring to the method adopted by the king has proved difficult to be understood since the phraseology used by the 10th century lithographer has become archaic, hence ambiguous at some places. It is as follows:—

Podonavulu-Pulundāvuluyen ket-kam sulab-kot Siri Lak londuruvay sā-biya nivay (Epigraphia Zeylanica EZ, ed. D. M. De Z. Wickremasinghe, Vol. I, London, 1904, pp. 46 f.)

According to the English rendering of this phrase by the late Dr. Senerat Paranavitana, it would stand as follows:—"made agriculture (*ketkam*, lit: works in the fields) productive (*sulabhot*, lit: advantageous) by invoking both Parjanya (*Podon*) and Agni (*Pulunda*)" (see S. Paranavitana in *Artibus Asiae*, Ascona, Switzerland, vol. xvi., for 1953, pp. 197-181). His translation was however based on a very hypothetical phonological process. Moreover, his was an attempt to trace the prevalence of the cult of Parjanya (rain-god) and Agni (fire-god) in ancient Sri Lanka, in his bid to identify the Isurumuniya sculpture of a man and horse's head as an artistic expression to represent these two Vedic divinities. Both his identification of the sculpture and his rendering of the above phrase in the Abhayagiri slab inscription were challenged and disproved subsequently by others (Second International Conference Seminar on Asian Archaeology -SICSA, held in Colombo in 1969. SICSA proceedings are being published by the Department of Archaeology, Sri Lanka. Refer the two papers read by Prof. Dr. J. E. van Lohuizen de Leeuw and the present writer respectively).

In our own study of the same Isurumuniya bas-relief we have shown how arbitrarily and insufficiently the phrase in the lithic record under review, has been construed by the late Dr. Paranavitana (see, *East and West*, IsMEO, Rome, vol. 20, for 1970, pp. 126 f.). However at that time we were unable to demonstrate clearly how the equivocal passage -*Podonavulu -Puluṇḍāvuluyen*- etc., could be explained. In a recent attempt we have found that a more plausible meaning for the above ambiguous phrase could be obtained. Our observations are given below for the verification by the more learned.

* The word *Podon* if taken to be etymologically equal to *Poson* our hypothetical rendering of the unintelligible passage could be accepted as more probable and reasonable. *Poson* could probably be derived from *Prasūna*, meaning flowers (cf. *prasūna varsā*, showers of flowers, in early texts; *Sanskrit English Dictionary*, ed. Monier Williams, p. 698). In fact one writer has made a futile attempt to hold brief for the case of Dr. Paranavitana's Parjanya-Agni theory, by striking an analogy with *Poson* and *Podon* and trying to explain that the word *Poson* means *Parjanya* (see, C. E. Godakumbura, *JRASC*, new series, vol. xiv, for 1970, pp. 92-97).

* Both *Podon* and *Puluṇḍā* we may take to mean flowers and fruits respectively, as in *Malpala* in common Sinhalese parlance, and *Avulu* to mean, causing rainfall. Probably an early aorist formation from the root 'vr̥ṣ'- var̥ṣati. As analogical formations from the same root could be cited, *valā*, *valākula*, both meaning raincloud. Such expressions like -*Malpala vāsinavā*, *malvarusāva*- having caused flowers and fruits to rain, a shower of flowers etc., are not uncommon in Sinhalese and other early Indian literary references.

* The statement that the king Kassapa V, made agriculture productive by the action indicated in the expression '*Podonavulu -Puluṇḍāvuluyen*', is given as the cause of the two next statements that the island of Lanka was made to sprout. *Sirilak londuruway*, and that the fear of famine was dispelled, *sābiya nivay*. Dr. Paranavitana thinks that these conditions of prosperity and the absence of fear of famine throughout the whole of Lanka could not have been brought about by the construction of two irrigation reservoirs as his precursor, Dr. Wickremasinghe had thought. Having rejected Wickremasinghe's explanation, Paranavitana goes on to suggest that by the expression *Podonavulu -Puluṇḍāvulu*- etc., it is meant an invocation of Parjanya and Agni, the rain-god and the fire-god, respectively, of Vedic repertory (see *Artibus Asiae*, op. cit. p. 180).

* The expression *Sirilak londuruway*, would on the contrary, substantiate, further our suggested meaning of the words *Podon* and *Puluṇḍā* + *Avuluyen* or *vuluyen*). *Sirilak londuruway* is translated as—Sri Lanka was made to sprout.

Needless to say that only by the dispersal of seeds for germination by a shower of flowers and fruits that the land could be made to sprout.

* On the above observations the following translation could be suggested by us for the difficult passage of king Kassapa's slab inscription—*Podonavulu Puluṇḍāvuluyen ketkam sulabhot Sirilak londuruway sābiya nivay*—"through showers of flowers and fruits agriculture was made productive and caused Sri Lanka to sprout, thereby dispelling the fear of famine."

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