

Lacour 2. Putney



TAMILNAD OF CEYLON

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J. R. SINNATAMBY, B.Sc. LONDON

It speaks loudly of the Tamil race that these couplets (Kural) are enshrined in the hearts of the whole people. Dynastic changes, Muhamedan raids, and irruption of races, through a dozen centuries have changed many things in the South.

Old times are changed, old manners gone and strangers fill the Pandyan's throne but the Tamil race preserves many of its old virtues and has the promise of a noble future.

POPE



DEDICATED TO
THE CITIZENS OF TAMIL NAD OF
CEYLON



PREFACE

In this publication are included articles written by me from time to time. Many of these articles have received publicity in the press. This publication in a book form was undertaken by me at the request of many ^{readers} ~~people~~, so that, ^{they} it may be available as a permanent record for ~~future~~ use, ^{now and in the future.}

They deal with political, historical and geographical matters which mostly pertain directly or indirectly, to Tamil Nad of Ceylon and her people.

By Tamil Nad of Ceylon I refer to Northern Province, Eastern Province and Puttalam District. In early British administrative reports and records these provinces have been referred to as Malabar Districts, which is actually Tamil Nad, as the word Malabar has actually been used to mean the Tamils and District is the English equivalent of the Tamil word Nad. I have also included Puttalam District in Tamil Nad. The justification for same will be appreciated by a perusal of this work, which will also indicate how very, very ancient contact, this part of Asia ^{has} had with the Dravidian race.

Even North India had been populated by a Dravidian people when the Aryans invaded India. The main Indo-Aryan occupation of India halts at a longitude of about 77° and further towards the east the ethnic element varies from Dravido-Aryan to mainly Dravidian modified by a strain of Mongoloid blood.

In fact the Dravidian race is widely spread over India though all do not ^{now} speak Dravidian languages and the Dravidian were the main vernaculars of India and as Chatterji has pointed out the culture of India is 12 annas in the rupee Dravidian.

It has not been generally known that the famous Buddhist missionaries who have laboured in Ceylon were South Indians. Buddhagosa who was the most venerated among them was also from South of India. South India has been the home of Pali Buddhism and can therefore be presumed to be the home from which Pali scholars came to Ceylon. The Tamils have also been largely responsible for the knowledge of Sanskrit obtaining in Ceylon.

It would appear that there is good reason to believe that the Dravidians of today were descendants of the Indus Valley peoples. That

of those who escaped the ruthless massacre of the invading Indo-Aryans, a nomadic race, fled across the Vindhya range of mountains.

The ethnic Aryan contact as pointed out already is confined to the North West of India and beyond towards the East the influence is largely linguistic, no doubt introduced by administrative measures. In East Bengal however, the ethnic contact has been with the Mongols and the people are therefore Dravido-Mongoloid as they are Dravido-Aryan in the West.

The Kalinga area of South India with which Ceylon had connections, is also a Dravidian area. This area was pitilessly ravaged by Asoka before he repented and became a devotee of the Buddha to atone for the almost unparalleled brutality of his conquests.

The Indo-Aryan languages in this part of Asia are therefore languages that were imposed on the Dravidians and other peoples following the invasion by Indo-Aryans of the Punjab, Ganges and Jumna areas about 1500 BC.

The Indo-Aryan influence in South India can be traced to the Indo-Aryan immigrants who were generally Brahmin priests, who introduced the caste system to South India. They have also been responsible for the Sanskrit literature and knowledge of Sanskrit in South India and Ceylon. To the same source can be traced the influence of Sanskrit on the Tamil vocabulary.

Ceylon has, according to Mendis, Malalasekera, Paranavitana, Pieris and Geiger, had close cultural, religious, social and ethnic contacts, with South India, from the remotest times. This intimate contact, to which can be traced, our literatures, Sanskrit, Tamil and Pali, was broken, only after the arrival of the European powers, in India and Ceylon, commencing early 16th century of our Era.

Colombo
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J. R. Sinnatamb

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TAMIL NAD OF CEYLON

In this article I have dealt with some aspects of the Tamil language and the territorial position occupied in Ceylon by the Tamil Race who belong to the Dravidian Race, which occupied not only South India but also North India several centuries before the Indo-Aryan people even entered North India.

~~This means~~ The Dravidians have been in this part of Asia for at least 1600 years before the Indo-Aryans entered India, as the Indo-Aryans invaded North India as a Nomadic race about 1500 B.C. and the Dravidians entered India about 2500 B.C. (Walker, "Hindu World," p.484).

The above can be inferred from what Nehru says, (Glimpses of World History), "the Dravidians had a rich civilisation then in Southern India and perhaps also in Northern India", in reference to the period when the Aryans entered India and what Mendis has pointed out, (Early History of Ceylon), "At the time Aryans entered India, the Dravidians occupied not only South India but also greater part of North India..... There is evidence to prove that in the early centuries of Christian era Dravidians helped to form the Sinhalese race....."

Chatterji has pointed out in respect to India, "Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C.", in an article which touches on the ethnology of India amongst other matters.

In fact names of all unknown articles that reached Europe before 500 B.C. had Dravidian names (Kennedy, RASGB 1898). Even the names of Rice and Ginger described as produced in Ceylon by Ptolemy (100 A.D.) are of Dravidian origin according to Mendis (History of India Vol.2 P598, edited by Sastri).

Even the Hindu religion prevailed in Ceylon before the advent of Buddhism and that too even in Anuradhapura. In fact according to Malalasekera (Pali Literature of Ceylon) and Harischandra (Sacred City, Anuradhapura), Abhyagiri dagoba stands on the site of a Hindu temple.

Paranavitana has also pointed out that Brahmanas and their religion prevailed in Pre-Buddhist Ceylon (JRASGB Vol.31, No.82, 1929). This apparently explains the Hindu temples occupying prominent places right round the coast of Ceylon.

The maritime area of Ceylon came under British occupation about 1796. British assumed full control of Ceylon only after the conquest of the Kandyan Kingdom in 1815.

From 1505 A.D. to 1815 A.D. only the littoral areas were occupied. The Northern parts of the Island came under control of the Portugese only about the early part of the 17th century.

When the Portugese arrived in Ceylon about 1505 A.D., the Tamils occupied the Northern and Eastern Provinces and also Puttalam area.

The Puttalam area has been loosing its Tamil character due apparently to the neglect of the Tamil language. The following authorities indicate how much Puttalam was Tamil in character. They also testify to boundaries of Tamil country in Ceylon.

See Annexure A.

(a) Modder - Manual of Puttalam District

"In very early times the District was exclusively governed by Malabar Princes but afterwards their authority was restricted to the last two divisions and the rest placed under a Sinhalese Mohotale which office however, is now extinct, being superseded by the appointment of a Modliar since the conquest of the island by the British".

"Race-speaking generally, Puttalam is a Tamil District.

(b) Brownrigg while pointing out that the Malabar language was spoken from Puttalam to Batticaloa informed the Government of England that he was putting the Tamil language on equal footing with the Sinhalese language, (Suntheralingam, "Eylom," P 38)

This was merely a continuation of the status quo obtaining in the Dutch period when proclamations were issued in both languages. In fact at an earlier period Tamil was taught even in the Sinhalese country and that too by Buddhist priests in the *pitivenas*.

According to Colebrooke the terms of the commission on which he served were published in three languages, English, Sinhalese and Tamil.

Colebrooke has also specially mentioned in his report to one of His Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State that regulations of government, the proclamations and government advertisements, are published, with translations, in Sinhalese and Malabar, and that Junior Civil Servants should pass in Sinhalese or Malabar for appointment.

(e) Brohier, Provincial Judge, Puttalam, (Historical Account of Ceylon), "The inhabitants differ as much in the Northern and Southern parts of the island as the generality do from those of the coast. In the former, that is to say from Calpetyn on the west to the heighbourhood of Batticaloa on the east side, hardly a vestige of the Sinhalese customs is to be found and their language is generally unknown.

On the South and Southwest coast the Sinhalese compose the greatest part of the inhabitants.

(d) The Jurisdiction of the Supreme Court in 1810 A.D. at Jaffna extended from Puttalam area to Batticaloa, (Gazette, 6th August, 1810).

Cleghorn's Minute of 1/6/1799, (Ceylon Literary Register, Vol.6, 1891-92, p43), "Two different nations from a very ancient period have divided the land. First Sinhalese in its Southern and South Western parts from Walauwe to Chilaw, and, secondly, Malabars in the Northern and Eastern districts.

Territorial Divisions.

Colombo - Bentota to Chilaw

Jaffnapatam - Between Puttalam and Mannar to Kokkilai

Trincomalee - Kokkilai to Wisgal (Verugal)

Batticaloa - Wisgal to Kumhookkan

Galle - Kumbukkan to Bentota

Calpetyn and Puttalam - River Chilaw to Limits of Mannar.

Referring to people of Akkaraipattu in the Batticaloa District, Valentyn, (Vol.2, p190), says, "The inhabitants thereof are all Malabars, the same as that of Jaffnapatam and Cotjar but are more malicious ones than the former, in their dealings with the chingaleese etc., till here has extended the jurisdiction of the Malabar Rajahs and so up to the high mountains and the lands of the Weddas across by Puttalam, and the Middle of Calpettien, or Navecar, and further on to the south along the sea shore, and to the West till as far as Negombo, and to the East till Panema and the River of Coemboucan Oya, where is as yet spoken the Malabar language although they understand the Chingaleese language begins from the across side of Coemboucan Oye River, on the East and from Mangul corle on the West - so that the lands of Panoa in proper manner resorts within the Malabar Jurisdiction or at least ought to be so."

While De Gueroz (Conquest of Ceylon) has pointed out that from Negombo to Jaffna they speak the Tamil language better.

In 1828 there were 6 Tamil schools and 5 Sinhalese schools in Negombo, (Ruberu, "Education in Colonial Ceylon", p240).

(e) According to Sesssional Paper 1890 (P.G.11), the people in Puliyankulam village, Puttalam District, speak Tamil and Singhalese but the former more frequently among themselves. The words "The former (Tamil) among themselves" is very significant.

(f) Tambiah, (The Law of Thesawalamai), has pointed out that according to despatches by Sir Alexander Johnston, the Thesawalamai law applied with slight modifications to the Tamils of the North Western Province also.

(g) Muslims who occupy parts of Tamil country mostly speak the Tamil language. Tamil ^{is} has been the ^{name} language of ^{the} great majority of Ceylon. ^{muslims} Moors and protocols of Kadutams written in the Tamil language, but in Arabic characters, according to Moors Islamic Cultural Home Souvenir, (Footnotes 11 and 25, pp22 and 23).

Census Report 1824

Sinhalese Districts - Colombo, Galle, Tangalle, Chilaw
Malabar Districts - Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Jaffna,
Mannar islands

Balance Kandyan District.

(h) Ceylon by Marshal - Sinhalese - from Magampattoo on the east to Chilaw on the west coast.

Tamils - Eastern and Northern parts of the island.

(i) 1911 Census - Mannar and Puttalam are Tamil districts. There is large admixture of Tamil blood and speech in the Sinhalese Districts of Chilaw and Negombo.

(j) O.P.T.D.
In this context it is of interest to note that when the Portugese arrived in Ceylon there were four kings in Ceylon - Jaffna, Kandy, Kotte and Sitawaka.

It is also of interest to note that the king of Kotte bequeathed his kingdom, the South and Southwest part of Ceylon, to the King of Portugal. Ribeyro in his book on Ceylon translated by Lee, says, "The Emperor Don Juan Pandar when his end drew nigh made his will he declared King of Portugal his heir and universal legatee and it was in this manner that the Portugese obtained an indusputable right to the whole island excepting the kingdoms of Kandy and Uva which belonged to the heirs of Queen Catherine and excepting also Jaffna Patam, which had its own peculiar sovereign". This was the result of intrigue between him and the King of Sitawaca.

The king of Kandy lost his kingdom when he was captured by the British in 1815 with the assistance of some of the chiefs in his kingdom.

It is only the king of Jaffna who gave his life fighting for his country and his people and strangely enough for trying to assist the King of Kandy. Officer of the Ceylon Rifles says in his book on Ceylon, "In 1604 the Raja was again chastised for assisting the King of Kandy and the Portugese according to Faria, might have taken possession of his dominions only they were not at that time in a position to do so, but it was subsequently accomplished in 1617, when the Governor of Ceylon, Constantine de Saa, hearing that the Raja was corresponding with the King of Kandy, had him captured and sent to Goa, where he was deposed and executed".

Full details of this battle and how he was captured is given by De Queroz in his book, "Conquest of Ceylon".

The Wannai territory was finally conquered much later. The following reference to the stubborn resistance offered by a Tamil Princess to the Dutch is of interest. Tennent in his book on Ceylon has pointed out, "It is characteristic of the spirit of this people that the Dutch met nowhere a more determined resistance than from one of the native princesses, the Wannichee Maria Sembatte, whom they were obliged to carry away prisoner and to detain in captivity in the fort of Colombo".

It is clear from above facts that the unitary government in force today is the creation of the imperialist powers who ruled in Ceylon when the Sinhalese and Tamil races lost their freedom independently to those powers and that as all foreign control has now been broken with the virtual rejection of the Soulbury Constitution, both the races, Sinhalese and Tamils, are now a free and sovereign race, each in their own right and are independent of each other.

Tamil Nad of Ceylon is merely a geographical, cultural, ethnological, religious and linguistic continuation of the Tamil Nad of India, which stretches along the south east coast of India.

What Paranavitarana says in reference to ancient village committees, (Ceylon Literary Register, Vol. 1, 3rd Series), "How these committees were elected we do not know but an analagous case may be cited from South India with which Ceylon is closely connected as regards its political and social institutions. An inscription of Paranataka I (Circa A.D. 907) gives unusually minute details as to how the committees were elected annually by the villagers assembled.....? The members elected by drawing lots the procedure of which is fully described..... That these performed judicial functions is evident from the extracts quoted above. The same conclusion is arrived at from an examination of South Indian inscriptions..... South Indian village assemblies sometimes figure

as endowing educational institutions..... Another important function performed by them was the conduct of local banking. Many are the Tamil inscriptions which record the deposits of sums of money or quantities of grain by private individuals with village corporations, so that the interest may be devoted to charitable purposes. This last function was also performed by the local bodies of Ceylon in olden times, and is of interest in this context. It is apparent from above that village councils in Tamil Nad exercised direct authority in matters connected with Banking, Educational and even Judicial matters centuries ago, which even today a Municipal Council does not exercise.

The above clearly indicate that even if Tamil Nad of Ceylon is politically one with Tamil Nad of India no cultural, religious, or linguistic problems would arise, even in a unitary form of government, but contrary will be and is the case of Tamil Nad of Ceylon merging with Sinhala Nad, as ethnologically, linguistically and also in religion, Tamil Nad is diametrically the opposite of Sinhala Nad.

As Ceylon is today a secular state, conflict between the two religions do not arise, but as the proposed new constitution is likely to take a retrograde step and give special recognition to Buddhism to appease religious fanaticism, as has already been done to appease racialism by giving a privileged position to the language of the majority race, by continuing the language policy of 1958, the disunity now prevailing in the country will be aggravated, making an union form of government even more imperative.

u
X And it is for these reasons that I have stated that an Union form of Government is imperative as Sinhalese and Tamil languages and Buddhism and Hinduism can then function separately as official languages and religions in Tamil and Sinhala Nad, without impinging on each other.

It is however, most unlikely, that, ^{the} Tamil peoples of Tamil Nad will take the retrograde step of making Hinduism a state religion, but continue as a secular state, in keeping with the practice followed by socialist states.

The irony of it all is that the Buddhism that prevails in Ceylon is the Brahministic form of Buddhism as it recognises caste, and image worship, the two evils against which Buddha campaigned and that is why the minority castes had to go to Amarapura in Burma, where Buddhism prevails in a pure form as far as caste is concerned, to be ordained as priests, as they are not eligible to join the Asgiriya and Malwatte sects which are confined only to the Vellala caste. Reference may be made to Appeal Reports by Austin where the judgement of the Supreme Court is given in a dispute between the Asgiriya Sect and the Amarapura Sect.

In fact the master of ceremonies in the king's court on state occasions was actually a Brahmin. This is made clear by Ariyapala, (Society in Mediaeval Ceylon), "Purohito wielded greater influence in the King's Court ... Institution of Purohito maintained to the last phases of the Sinhalese kingdom..... First chaplain mentioned is Canda in time of Pandukabhaya..... Appointment of a Brahmin par excellence in keeping with Indian traditions, and, that Hindu temples meant as much as Buddhist temples to the Buddhists in Ceylon is clear from what Geiger (Ceylon in Mediaeval Times) says, "In the Mahawamsa we shall see below, frequently..... controversies are reported between different Buddhist sects, but hardly any serious conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism up to the beginning of the modern era..... I think the study of the Mahawansa even which is compiled by Buddhist priests, shows us how fallacious it is entirely to separate Buddhism from Brahmanism..... We know moreover that Brahmanas and Samanas..... were equally supported by the ruler and it is a Buddhist priest by whom this is acknowledged and praised as a pious and meritorious work".

TAMIL AND TAMIL NAD

Regarding the language problem which has still not been settled, since it arose in the year 1956, with the raising of the communal slogan of "Sinhala Only Cry" by Bandaranaike to secure political power, it must be noted, that, the question of making Tamil the official language of the Tamils does not arise as it is ipso facto the language of public business and general medium of intercourse in Tamil Nad.

Since this "Sinhala Only Cry" was raised, U.N.P. and Socialist leaders (more recently), abandoned their support for parity and toed the "Sinhala Only" line so as not to be left behind in the race for political power.

That Tamil (and Sinhala also) is the language of public business has been recognised even by the imperialist powers that ruled both Tamil Nad and Sinhala Nad by right of conquest. The Tamil and Sinhala Kingdoms were it should be noted conquered independently of each other by the Portugese. This right of rule passed on to the Dutch and then to the British when each in turn ejected the other from Ceylon and which gave them the right to introduce their language as a common official language in Tamil Nad and Sinhala Nad.

But this did not mean that Tamil and Sinhala ceased to be or even considered to cease to be an official language i.e. the general medium of intercourse or public business each in their own right. They were placed on an equal footing by the imperialist powers who ruled Tamil Nad and Sinhala Nad by right of conquest.

In India there are as many as about 14 such official languages, each language the official language ipso facto of the particular state, whatever the size. Though Hindi is expected to be the All India language it is significant that the constitution makers appreciated the fact that it should be accepted by the minorities by assent and not imposed on them as in the case of English which of course had the justification flowing from a right of conquest. The problem here is identical.

To deny the Tamil people the use of their own language for public business in their own country is nothing short of decitizenising them. The right of a citizen to live in his motherland and make unrestricted use of his mother tongue is automatic i.e. birthright, which no power, can justifiably deny and cannot be subjected to the vararies of power hungry politicians who have and are still changing their views on this question only to placate racialism, as also on the question of

religion, as for e.g. the Minister of Constitutional Affairs is personally of the view that parity is the solution, (Towards a New Era p429). The socialists have now perforce to sacrifice their convictions of almost a life time if they are to continue in power.

In this context it is of interest to note that Tamil ^{coastal area} ~~Nad~~ of Ceylon along with Sinhala ^{coastal area} ~~Nad~~ actually formed ~~an~~ ^{one} administrative unit of India and was administered from there during the early British period before the severance, when a separate Governor was appointed for Ceylon. Puisne Justice Clarence deplored this severance in his review of the administration of justice in Ceylon where he refers to advantages that Ceylon would have otherwise enjoyed.

In support of the above I quote the following extracts from documents and government regulations.

Catalogue of Archives Dutch Government of Ceylon by Jurianse, "Like any other well organised administration the central and the local governments of this Island too issued proclamations and publications and orders which had to be observed by the general public. Dutch publications of this type are called "Plakkaten" which means "affixed notices". They were posted up at public buildings, as they are at the present day. This may explain why comparatively few of them have survived.

Before 1734, when the printing press started its work in this island, all notices drawn up in Dutch, Singhalese and Tamil were in writing".

De Queroz (Conquest of Ceylon pp114-115), "Changatares or Ganezes are the religious of this Sect, for those of the Vedas are every where Bramanas. No one else save Apuamiz or their gentle folk can be such nor is it enough to be so on the side of the father..... The Ganezes go out of their convents on certain days of the week to beg alms from door to door,..... among them are the teachers of reading and writing, and they teach the Malavar language, which they call Tamil, esteemed by the nations who sail to the Cape of Comey and the coast of Choromandel....."

The reference to Ganezes teaching the Tamil language is a reference to the fact that Tamil was taught even in the pirivenas in Sinhala Nad.

From "A Collection of Advertisements, Minutes, General rules and Circular letters issued by Government from time to time regulating the public business of the island", published by government.

Commissioner of Revenue's Office
Colombo, 22/7/1813.

"With reference to the Regulations lately published for His Majesty's Civil Service of this Island, I am directed to state to you that His Excellency considering the acquisition of the Tamil Language to be a qualification equally essential for His Majesty's Civil Servants employed in the Northern District, as the knowledge of the Cingalese is for those holding situations in the provinces of the South, has submitted such his opinion to the consideration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and as no doubt can be entertained of the gracious disposition of His Royal Highness to afford fullest encouragement to every useful acquirement for the furtherance of His Majesty's interest and service of this Colony - I have further to intimate to you His Excellency's assurance that a competent knowledge of the Tamil language proved by such testimonials as the Regulations require, will entitle any Civil Servant on this Establishment, to equal consideration, as a claim for employment in those Districts where that Dialect prevails, as he would derive from a knowledge of Cingalese in that part of the Island were (where) the last mentioned language is the general medium of intercourse and public business.

I have the honour to be etc.

R. Boyd.

C.R."

Minute by Lieutenant Governor

"The Lieutenant Governor is pleased to direct that all Government Advertisements from Departments of Government shall be published in the Singalese and Tamil as well as English language

By the Lieut: Governor's Command

John Rodney

Chief Secretary to
Government."

C.S.'s Office,
Colombo 12/8/1820.

Minute by the Governor

"His Excellency the Governor has received directions of the Rt. Honourable the Secretary of State, to signify to the Gentlemen of the Civil Service in the Island, the intention of His Majesty's Government, in future not to promote civil servants to situations until they shall have attained a tolerable proficiency in the native languages.

By His Excellency's Command

John Rodney

Chief Secretary to Govt:"

C.S.O.
Colombo, 23/9/1822.

Regulation of Government No. 13, 1827.

"And it is further enacted, that in all civil cases, where process of execution issued out of a competent Court, shall be carried into effect against the person or property of any native defendant, the writ, warrant, or mandate, or a copy of the same, authenticated by the signature of the Fiscal, shall have a translation of the contents, or of the substance thereof, endorsed there on in the Cingalese language in the Southern Provinces, and in the Malabar language in the Northern Provinces,"

From Rajagopalacharia's Statement ON THE CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY - NOV. 1939 - Framing of India's Constitution - Vol. I -

"There is the problem of the method of reaching agreed conclusions. There is particularly the question of how to deal with dissenting minorities, since it may be taken for granted that absolute unanimity cannot be reached. The Congress wishes to proceed on the basis that a majority decision of the representatives of any particular community should be taken as the considered view of that community. As for relative evaluation, Mahatmaji has already stated clearly that the Congress stands for the position that safeguards for the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities should be such as would be satisfactory to the particular minority community. Otherwise we should be landed once again on British coercion".

From The Framing of India's Constitution - A Study -

"The most forceful exponent of this point of view was T.T. Krishnamachari who said that "language imperialism", as he termed it, threatened to bring into being a type of totalitarianism and warned the Assembly against its reaction on the rest of the units of the Union of India to be. He made no secret of the fear that he entertained that the Hindi issue, pressed too far, might result in a secessionist movement.

"I would convey a warning on behalf of the people of the South for the reasons that there are already elements in South India who want separation and it is up to us to tax the maximum strength we have to keep those elements down, and my honourable friends in the U.P. do not help us in any way by flogging their idea of "Hindi Imperialism" to the maximum extent possible. It is up to my friends in the U.P. to have a whole India, it is up to them to have a "Hindi India". The choice is theirs and they can incorporate it in this constitution; and if we are left out, well, we will only curse our luck and hope for better times to come".

Nehru also referred to this issue and explained why it would be wiser for the moment not to make any provision in the Constitution. He admitted that it was obvious and vital that any country, much more so a free and independent country, must function in its own language; the mere fact that he and many of his colleagues had to address the Assembly in a foreign language itself showed that "something was lacking".

"But if in trying to press for a change, we get wrapped up in numerous controversies and possibly even delay the whole Constitution, I submit to this House, it is not a very wise step to take. Language is and has been a vital factor in an individual's and a nation's life and because it is vital, we have to give it every thought and consideration Powerful forces are at work in the country which will inevitably lead to the substitution of the English language by an Indian language or Indian languages in so far as the different parts of the country are concerned; but there will always be one all-India language. Language ultimately grows from the people; it is seldom that it can be imposed. Any attempt to impose a particular form of language on an unwilling people has usually met with the strongest opposition and has actually resulted in something the very reverse of what the promoters thought. I would beg this House to consider the fact and to realise if it agrees with me, that the surest way of developing a natural all-India language is not so much to pass resolutions and laws on the subject but to work to that end in other ways".

From "Administration of Justice in Ceylon"
by L.B. Clarence - Puisne Justice.

"Advantages at once suggest themselves which Ceylon might have enjoyed, had she been allowed to share the government of her grand neighbour, instead of being governed by herself, on a little scale, under another department. In India, land settlement, Codes of substantive Law and Procedure, and many matters of legislation and government conducted on a grand scale. Poor Ceylon offers a sorry contrast to all this; much of her legislation embodying substantive law has been very unintelligently framed and legal procedure halts in a state of confusion between traditions of the Roman-Dutch law and innovations tacitly borrowed from England Unlike India, Ceylon has no courts in which justice is administered in the native languages, excepting, indeed, the "Village Tribunals", an institution akin to the Indian Panchayet, as I have had no personal experience of the Indian vernacular Codes I will not pretend to say on which side the advantage lies, but there are certainly disadvantages inseparable from the employment in small cause courts of a language not understood of the people. Perjury is made easier;

and there is further the serious draw back that the native suitor, not understanding the language in which the proceedings are conducted, is placed wholly at the mercy of subordinate court officials and the local natives and Eurasian lawyers".....

From Satyagraha by Ponniah

Balasunderam in the Foreward has observed

"Shortly before the introduction of the New Constitution a resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority in the State Council declaring Sinhalese and Tamil as the official and national languages of the Island. This was, probably, done to win the support of the minorities in their agitation for constitutional reforms. But after the Sinhalese politicians had achieved their object they sought ways and means of not only completely disregarding the solemn promise contained in that resolution but also of denying equality of opportunity and fair treatment to the Tamil speaking people of the Island"

On the Tamil Question, Ponniah observes "with language as the basic issue, the hot race for power had begun between the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. At this crucial moment Dr. N.M. Perera, M.P. and President of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party interposed and warned the two communal parties that unless they mended their approach to the language question, they would be throwing the whole nation into utter chaos It is a danger to the well being of the nation when a racial majority is called upon to determine the manner in which a racial minority in the country should use its language.....

..... Similar views were expressed by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva Dr. de Silva pointed out that the Ceylon Tamils were in great measure responsible for the independence of Ceylon and that such independence should be shared alike by the Tamils and Sinhalese....."

Minutes of the State Council
February, 12, 1946 - p9 -

Referring to an amendment seeking to provide for the use of Tamil and Sinhala in the State Council this minute records "The member for Kelaniya (Mr. J.R. Jayawardene) who has moved the amendment, seeks thereby to implement the resolution which the State Council arrived at on July 25, 1944, on his own motion that "with the object of making Sinhalese and Tamil the official languages of Ceylon within a reasonable number of years, this Council is of opinion that, inter alia, legislation should be introduced to permit the business to be conducted in Sinhalese and Tamil".

From the above it is clear that while English was made a common official language by the British by virtue of conquest, and, also as a result of both the independent Tamil and Sinhalese Kingdoms coming under one rule, the Sinhalese politicians now seek to make Sinhala a common official language by cunning and want to go even further and abolish the equal status of Tamil with Sinhalese, as official languages in their respective districts, recognised even by the imperialist rulers (Dutch and British) and taught even in Pirivenas in Sinhala Nad, by Buddhist priests, and which was also the official language in Tamil Nad even before the arrival of the imperial western powers in Ceylon.

In fact during the early British period when apparently there were many Dutch residents, notifications were issued in the Dutch language also. A proclamation issued by Order of the Governor in the gazette of 22.3.1802, pertaining to providing of food etc. to travellers states "And it is directed that this proclamation be printed in English, Dutch, Cingalese and Malabar languages, and that a copy thereof in each, be kept at every Post station in the British territories on Ceylon, and that any travellers requiring to peruse the same may be immediately furnished with it in such language as he shall desire".

TAMIL AND TAMIL NAD (Supplement No.1)

The Imperial government fully appreciated the need for its public servants to know the language, at least of tolerable proficiency, of the people, not only of Sinhala Nad but Tamil Nad also.

Positive steps were taken to see that they learnt the language of the people. Apparently they realised that one cannot expect tens of thousands of citizens of a country to learn the language of a couple of hundred of officials.

From what has been stated ^{already} ~~above~~ one can gauge the pains the Imperial government had taken to see that the public servants learnt the language of the people. One is therefore appalled at the summary manner in which the Sinhala dominated Constituent Assembly has destroyed the official status of the Tamil language and rendered the Tamil people dumb and inarticulate overnight.

And in the situation prevailing in the country today they cannot even offer a whimper of protest if they do not want to find themselves at the wrong end of the law.

In consequence, it is now necessary for tens of thousands of the people and, that too, only the Tamil people, to study a foreign language so that they can transact even such simple public business as buying a postage stamp, railway ticket, applying for a permit, interviewing etc., with a couple of hundred officials. A Tamil citizen even in Tamil Nad will not be in a position to insist on a public servant transacting any public business with him in the Tamil language, even if the public servant knew Tamil. The emphasis is on the word insist.

It is relevant to note in this connection that the Tamil language not only had a definite official status in India and Ceylon but even in South East Asia.

The trilingual inscription, now in the Colombo Museum, which was installed by a Chinese Emperor at a southern port, is inscribed in the Persian, Chinese and Tamil languages.

Tamil is still one of the official languages in Malaya and Singapore, even though the Tamils there, unlike the Tamils in Ceylon, do not have a territory of their own.

In fact Tamil is one of the languages appearing in the War Memorial at Bangkok. The others being Hindi, Siamese and English.

The special steps taken to specifically ensure that translations are always made available to the people and the

importance attached to the knowledge of native languages by public servants can be gauged from the following extracts from circulars to Heads of Departments and from the Colombo Journal, 1832, which refers to examinations held in Madras for possibly public servants in South India. Similar examinations were held in Ceylon also.

Colombo Journal, 1832.

"We gave in a late Journal an abridged report of the examinations of the junior civil servants at Madras. The system is in every point of view admirable, as it necessarily secures those qualifications which enable the public servants of the company to execute their duties with the greatest benefit to the mass of the native population. Young men capable of attaining such proficiency in the native languages cannot but gain with ease other acquirements, which may be advantageous in the exercise of their public duties..... "

Circular to Heads of Departments.

Chief Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 17th April, 1821.

I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to transmit to you English, Tamil and Cingalese copies of a minute which has been issued for the effective control of Expenditures in paying labourers.....

Dep. Sec: to Govt:"

From Documents relating to the Administration of Justice
By His Honor the Lieutenant Governor.

It is ordered that the parties in Civil Suits before the Court of the Sitting Magistrate of Ambalangoda do pay to the capurale

It is further ordered that a copy and Translation of this Rule into Tamil and Cingalese be kept constantly hung up in the Court room of the said Magistrate.

By the Lieutenant Governor's Command

.....

Kandy, April 23rd 1820. Dept: Sec: to Govt:

A Rule and Order directing motions made in Provincial Courts

It is ordered that from and after the First day of February next, all motions in Provincial Courts,

And it is ordered, that a Copy and Translations of this Rule, be constantly hung up in the Court Room of every Provincial Judge.

By the Lieutenant Governor's Command

Dep: Sec: to Govt:

Chief Secretary's Office,
Colombo. 14th January 1822.

By the Honble The Lieutenant Governor

A rule and Order touching the time be allowed in cases of Appeal within these settlements

It is ordered, that Parties Appellant, whose appeals are or shall be allowed by the several Minor Courts of Appeal

It is further ordered that a copy and Translations be kept constantly hung up in the court rooms of every Provincial, Commissioners and Sitting Magistrates Courts.

By the Lieutenant Governor's Command.

Dept. Sec: to Govt.

Chief Secretary's Office,
Colombo, 11th July, 1920.

It will be seen that the regional languages were automatically recognised as official languages even during the rule of the Dutch and British.

English here and in India was really a common official language introduced as pointed out in the Publication "Study of the Indian Constitution" as a matter of administrative convenience at a higher level. This became necessary, both in India and Ceylon, as the different linguistic states came under one rule under the British by virtue of conquest.

The British insisted on their public servants studying the native languages, both Tamil and Sinhalese, as a matter of necessity only for the benefit of the peoples of Tamil Nad and Sinhala Nad, and not for any other purpose.

I fail to see therefore how what was considered a necessity for the Tamil people during Imperial rule should cease to be so when they are independent. Particularly as the Minister of Constitutional Affairs has himself expressed views to the effect that Ceylon Tamils were in a great measure responsible for the independence of Ceylon.

See "Satyagraha" by Ponniah quoted at p13 of this book.

TAMIL AND TAMIL NAD (Supplement No.2)

Regarding the language question the following extracts are of interest.

From Communalism and language in the politics of
Ceylon - Kearney -

P 63 - "At independence in 1948, the political leadership of Ceylon was committed to the gradual transition to Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages. The post independence United National Party Government was essentially a continuation of the State Council leadership. D. S. Senanayake formerly leader of the State Council, became Prime Minister. The Cabinet included Dudley Senanayake, J.R. Jayawardene and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, all of whom had been prominently associated with swabasha policy."

From Ceylon - A Divided Nation- by Farmer -

From a forward by Lord Soulbury -

"As Sir Charles Jeffries has put it in his admirable book, Ceylon - The Path to Independence, The Soulbury Constitution had entrenched in it all the protective provisions for minorities that the wit of man could devise? Nevertheless - in the light of later happenings - I now think it is a pity that the Commission did not also recommend the entrenchment in the constitution of guarantees of fundamental rights, on the lines enacted in the constitution of India, Pakistan, Malaya, Nigeria and elsewhere."

Farmer - P 70

"The truth, unpalatable though it may be to some, is simply that nobody unacceptable to the present second wave of resurgent, Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalism has any chance of constitutional power in contemporary Ceylon".

P 71 - 72

"Ceylon is indeed an undivided nation. The reader may be inclined to form the conclusion that it was always so, and that optimistic views on national unity held in Ceylon at the coming of independence, and repeated by commentators in other parts of the world, rested on illusion or ignorance.

..... constitutional safeguards might conceivably have done something to control the violence of the communal dispute; though since the Senanayake Government found a way of disenfranchising the Indian Tamils, one is left to wonder what value other safeguards might have had in the event and in the Ceylon setting".

From above it will be seen that what is relevant to the Tamil people as far as their language is concerned is the language position at Independence and at Independence according to Kearney, Sinhalese and Tamil were placed on an equal footing by a Sinhalese majority, (27 to 2), itself, which included D.S. Senanayake and S/W.R.D. Bandaranaike.

As now the political leadership feels that they do not want to place Tamil on the same footing as Sinhalese there can be no objection. But in as much as Sinhalese now want only Sinhalese as their official language I cannot see what objections anyone can take to Tamils having Tamil which had been placed on an equal footing with the Sinhalese, even by the Dutch and British, and, which was their official language before the arrival of the western powers, as their official language particularly as if the stand now taken by the political leadership was taken at the time of Independence negotiations, the Tamils and no doubt the commissioners, as can be clearly inferred from Soulbury's foreword would have taken a different line of action.

An union form of government is now the only solution particularly in view of what Farmer has pointed out that "since the Senanayake government found a way of disenfranchising the Indian Tamils, one is left to wonder what value other safeguards might have had in the event and in the Ceylon setting."

Furthermore, as remarked by Farmer, "Ceylon is indeed a divided nation". What else could it be, where there are two races who have occupied distinct territories of their own, in their own right, and whose languages and religions are totally different. Time has proved that contrary views have indeed been based on "illusion or ignorance".

That an unitary Government has only served to stoke communalism can also be inferred from what Sir Frederick Rees, *Rees,* also an architect of the Soulbury Constitution, has pointed out, (Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol. 10, p 67), "In Ceylon the Soulbury Commission did what it could to eliminate communalism from political life. Unfortunately the issue has been inflamed by the proposal to make Sinhalese the official language. This has alienated the Tamils and raised an emotional issue difficult to deal with rationally".

What needs to be always borne in mind is that not only the Sinhalese but also the Tamils got their independence from the British and not from each other. This being so I cannot see how the Tamils can tell the Sinhalese in what language they (Sinhalese) should govern themselves and to which religion they should give particular reverence, officially or otherwise, and, vice versa.

TAMIL AND CEYLON

In view of the endeavour made by the administration of the country, in recent years, since 1958, to ignore the Tamil language in Ceylon, I think the following historical references to the position occupied by the Tamil language in Ceylon for many centuries will interest your readers. That it occupied an important position not only in Ceylon and South India but also in South East Asia also can be inferred from these historical references.

Geiger, (Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times, p.67)
"Knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and South India was highly appreciated. The sons of distinguished families who were brought up by Parakkamabahu in his own palace were also instructed in the use of foreign languages (desabha seritaresu, 6.9.22). A Grand Thera from the Cola country who was made Royal Teacher at the court of Parakkamabahu IV, 14th century, is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well versed in various tongues (nana-bhasa-visarada, 90.80) (The four languages to be studied in ancient Ceylon were Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese and Tamil: saku magada elu demala, Giri sandesa, 15th century ed. Munidasa Kumaranatunga, v.221, of Subhasita, 17th century v.5 (Ed).

De Queroz, (Conquest of Ceylon, pp114-115), "Changatares or Ganezes are the religious of this Sect, for those of the Vedao are every where Bramanas. No one else save Apuamiz or their gentle folk can be such nor is it enough to be so on the side of the father The Ganezes go out of their convents on certain days of the week to beg alms from door to door, Among them are the teachers of reading and writing, and they teach the Malavar language, which they call Tamil, esteemed by the nations who sail to the Cape of Comoy and the coast of Choromandel..... "

The reference to Genezes teaching the Tamil language is a reference to the fact that Tamil was taught in the Pirivanas. Apparently the Tamil language, according to this and other authorities quoted in this article, formed the link language in South Ceylon and also South East Asia, but ceased to function as such with the advent of the European powers, particularly the British, as they eventually ruled over the whole of India and Ceylon and a great part of South East Asia.

The reference to only APUAMIZ (Apuhamys) being eligible to ordination as a Buddhist priest is of interest. This is a reference to a rule of the Siamese sect that only a Vellala caste man is eligible to be considered for ordination as a Buddhist priest.

By this rule thousands of Buddhists are not even eligible to be considered for ordination as Buddhist priests only because of their caste.. This caste discrimination has the sanction of the laws of the land. In a judgement on this question which involved the Asgiriya temple, the Supreme Court while upholding the right of a religious body to observe these rules says "But the Court would not have it understood that by this decision it in anyway infringes, the acknowledged principles of religious toleration, there is nothing in its decree or on the reasons on which it is founded to prevent the Amerapooora sect from propagating their sentiments, from buying, from building, from occupying Pansellas and Vihares within the Kandyan territories. The Court merely determines that they cannot usurp the property of others, and turn it to purposes evidently opposed to the religious wishes of the holders of such property."

Valentyn, (History of Ceylon, Vol.2, pp236, 237), while referring to the importance of the clergy learning the native languages says, "it has been resolved in council of Ceylon that no clergyman although having served for ten or twelve years in the island shall receive any increment of pay or emolument unless they make themselves capable in the different native languages,"

He goes on to say further at page 238, "The Law Majores must also pay attention at Home not to allow any increment of pay or allowances to the clergy in India before they could speak the Malabar and Malay languages etc., at least so far as to be able to address themselves in the same to the natives, whereas with these two languages one might go through the whole India from Malacka to Cambodia and so on through the large and small islands till the Moleccus..... "

The Academy established in Colombo had 2 separate schools for Europeans, Tamils and Sinhalese. In the Tamil and Sinhalese schools both languages, Tamil and Sinhalese, were taught, (Ruberu, "Education in Colonial Ceylon, pp66-68).

It should be noted in this context that the Tamil language is even today recognised as an official language in Malaya and Singapore.

The Epigraphica Zelanica refers at page 334 to a trilingual inscription sent to Ceylon by a Chinese Emperor early in the 15th century. This was discovered at Galle and can now be seen at the Colombo Museum. The inscription would appear to refer to a Hindu deity, Buddha, and an Islamic saint or shrine.

What is of special interest is that the inscription is recorded in three languages namely Tamil, Chinese and Persian and would appear to reflect the position occupied by the three languages in the world of commerce.

For several centuries Persia, India, China and Arabia played a dominant role in the trade in South Asia. South India and Ceylon by virtue of their geographical position and the spices for which they have been famous through the ages. This fact can be inferred from the Ceylon Literary Register where it is stated, "The object of this measure is to revive the trade which formerly prevailed between every part of the Gulf's of Arabia and Persia and the Southern Peninsula of India, and which trade was directly the cause of a very considerable trade in those days between the southern peninsula of India and the Northern part of the Island of Ceylon and indirectly the cause of the then improved state of the agriculture of that part of the island," (Ceylon Literary Register, 1931, 3rd series, p91).

The trade with Persia had a particular significance for Ceylon as it appears to have been her main source of foreign exchange. Valentyn says in Volume 1 page 679 of his book on "Ceylon", "The frequentation between Ceylon the Malabar with Persia is considerable, not only for the consumption of Pepper, Cinnamon, Cardamon, which are exported and produces great advantages, but also for the ready cash which Ceylon receives for the same from Persia - above all other hundreds of necessary things of which Ceylon is in want of, which you will perceive on looking over the annual invoices and it is therefore most essential to keep a strict and narrow correspondence with Persia".

The information on commerce provided by Valentyn would appear to indicate that Ceylon and South India formed a trade unit based on the barter system.

Mannar was the centre of the commercial world from very ancient times till the arrival of the European powers in Ceylon. This pattern finally changed in the 19th century with the opening of the coffee and then tea estates in the central regions of Ceylon with Indian labour and Colombo became the main port of Ceylon and North Ceylon which was in a very developed state gradually declined with the decimation of the peoples in the Wannai areas due to wars of attrition between and with competing foreign powers, pestilence, introduced by the unlimited indenture of Indian labour to Ceylon through Mannar, and on which is founded the entire affluence of modern Ceylon. The inestimable value of indentured Indian labour to sustain the economy of Ceylon can be gauged from the fact that even till recently as 1936 a proposal by N.M. Perera in the State Council to prohibit indenture of Indian labour was opposed by our political leaders inclusive of four Prime Ministers of Ceylon (D.S. Senanayake, Dudley Senanayake, Kotelawala and Bandaranaike).

A historical document of the greatest importance pertaining to the territory occupied by the Tamil language is the despatch sent by Brownrigg to the Government in England in 1813. This communication is today of the greatest significance to the Tamil language in Ceylon, as by this document is established, by the highest authority of the land, the territory of the Tamil people and their language and its parity with the other national language of Ceylon, namely the Sinhalese language.

Brownrigg while pointing out that the Malabar language was spoken from Puttalam to Batticaloa informed the Government of England that he was putting the Tamil language on equal footing with the Sinhalese language. This clearly indicates that the Tamil people and their language occupied a distinct area; however, the language question has been the greatest single political problem in Ceylon in recent years after independence, (Sunderalingam, "Eylom", p38).

The question arises as to why no such problem has arisen in respect of the languages of the minorities in India. No such problem has arisen in India as the leaders have realised that the minorities have as much right to use their language for all purposes in their areas as the majority people in their areas and as a union form of government prevails in India, where states have been carved out on a linguistic basis.

What calls for special comment is that these linguistic states were carved out after India was given its independence, by the Independence Act of 1947, with the concurrence of the Constituent Assembly. In fact, in British times the administrative units were formed as and when areas were conquered, which resulted in multi-lingual administrative units.

This is an aspect of matter which engaged Nehru's attention as early as 1933 when he was in prison. Writing to his daughter he says in his book, "Glimpses of World History", "Perhaps you know that the National Congress unlike the British Government, has divided India on the basis of languages. This is far better, as it brings one kind of people speaking one language and generally having similar customs into one provincial area. The congress provinces in the south in the Andhra Desa or the Andra province in Northern Madras, where Telugu is spoken. Tamil or the Tamil province where Tamil is spoken, Karnakula, which is the south of Bombay and where Kannada or Mannarese is spoken, and Kerala which corresponds roughly with Malabar, where Malayalam is spoken.

There can be no doubt that, in future provincial divisions of India a great deal of attention will be paid to the language of the area.

Hindustani is understood in most parts of India. It is likely to become the common language of India. But this, of course, does not mean that, the other principal languages, which I have mentioned above should disappear. They should certainly remain as provincial languages, for they have fine literatures and one should never try to take away a well developed language from a people. The only way for a people to grow, for their children to learn, is through their language.

In Ceylon on the contrary the administrative units were composed of unilinguistic areas, even in British times. The North and East, Tamil, and the rest of the Island, Kandyan and Low Country, Sinhalese. In fact the census of 1824 was prepared on this basis.

It gives the population figures under the following headings:

- Malabar Districts - Batticaloa, Trincomalee, Jaffna, Mannar Islands - 195697.
- Kandyan Districts - 256835.
- Sinhalese Districts - Colombo, Galle, Tangalle, Chilaw - 399408.

What is now happening in Ceylon is to ignore the position Tamils and their language enjoyed as a distinct entity in Ceylon for numerous centuries and even as late as 1958.

The solution is, as pointed out sometime back by a Minister of the present government, parity. He has quite correctly observed that it was unwise and unstatesmanlike to go against parity and that parity was the solution ("Towards a New Era", p429).

THE PANDYANS

In this article I am giving reference to various writers who have referred to the Pandyan Kingdom of India. This was an ancient Kingdom in the south east of India and nearest, in fact a few miles, to Ceylon.

Walkers, (Hindu World, p180), refers to this kingdom "as an ancient non-Aryan Tamil Kingdom at the extreme southern tip of the Indian Peninsula..... The traditions of their origin from the Epic Pandu is not regarded as acceptable to scholars.

Megasthenes notes a legend according to which Heracles placed South India under the rule of his daughter Pandaia. The sanskrit epics speak of this region as foreign territory. In the Mauryan period the Pandya Kingdom was outside the limits of Asoka's empire, but is mentioned in one of his inscriptions. The flourishing Pandya port of Korkai (or Kelkai) not far from Tuticorin was known to Greeks and Romans. Strabo mentions an embassey sent to Augustus Caesar about 29 BC by a king named Pandion, was probably a Pandya ruler."

It is possible that the people of this ancient kingdom were descended from the peoples of the Indus Valley civilization. Wolpert, ("India," p6), says "There is good reason to believe that the present Dravidians of Southern India are descended from the people whose monumental urban civilisation in the Indus Valley was conquered by Aryan invaders some where between 2300 and 1500 BC. We know quite a bit about the highly sophisticated, technologically advanced culture of these Indus Valley dwellers..... Unfortunately however we still can't read the pictographic script on Harappan seals..... The early Aryans, on the other hand, have left records of their society..... These Aryan "books" (the Vedas)..... provide such illuminating historical information, including references to fierce battles against "dark stained" enemies, who were found in fortified cities and conquered. Though many of the pre-Aryans of the Indus Valley were thus overwhelmed by Aryan tribesmen, other peoples fled southward across the Vindhya....

That India was populated by Dravidians in the north of India also has been pointed out by Mendis, ("Early History of Ceylon), Nehru, (Glimpses of World History), and scholars of repute, as for example, Burrows, Boden professor for Sanskrit, Oxford. The eminent philologist, scholar, and statesman of North India, Chatterji, has in fact pointed out in an article pertaining to the ethnology of India that the entire north west of India was of Dravidian speech when the Aryans entered India in about 1500 B.C.

This can also be inferred from what is pointed out in the Imperial Gazetteer of India, (Vol.1, p378), "The Dravidian race is widely spread over India, but all the members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the north many of them have been completely Aryanised and have adopted the language of their conquerors while they have retained their ethnic characteristics."

Wolpert, (India, p31), has mentioned the interesting fact pertaining to the Indus Valley people "Though no great "temple" has yet been located, one may well have existed directly under the Buddhist shrine still standing above Mohenjodara, for immediately adjacent to the sacred ground lies the great "bath", a huge hypocaustically heated tank of brick, much like the water tanks found to this day beside Hindu temples all over India. Ritual ablution, a vital part of daily Hindu worship, may date from the pre-Aryan days of Harrapa".

This observation has special significance for the Hindus of Ceylon and would appear to receive confirmation from the fact that the "Abhayagiri Dageba stands on the site of a Hindu temple and Hindu institutions. This fact has been attested by Malalasekera, ("Pali Literature") and Harischandra ("Sacred City, Anuradhapura"), The twin pokunas (Tanks) in the vicinity of this dageba would appear to have been a part of the Hindu temple that was destroyed.

Further confirmation of the providing of facilities at Anuradhapura for the performance of ritual baths is provided by the Mahawamsa, (Turnour's Translation, published 1837, p64), where it is pointed out "In the reign of Senindagutta, the demilas to ensure cleanliness which attends bathing, considering the river to be too remote for that purpose, forming an embankment across it, brought its stream near the town." Apparently this refers to the construction of a channel or the diversion of a river towards a temple for the performance of ritual ablutions.

The Pandyan Kingdom has made a special contribution to Ceylon in that it provided her with Ceylon's first queen. It is also significant that the last few queens were also from Madura, then under the Nayakars, according to Dolapahilla in his book on Sri Wickramarajasingha.

Reference to the first Pandyan queen of Ceylon has also been made by Geiger, (Mahawamsa, p59, foot note 1) where he refers to the Madura mentioned in the Mahawamsa as the Madura in the South of the Madras Presidency.

Paul Pieris has also referred to this subject. He says, (Sinhala and the Patriots, p7), "Medura known to the Romans as Regnum Pandionis, had lost its position as the centre of Dravidian culture which it enjoyed in the days of Agastya when its Sangattar, University Board, was the ultimate tribunal in matters of scholarship. The Royal family which supplied Vijaya with his consort was destroyed by the Moslem invasion, but in 1420 a Hindu Dynasty, that of the Nayakas, was again established, and acknowledging the overlordship of Vijayanagara reached its zenith under Tirumala Nayaka (1623 - 1662) whose architectural works remain his impressive memorial". Madura is actually shown in Ptolemy's map of India, (C.100 AD), and described as "Modura Regia Pandionis".

The earliest capital of the Pandians was at Kolkai at the mouth of the river Tambraparni, (Imperial Gazetteer of India, Vol.23, p216, Mendis, "Early History of Ceylon").

This solves the question of the reference in the Mahawamsa to the ambassadors that they went by ship to Madura. I have dealt with this in my article "Kolkie" where I have pointed out "The Mahawamsa clearly refers to Madura as the Madura in Southern India but says the ambassadors reached the place by ship. It is now clear that the capital of the Pandians, (Madura when the Mahawamsa was written in the 5th century A.D.), was then actually Kerkie which was on the coast before sitting took place".

The reference to ambassadors "were quickly come by ship" to their destination, at Verse 51 page 59 of the Mahawamsa, (Geiger's Translation), is also an indication of the proximity of this Pandyan port to Ceylon.

Further confirmation of the fact that the first capital of the Pandians was on the coast of India is furnished by Coomarasamy, (RASCB 1895, Vol.14, No.46, p18), in a paper pertaining to "Ancient Tamil Literature", read by him, where he states, "Amongst the members of the first Sangam were Agastya, during the reigns of eighty nine Pandya kings, beginning with Kaysinavaluti and ending in the region of Kadunkon, when the city of Madura - not modern Madura, but another in the southernmost part of India was submerged in the sea....."

The third and last Sangam was established by the Pandya king Mudattirumaranat at Madura (Modern Madura) which was called Uttara (northern) Madurai, to distinguish it from Southern Madura, which was destroyed by the sea".

This confirms that the Mahawamsa actually refers to the capital, when it was on the southern coast of India so as to distinguish it from the modern Madura that is northern Madura, at the time when the Mahawamsa was written.

This early contact between Anuradhapura and the Pandyan at South India from the time of Wijeya can also be inferred from what Fernando, University of Ceylon Review, Vol.7, No.4, pp222, 283, 284, 295), says "A close parallel to the early Brahmi records of Ceylon is offered by some interesting Brahmi records in South India..... Pandya country. So alike those at Mihintale, Vassagiriya and such other ancient sites. Also bedsteads like at Mihintale and Vassagiriya".

Inscriptions at Arikamedu in South India same as Brahmi of early cave records and assigned to the 1st and 2nd century A.D. Scribes same in India and Ceylon and differing from those who carved records of Asoka, was existing in South India and Ceylon and practicing its arts even before time of Asoka.

The question also as to whether the Pandyan were Aryans has engaged the attention of scholars. Welpert referred to above has pointed out that the tradition of their origin from the Epic Pandu is not regarded as acceptable to scholars. The historical and geographical background of the Pandyan Kingdom has been dealt with by B.C. Law. In view of the well authenticated manner in which this subject has been dealt with by Law. I am quoting the entire reference to this subject in his work "Historical Geography of Ancient India, pages 180 - 181, where he states, "The Pandya country to which Panini refers in his Astadhyayi (4.1.171) comprised Madura and Tinnevelly districts (S.I.I., I, pp51, 59, 63, etc.). According to Ptolemy it was known as Pandion with Madura as its royal city (McCrinkle, Ancient India as described by Ptolemy, Majumdar Ed. p.183). It was conquered by Rajendra Coda. The Pandyan Kingdom also comprised Travancore in the 1st century of the Christian era. Originally it had its capital at Kolkai on the Tamraparni river in Tinnevelly, and its later capital was Madura (Daksina Mathura). In the Mahabharata and in many Jatakas the Pandus are spoken of as the ruling race of Indraprastha. Katyayana in his Varttika derives Pandya from Pandu. The country of the Pandyas is also mentioned in the Ramayana (Iv, Ch.41), where Sugriva is said to have sent his money-soldiers in quest of Sita. In the Mahabharata (Sabhaparva, Ch.31, V, 17) it is stated that ~~as~~ Shahdeva, the youngest of the Pandu princes, went to the Dakshinapatha after having conquered the king of the Pandyas.

Puranas also refer to the Pandyas (Markandeya, Ch.57, V. 45; Vayuk 45, 124; Matsya, 112, 46). Asoka's Rock Edicts II and XIII mention the Pandyas whose territory lay outside his empire. Asoka was in friendly terms with the Pandyas who probably had two kingdoms, one including Tinnevelly on the south and extending as far north as the highlands in the neighbourhood of Coimbatore Gap, and the other including the Mysore State.

Strabo (XV, 4, 73) mentions an embassy sent to Augustus Caesar by a king 'Pandion', possibly a Pandya of the Tamil country. (For further details, vide B.C. Law, Tribes in Ancient India, pp190 ff.)

The Jaina legends connect the sons of Pandu with the Pandya country of the south with Mathura of Madhura (modern Modoura) as its capital. Dr. Barnett rightly observes the 'Pandiyan, however, were not Pandavas, and the Jaina identification of the two dynasties is probably based on popular etymology. A like attempt to connect the two families occurs in the Tamil chronicle given in Taylor's Oriental Historical MSS. (Vol. I, pp195 ff) which states that Madura at the time of the Bharata war was ruled by Babhruvahana, the son of Arjuna by the daughter of the Pandiyan king of Madura. The Mahabharata on the other hand makes Babhravana, the son of Arjuna by Citrangada, the daughter of Citravahana, the king of Manipura'.

The association of the Pandiyas of the south with the Surasenas of Mathura and the Pandus of northern India is probably alluded to in the confused statement of Megasthenes (Tribes in Ancient India, p190; Raychandhuri, Political History of Ancient India, 4th ed. p272; McCrindle, Ancient India (Megasthenes and Arrian), pp163 - 164). In the Pali Chronicles of Ceylon the Pandiyas are invariably represented as Pandus or Pandu (Mahavamsa, Ch.VII, V. 50; Dipavamsa, Ch.IV, V. 41).

The distinction between the Pandya and the Cola divisions of the Tamil country is well known. Damila mentioned in the Nagarjunikonda Inscriptions of Virapurusatatta, is the Tamil country. According to the Mahavamsa, Vijaya married a daughter of the Pandu king whose capital was Madhura in South India. Madhura is Madura in the south of the Madras Presidency. Another capital was probably at Kolkai. The rivers Tampaparni and Kritamala or Vaigai flowed through it."

In this connection it is of interest and relevance to note that Parakramabahu one of Ceylon's greatest kings is also of Pandyan descent. Geiger, (Culture of Ceylon in Medieval Times, p20), says "Vijayabahu I, 1059 - 1114, wedded his younger sister Mitta to Panduraja (59.41). The name shows that the husband was an offspring of the royal family of the Pandu kingdom. Manabharana was the son of Panduraja and Mitta, and Manabharana's son was Parakkamabahu the Great, who therefore on his grandfather's side had Dravidian blood in his veins." And at page 19, in reference to Vijaya's marriage he says "we also learn from the chronicle (Mhvs.7. 48 sq) that messengers were sent by Vijaya to Madhura, the capital of the Dravidian Pandu kingdom, South India, to woo a daughter of the king for himself and other girls as wives for his companions, and we are told that they came to the Island, and, together with them craftsmen and members of the various guilds.

This is an interesting fact, and it is not improbable that there is some truth in it. For the new colony was no doubt in want of such help and it is easy to understand that they were fetched from South India which geographically was the nearest civilised country." In this connection please see the reference by Fernando, to the early contact between this Pandyan country and Anuradhapura, already quoted by me.

The word Taapaparni which has been mentioned above as referring to a river in Tinnevely in India is of interest. It would appear to me that this river has not been known locally as Tambraparni. I have not seen this name given to this river in the maps except, as far as, I am aware in McGraw-Hill atlas. Even where a map shows this name, it would appear to have been given from information obtained otherwise than on the ground.

I am inclined to agree with the Manual of Madras Presidency, Vol.1, Page 1, where in a footnote it is pointed out "The Tamraparna division of the Navakhandia and the Taprobane of the Greeks are one and the same indicating Ceylon. The name meaning in the sanskrit (copper leaved) is again in all probability a corruption by Sanskrit Travellers of Poruni which also means toddy. The river in Tinnelveli called by the Sanskrit authors Tambrapurny, like the Ceylon island, is called to this day by the Tamils Poruni or the toddy river; which appears decisive of the point. Tambrapurny is not known to the real Tamuls of Tinnevely. The Greeks called this river Solen or chank river but not Taprobane. Later sanskrit authors have erroneously derived the division of the Navakhandia from this small river instead of this island. The latter was its true derivation". Apparently the confusion has been the creation of some sanskrit writers who had no knowledge of the local geography.

The reference to the Greeks calling this river Solen is apparently to Ptolemy's Geography of India, which is a remarkably accurate document, a subject I have dealt with in my work "Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography". This river has been described by Ptolemy as Solen, even though he has given one of the ancient names of Ceylon as Taprobane, which is supposed to be derived from Tambraparni. I may mention that I however do not think that the Taprobane of the Greeks for Ceylon is derived from Tambraparni. I have dealt with this point in detail in my work "Ceylon in Retrospect".

However, the Manual Madras Presidency, has stated that this river is actually called "Chank" river. Investigations of this point has now revealed that Ptolemy is correct and has also solved the question raised about 80 years ago by McCrindle, (Ancient India, Ptolemy, p59), "The Tamraparni is the chief river of Tinneveli..... In Tamil poetry it is called Porunnei. Its Pali form is Tambapanni. How it came to be called Solen remains as yet unexplained."

That Solen actually means "Chank" as pointed out in the Manual Madras Presidency is confirmed by the fact that according to the Oxford English Dictionary, (Vol. 10, p395), Latin Solen means shell fish. It is also pointed out that it is

cylindrically elongated. The fact that the mouth of this river has been famous for Chanks accounts for the fact that it is called Chunk river, and, the description of the river as Solen by Ptolemy, according to geographical information obtained locally, (*Imperial Gazetteer of India, vol 23, p 216*).

Further evidence to support the view that this river was not known as Tambraparni would appear to be provided by Asoka's Rock Edicts. Law has pointed out, (*Indological studies, Part I, Second Edition, p 48*), in reference to the word Tamraparni, "Vincent Smith thinks that the term does not denote Ceylon but merely indicates the river Tamraparni in Tinnevely. He refers to the Girnar text "a Tambaparni" which according to him, indicates that the river is meant and not the island of the same name. Ray Chaudhuri contends that the phrase "a Tambaparni" in Rock Edict II comes after "Ketalaputto as far as the Tamraparni" is hardly appropriate because the Tambraparni is a Pandya river. In R.E. XIII the people of Tamraparni are expressly mentioned as Tamraparnyas. In this edict Tambraparni or the country of the Tamraparnyas is placed below Pandya. In the great epic too the country of Tambraparni is placed below Pandya or Dravida and Mount Vaiduryaka is mentioned as its rocky landmark. The asramas of Agastya and his disciple and the Gekarna tirtha are located in it. These facts enable us to identify Tamraparni with Hinen Tsang's Malaya-kuta also placed below Dravida with Mount Potalaka (Vaiduryaka) as its landmark. By Tamraparni or Taprobane Ceylon is meant, the word dvipa or island is associated with it. In one of the Nagarjunikande inscriptions Tambaparna is clearly distinguished from the island of Tambaparni." If we accept that this river was never known as Tamraparni except by some writers based on a misconception, the question raised by Vincent Smith would not have arisen at all.

Reverting to the subject of the Pandys, it is of interest and relevance to note that Caldwell, (*A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian, p 111*) has pointed out that the Aryan immigrants to the south appear to have been generally Brahmanical priests and instructors, rather than Kshatriya soldiers, and, that the kings of the Pandyas, Cholas, Kalingas and other Dravidians to have been Dravidian chieftains.

DRAVIDIAN NAVIGATION AND TRADE

In this article I am referring to various authorities who have testified to the influence exerted by Dravidians in South Asia, South East Asia and Europe in the field of Navigation and Trade.

Evidence appears to have been found in Harappa which establishes the existence of trade between Kerala and Harrappa. This evidence dates this trading activity as early as about 2500 B.C.

The fact that names of unknown articles which arrived in Europe before 500 B.C. are Dravidian also indicates the antiquity of Dravidian trade and navigation.

Ancient maritime activity in South East Asia has been noticed by Nehru, Gerini and others.

During the Portugese wars in Ceylon, Dravidian soldiers from Ceylon and India, as well as, Dravidian naval assistance, was made available to the beleaguered Sinhalese kingdom.

Referring to Indian trade and colonisation Nehru points out, (Glimpses of World History, p.103). "The South naturally looked more to sea than the North. Most of the foreign trade was with the South and Tamil poems are full of references to, 'Yavana' wines and vases and lamps, 'Yavana' was chiefly used for Greeks, but perhaps vaguely for all foreigners. The Andhra coins of the second and third centuries bear the device of a large two-masted ship, which shows how very much interested the old Andhras must have been in ship-building and sea trade.

It was the South, therefore, which took the lead in a great enterprise which resulted in establishing Indian Colonies all over the islands in the East. These colonising exertions started in the first century after Christ and they continued for hundreds of years".

The names Oriza (Rice) and Zingiber occur in Ptolomy's Geography of Ceylon dated about 100 AD. It is of interest to note in this connection that names of spices used by Greek and Roman writers, as pointed out by Mendis are of Dravidian origin, (History of India, Vol.2, p598, edited by Sastri).

Kennedy in a contribution to JRASGB (1898) has pointed out that all unknown articles which reached Europe before 500 BC had Dravidian names, while Rhys David has pointed out (Buddhist India p50) "Merchants who traded between India and Babylon mostly Dravidians not Aryans such Indian names as adopted in the west of goods imported Dravidian not Sanskrit or Pali", and Schoff (Periplus of the Erythraen Sea, p229), has pointed out that sea trade was principally Dravidian development in the Old world.

Mookerji of the University of Calcutta quotes Foulkes as saying "The fact is now scarcely to be doubted that the rich oriental merchandise of the days of King Hiram and King Solomon had its starting place in the sea ports of Deccan and that with a very high degree of probability of some of the most esteemed of spices which were carried into Egypt by the Mediantish Merchants of Genesis XXX Vii, 25, 28 and by sons of the Patriarch Jacob (Gen:XLiii.ii) had been cultivated in the spice gardens of Deccan"..... He observes further "The labours of Von Bohlen confirming these of Lassen have established the existence of Maritime Commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of humanity". More interesting and reliable information regarding some of these South Indian ports is supplied by the Tamil literature of the times in which are contained descriptions of magnitude and magnificence which cannot fail to bring home to our minds the throbbing international life prevading entire Tamilakam".

Heeren has observed in his historical works "upwards of 300 years before Christ, and consequently of nine hundred years before the time of Cosmas, the island of Ceylon and above all the northern part, together with the channel which divides it from the Indian continent, was the seat of a very active and opulent trade".

Referring to Kaveripumpattinam K. V. Raman in an article "Excavations at Pampuhar" refers to it as "the celebrated part of the Early Cholas, is now an insignificant fisherman's hamlet on the eastern coast of Tamilnad, where the river Kaveri joins the sea. Its flourishing commerce, its well planned lay out, beautiful mansions, the harbour area, religious centres etc., are all eulogised in early Tamil works like the Silappadikaram, the Manimokhalai and the Pattinappalai....."

Gerinias pointed out, (Researches on Ptolomy's Geography of Eastern Asia), "It is now well known, in fact, that early before Ptolomy's and Marine's time not only Syrian, but also Parthian, Arab and Alexandrian merchants, outdistancing the exploits of the Phoenicians and Chaldeans, the western world's pioneers in Eastern navigation, and, following in the wake of the Dravidians of Southern India, to whom belongs the honour of having first opened the sea route leading to the Chinese sea and founded mercantile settlements all over the coast of the Far East...."

The assistance given by the Dravidians to the Kandyan people can be inferred from what Abeysinghe says in his book "Portugese Rule in Ceylon", "While the Portugese were receiving reinforcements from Goa or other sources, Vimaladharmasuriya was not fighting a lone war. Assistance for him came from the Nayak of Madura and the king of Meliapur. Their aid took the form of contingents of Vadugai troops, who, according to the Portugese writers, were some of the best fighting men in India at the time.... Their aid reached Kandy through the ports of Mannar, Puttalam and Trincomalee and the Kingdom of Jaffna..... "

While Spittel, (Times of Ceylon Annual, 1968), has pointed out, "In 1518 the Portugese arrived with an armada and built a store of stone and mortar on a headland jutting into the sea, and equipped it with artillery. The stores had now come a fortress

The King of Kotte resented this. Aided by the Moors he attacked and beseiged the fort with an overwhelming force,

This was the beginning of a long series of hostilities in which the Sinhalese and Muslims, supported by the fleets and soldiers of the powerful Rajah of Calicut, strove hard to drive the Portugese from the Island without success".

Referring to the North of Ceylon, Bertelacci, who was an Auditor General of Ceylon in his book on Ceylon says "I suppose that, in remote antiquity, the coasting trade, from one half of Asia to the other half, must have passed through the Straits of Mannar; and that, consequently, a great comperium was formed on the coast of Ceylon opposite to it..... Many merchants from Persia and Arabia, from Surat and the Malabar coast, would prefer disposing of their goods at those places of depot, and returning home with their ships laden with the produce of Coromandel, and of the countries near or beyond the Ganges. Hence, numerless establishments must necessarily have been formed at and near Mannar, for the convenience of many trading nations Hence the cause of a great population near Mantotte and Aripo; - hence the origin of an extensive cultivation around the Giant's Tank".

K.L. Bernhard in an article on trade from the ports of Kerala has pointed out "It can be presumed that when civilised centres of Mohenjo Daro and Harappa were engaged in foreign trade, the products of Kerala passed through them to Persia and Babylonia both by land and sea. A pictograph picked up at Mohenjo Daro roads, "Karnugil Malayalam Nadu", i.e. the land of Malabar having rain clouds. This brings to light the trade relations between Kerala and the Indus Valley in 3000 B.C. The coffin discovered at Harappa is supposed to have been made of rosewood from Kerala.

The sea borne trade of India was then confined to the coastal regions, from Kerala to the Indus "Valley and thence to the Red Sea; and teak was the main article of export. Among the ruins of the city of Mugheir built in 3000 B.C. by Urea, the Babylonian King, a piece of Indian teak was discovered (Hibbert Lectures, p136). This is confirmed by the historian Rawlingson. "Logs of Indian teak have been discovered in the temple of the Moon at Mugheir and in the palace of Nebuchadnezer, 3000 B.C."

I must however point out that as the Indus Valley script has still not been satisfactorily deciphered the translation of the pictograph referred to by Bernhard cannot be taken as conclusive.

Walker, (Hindu World, Vol.1, pp299-300), has pointed out, in reference to the Dravidians, "Being an adventurous and seafaring people the Dravidians were in a good position to maintain contact with foreign shores. They taught the Aryans who succeeded them much of the art of navigation, a fact attested by the occurrence in Sanskrit of numerous nautical terms of Dravidian origin. Subsequent Indian colonisation overseas, notably of Hinterindia, was almost exclusively a Dravidian achievement".

It is hoped that the shipping of Peninsular India and North Ceylon will once again establish its ancient influence over the Indian Ocean, and restore a tradition that existed over the centuries.

BANGLADESH & MAINLY DRAVIDIAN

The Tamils of Tamil Nad, of Ceylon, who were the first people in the World, Asiatic or European, besides the people of India, to back the cause of Bangladesh, will be glad to know that the people of Bangladesh are mainly a dravidian people and would have still been as much Dravidian as the Tamils of Ceylon, were it not for the penetration of East Bengal by the Mongols.

Bengal which is now divided into East and West Bengal was known in ancient times as Vanga. The Dravidian language of West Bengal was influenced linguistically by the Indo-Aryan language introduced into West Bengal from North West India. This explains the Indo-Aryan character of the language of the people of Bengal.

The reference to Vanga as the ancient name of Bengal is of particular interest to Ceylon as this is the country of Wijaya's grand father, according to the Mahawamsa, while Kalinga the adjoining country, a dravidian area, which was once ravaged by Asoka, was the country of his grandmother, also according to the Mahawamsa, Geiger's translation, chapter VI, Verse 1.

The Sinhalese who arrived in Ceylon from the North East and North West of India would have had therefore a language already influenced by the Indo-Aryan languages, but after arrival in Ceylon there has been much intercourse with purely South Indian peoples. This accounts for the considerable Dravidian element in the Sinhalese language. That the Sinhalese language has been considerably influenced by the Tamil language has also been pointed out by Mendis and Godakumare.

The following extracts from authentic sources and authorities bearing on this subject are of interest and relevance.

The Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol.1, pp303, 304, 378),

"after the first swarm of Indo-Aryans had occupied the Punjab, a second wave of Aryan-speaking people, the remote ancestors of the Arya-Dravidians of today, impelled by some ethnic upheaval, or driven forward by the change of climate in Central Asia, made their way into India through Gilgit and Chitral and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and Jumna, the sacred Middle-land (Madhyadesa) of post-vedic tradition. Here they came in contact with Dravidians..... The type of the people now dwelling in the Middle-land is precisely what might have been expected to result from the incursion of a fairly long headed race, travelling by a route which prevented women from accompanying them, into a land inhabited by dark-skinned Dravidians. The men of the stronger race took to themselves the women of the weaker, and from these unions was evolved the mixed type which we find in Hindustan and Bihar. The degree of intermixture necessarily varied:

at one end of the scale the type approaches the Indo-Aryan, at the other it almost merges in the Dravidian."

"When we leave Bihar and pass eastward into the steamy rice fields of Bengal, the Indo-Aryan element thins out rapidly and appears only in a sporadic form. The bulk of the population is Dravidian, modified by a strain of Mongoloid blood which is relatively strong in the east and appreciably weaker in the west."

"The Dravidian race is widely spread over India, but all the members of it do not speak Dravidian languages. In the north many of them have become completely Aryanized, and have adopted the language of their conquerors while they have retained their ethnic characteristics".

Walker, ("Hindu World", pp 585, 444) "The Dravidian were the main vernaculars of India before the Aryan advent and Dravidian elements are still found in the regional tongues of western India from Gujerat to Coorg and in several north Indian forms of speech".

"Hindi as we know it today is the product of the 19th century."

Mendis, "The Early History of Ceylon, p 9), "At the time Aryans entered India, the Dravidians occupied not only south India but also greater part of India..... There is evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era Dravidians helped to form the Sinhalese race....."

It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Sinhalese language not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure shows the influence of Tamil so strongly, and why the Sinhalese caste system is so similar to the caste system of South India."

Geiger, (Medieval Culture of Ceylon), "From the beginning of the colonisation a racial mixture surely took place in Ceylon on the one hand with the aboriginal inhabitants of this land and on the other hand with Dravidians of South India."

Malalasekera, (Pali Literature of Ceylon), "Intimate relations existed between the Tamils of the Dekhan and Sinhalese settlers from quite an early period Intimate intercourse and consanguinity were thus established from the remotest times."

Godakumbare, (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II), says, "Tamil influenced not only the structure of the Sinhalese language, but also its grammatical terminology....."

There is evidence in Sinhalese literary works to show that the Tamil language and its literature were studied in the colleges of Mediaeval Ceylon

Chatterji, "Tamil Culture", Vol.8, 1959, pp 301, 309, 310), "Anthropological, ethnological, and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people, we may regard the Pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Punjab culture as being of Dravidian speech. The proximity of the Dravidian-speaking Brahui's to Sindh and Punjab lands some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C.

It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards. Some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan are from this source, showing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan.

All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language has changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austric and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before is due primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech habits, and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so as to say, the native speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little the approximation became complete. The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages as speeches of backward "Aboriginals" (Adibasas) are slowly preceding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryans: e.g. In the Kol speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibetan-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurbu speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the last Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Punjab and Gangetic India, in a land of Dasas, Dasyas and Sudras of Nishadas and Nagas and of Kiratas. By the middle of the first millenium B.C., the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha, was mainly Aryan-speaking with islands of Dasa or Sudra (i.e. Dravidian) and Nishadar or Naga (or Austric) speech in the countryside and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali Jataka, for instance, of Candala villages in Northern India, where only the non-Aryan Candala speech, whatever it was, was spoken".

The reference to non-Aryan languages slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryans is of interest, as this is what is happening to the Tamil language, between Negombo and Puttalam today and would happen to the Tamil language in what is left of Tamil Nad, i.e. the Northern and Eastern Provinces, unless the Tamil language, which had already been recognised as an official language of Ceylon, by government, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhala votes, at time of independence negotiations, is specifically recognised in the body of the constitution as an official language of Ceylon, (Kearney, Communalism and language in the politics of Ceylon", p 63).

INDO - CEYLON CULTURAL CONTACTS

One is astonished to read of the total, non selective, ban, on the import of Tamil papers, magazines etc. from South India as Ceylon owes much to India, particularly South India, for her literary, cultural, and religious literatures.

This means that if an outright ban was imposed on such cultural contacts with India in ancient times, Ceylon would have lost much.

This intimate contact that Ceylon had with India (particularly South India) was broken only with the arrival of the European powers. One would therefore expect that now that both the Tamil race and the Sinhala race have freed themselves from colonial rule the close cultural union that obtained in ancient times would have been intensified. But contrary appears to be the case.

Even the prevalence of the Sanskrit language and Pali literatures can be traced to South Indians and South Indian Buddhist missionaries. This applies even to Sinhalese literature as they are largely derived from Tamil literatures according to Godakumbure, while knowledge of various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and South India was highly appreciated according to Geiger.

The following extracts from authoritative sources lend support to what I have stated above.

Hendis (Early History of Ceylon p 9)

"It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Sinhalese Language not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure shows the influence of Tamil so strongly and why the Sinhalese caste system is so similar to the caste system of South India".

Paranavitane (Art and Culture of the Sinhalese).

"The earliest type of the Buddha image known in Ceylon is that of the Andhra School. A life size Buddha image of marble, obviously of South Indian origin, has recently been unearthed at an ancient site of Ceylon. There is epigraphical as well as literary evidence to indicate that a brisk intercourse existed in this period between the Buddhists of Ceylon and their co-religionists in the Kistan Valley"

Paranavitane ("Ceylon Literary Register", Vol.I, 3rd series, p 49).

Referring to the formation of Committees for village administration he has pointed out that Ceylon is closely connected as regards its political institutions with South India.

Malalasekera (Pali Literature of Ceylon, p 148).

"The Tamils of South India, then as now were earnest students of Sanskrit Literature, and we may well presume that their existence in the island helped much in encouraging study of sanskrit in Ceylon.

And in reference to Pali grammar Malalasekera has pointed out at page 182 "That the grammar was work of a South Indian is supported by the fact that when after Megallana's grammar had superseded Kaseyana's authority, the reaction set in a century later in favour of elder author, it was led by a South Indian Buddapiya or Dipandara, with his grammar, the Rупpa - Siddhi".

Gedakumbure (Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, Vol. II).

"Tamil influenced not only the structure of the Sinhalese language, but also its grammatical terminology..... There is evidence in Sinhalese literary works to show that the Tamil language and its literature were studied in the colleges of Mediaeval Ceylon. The gnomic poetry of the Tamils appears to have had a considerable influence over similar compositions of the Sinhalese people..... The Lokopakaraya, a didactic poem by Ranagalle Thera of Tetogamuwa reads like translations of the couplets of the Tirunallur..... There are several Sinhalese ballads which have been derived from Tamil sources..... several popular plays owe their origin to South India..... A number of Sanskrit words, too, have been translated into Sinhalese through a Tamil version The Mahapadarangajakaya is the longest Sinhalese poem known so far..... the author himself says that he translated the story from Tamil. "Let us wise people not consider any fault in this (poem) which was formerly recited in Tamil and which I now put into Sinhalese The vetala-pancavin is another Sanskrit work which has come to Sinhalese through the medium of Tamil. Here, too, in the introduction (v.8) the author says that he derived his material from the works of Tamil Writers"

Geiger (Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon)

"Knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and South India was highly appreciated. The sons of distinguished families who were brought up by Parakkamabahu in his own palace were also instructed in the use of foreign languages (desabha saritaresu, 6. 9. 22). A Grand Thera from the Cola country was made Royal Teacher at the court of Parakkamabahu IV, 14th

century is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well versed in various tongues (nana - bhasa - visarada, 90. 80).

(The four languages to be studied in ancient Ceylon were Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese and Tamil.....)".

"During the reign of Mahanama in the 5th century A.D. Buddhagesa came from India to Ceylon, and, studied in the Maha vihara in Anuradhapura the Sinhalese commentaries under the guidance of the Thera Sanghapala. He composed the Visuddhimagga and translated some of the Elu commentaries into Pali.

The extensive post canonical Pali literature originates with his activity".

According to Dutt (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India) and Geiger (Mediaeval Culture of Ceylon), the Buddhist missionaries, Buddhagesa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapala are South Indians.

From the extracts quoted above it is clear that Ceylon should renew the cultural contacts it had with India for numerous centuries.

PRE-WIJEYAN DRAVIDIANS AND CEYLON

The following historical references attest to the existence of Dravidians in Ceylon prior to the arrival of Wijeya about 500 B.C.

They also include those that attest to the presence of Hinduism and Hindu temples in Anuradhapura prior to the advent of Buddhism. In fact one of the Dagebas stands on a site on which a Hindu temple stood before the Dageba was constructed.

Chatterji, (Tamil Culture, Vol.8, 1959, p 8301, 309, 210) says, "anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested the Prete Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people, we may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Punjab culture as being of Dravidian speech Dravidian was the speech of the entire north west, when the Aryans first entered India about 1500 B.C." This means whole of India from the very North to the very South was Dravidian in 1500 B.C. Also according to Burrows ("Sanskrit"), Nehru ("Glimpses of World History"), Mendis ("Early History of Ceylon"), not only South India but North India also was occupied by Dravidians before Aryans entered India in 1500 B.C. This means Dravidians were in South India and its environments 1000 years before Vijaya came to Ceylon in about 500 B.C.

Paul Pteris (RASCB, 28. No.72) 1919 p65), "It stands to reason that a country which is only thirty miles from India, and which would have been seen by fishermen every morning as they sailed to catch their fish would have been occupied as soon as the continent was peopled by men who understood how to sail.

I suggest that the North of Ceylon was a flourishing settlement centuries before Wijeya was born. I consider it proved that at any rate such was its condition before the commencement of the Christian Era.

Brehier, ("Ancient Irrigation" pt.3, pp18-19), says, "The extraordinary ancient irrigation system in the literal district of Mantai, Musali, and Nanaddan comprising the whole of the Mannar plain, offers indisputable evidence of the boldness of conception which characterised the more ancient practice of tank building in ancient times and of the fact that there must have been an immense population congregated for commercial and agricultural purposes, in a part of the Island which is now desert.

Sir Emmersion Tennent's very elaborate work establishes, beyond all doubt by reference to specific authorities, that Ceylon was a great mart in very ancient times for the interchange of traffic between the Eastern and Western world. Eminent authorities

demonstrate that the entrepot of this early trade was confined to the North Western shores of the Island. This part of Ceylon cannot but have been known to enterprising inhabitants of South India long before the Prince and his men from the Ganges accomplished a voyage to the Island.

The extensive ruins at Mantote must therefore have been the work of remotest times, constructed, may be, by the ancient Nagas or by early South Indian immigrants."

Law, (Pali Literature, PXX) says, "According to Edward Müller in early times it was North West Ceylon which was the seat of culture pointing to influence of South India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges Valley".

Mudaliyar Gunawardene, (RASCB, 1921, Vol. 28, No. 74, p57) says in reference to Wijaya and his men, "Be that as it may, we have but one assumption possible with regard to their race, that they were Dravidians, of the branch Kols or Kehls.

But it is claimed that Wijaya and his band were Bengalese. Even if the claim be allowed for what it is worth, Wijayan contingent would still be mainly Dravidian, with a slight admixture of Mongoleid and Aryan elements".

This is in agreement with Chatterji's view referred to above, as even North West of India was Dravidian when the Aryans entered India.

The following extract from the Imperial Gazetteer of India, (Vol.1, p304) confirms fully the views expressed above, "when we leave Bihar and pass eastward into the steamy rice fields of Bengal, the Indo-Aryan element thins out rapidly and appears only in sporadic forms. The bulk of the population is Dravidian."

☐ See below

Pieris, (Ceylon Daily News; 22/2/1919, pp1-6), "Every one must concede that the chief influence which has been exercised on the Sinhalese Court throughout its history was the Dravidian interests of South India. I am of opinion that long before the arrival of Wijaya, the country has been fully occupied by Dravidian Races. Do we realise that only thirty miles separate Point Pedro from the Indian coast, and what in the nature of things can be more reasonable to expect than that the teeming population of India crossed over in the earliest times and occupied the country. Take the case of Wijaya himself, when he desired to establish a Royal line, it was to Madura he turned for a consort. The herde of invasions swept over the country in succession, but throughout and till the very last that Dravidian influence made itself felt in the Island".

☐ Ellawala, (Social History of Early Ceylon, PP 155, 158), has pointed out "Brahminism was the earliest civilized religion in Ceylon, and in reference to Tamils of India" It is also believed that in the pre Aryan period the only country beyond the sea known to the people of the Tamil land ☐

"It is very difficult to think that anyone today invites us to accept the story of that old lute-player. For 2000 years ago, long before that lute-player was heard of, Jaffna was an important and flourishing district. Coins in abundance are being discovered indicating a flourishing condition of commerce not only in Roman times, but far anterior to that. I hope the Tamil people will realise that in truth there is buried in their sands the story of much more fascinating development than they had hitherto dreamed".

The force of what Peiris has stated above about Dravidians from South India coming to Ceylon long before Vijaya, can be appreciated from what Mendis and other authorities, referred to by me, have pointed out, namely, that Dravidians occupied not only Southern India but were also in North India before the Indo-Aryans entered India, which is about 1500 B.C. This means Dravidians were in South India for a thousand years before Wijaya is supposed to have arrived in Ceylon about 500 B.C.

Mendis (The Early History of Ceylon, p 9) "At the time Aryans entered India, the Dravidians occupied not only South India but also a greater part of North India It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Sinhalese language not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure shows the influence of Tamil so strongly and why the Sinhalese caste system is so similar to the caste system of South India".

Ariyapala, (Society in Mediaeval Ceylon, p 47), has pointed out that, Purohita wielded great influence in King's court - Institution of Purohita maintained to the last phases of Sinhalese kingdom - First Chaplain mentioned is Canda in the time of Pandukabhaya - Appointment of a Brahmin par excellence in keeping with Indian traditions", while Nicholas (University of Ceylon Review, p 259), has observed, "According to Paranavitana - Brahmanas held an honourable place in Society in these early days and some of them were in sympathy with Buddhist movement - Wijaya, Pandukabhaya, Devanampiya Tissa, had Brahmin purohitas - kings endowed Brahmin shrines in city and Brahmanas were generally people of influence and wealth".

According to the following authorities Hinduism and Hindu temples existed at Anuradhapura before the advent of Buddhism.

Malalasekera (Pali Literature of Ceylon), "Halls for Brahmins Tittharama, (Monastery for foreign religions), built by Pandukabhaya where Abhayagiri now stands".

Harischandra (Sacred City, Anuradhapura), points out, Abhayagiri dagoba stands on the site of a Hindu temple.

W. A. de Silva (JRASCB, Vol.28, 1919-21, p24) says, the first Buddhist shrines founded in Anuradhapura is Isurumuniya Rock Temple. Before it was converted to a vihare it was a temple of Gods.

Paranavitana, (JRASCB, Vol.31, No.82, 1929), "Mahawamsa in its account of the formation of Anuradhapura by Pudukabhaya in the 4th century B.C. mentions members of religious and public institutions established there by the monarch. The earliest inscriptions too, bear testimony to the presence of Brahmanas in Ceylon just after the introduction of Buddhism. They must therefore have been living in pre-Buddhist Ceylon too and the presence of the Brahmanas is evidence of the prevalence of their religious beliefs".

Chapman, (Transactions, RASCB, Vol.3, p472), has pointed out, "Similarity exists between these 1000 pillars and these which form part of some of the most important Hindu temples on the opposite coast.

Lowa-Maha-Paya^{aya} being the only one of its kind in the island coupled with striking dissimilarity to general character of Baudha temples afford fair ground to believe that Lowa-Maha-Paya is rather of Hindu than of Baudha origin".

Ferguson, (RASCB, Vol.vi, p259) referring to temples in South India, says, "The form of the temples in 5 stereys, each 1/5th less than one below it, is what we find at the seven pagodas and in all temples of Southern India; and more especially in the description of the nearly contemporary Maha-Lowa - Paya at Anuradhapura in Ceylon. It, however, had 9 stereys but each diminishing in the same ration".

The following extract from the views expressed by Geiger, (Ceylon in Mediaeval Times, pp164, 176, 177) also clearly indicates that the Hindu religion was recognised and honoured by the rulers of Ceylon from the very beginning to the very end, "the Brahmanas coming from Kalinga and Bengal imparted Visnuism and Sivaism and in the 3rd century B.C. Buddhism was preached in the island and soon became predominant since it was embraced by the ruling monarch as the official religion of the state..... In the Mahawamsa we shall see below, frequently controversies are reported between different Buddhist sects, but hardly any serious conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism up to the beginning of the modern era..... We know moreover that Brahmanas and Sumanas..... were equally supported by the ruler and it is a Buddhist priest by whom this is acknowledged and praised as a pious and meritorious work".

DRAVIDIANS AND CEYLON

In view of the criticisms of an adverse nature that have appeared in the press recently of the influence of Dravidian and South India culture on Ceylon, I shall be glad if you will be good enough to publish the following views expressed by knowledgeable persons on this subject.

Dr. C. E. Godakumbare, who retired as Archaeological Commissioner of Ceylon, has in a contribution on "Dravidian Element in Sinhalese" to the Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, Vol. 11, observed - "As early as 1821 Rasmus Rask identified Sinhalese as a speech belonging to the same class as Sanskrit and added that Tamil belonged to quite a different class. Since then the subject has been studied and discussed by various scholars and it is established beyond doubt that Sinhalese is an Indo-Aryan language. Dravidian languages have, however, had their influence on Sinhalese, chiefly through contact, and Tamil, being the language spoken by a large population in the neighbouring part of India, asserted a wide influence on the vocabulary grammar, and literature of the Sinhalese....."

A glance at the political history of Ceylon shows that on more than one occasion the island was under the domination of Tamil rulers. The long occupation of the greater part of Ceylon, including the capital, by the Celas during the first half of the eleventh century, more than anything else had a good deal to do in introducing the Tamil language, culture and literature among the Sinhalese people. It is from this period that we find the strongest traces of the influence of Tamil on Sinhalese; and this influence becomes wider after the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire, when people of Ceylon began to look up to Tamil culture as something superior and even began to adopt Tamil names and write their signatures in Tamil script. During the period of the later kings of Kandy the influence of Dravidian culture on Sinhalese reached its climax.

Tamil influenced not only the structure of the Sinhalese language, but also its grammatical terminology. In the oldest existing Sinhalese grammar, the Sidat Sangara (13th century), which for the most part adopts the methods and phraseology of the Sanskrit grammar ^{ian}, there are certain passages which clearly display its indebtedness to Tamil.....

There is evidence in Sinhalese literary works to show that the Tamil language and its literature were studied in the colleges of medieval Ceylon.....

The gnomic poetry of the Tamils appears to have had a considerable influence over similar compositions of the Sinhalese poets. In the didactic poem Subhasatiya (late 16th century) there are several stanzas which have their prototype in Naladiyar

The author of the Subhasitaya himself in an introductory verse (No.4) says that he drew his material from Sanskrit and Pali as well as Tamil sources.....

The Lekepakaraya, a didactic poem by Ranasgalle Thera of Tetagamuwa (1800), contains several verses which read like translations of the couplets of Tiruvallur..... and it may be mentioned that the Lekepakaraya does not open with the usual adoration of the Triple Gem (The Buddha, Dhamma and the Sangha) as most of the Sinhalese poems do, or in any other conventional style, but it starts off with the statement, "In all the three worlds there is none greater than the Buddha", which reminds the reader of the opening lines of the Kural

There are also several Sinhalese ballads which have been derived from Tamil sources.

Several popular plays owe their origin to South India. The Sekarikathawa or Guruhatana is one of them. The very words kelegama and nadagama, denoting popular drams, have come to Sinhalese through Tamil

It will be shown later on that a great number of Sanskrit words have come to Sinhalese through a Dravidian medium. A number of Sanskrit works, too, have been translated into Sinhalese through a Tamil version. The story of the Mahabharata appears in Sinhalese verses under the title of Mahapadarangajatakaya. Evidently the author, being accustomed to Sinhalese poems dealing with stories from the Jatakas, turned this story into the shape of a Jataka. The Mahapadarangajatakaya is the longest Sinhalese poem known so far; it contains 1514 stanzas. According to the colophon it was completed in the year 1692 by a poet who came from the Kandy district. In one of the introductory verses (No.8) the author himself says that he translated the story from Tamil:- "Let us wise people not consider any fault in this (Poem) which was formerly recited in Tamil and which I now put into Sinhalese".

The proper names in the story appear in their Tamil form, for example, Aruccana (Skt Arjuna) V 138, Tiriyetana (Skt Duryodhana) V.158, Sittirasenam (Skt Citrasena) V.379, etc. etc.

The Vetalapanaavimsatika is another Sanskrit work which has come to Sinhalese through the medium of Tamil. Here, too, in the introduction (V.8) the author says that he derived his material from the works of Tamil writers:- "I here relate the story of the goblin, putting it with great effort into verse in the Sinhalese language, deriving the material from the compositions of Tamil scholars."

The close connection Ceylon has had with South India is also clear from the observations made by Dr. S. Paranavitarana in "Art and Culture of the Sinhalese", where he says "The earliest type of the Buddha image known in Ceylon is that of the Andhra school. A life size Buddha image of marble, obviously of South Indian origin, has recently been unearthed at an ancient site of Ceylon. There is epigraphical as well as literary evidence to indicate that a brisk intercourse existed in this period between the Buddhists of Ceylon and their co-religionists in the Kistan Valley".

He has also pointed out in a contribution to the "Ceylon Literary Register" that Ceylon was closely connected with South India as regards its social and political institutions.

The above receives confirmation from the historian Dr. G.C. Mendis, who in his book "Early History of Ceylon" points out "At the time Aryans entered India, the Dravidians occupied not only South India but also the greater part of North India.... There is evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era Dravidians helped to form the Sinhalese race..... It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Sinhalese language not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure shows the influence of Tamil so strongly and why the Sinhalese caste system is so similar to the caste system of South India".

It is clear from the views expressed above that the Sinhalese owe much to the Dravidians of South India for the formation of their race, culture, literature, drama and language.

SINHALESE AND TAMIL AREAS

The reference to the Sinhalese and Tamil areas which received prominence in the Senate recently has in fact been touched on by a very early historian of Ceylon at a time when the present political implications were not even remotely contemplated.

Ribeiro has in his book on Ceylon written about three hundred years ago observed, "They say that this island had seven kingdoms and I am not surprised at this; for even today on the coast of India the gentiles of each small province form a separate kingdom, as we see on the coast of Canara and Malavar....."

Turning to Ceilao the chief king and kingdom there were those of Cetta; this king the others revered with respect due to an Emperor..... This kingdom stretched along the sea from Chilao as far as Grevayas.....and embraced the best districts of the island, viz: the four Coralas, the whole of the kingdom of Dinavaca..... The kingdom of Uva the kingdom of Kandia ... The Kingdom of Ceitavaca The kingdom of the seven corals The kingdom of Chilao

These were the seven kingdoms which were usually said to make up the island of Ceilao without including the kingdom of Jaffnapatam although it is in the same island for this does not consist of chingalas but is a settlement of the Malavars and also the other kingdoms which used to exist there in ancient times, such as those at Batecalea, Trequilemale and Jaula, which have not been considered as such for many years

In the above context the following reference to the deed of gift made by King of Kette bequeathing Ceylon, excepting the Tamil Kingdom, to the King of Portugal, in 1580 A.D. by Ribeiro, is of interest, "The Emperor Dem Deao Paria Pandar conceived such an affection for the Portuguese that he would not leave them, but continued in Colombo till the year 1597 And when he felt that his hour was drawing near, he set about arranging his affairs In his will he declared that he had no son to succeed him in his kingdoms, and therefore he appointed the King of Portugal his universal heir to all of them, and thusé he became absolute lord of all the territories situated within the Island, only the Kingdoms of Candia and Uva belonging to Dona Catherina, while the kingdom of Jaffnapatae had its own native king"

It is also of interest to note in this connection that early in the 19th century the Supreme Court functioned in two different divisions, (Gazette, 6th August, 1810).

The two distinct divisions had its head quarters at Colombo, having jurisdiction over the districts of Colombo, Chilaw, Negombo, Cultura, Galle, Matura, Tangalle and Hambangtota presided over by the Chief Justice and at Jaffna, with jurisdiction over the districts of Jaffna, Mannar, Puttalam, Wanny, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa, presided over by the Puisne Justice.

LANGUAGE AND THE ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

The directive issued by the Minister of Justice that courts should function in Sinhalese reminds me of a very interesting study of this and other aspects of the law as applying in Ceylon by Justice L.B. Clarence in an article headed "The Administration of Justice IN CEYLON", reproduced below.

A perusal of this study will illustrate how necessary it is for a defendant to have his trial heard in his own language, and on laws based on local customs. It is remarkable that this point which has been stressed by Justice Clarence nearly a century ago has still not been adequately appreciated.

It is hoped the Minister of Justice will with equal speed and justice make the law function in the language of the people in the Tamil states of Ceylon also. In fact according to Justice Clarence all courts in India have functioned in the language of the area even in his own time.

Justice Clarence's reference to the Roman-Dutch Law prevailing in large areas of Ceylon where no Dutchman has set foot is very interesting and indicates the casualness with which the machinery for the discharge of such an important function as the dispensation of justice has come to operate in Ceylon.

I remember the question of how the Roman-Dutch law instead of the local laws, came to be solely operated in the south west littoral areas of Ceylon, was discussed at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society some time back. The general practice has been as pointed out by Paton, (The Commonwealth of Australia), "If colonies are obtained by conquest from a civilised race, then the accepted theory is that the old law remains in force until the conqueror abrogates it " It appeared to me then that it was due to the fact that this part of Ceylon was the least populated in the 16th century and much impregnated by immigrants from India. This was particularly so during the Dutch regime when practically the whole sea board from Chilaw to Devinuwara was a mass of cinnamen plantations and thousands of families sent far from home (Holland) to come and partake of the abundance," (Ceylon, Vol.2, Valentyn) and thereby converting the entire south west of Ceylon into a plantation colony which was a state monopoly and to this as pointed out by Justice Clarence can be traced the origin of the Roman-Dutch law in Ceylon. Many of the Sinhalese people would also have emigrated to the Kandyan territory during the Portugese-Dutch wars. The following observation by Raghavan, (India in Ceylonese History Society and Culture) has considerable significance in this context, "The fusion of the peoples is a phenomenon that occurred on a large scale in South of Ceylon and on the western littoral. Chronicles of the late Portugese times, refer to the cultivators as "Bellallas" which shows that no distinction existed between the Tamil Vallala and the Sinhalese Goigama Down to the early years of the present century. Vellala and Goigama are used synonymously in Sinhalese writings."

The instructions from the Governor-General of India to the Governor of Ceylon, (1656-1665) which in fact refers to the "sadly depopulated lands" on the western sea board, and also refers to the despatch of slaves from the coasts of South India for work on these plantations, further illustrates the concentration of non-Sinhala elements in these areas.

Probably it was because this area was so un-Sinhalese that the Kandyanans prayed in their memorial to the government, ("Ceylon", Marshall), "May all meet with generous consideration, as to save their country from dismemberment, and from being incorporated with the maritime district, so that it may continue to subsist in the ancient integrity as the kingdom of Kandy, and retain its celebrated name of Sinhala" and Nell observes, (RASCB, Vol.12, 1892), "when I was Queen's Advocate of Jaffna during the years 1863 to 1866 I had also been struck by the fact that the people along the western coast and throughout the Southern Province, upon inquiry after any offender who had absconded to the Kandyan provinces, always repeated that he had run away to "Sinhala" or the Sinhalese country, thus distinguishing themselves from the Sinhalese. And probably it was for the same reason that though six languages, (Ceylon Literary Register, Vol.2, 1932), Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Dutch, Portugese, Tamil were taught at the Colombo Seminary, the Sinhalese language was not taught.

A map prepared for the inspection of the Dutch Governor General of India, (Lands, Maps and Surveys, Brohier and Paulusz), clearly indicates the area colonised, from Chilaw to Devinuwara.

Even though the courts did not function in the language of the area in Ceylon the British recognised the value of their administrative officers, who also functioned as Judicial officers, knowing the languages of the major races in Ceylon. That is why not only the Europeans had to study Sinhalese and Tamil but the Ceylonese also, Sinhalese and Tamil, as the case may be. In fact in the early period of the British administration the Europeans had to acquaint themselves with the Portugese language also as this language was prevalent both in the Tamil and Sinhalese areas of Ceylon, ("Ceylon," Ludowyk).

As the Tamil and Sinhalese languages have for all practical purposes resumed the sovereign place which they enjoyed before conquest, in their respective areas and in their own right, with the formation of the Constituent Assembly drawn from the two sovereign races in Ceylon, the necessity for the civil and judicial administration of the respective Sinhalese and Tamil States, in their own languages is even more urgent. Also see the article "Free Again" in this context.

It is because the language and culture of an area was an important consideration that India, at the instance of the Indian Congress, carved out states mainly on language consideration ("Constitution of India," Tope), and converted multilingual provinces into unilingual states.

The Muslim-Hindu problem was solved by the creation of Muslim States (Pakistan). This in effect amounted to the carving out of unireligious states from multireligious provinces.

Fortunately these problems do not arise in Ceylon as the Northern and Eastern Provinces already constitute an unilingual (Tamil) and unireligious (Hindu) unit and the balance provinces an unilingual (Sinhalese) and unireligious (Buddhist) unit.

I am not aware of a single case, at least in modern history, where the language even of a conquered but civilised race has been abrogated, obliterated, ignored or neglected. All the languages in India enjoy official status at present in their areas. Even the all powerful Darius and that too two thousand five hundred years ago, instructed his "Scribes to write to his different provinces - India to Ethiopia according to writing thereof and unto every people after their own language," (RASGB, 1884).

In recent times the Dutch issued all their notices in three languages. It has been pointed out thus (Catalogue of Archives Dutch Government of Ceylon by Juriense), "Like any other well organised administration the central and the local governments of this island too issued proclamations and publications and orders which had to be observed by the general public. Dutch publications of this type are called "plakkaten" which means "affixed notices". They were posted up at the public buildings, as they are at the present day. This may explain why comparatively few of them have survived.

Before 1734, when the printing press started its work in this island, all notices drawn up in Dutch, Sinhalese and Tamil were in writing."

Article referred to

The Administration of Justice in Ceylon

by L. B. Clarence - Puisne Justice

(From "Law Quarterly Review", Jan. 1886, *The Ceylon Literary Register, Vols, 1890-1891*).

Many people suppose that Ceylon is under the government of India, and that is hardly surprising. Lying close to the continent of India, and inhabited by native races who emigrated originally from India, one would naturally suppose that whatever government might suit India would suit Ceylon also. In fact, the

small portion of Ceylon which the Dutch owned and ceded to England in 1796 was at first attached to the Madras Presidency; but an over-hasty interference with existing arrangements, coupled with intolerable rapacity and corruption on the part of imported Malabar officials caused the Sinhalese on the west coast to revolt; and before the century was out, Mr. Pitt determined that the dependency should thence forward be governed as a crown colony. Hence it is that Ceylon, instead of being governed as part of the great Indian Empire with which she has so much in common, shares the care of the colonial office with our West Indian possessions, the Australian colonies and other dependencies totally unlike herself. Advantages at once suggest themselves which Ceylon might have enjoyed, had she been allowed to share the government of her grand neighbour, instead of being governed by herself, on a little scale, under another department. In India, land settlement, Codes of Substantive Law and Procedure, and many other matters of legislation and government, have been contrived by the high talent at the disposal of a government conducted on a grand scale. Poor Ceylon offers a sorry contrast to all this; much of her legislation embodying substantive law has been very unintelligently framed, and legal procedure halts in a state of confusion between traditions of the Roman-Dutch Law and innovations tacitly borrowed from England.

In Ceylon, as in India, England undertakes to govern a large native population very unlike Englishmen in most of their ways, and in each place the European inhabitants must always, for climatic reasons, be in an infinitesimally small minority, compared with the native population. The task of government includes that of providing suitable law and efficient administration of justice. We English are perhaps a little disposed to plume ourselves on the benefits conferred upon Orientals in the share of British justice. Our administration of justice is certainly honestly intentioned and, so far as concerns English judicial officers, scrupulously pure. 'Nulli vendemus, nulli negabimus aut differemus rectum aut justitiam.' If we apply the Magna Charta promise to ourselves as rules of Ceylon, the first branch of it is kept faithfully. As to the 'nulli negabimus aut differemus' I fear we have less cause for self-gratulation. There is no native 'public opinion' in Ceylon but if we could get at the great mass of private opinions and assess a resultant, I doubt it would be complimentary on the point of efficiency, to the administration of justice.

Unfortunately we are somewhat prone to underrate the importance of this department of government, and to listen with impatience to suggestions that the administration of justice in an eastern dependency can leave much to be desired. Law is not a popular topic with Englishmen. Ourselves a practical, law abiding people, we habitually in the main conform ourselves to the law,

and litigate as little as possible. The habitually litigious man is rare and deservedly unpopular. The people enjoy incorruptible British justice; what more can they want? And if law in general is an unpopular subject, procedure as distinguished from substantive law is still more so. Some would even seem to regard all procedure as ^{ex} necessitate mere pettifogging technicality, cunningly devised by lawyers for their own base ends. Perhaps this is a tradition lingering from bygone days when litigation in England was hampered by "valuable forensic inventions" now long since swept away by the besom of law reform.

To ensure justice to the governed we need, beside judicial purity, a body of substantive law adapted to the circumstances of the people, and a well devised system of procedure, by means of which the law may be invoked, enforced and generally brought to bear. Moreover, the judiciary of all sorts must be endowed not only with purity but capacity.

The need for judiciously contrived procedure is even greater in a country like Ceylon than in England. With us a common sense and non-litigious temperament of suitors carry proceedings with scarcely a jolt over many a defect in procedure. The native of Ceylon needs emphatically litigious and useless litigation both criminal and civil, as a weapon of offence against persons whom he wishes to annoy. False criminal charges and false civil claims are weapons very commonly resorted to. Again, unlike the Englishman, who, as a rule, like to mind his own business and come in contact with legal machinery as little as possible, the native of Ceylon seems to court the interference of the law, and in the performance of his own obligations is disposed to await its push. Perjury is as common in the Ceylon courts as in those of India. Crime is sometimes committed ~~solely~~ ^{solely} in order to accuse some enemy of being the criminal. I remember a case in which some Sinhalese men murdered a Tamil for no purpose of plunder, and for no grudge whatever, but simply in order to accuse some fellow-villagers of being the murderers. It would be very difficult to convince the average villager that he does anything wrong when he suborns a string of false witnesses to convict an enemy of some offence which he really suspects him to have perpetrated, or commits perjury or forgery in order to secure some advantage to which he thinks he ought to be entitled. I recollect a witness who, on being cross examined as to character, admitted that he had been convicted of forgery. The cross-examination over, the witness addressed the judge much as follows :-

It appeared he said, to him, that he had been questioned about the conviction with the view of disparaging his character, and having admitted the fact, he should like to be allowed to explain that the circumstances were by no means discreditable to him "the fact was," he continued, "that I and my sister had inherited

a piece of land in undivided shares, I wanted the whole to be sold, but she would not agree. What would I do? I was obliged to take another woman before the notary, and say it was my sister come to join in the sale deed." It is not too much to say that in the large majority of contested cases which come before the Supreme Court in appeal the issues involve perjury on the one side or the other. As for instance, the plaintiff sues on a promissory note, and the defendant pleads forgery; or the defendant pleads payment and the plaintiff denies the payment; or the plaintiff avers that he and his ancestors had been in quiet enjoyment of certain lands up to a certain day when the defendant forcibly ousted plaintiff, and the defendant answers that he and his ancestry were always in possession, and plaintiff's party never had any enjoyment at all. As far back as 1833 a Commission, reporting generally on the administration of justice, commented on the custom of parties in their pleadings denying all the allegations of the other side, irrespective of truth, in the mere hope that something might happen to prevent their being proved at the trial. Much of the same spirit obtains nowadays. I remember, indeed, a pleading drawn by a Eurasian lawyer in Crown employ, in which the pleader, not content with denying all the plaintiff's allegations made up to date, proceeded to deny by anticipation all allegations which the plaintiff might thereafter make in any future pleading. False testimony is a more scientific matter amongst the Tamils in the northern parts of the island than amongst the Sinhalese, and the witnesses are sometimes exercised at a mock trial before the real one.

It is no light task to devise Law and Procedure which shall effect the maximum of good and the minimum of harm under such circumstances, and the task is all the harder on account of the difficulty of ascertaining what the natives themselves think about such matters.

In England, when the shoe pinches, public opinion express itself roundly and the press ventilate the grievance. A timid and suspicious Eastern population has no expressed public opinion. Moreover, the few newspapers published in Ceylon report legal matters very ineffectively, and shortcomings in the administration of justice, which in the interest of the public should have publicity, are very commonly passed over in silence.

So much for the priori importance and difficulties of the matter. We may pass on to the facts.

Ceylon is about the size of Ireland, and at the last census in 1881, numbered close on 2,760,000 inhabitants. Of these, rather more than two-thirds were Sinhalese, a race who migrated from India about 500 B.C. Of the remaining third not quite 700,000 were Tamils, a race identical with the Tamils of the Madras Presidency

of India. About 185,000, were a race called by the English "Moorman", akin to the Moolahs of southern India and possessing the Mohomedan religion. There were also 18,000 Eurasians, and nearly 5,000 Europeans. Roughly speaking, the Sinhalese inhabit the Southern two-thirds of the island, and the Tamils the northern third; but nearly 200,000 of the Tamils were immigrant coolies employed on coffee plantations in the Central Province. Owing to the vicissitudes of the European planting enterprise, the number of these estate coolies has probably materially diminished since the census.

Comparing Ceylon with India, the subject matter of government bears in its main characteristics a close resemblance to that of Southern India. Points of differentiation there are, partly assignable to the insular position, of Ceylon, and partly brought about by different systems of government. Caste is in Ceylon a far less formidable matter than in India - a matter of social distinction rather than religion. Again, the remains of the joint family and the village community systems seem largely to have been obliterated and crushed out by the methods of government adopted in Ceylon. Partly, perhaps in consequence of Ceylon being long regarded, as a Dutch "colony" acquired by England, less consideration seems to have been shown for native traditions than in India. For instance, in India, fines imposed by Criminal Courts are recovered from the defendants' movable property only. In Ceylon it has always been the practice to sell up the defendant's land; a very harsh measure where the people are passionately attached to their ancestral lands. Many a Sinhalese has been rendered a landless and desperate man by some R50 fine imposed by a police magistrate, for the possession of illicit toddy or some other not very heinous offence. I remember an instance in which a Kandyan was sentenced in the Police Court to three months imprisonment and a fine of R50. He emerged from goal to find that his land had been sold for the fine, and bought by a man with whom he had a quarrel. The purchaser taunted him with his loss. He saw in his anger that his enemy should never cultivate the land, and, meeting him on the land when the time for tillage arrived, struck him a mortal blow with an axe or hoe. He was convicted of murder and suffered death. I am glad to say that under a recent Criminal Procedure Code land is no longer sold to pay fines. It is still, however, liable to be sold to pay for imprisoned convicts' maintenance in goal.

Ceylon being governed under the Colonial Office, is always styled a "colony". And yet the term seems a misnomer. For "colony" means a settlement of immigrants, and the government of Ceylon is not the government of a colony in that sense. Our Australian dependencies are fairly styled colonies, the natives being few, savage, and fast disappearing, and the immigrants virtually the sole objects of government. The Dutch government in Ceylon also might fairly be called the government of the colony,

in as much as the Dutch governed for the sake of the Dutch, and took small account of the welfare of the natives. Had we owned plantations of the isle in those days we might or might not have done the same. Now, however, we do profess to govern in the interest of all, native and immigrant alike. Still, it may be said, what difference can be made by the use of a mere epithet? and - Words in themselves, says Bentham, "are of no sort of consequence, but when they are made the foundation of practical institutions, then surely their property becomes worth investigating." Perhaps if Ceylon had not been persistently styled a "colony" she might never have been saddled with one practical institution which has proved disastrously impracticable for her - I mean the Roman-Dutch Law.

The Roman-Dutch Law that is, the law which prevailed in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, before it was superseded by the Code Napoleon, is the ultimate common law of Ceylon. For example, about fifty years ago there was much conflict of judicial opinion on the question - whether, in cases of intestacy, the succession should go according to the law of North Holland or the law of South Holland. At last the question was set at rest by an elaborate judgement of Chief Justice Sir Edward Creasy. The parties to the case in which that final determination was arrived at were Sinhalese, and the case, if entitled after English fashion, would have been styled Wickrama Arachige V. Waputantrige. Many will deem this sufficiently absurd, but there is much worse behind. However, before describing further the ills for which the Roman-Dutch Law is responsible, I must explain how the Roman-Dutch Law got in at all.

Towards the close of the 16th century the Dutch were masters of some Forts and plantations on the sea board, and on the west coast they exercised more or less control over the intervening belts of territory. Over these possessions they administered their own Roman-Dutch law. About 1796 these Dutch possessions were ceded to us, and, by the actual rule the law then in force in the ceded territory would remain in force until altered by the conquerors. Thus the Roman-Dutch Law was continued as the common law for these strips of territory. In the process of time we acquired dominion over the whole island, and still the Dutch law was supposed to govern our possessions, thus becoming the ultimate common law of the whole of Ceylon, and governing in places where no Dutchman ever set his foot. Certain native customary laws are administered in the central and northern provinces when ascertainable. Where these are silent the Dutch Law, as expounded by Veet, Greenewegen, and other Dutch jurists, must prevail. The mischief resulting from this it would be hard to exaggerate. At this day no one can read the Dutch law-books, and the Latin ones are practically beyond the capacity of the bulk

of legal practitioners. This situation would indeed have been unbearable, had not English Law pure and simple been imported into various important departments such as Law of Evidence, Banking, Bills of Exchange, etc. Still, in the absence of special provision, the Dutch law governs. The present generation of lawyers, doing their business, in English, derive their legal ideas largely from English text books; English improvements and English civilization have spread all over the island, yet the common law is Dutch. But it is with regard to Procedure that the result has been most disastrous. As Dutch institutions dropped out of sight much of the Dutch law became meaningless. English Procedure and forms of pleading tacitly crept into the use in indistinct and blurred fashion, without ever having been enacted or precised. The result is that - chaos and confusion.

The Dutch Criminal Law has long been in great measure virtually obsolete; something - it is difficult to say how much - of English Criminal Law imperceptibly crept into use without express enactment and in point of fact, incredible as it may seem, the judges were left to administer a kind of equitable criminal law on their own responsibility. At last, after long years of uncertainty, this latter anomaly has been remedied by Codes of Criminal Law and Procedure (in which much has been borrowed from India), which came into operation at the beginning of this year.

Two other topics of Law has suffered a similar kind of paralysis arising from this halting between the English and Dutch systems, viz. Hypothec or Mortgage, and Administration of Deceased Persons' Estates. The natives traffic very largely in petty mortgages, down to the value even of a few rupees, and this uncertainty of the law operates very hardly and unwholesomely on them. It works much hardship also in the case of European mortgages on coffee or other estates, and many an English investor has found cause to prove it. Perhaps even more disastrous is the legal paralysis with regard to Administrations, arising simply from confusion between two inconsistent systems, the Dutch and the English. The Dutch system was one of paternal administration; the estate being taken out of the control even of an executor. The English system (followed in India) allows the executor or administrator to act on his own responsibility, and interferes only when special cause for interference is shown by some party interested. The Board and Chambers which transacted this business in the Dutch times no longer exist, but the tradition of the Dutch procedure still lingers in the rules of Court. The result is hopeless delay and confusion, to the advantage of no one save the local lawyers, as year after year, sometimes for tens of years, these administrations drag on.

Unlike India, Ceylon has no Courts in which justice is administered in the native languages, excepting, indeed, the 'Village Tribunals,' an institution akin to the Indian 'Panchayet', which of late years has been partially introduced in some districts, with a jurisdiction limited to R20. If a villager seeks to recover any sum between R20 and R100 he must sue in the court of Requests, filing a libel written in the English language, and providing English translations of all documents he may use as evidence. Claims over R100 must be preferred in the District Court, which has an unlimited civil jurisdiction. Similarly, petty criminal offences are punishable by police magistrates. The District Courts have a large criminal jurisdiction, though still limited. The graver offences including capital crime, are disposed of in the Supreme Court by judge and jury. As I have had no personal experience of the Indian vernacular Codes I will not pretend to say on which side the advantage lies, but there are certainly disadvantages inseparable from the employment in small cause courts of a language not understood of the people. Perjury is made easier; and there is further the serious drawback that the native suitor, not understanding the language in which the proceedings are conducted, is placed wholly at the mercy of subordinate court officials and the local native and Eurasian lawyers. His evidence is interpreted to the judge, but the judge's observations are not necessarily interpreted to him; he very likely is never made aware of the judge's ratio decidendi, especially if (as too frequently happens) his case has failed through the inefficiency of his lawyer. There is, again, the further risk of the proceedings suffering from incorrect interpretations. I do not say that the proceedings in the Courts of First Instance suffer from dishonest interpretations; but I am afraid they suffer sometimes from sheer incompetency on the interpreter's part. The interpreters are but poorly paid, an interpretation needs no mean degree of intelligence, plus, a very thorough knowledge of both the languages concerned. It has happened to me, when trying criminal charges on circuit, to find the rendering of a local interpreter characterised not merely by inaccuracy but by absolute distortion.

In the Civil Courts there is considerable miscarriage of justice - apart from what may be due simply to successful falsehood - arising from defective procedure, coupled with the inefficiency of the local practitioners. A vast number of law-suits run their course without the real facts in dispute - what lawyers call "the merits" - having really come before the courts. The Supreme Court in appeal has constantly the mortification of having to deal with long-standing suits, in which the "merits" have never been fairly reached. Passing to criminal matter the tribunal in which the most miscarriages of justice take place, I am afraid, that which is charged with the disposal of the gravest matters, viz. the Supreme Court. As I have already

said, the graver criminal charges, including murder, are tried in the Supreme Court, by a judge and jury; and trial by jury is not an institution adapted to Ceylon. It was introduced in 1810, avowedly in the hope that it would exercise a valuable educational influence over the people, by promoting a regard for justice and truth. No account seems to have been made of the amount of injustice to be perpetrated by juries pending the completion of the educational process, or indeed of the improbability of injustice exercising any wholesome influence at all. In point of fact, after nearly eighty years of experiment, trial by jury in Ceylon has proved a disastrous failure. Mr. Herbert Spencer has pointed out the futility of attempting to plant such an institution among people who lack that substratum of honesty and truthfulness on which alone it can stand? 'To be of use', he says, 'this like any other institution, must be born of the popular character. It is not trial by jury that produces justice; but it is the sentiment of justice that produces trial by jury as the organ through which it is to act, and the organ will be inert unless the sentiment is there'. Far worse than inert; actively mischievous; so it is in Ceylon. The native and Eurasian jurors are deficient in what Mr. Spencer styles the sentiment of justice. If the circumstances offer no inducement to partiality, they still betray an indolent indifference and a conspicuous absence of any vigorous determination to unravel the truth. When a personage of any influence is tried by a jury of the natives and Eurasians of the district, the chances are decidedly in favour of an acquittal, however strong the evidence of the prosecution may be, unless indeed the private complainant is a personage of still greater local influence. In the town of Kalutara, a popular place midway between Galle and Colombo, no Supreme Court Criminal Session has been held for many years, for the simple and significant reason that the juries were so notoriously untrustworthy.

In other respects also, the system is unsatisfactory. If the Ceylonese jurors lack the 'sentiment of justice' the European jurors too often lack the necessary knowledge of the people. It must not be supposed that trial by jury in Ceylon means that the prisoner is tried by his peers. On the contrary, we have Sinhalese prisoners tried by Tamils, Eurasians, Europeans, and so forth. I have seen young English lads, newly arrived in the island and entirely without experience of the people, sitting as jurors to hear native evidence and try Sinhalese and Tamil prisoners, perhaps for their lives. The jury is chosen from one of three panels, a panel of English-speaking jurors, a panel of Sinhalese-speaking jurors, and a panel of Tamil-speaking jurors. The vast majority of cases are tried by the English-speaking jury, which is composed of Europeans, Eurasians and such natives as are supposed to understand English. I say supposed because

there is every reason to believe that many of the natives who sit on the 'English' jury do not in fact understand English sufficiently to enable them to follow the proceedings intelligently. In short, the trial by jury is not trial of the prisoner by his peers, but by an arbitrary tribunal consisting of several lay judges of fact. The tribunal might still be an efficient one, but experience has proved it to be the reverse. In trials by jury in England the mass of testimony laid before the jury is mostly true, and the main question is whether the facts thus disclosed indicate that the defendant is guilty or not guilty. On such a question the judge's summing up is of much value to the jury, and can do no harm. In Ceylon the question in nine cases out of ten is - are the witnesses for the prosecution telling substantially the truth or are they lying? There are obvious objections to requiring judges to sum up to juries the considerations bearing upon such a question. The more exhaustive the summing up as an analysis of the case under trial, the more valuable it becomes to certain of the court frequenting population, as a practical lecture on the means of effectively getting up false evidence.

There is one exceptional jury, viz. the English-speaking jury at Kandy, which not infrequently consists almost to a man of English coffee planters. This is a very intelligent jury, and if the parties and witnesses are Tamils, the planter jury, being accustomed to deal with Tamils, and understanding the language, can give a shrewd decision. When the case is Sinhalese, the planter jury is less efficient; they are apt on the whole to believe too much of the evidence, and I have seen unjust convictions of Sinhalese defendants' in such cases. If the charge be one of stealing coffee from an European estate, an inconvenience, to put the matter mildly, at once arises. A Sinhalese defendant charged with coffee-stealing by an English planter naturally objects to the planter jury, and the prosecution, on the other hand, objects equally to a Sinhalese jury.

Although criminal charges are investigated and defendants discharged or committed for trial by magistrates, mostly members of the civil service, the work of the magistrates is constantly supervised and controlled by certain legal officers, who constitute in effect a department of Public Prosecution. The original idea seems to have been that the magistrates, being laymen, would occasionally need the aid of professional lawyers. Gradually the department so far encroached on the civilian magistracy, that the latter were expected to refer everything to the department. To be thus kept in leading-strings is not likely to promote judicial strength on the part of the magistrates, besides which, the constant references backwards and forwards occasion unseemly delays. Perhaps the worse mischief is that, as the department of public prosecutions

is constituted, its proceedings hardly promote efficiency. Apart from all questions of legal skill, it would be impossible to overrate the amount of anxious care necessary in dealing with the criminal charges which natives bring against each other.

Municipalities have been introduced into Ceylon, with benches of municipal police magistrates, officered by the Municipal Councillors who are almost exclusively native and Eurasian. These Municipal tribunals are fit only for abolition. Indeed the municipalities cannot in any sense be deemed very successful. The truth is that the population of Ceylon are hardly ripe for any form of self-government, and in attempts to introduce it there is always the probability of affording opportunities scrupulous for oppression or illicit gain to unscrupulous Eurasians or English speaking natives. Not long ago a statute had to be passed in order to disqualify for elections to the Municipal Council of Colombo a disbarred native lawyer who had recently emerged from gaol after undergoing a heavy sentence of imprisonment for a fraudulent crime. The municipal magistrate is a patent evil, but the timid native public will never raise their voice to ask for its abolition, while any proposal to do away with it will awaken clamorous opposition from those whose craft is in danger.

The people look to us to provide them with justice. 'You are our father and mother; we look to you' - the native villager often says to the English government officer. We have not given the people representative government, and indeed to attempt anything of the kind would be inhumane. It would simply be delivering the people into the hands of the native and Eurasian lawyers. A despotic government is the only government humanely possible, but we should never forget that it is a form of government which throws on us a very heavy responsibility. We are in effect governing a voiceless people unable to tell us what institutions would best benefit them. I might, had I space, go further into details and multiple illustrations, but enough had been already said to show that both in criminal and in civil matters the legal machinery which we have provided grinds out very unsatisfactory results. The mischief arising from all this miscarriage of justice extends very far beyond the individual cases in which wrong is done. When influential criminals are acquitted and innocent men convicted on false charges crime becomes popularised. The would-be offenders speculate on the chances of an acquittal, and conviction loses much of its deterrent effect in the face of the well-known fact that a considerable number of the inmates of the gaols are innocent men convicted on false testimony. I know of no sadder task than to listen, at the periodic gaol-visitations which Supreme Court Judges make, to the pitiful protestations of native prisoners. Such protestations, of course, are untruly as well as truly made, but it is undeniable that a

large number of the convicts owe their convictions simply to unjust verdicts. Nor should we forget that civil failures of justice occasion much crime, particularly violent crime. It is a common thing for a judge, when sentencing a prisoner for some assault arising out of some village dispute, to say: "You had no right to take the law into your own hands; there were the courts of justice open to your complaint". I have often thought what a mockery such an address must seem to many a native prisoner.

Ceylon now has a newly made Penal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure. Time will soon test these. A Civil Procedure Code is urgently needed. Everything should be as simple as possible, bearing in mind that the suitors cannot command efficient professional aid in the Courts of First Instance. The Indian method, under which the issues are settled by the judge, is decidedly one to be adopted in Ceylon. The native and Eurasian lawyers, termed proctors, to whom is confided the bulk of the legal business of the Island, occupy a very important and responsible role. Unhappily, speaking of these practitioners as a class, their proceedings are characterised by a low scale of professional morality and efficiency, and specially by an absence of the ability or disposition honestly to advise the client. Indeed advice, properly so called is almost unknown. The Proctor ordinarily has little idea of making inquiry before he commits his clients to litigation whether the facts afford a prospect of success. Of the many natives and Eurasians who nowadays flock to England for legal education, it is much to be wished that some would spend some little while in the offices of English solicitors, for the simple purpose of learning how clients should be advised and cases got up. It is in these respects that the Ceylonese lawyers are specially deficient. But, unfortunately, the Ceylonese who goes to England for legal education thinks, as a rule, simply of obtaining his legal degree, and has no thought of acquiring in England any practical insight into the way in which legal business ought to be transacted.

All remains of the Roman-Dutch Law should be cut down and grabbed up, root and branch. Codes, after the fashion of the Indian Codes are needed on many subjects. For example, by an ordinance enacted many years ago, the English law of Evidence was introduced into Ceylon 'en bloc' and yet it is in many respects unsuited to the country, being based on the general assumption that testimony is in general truthful. Take, as an instance what are termed, 'dying declarations'. The English law admits these on the assumption that the declarant, being face to face with death, will not at such a supreme moment stain his soul with falsehood. Yet in the East the declarant's thought is not improbably this, - 'In a few hours I shall be beyond the reach of judicial punishment; so I may as well pay off a few old scores'.

I have frequently heard the regret expressed that summary punishment is not meted out to the perjury so common in the Courts. Undoubtedly a summary dealing with the perjured witness in the presence of his fellow villagers would be salutary, if practicable; perjury is hardly an issue which can be disposed of summarily. The truth is that perjury will be most effectively checked. Not so much by prosecutions and convictions as by depriving it of success. Let procedure be improved and the tribunals strengthened, so that perjury shall rarely succeed, and perjury will become comparatively rare. It is unhappily true that the natives are more dishonest in our Courts than in their own private life; and this is a fact which we should seriously lay to heart. The inefficiency of our administration of justice promotes dishonesty.

It will of course be understood that, in speaking as I have done of certain characteristics of native and Eurasian inhabitants of Ceylon, I have been speaking generally. Men of honour as well as ability are to be found in both classes. What I report is simply the average experience of the law courts.

Ceylon would probably be better off had she never been separated from the government of India. But, however, that may be, one thing is certain, viz. that if the people are to have an efficient administration of justice, existing institutions must be extensively remodelled. In any efforts which may be made in that direction it should never be forgotten that in Ceylon, as in India, infinite harm may be done by an inconsiderate importation of English institutions. The task of devising institutions which will work efficiently in an English dependency is so difficult that one can hardly be surprised if those on whom the responsibility rests are sometimes tempted to cut the knot by borrowing from English; and there is a specially tempting show of magnanimity about that way of getting rid of the difficulties. A few phrases about equality, and the duty of sharing with our native fellow-subjects the glorious institutions of free England, and you get rid of the difficult task at the expense of saddling the country with some institution efficient in the place of its birth but incapable of efficiency in the new soil.

We are bound in justice to treat our native fellow-subjects as our equals. But equality is one thing, similarity is another. It is no kindness to them to legislate for them as though that which suits our home must necessarily suit theirs.

LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Reference an article in ~~your~~ ^{the press} paper of 16/11/68 where the writer has expressed the view that the study of the English language except on a microscopic scale should be discouraged in Ceylon, and that the study of Sinhalese (and Tamil) language should be encouraged, as English is an European language with an undesirable culture, may I point out that the Sinhalese language is also a dialect of the European family of languages. In fact it has the added disadvantage that it is a comparatively poorly developed language in the literary world.

If it is sought to encourage an oriental language with an oriental culture, the obvious language to encourage is Tamil. In fact Sinhalese can be placed on the same level of Hindi in India.

In support of the above I would cite the views of recognised scholars and statesmen.

Referring to the South Indian languages, Nehru has pointed out in his book "Glimpses of World History", "They have fine literatures and one should never try to take away a well developed language from people".

The University Education Commission headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan has pointed out "Hindi is the language of the minority, although a large minority. Unfortunately it does not possess any advantages, literary or historical, over the other modern Indian languages. Tamil for instance is hallowed with age and possesses a literature which vies with that in Sanskrit. English however must continue to be studied. It is a language which is rich in literature, humanistic, scientific and technical".

Pope in a contribution to the R.A.S.G.B., 1885, referring to the Kurral, a literary work of rare merit says "Their English friends in teaching them all that the West has to impart, will find little to unteach in the moral lessons of the Kurral rightly understood. Sir A. Grant says, "Humility, chastity and forgiveness of injuries being Christian qualities are not described by Aristotle". Now these three are everywhere forcibly inculcated by the Tamil moralists. These are the themes of their finest verses".

Geiger in his book "Mediaeval Ceylon Culture" points out "knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and of South India was highly appreciated.... a grand Thera from the Chola country who was made a Royal Teacher at the wish of Parakrama IV, 14th Century, is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well versed in various tongues". One of the languages taught was Tamil.

I believe it has also been pointed out by a Senator that even a proper Sinhalese dictionary cannot be compiled as according to Dr. Wijesekera the Sinhalese literature is inadequate.

Appadurai in an article "Tamil and Dravidian" points out "apart from world contacts, Tamil and Dravidian have their All India affinities as well. Scholars have found many Dravidian words in the Rigveda- their number must be far greater in the later dialects like Pali and the Prakrits and the still later classical Sanskrit. Indeed as Prof. Barrows remarks in the case of Greek, all words connected with the civilized world, literature, art, philosophy and religion in the Aryan languages, are to be ultimately traced to non-Indo-European or non-Aryan sources like the Dravidian, the Cretan or the Egyptian".

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

Reference the language question, that is receiving publicity at the moment I think the solution is to follow the policy adopted in ancient Ceylon and which was in force even in the time of the Portuguese and perhaps even longer, and that is to teach Tamil in *privénas*.

My authorities for saying so are, Geiger, (Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times, p69), "knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and South India was highly appreciated. The sons of distinguished families who were brought up by Parakkamabahu in his own palace were also instructed in the use of foreign languages (*desabha saritaresu*, 6.9.22). A Grand Thera from the Cola country who was made Royal Teacher at the court of Parakkamabahu IV, 14th century is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well versed in various tongues (*nana-bhasa-viaarada*, 90.80). (The four languages to be studied in ancient Ceylon were, Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese and Tamil; *saku magada elu demala*, *Giri sandesa*, 15th century, ed. Munidasa Kumaranatunga, v.221 of *Subhasita*, 17th century v.5, (Ed).

De Queroz (Conquest of Ceylon, pp114-115), "Changatares or Ganezes are the religious of this Sect, for those of the Vedao are every where Bramanas. No one else save Apuamiz or their gentle folk can be such nor is it enough to be so on the side of the father The Ganezes go out of their convents on certain days of the week to beg alms from door to door Among them are the teachers of reading and writing, and they teach the Malavar language, which they call Tamul, esteemed by the nations who sail to the Cape of Comoy and the coast of Choromandel"

It is of interest to note that the South Indian languages were appreciated not only in Ceylon but also in South East Asia, so much so, children of Royalty were sent from Java to study in South India (JRASGB, 1885, p204).

Even today Tamil is an official language in Singapore and Malaya.

In the present context of things I would urge the intensive study of English also. In this connection the view expressed by the University Education Commission headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan is of relevance and interest. It has pointed out, "Hindi is the language of the minority, although a large minority. Unfortunately, it does not possess any advantages, literary or historical over the other modern Indian languages, Tamil for instance is hallowed with age and possesses a literature which

vies with that in Sanskrit. English must continue to be studied. It is a language which is rich in literature, humanistic, scientific and technical".

The future, as pointed out by Churchill belongs to the educated. English brings the world of knowledge to your door-step and, what is also a very important consideration today, throws open the world for employment.

In this context what Macaulay pointed out when advocating the study of English in India is of considerable relevance and interest. He has pointed out that if Russia studies the English language she will soon be pressing on France and England. This is indeed prophetic. He also said that if they, the English, did not adopt Latin and Greek and persisted only with the Anglo-Saxon, they would not have reached the position they had attained, (Hindu Weekly, Madras Hindu, January 4, 1972).

A PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

In view of the interest shown in the language problem from time to time and various points of view expressed on the subject, I think the opinions held by various authorities eminently qualified to speak with authority on this subject will interest your readers.

Nehru in his book "Glimpses of World History" written to his daughter, has observed "when the Aryans entered India, India was already civilised..... It is clear that the Dravidians had a rich civilisation then in Southern India and perhaps also in Northern India. Their languages, which are not the daughters of the Aryan Sanskrit, are very old and have given literatures. These languages are Tamil, Telugu, Kanarese and Malayalam. All these languages still flourish in India. Perhaps you know that the National Congress, unlike the British Government, has divided India on the basis of languages. This is far better as it brings one kind of people speaking one language and generally having similar customs into one provincial area. The congress provinces in the South is the Andhra Desha or the Andhra Province in Northern Madras, where Telugu is spoken, Tamil or the Tamil Province where Tamil is spoken, Karnakula, which is South of Bombay and where Kannada or Kannarese is spoken and Kerala which corresponds roughly with Malabar, where Malayalam is spoken.

There can be no doubt that, in future provincial divisions of India a great deal of attention will be paid to the language of the area.

Hindustani is understood in most parts of India. It is likely to become the common language of India. But this of course does not mean that, the other principal languages, which I have mentioned above should disappear. They should certainly remain as provincial languages, for they have fine literatures and one should never try to take away a well developed language from people. The only way for a people to grow, for their children to learn, is through their language."

In a communication of unusual interest to the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain, 1885, G.U. Pope, Fellow of Madras University, has expressed his point of view on the specific subject of the study of languages. I am quoting below some of the very interesting observations and quotations from his contribution.

Referring to the Kural, a literary work of rare merit he says "It speaks loudly of the Tamil race that these couplets are enshrined in the hearts of the whole people. Dynastic changes, Muhammedan raids, and irruption of races, through a dozen centuries have changed many things in the South.

Old times are changed, old manners gone and strangers fill the Pandyan's throne but the Tamil race preserves many of its old virtues and has the promise of a noble future.

Their English friends in teaching them all that the West has to impart, will find little to unteach in the moral lessons of the Kural rightly understood. Sir A. Grant says, "Humility, charity and forgiveness of injuries being Christian qualities are not described by Aristotle." Now these three are everywhere forcibly inculcated by the Tamil moralists. These are the themes of their finest verses. So far we may call these poets Christian; and to understand them, to free them from mistaken glosses, to teach them, to correct their teaching where it is defective, would seem to be the duty of all who are friends of the races that glory in the possession of these poetical masterpieces."

Sir A. Grant treating of Greek Morality "before the birth of moral philosophy", says truly, "It is obvious that such a code as this could only arise among an essentially moral and noble race." This is precisely what I claim for the Tamil speaking people, and on the same ground, we shall not do all the good we might do among them till we more unreservedly recognise this.

I have written on this subject because I feel that there is a real and growing danger that the vernaculars of India should be neglected. I trust whatever else the late Educational Commission may be the means of effecting, it will give a mighty impulse to vernacular education in every part of the land..... To neglect and to encourage the people to neglect, such a language as Tamil would be a fatal mistake..... In every way it is part of an enlightened government to foster native learning and especially such as exists in the ancient vernaculars of South India."

Spiers in an article submitted to "Tamil Culture" October 1957, has made the following observations, while paying tribute to Caldwell. Caldwell had spent several years in India and made a study of the Dravidian languages. It was he who first drew attention to the Tamil language appearing in the Geography of India and Ceylon composed by Ptolemy nearly twenty centuries ago. "Bishop Caldwell's religion gave him a freedom from commercial and imperial caste prejudices. He was first in modern times to present a new and fair picture of South Indian languages and Tamil particularly. Taking into account his time and politics this was a grand and noble achievement.

During the early years of East India Company, when the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal had its nest of scholars, and oriental enthusiasts, there was a hopeful birth of new understanding. But after 1857 and a change in imperial policy, the philistine doctrines of Macaulay prevailed and promise of early scholars faded out." Apparently the entry of politics into a purely literary, historical, and, research society, as the Royal Asiatic Society, founded by Sir William Jones, was fatal.

It would appear that there was a change in imperial policy about the middle of the last century for commercial or political reasons. Nehru's observation referred to above "The National Congress, unlike the British Government has divided India on the basis of languages. This is far better as it brings one kind of people speaking one language and generally having similar customs into one provincial area" appears to have some bearing on this point; at least the Congress realised that a language had more than a mercenary value to a people, especially those who have a rich heritage of fine literatures and a well developed language.

In ancient times the study of even other languages spoken in Ceylon was highly valued, as can be inferred from Geiger's observation in his book "Mediaeval Ceylon Culture", "Knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and of South India was highly appreciated. The sons of distinguished families who were brought up by Parakkamabahu in his own palace were also instructed in the use of foreign languages. A Grand Thera from the Kola country who was made a Royal Teacher at the court of Parakkramabahu IV, 14th Century, is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well versed in various tongues". One of the languages taught was Tamil.

The study of the Tamil language also formed a feature of pirivena education from the 12th to the 15th centuries. That the Tamil language also was taught in all the seats of learning, is an indication of the value attached to the cultural and literary side of life in ancient times.

In this context the views and recommendations of the University Education Commission headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan, on regional languages and Hindi, which is ultimately intended to be an all India language, will be found to be of considerable interest.

"Both from the point of view of education and general welfare of a democratic community it is essential that their study shall be through the instrumentality of their regional language. Education in the regional language will not only be necessary for their provincial activities, it will enable them to enrich their literature and to develop their culture.

Opportunities for preference in the fields of politics, economics, administration, etc. should be equally open to all and no place of honour or profit should be closed to merit merely on the score of language.

Hindi is the language of the minority, although a large minority. Unfortunately, it does not possess any advantages, literary or historical, over the other modern Indian languages. Tamil for instance is hallowed with age and possesses a literature which vies with that in Sanskrit.

English however must continue to be studied. It is a language which is rich in literature - humanistic, scientific, and technical."

The above are only extracts from the report of the commission on the medium of instruction, a perusal of which will be found to be rewarding and interesting. The two significant features in the above extracts are the emphasis on the cultural and literary aspects of a language, and a breakaway from the merely utilitarian angle intended by the foreign rulers, and the provision that merit should not be thrust aside merely on the score of language and certainly not to be used as a weapon for implementing any administrative act which is not voluntarily acceptable.

THE LANGUAGE PROBLEM

In view of the attention of the public that has been drawn to Minority problems in more than one journal in recent weeks, I shall be glad if you will find space in your journal to publish the following observation made by Jwarhlal Nehru in his "Glimpses of World History", which I think will interest your readers.

"When the Aryans entered India, India was already civilised. Indeed it now appears certain from the remains at Mohanjo Daro in the North West that a great civilisation existed here for a long time before the Aryans came. But about this we do not know much yet. Probably within a few years we shall know more, when our Archaeologists - the men who make a special study of old ruins have dug out all that there is to be found there.

Even apart from this, however, it is clear that the Dravidians had a rich civilisation then in Southern India and perhaps also in Northern India. Their languages, which are not the daughters of the Aryan Sanskrit, are very old and have given literatures. These languages still flourish in India.

Perhaps you know that the National Congress, unlike the British Government, has divided India on the basis of languages. This is far better, as it brings one kind of people speaking one language and generally having a similar customs into one provincial area. The Congress provinces in the south is the Andhra Deshaar or the Andhra Province in Northern Madras, where Telugu is spoken. Tamil or the Tamil Province where Tamil is spoken, Karnakula, which is south of Bombay and where Kannada or Kannarese is spoken, and Kerala which corresponds roughly with Malabaar, where Malayalam is spoken.

There can be no doubt, that, in future provincial divisions of India a great deal of attention will be paid to the language of the area.

Hindustani is understood in most parts of India. It is likely to become the common language of India. But this, of course, does not mean that, the other principal languages, which I have mentioned above should disappear. They should certainly remain as provincial languages, for they have fine literatures and one should never try to take away a well developed language from people. The only way for a people to grow, for their children to learn, is through their language."

This aspect of the question also received the attention of one of our foremost public servants, Sir P. Arnnachalam, who had to deal with this subject when preparing the 1911 Census report. His report pertaining to this matter makes interesting reading, in that, it applies, as do Nehru's observations above, very aptly to the language question, in particular, today.

"Few terms are now-a-days so often used in political writings as that of "nationality", though there is far from being general understanding as to what a nationality is. The meanings attached to the word at various times have been important factors in the world's history. The theory of nationality, for which Hegel stood sponsor, has had far-reaching effects in this century. The State should, according to this view, be national, and the nation should be a unit comprising individuals speaking the same language and of the same racial origin. Heterogeneous elements might be absorbed, but if they could not be reduced to the national type, they should be eliminated. This theory seizing on the minds of the youths of Germany led to the unification of Germany in 1870 and has led in years later to the deplorable excesses of anti-semitism from which England alone of European countries is free.

To this theory also we owe the pretensions of the Russian Empire to at least a presidency over all slavonic communities. The drift of modern thought is to understand nationality as an aggragation of persons believed or presumed to belong to the same stock and having a common language, character and political institutions. Whatever the proper meaning of the term be, in Ceylon for at least half a century certain nationalities or races have been officially recognised and this classification has been adopted for census purposes.

Speaking generally the Sinhalese inhabit the hilly zone and the fertile and wet southern and western Provinces and in the sparsely populated regions of the North Central Province and Uva. The indigenous Tamils occupy the Northern and Eastern Coasts and their real centre is the densely populated peninsula of Jaffna which is nearest to India and where they live almost to the exclusion of every other race. Mannar and Puttalam are Tamil districts and there is a large admixture of Tamil blood and speech in the Sinhalese districts of Chilaw and Negombo.

A broad belt of forest separates the purely Sinhalese from the purely Tamil zone.

The Tamils next to the Sinhalese are the most numerous race in Ceylon, are an old Dravidian race, who, before the dawn of history, preceded the Aryans in the colonization of India and who though in later times they adopted Aryan civilisation, have modified and retained their individuality.

As in the case of Sanskrit it is not possible to say when Tamil became a literary language. But Sanskrit is a dead language and is spoken only by scholars, Tamil which is so old that its words have passed into the old Testament of the Hebrews (Hebrew for Peacock is Taki, Tamil, Tokei. Apos, Sanskrit Icafi, Tamil, Icapi, Ivory, Sanskrit Ibham, Tamil, Ibam), continues to be the vigorous living speech of eighteen millions of people."

It is also not generally known that the Tamil language has been used in the production of maps of India and Ceylon nearly 2000 years ago. . By this I prefer to Ptolemy's maps of India and Ceylon where the Tamil Language, amongst other classical languages, Sanskrit, Pali, and Greek, has been used. These maps were prepared by Ptolemy on reports received from travellers between Rome, Egypt and India and Ceylon from about 400 BC to 100 A.D.

~~This also conclusively proves Professor Basham's (Reader at University of London) assertion that it is the oldest living language today, and Colonel McKenzie's (responsible for the famous Mckinzie Manuscripts), Surveyor-General of India, conclusion in his report, about 170 years ago, after his personal inspection of the west and south coast of Ceylon, and in particular the temple of Deva Nagara, presently known as Dondra Head, and, which along with several other Hindu temples also appear in this map of 100 A.D. "On narrowly examining these remains, little doubt remained in my mind that this was the site of an ancient Hindu temple, of the ruins of which the Cingalese building was raised at a much later period.~~

~~The name of the place Divi-n-oor-Dewella, favours the opinion, and when we recollect the partiality of the Hindus to built their religious structures in places near the sea, to water, to the spring heads of rivers, on the tops of remarkable hills, and, mountains, and situations, favourable to retirement from the world and to purer ablutions, according to their ideas; We need not be surprised to find a fane of Mahadeo reared on the utmost bounds of Landa deep and their habitable world....."~~

~~Some of the Dutch now tell us (as Baldens did long ago) that the inhabitants of Ceylon from Chilaw north, and round to Batticaloa in the east, speak the Malabar (or Tamil)".~~

It is hard to believe that a language which was officially recognised by Ptolemy in the preparation of maps of India and Ceylon itself 2000 years ago, should now struggle for recognition, and existence in the land, if not of its birth, as its antiquity has still not been traced, at least known for nearly 20 centuries.

LANGUAGE AND POLITICS

In view of the question of language, which appears to arrest the attention of the political leaders of the country, from time to time, particularly when elections, local or parliamentary, are expected, I shall be glad if you will find space in your valuable journal to publish the following extract from "India in Ceylonese History, Society and Culture" by M.D. Raghavan, of a public address by Fr. S. Taninayagam in August, 1955.

"Several aspects of Tamil contribution to Ceylon were analysed by Rev. Xavier S. Taninayagam in the course of a public address in Colombo in August, 1955, under the auspices of the Tamil Culture Society. The following paragraphs reproduced here will serve as a summary of his arguments.

"The relations of the Sinhalese Kings with Nagadipa, with the Chera, Chola, Pandyan Kings of South India, their dynastic alliances, their treaties and even their wars and their intrigues are evidence of a fraternal rivalry that existed between these neighbouring kingdoms. There is a tendency to exaggerate these wars and to portray these cultures as if they were perpetually in conflict. Such a portrayal is one of the dangers of history. The truth is that to one well read in Ceylonese and South Indian history, these conflicts seem like the internal conflicts of kindred peoples. The wars of the Tamils against the Sinhalese are not any more numerous or hostile than the wars among the Tamil kingdoms themselves. At the time the Portuguese landed on this island, there is ample evidence for the honoured place Tamil had at the court of Kotte and for the Tamil schools that the Portuguese found in the Western Province.

"When printing was introduced into this Island for the first time, the Dutch published books in both Tamil and Sinhalese tongues. A copy of a Tamil book, published in Colombo in 1754 by the Dutch Pastor Bronsveld, refers in its dedication to the Tamil language spoken within the greater area of this island. (*Maxima cum jhujus insulae parte Tamulice Loquentem*). Robert Knox and the Dutch despatches speak of Tamil townships and Tamil-speaking people of the Kandyan kingdom.

"The comparative study of the Tamil and Sinhalese languages, of the literature and grammar of the two languages, of place-names, of the drama, the dance, the architecture, the sculpture peculiar to the two cultures of this Island, reveal to what limits they influenced each other.

"Anthropological surveys have shown the extent to which the common racial characteristics are shared by the populations that speak the two languages, and history testifies to the shifting of populations from one kingdom to another and to the sections of people that have changed one language for the other. The laws, the caste system and the patterns of social culture reveal very many common elements.

For the existence and interpenetration of these cultures, there is no better evidence than a religious shrine like Kathirgama, held sacred by the Hindus, Buddhists and Muslims, being located in the southernmost part of Ceylon, and a religious shrine of the Buddhists located in Nainativu, a northernmost outpost of the Island held sacred by Hindus also.

"The existence of two different religions did not always prevent the patronage that kings of one persuasion extended to the religion which was not theirs, did not prevent the patronage and employment of Saivite Brahmins at the Sinhalese Courts, did not prevent marriage alliance of Sinhalese Kings with Tamil Saivite Queens; did not prevent the teaching of Tamil along with Sinhalese, Pali and Sanskrit, at the more famous pirivanas as related in the Gira Sandesa (15th Century).

"In the beautiful and prosperous monastery,
Groups of scholars versed in prosody,
rhetoric and grammar,
Seated scattered, recall the sight of the
ancient sages
Reading poetry and drama in Sanskrit, Magadhi
(Pali) Elu and Tamil".

"There was a time when Buddhism counted many Tamils among its followers even in Ceylon, and Tamil Buddhist monks contributed in no small measure to the enrichment of both Tamil Literature and Pali Literature. Viharas were established in the Tamil-speaking areas of both Ceylon and South India, and Tamil monks came to teach as well as to learn in the Sinhalese kingdom. It will always remain a source of pride to us, that, the greatest, if not the only classical epic of Theravada Buddhism, exists in the Tamil language. The poetry of Manimekhalai (2nd century A.D.) has been forgotten by scholars because of its didactic and doctrinal appeal, but remains one of the finest jewels of Tamil poetry".

The above would indicate that the Tamil language and Tamil people are not so foreign to Ceylon. Political rivalries have existed for centuries not so much between peoples, cultures,

religions and languages, as, between ambitious rulers of not only different cultures and languages, but, even amongst themselves, as witness the bitter conflicts amongst the Tamils themselves in South India and Sinhalese themselves, with with Tamil soldiers, in Ceylon. I would also mention that even when an independent Sinhalese King ruled in the Kingdom during the Dutch times, the Tamil language had an official status in the court of the king, as can be deduced from "Dutch Power" by P.E. Peiris, where it is stated that the King, when he received a communication from the Dutch Commander in A.D. 1660 in Dutch and Latin (Lingua Franca in Europe), he requested the Dutch Commander to send him s letters in Portuguese or Malabar, to eliminate any misunderstandings, due to faulty translations. The King also received a letter from Coster, Dutch Commander in 1638 to send him a communication, in the Sinhalese and Malabar Languages, with his signature, addressed to all the Governors and ruling Chiefs in the Island of Ceylon, and, also a communication from the Dutch Governor at Batticaloa in 1639, to the effect that, his (King's) ambassadors have arrived safely with his (King's) letters in the Portuguese and Malabar languages, written in the town of Matale.

Even today the conflict is not so much between peoples of different cultures, language and religion as between ambitious political leaders struggling for power, with policies changing from one election to another.

Coming to recent historical times, the fall of the Kandyan Kingdom was not due, to any quarrel between the people and the king of Kandy, but to the ambitions of a British Governor and a deluded Kandyan chief. It was nothing but a triumph of British diplomacy over Kandyan stratagem, where the ambitions of Ahelapola was exploited to secure the fall of a dynasty, that, ruled uninterrupted for 23 centuries and as, observed by P.E. Peiris in his work "Sinhale and Patriots", "A campaign of vilification depicting Sir Wickrema as a monster of cruelty and wickedness and subtle propaganda aimed at creating discontent and misapprehensions amongst his subjects prepared the way for his proclamation of 10.1. 1815, announcing that the sole object of the expedition was to uphold British prestige, and, deliver the king's subjects from oppression, and, put an end once and for all the malabar dynasty".

Further confirmation of this kind is found in a communication by Giffard, Advocate Fiscal to the Secretary to the Admiralty, where he refers to Ahelapola as the person on whose account the war was ostensibly undertaken, and, who used to call the Governor his father, and, in Brownrigg's communication to the Secretary of State attribution to Ahelapola "the success and in a great degree the origin" of the plan.

The revealing records left behind by Marshall, who was the physician who accompanied the Royal Family on their last journey to Vellore, "It has been frequently stated, that, the King had by his tyranny forfeited the loyalty and attachment of the great body of people, but this imputation is not well founded. His quarrels were with the Chiefs and Chiefs alone, and perhaps, the circumstances which particularly rendered him obnoxious to the hatred of the Chiefs, was the disposition he evinced of a determination to protect the people from the oppression of the aristocracy, the real tyrants of the country", and, by Giffard, in reference to Wilson, Government Agent, Badulla, who lost his life in the Kandyan rebellion of 1818, "Poor Wilson had gone out with a small detachment to endeavour to persuade the revolters to return to their duty and received for answer, that, the British Government had deceived them, instead of protecting them; and abandoned them to their tyrants the headmen, and, that a king was necessary for their relief from oppression" further confirms the views expressed above.

It would appear that, the aristocracy referred to by Marshall, were also professional money lenders, as, Peiris says in his book on "Sinhale and Patriots", that, the money lenders demanded such high rates of interest, that, Sri Wickrema was forced to control them by regulation, and, that Ahelapola had 73000 dollars invested in loans.

DRAVIDIANS AND THEIR LANGUAGE

Reference the speech in Parliament on 24/11/66 pertaining to the language problem in Canada I would like to invite attention to an article by Arnóld Toynbee headed "CANADA'S STRIFE".

In this article he traces the problems in Canada to the school history books. It appears to me that our history books and such other books and publications cannot be absolved from such a charge. The problem here is further aggravated by a line of political action which identifies Ceylon with the Sinhalese race only.

The article referred to by me is too lengthy to quote in full. I will therefore quote only extracts.

"History books do not only tell history - they make it.

The most influential of the history books published are not the most advanced ones, these are relatively expensive to buy and difficult to read. The number of their readers is therefore comparatively small and these readers will be people who have gone far enough with their education to be no longer at their book's mercy. They will read critically, and, if a book seems prejudiced they will know how to discount what it says.

The really influential history books are the elementary ones. These are read by children who are still at an age at which they are likely to take for granted that anything printed must be true, and for the majority of these juvenile readers this is the last, as well as, the first account of history that comes their way. Accordingly it stays with them for life. It plays a big part in making them either good or bad neighbours and either wise or foolish voters.

Elementary school books have this influential effect at all times and places, but the consequences are especially critical wherethere are two separate communities in one country and where these two communities speak different languages.....

What should Canadian elementary history books, in both languages, tell children about their common country's history? One that they certainly should tell them is that it is a piece of good fortune for Canada that her two national languages happen to be world languages as well.

The text books should encourage every Canadian child to be proud of his twofold linguistic heritage. They should inspire every Canadian child to become bilingual. This could be done in Canada as easily as it is done in Switzerland....."

A historical comparison of the languages in Canada and Ceylon is of great interest.

CANADA

Canada (From Toynbee's article). In the 18th century when the British entered Canada there were no English speaking people in Canada. This means this language and the French language have existed in Canada only a few centuries.

CEYLON

According to Geiger quoted below the Dravidians came to Ceylon on the invitation of Wijaya about 500 B.C.

Geiger, who has spent almost a life time, 50 years, in researches on the Sinhalese language, religion and culture, makes the following observations in his book "Culture of Ceylon, in Mediaeval Times". "We learn from the Mahawansa that at the request of Wijaya, the Pandu King in Madura sent to Ceylon not only young women as wives for Wijaya and his companions but also workmen (Passiya and Karaka) artisans and craftsmen who were able to assist the Aryans in their undertakings".....

We can presume that they spoke the Tamil language. The antiquity of the Tamil language is supported by Basham, presently of the University of London, in his book "Wonder that was India," where he says Tamil is the oldest living language. Further, according to Burrows, presently Boden Professor for Sanskrit at Oxford, in his treatise on Sanskrit, the Tamil language has been known both in South and North India, and, contributed greatly to the Sanskrit vocabulary.

Referring to the Tamil words which appear in Ptolemy's geography of India and Ceylon, of about 100 AD, Caldwell has observed in his "Dravida Grammar" that we have to go to Ptolemy's texts for the earliest written records of Dravidian words and also that many words have retained their identity letter for letter for twenty centuries.

The antiquity of Tamil in Ceylon is also borne out by the fact that some of the words used by the peasantry in Jaffna belong to the Sangam Period, though they have fallen into disuse in South India. (Ceylon History University).

The above references place beyond any doubt the antiquity of the Tamil language and the Dravidian race in India and Ceylon.

The study of the Tamil language formed a feature of Pirivena education from the 12th to the 15th centuries. Sri Rahula of Totagamune was a master of the Tamil language. It is mentioned in a Sinhalese work (Darbadeni-sena) referring to the Dambadeni Period, that a Sinhalese King included Tamil in the course of studies followed by him. Tamil was also taught in the court of Parakramabahu I to the sons of distinguished citizens in Polonnaruwa.

These facts lead one to the irresistible conclusion that there has been no discrimination ^{or} against the Tamil language for the last several centuries until of course till 1958. On the contrary the study of Tamil has been encouraged by Sinhalese Kings in Sinhalese centres of learning.

There is one very important factor, that operated in Ceylon, which has I have reason to believe, caused much estrangement between the two races in Ceylon, which did not arise in Canada, and, that, is the domination of Ceylon by three European races for 450 years.

These European powers adopted the policy of setting the people of the country and even those of the same race against each other for obvious reasons.

A perusal of "Portuguese Conquest of Ceylon" by ~~De~~ ^{De} Queros will prove what I have stated above. Other historical works pertaining to the Dutch and British periods give sufficient grounds for this assumption.

~~According to the "Dutch Governor's Memoirs", Dutch officials were instructed to the effect that they should secure their interests by setting the people of the country against each other.~~

One can imagine the enormous amount of damage, that they must have done to any goodwill and feelings of fraternity that existed between the two races in the country.

The wars were invariably between ambitious kings, princes and chiefs and the people as such were not involved. This is proved by the fact that even Sinhalese Kings recruited their soldiers from South India, so much so, that the armies consisted largely if not mostly of Dravidian soldiers, (Geiger, Mediaeval Culture in Ceylon). This is a clear indication that the people as such were not at war with each other.

The British too employed any method to achieve their ends. They followed an unashamed policy of duplicity and organised a deliberate campaign of vilification against the last king of Kandy while exploiting at the same time the ambitions of a Kandyan chief deluded with the promise of a Kingdom, to secure the downfall of the Kandyan Kingdom.

There is ample testimony in Marshall's "Ceylon" and "Sinhalese and Patriots" by Paul Peiris to support the above contention. I will quote three extracts which give an indication of the depths to which diplomacy can sink.

Quotation by Marshall, physician who accompanied the Royal family to Vellore, "It has been frequently stated, that, the king by his tyranny forfeited the loyalty and attachment of the great body of people, but this imputation is not well founded. His quarrels were with the chiefs and chiefs alone, and perhaps, the circumstances which particularly rendered him obnoxious to the hatred of the chiefs, was the disposition he evinced of a determination to protect the people from the oppression of the aristocracy, the real tyrants of the country."

Giffard, advocate fiscal to the Secretary of State to the Admiralty; "Poor Wilson (Government Agent, Uva) had gone out with a small detachment to endeavour to persuade the revolted to return to their duty and received for answer, that, the British Government had deceived them, instead of protecting them; and abandoned them to their tyrants the headmen, and, that a king was necessary for their relief from oppression". Wilson lost his life in the rebellion.

Paul Peiris in his work "Sinhalese and Patriots", "a campaign of vilification depicting Sri Wickrema as a monster of cruelty and wickedness and subtle propaganda aimed at creating discontent and misapprehensions amongst his subjects prepared the way for his proclamation of 10/1/1815, announcing that the sole object of the expedition was to uphold British prestige, and, deliver the king's subjects from oppression, and, put an end once and for all the Malabar dynasty".

That the Tamil language was taught in Sinhalese centres of learning till the 15th century is also significant in view of the fact that the country came under foreign domination early in the 16th century.

The present antagonism towards the Tamil language, and, even the right for the Dravidian race to continue to exist, as they have therefore done for several centuries, in their own right, can therefore be traced to the following reasons, firstly, the history books and such other books and publications, including even government publications, secondly, the deliberate and calculated policy followed by the foreign powers who ruled here to create misunderstandings between the different peoples in the island by subtle and insidious propaganda, to secure their interests, and, thirdly, to power hungry politicians who vary their speeches from one point of the compass to the other and their policies from one election to the other, as their main objective is to climb into seats of power, irrespective of whether their line of propaganda is likely to estrange the two races living in the island or not.

TIRUKONESWARAM AND SANKILI

The famous temple of Tirukoneswaram, referred to by Queroz in his book on Ceylon as the Rome of the Gentiles of the Orient is referred to in the Annual letter 1613 quoted by Fr. S.G. Perera in his article on "Jesuits of Ceylon", (Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. 2, p II).

This reference which does not appear to have been noticed before is of much interest as it gives specific reference to the authority exercised over this temple by King Sankili, so much so, that the Portuguese General Azvedo marched to Jaffna from Trincomalee to inform the king of his intention to build a fort there.

The reference is as follows "The army finally reached the famous temple of Trincomalee, a massive structure of singular workmanship. It was of great height and was built of blackish granite on a rock projecting into the sea. Intent on building a fort on this rock, the General summoned the King of Jaffnapatam, but as he delayed to come, the General marched to Jaffna and made it clear to the King that he intended to build a fort there".

The temple was subsequently destroyed by the Portuguese who built a fort on this hill. This fort still continues as such today and will continue as a reminder of foreign domination; until such time as the sancity of the area is restored and Tirukoneswaram resumes once more the sovereign spiritual influence it exercised for centuries, as the Rome of the Gentiles, before the arrival of the western powers.

It is of interest to note that the Tamil inscription found on this temple by the Portuguese can still be seen at the entrance to Fort Frederick, by which name it is now known. This inscription has the fish sign which is the emblem of the Pandyan of South India.

There is also an interesting Tamil inscription at Kankuveli, referring to this temple, in Trincomalee district, which was first noticed by the Dutch Governor Van Sanden who has recorded in his diary a translation provided by his interpreter, which says, "The Wannia of Trincomalee and the seven headmen of the Adipanars of the village of Congoevelly (Kankuveli) have dedicated this field and other advantages to be derived from that village to their God Konynaden. Whosoever intrudes on this gift or takes any of the advantages to himself will grievously sin. This dedication was confirmed in the presence of two priests of the castes Tanam and Warral-lepattoem".

Dr. R. L. Brohier's comments, (Survey Department News Letter No. 4, January 1949), on this inscription, are also of much interest. It says "The conclusions drawn from the inscription, which was, as a matter of fact, passed over as some thing of no importance, are, first that the veli a South Indian surface measure, was in use in Ceylon during the 13th century..... Secondly, that the extent of land under this grant was about 6½ acres. Thirdly, it discloses the derivation of Trincomalee. It also reminds us that "black cows" are animals of greater sacredness than those of other colour".

Sankili referred to above was finally captured and executed at Goa by the Portuguese. The circumstances under which he lost his life and his kingdom and the people of Tamil Nad their independence are of interest, as he was captured and executed for rendering assistance to the King of Kandy.

The above is referred to by Abeyasinghe in his book "Portugese Rule in Ceylon", "while the Portugese were receiving reinforcements from Goa and other sources, Vimaladharmasuriya was not fighting a lone war. Assistance for him came from the Nayak of Madura and the King of Meliapur. Their aid took the form of contingents of vadugai troops, who, according to Portugese writers, were some of the best fighting men in India at the time. The two east coast rulers of South India helped Kandy not only because of political sympathies, but also because of the trade relations that existed between their territories and Kandy.

Their aid reached Kandy through the ports of Mannar, Puttalam and Trincomalee and through the Kingdom of Jaffna. That the king of Jaffna should have afforded transit rights to troops going to the aid of Kandy is a significant point. The ruler at the time was Parasasekaram, who had been set up on the throne by the Portuguese in 1591. Yet he allowed help to pass through his territory and even, it was alleged, negotiated and procured aid from India for his brother monarch. He continued to do so until his death in 1615."

Commenting on the assistance sent by Viceroy of India to the Portuguese in Ceylon, Abeyasinghe says, "Towards the end of the year 1602 or at the beginning of 1603, he sent a force of 300 Indian Christians and 340 Portuguese to the Island, thus bringing the total force available for the conquest of Kandy to about 800 Portuguese soldiers, 12,000 Sinhalese lascarinis and the Indian Christians. He also planned to send two small vessels with eighty soldiers to patrol the eastern waters of Ceylon so as to prevent Vimaladharmasuriya receiving reinforcements of Vadugai troops from the Nayaks of the east coast of South India."

An Officer of the Ceylon Rifles referring to the execution of the King says in his book on Ceylon "in 1604 the Raja was again chastised for assisting the King of Kandy and the Portugese, according to Faria, might have taken possession of his dominions only they were not at that time in a position to do so, but it was subsequently accomplished in 1617, when the Governor of Ceylon, Constantine de Saa, hearing that the Raja was corresponding with the King of Kandy, had him captured, and sent to Goa, where he was deposed and executed."

Reverting to the question of the fort at Trincomalee, the feasibility of restoring sanctity to the precincts of the temple, has now become more remote with the rejection of the specific proposal that the constitution be secular (which it is today), and which has made it possible to make specific provision in the constitution to give Buddhism pride of place, which unfortunately would apply to Tamil Nad in an unitary constitution.

It is ironical that it is now proposed to alter, after 173 years, constitutions of a liberal, non-sectarian and secular nature, dating from the 18th century, so as to ensure a special place only for the religion and language of the majority race, in the 20th century!

And what is even more surprising is that even in ancient times and even in the Kandyan Convention, though it applied only to the Kandyan territories and not to Tamil Nad (equivalent of Malabar Districts in the early government census reports), equal consideration was given to the Buddhist Religion and the Hindu Religion.

The following extracts from publications pertaining to the submissions made above are of such interest and relevance.

Jennings and Thambiah, (Dominion of Ceylon),

The first British Constitution of Ceylon, 1798, granted "Liberty of conscience and free exercise of religious worship to all persons".

According to the second constitution, 1801, a charter of justice was designed "to preserve inviolate to the natives their local habits, ancient tenures, distinctions and religious observances..... Legislative Acts and Public regulations to be printed with translations in such country languages as may be necessary".

Geiger, (Ceylon in Mediaeval Times), says, "In the Mahawamsa we shall see below, frequently controversies are reported between different Buddhist sects, but hardly any serious conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism up to the beginning of the modern era I think the study of the Mahawamsa even which is compiled by Buddhist priests, shows us how fallacious it is entirely to separate Buddhism from Brahmanism we know moreover that Brahmanas and Samanas were equally supported by the ruler and it is a Buddhist priest by whom this is acknowledged and praised as a pious and meritorious work.

K.M. de Silva, (Ceylon Historical Journal, p.91, Vol. 10), "It must be pointed out that Buddhism as it exists today and as it existed in 1815 was an amalgam of the original Theravada Buddhism and elements of Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism. The fifth clause of the Kandyan Convention undertook to protect and maintain all this and not merely Theravada Buddhism pure and simple. A Sinhalese version of the convention printed in P.E. Peiris's "Sinhale and the Patriots", pp 591-593, makes this clear. There specific reference is made to the religion of the Buddha and the Agama of the Devas and protection is promised to both viharayas and devalayas".

From the above it is clear that what has been done by the Sinhala politician is to destroy ~~the original~~ position the ^{Hindu} ~~religion~~ ^{Religion exhibited before and} during the rule of the Imperial Powers.

Whereas the first thing they should have done, on getting independence, was to have passed a resolution expressing their thanks and gratitude to the people of Tamil Nad, of India and Ceylon, for the assistance given when they were fighting with their backs to the wall against the Portuguese who were assisted by the Christians and some coastal Sinhalese.

KOLKIE

The word Kol-kio which is referred to as Kolchis (Colchis) in ancient historical and geographical works, by such historians and geographers as Herodotus and Ptolemy, would appear to provide very valuable clues for the elucidation of some historical and geographical problems.

This word is used by Herodotus in his historical works and by Ptolemy in his geography of the then known world. Of particular interest is the occurrence of this word and the word Phasis, name of a river, both in the Black Sea and Gulf of Mannar areas.

Caldwell, as will be seen in the sequel, traces this name to the Tamil language implying an army.

Apparently this word in various modified forms has been used to denote Gulfs, Cities and Peoples where Colonies were formed by army settlements.

Herodotus refers to the people in the Black Sea area as Colchians. A people that would appear to have been transported to this area by an Egyptian king.

This word would also appear to denote Korkei a town in India as well as the Gulf of Mannar, described by Ptolemy as Colchicus Sinus in his geography, which also refers to this gulf as the place where the pearl fisheries lie.

Caldwell's analysis of this word is of interest. According to him Kolchis (Colchis) is actually Korkei (Kolkei) a town in India, meaning an army. He has pointed this out in his book "Grammar of the Dravidian Languages". I have dealt with this in detail in my work "Ceylon in Retrospect". I have mentioned that "He (Caldwell) has pointed out that this place is mentioned by Ptolemy and Periplus and is one of the few places mentioned in the "Peutinger Tables" where it is called "Colcis Indorum", and that the Tamil name of the place "Korkie" is almost identical with the Greek. He has also observed that 'Kol' in Tamil means 'slay' and 'Kei' is hand meaning 'hand of slaughter' and that Kolkei is the poetical term for an army or camp. He also says that in so far as the two words included in this name are concerned, the Tamil language does not seem to have altered in the slightest from that day to this.

The following extract from the Imperial Gazetteer of India (Vol 23, p 216), is of much relevance and interest in this context. "Several of the chief towns of the district stand upon the banks of the Tambraparni..... Near the mouth of the

river is Kolkai, the first capital of the Pandyan, the earliest seat of the Dravidian civilization, and once a famous seaport. The silt from the river ruined its career as a seaport and it is now five miles from the sea; its place was taken by Kayal, where Marco Polo landed, but this also silted up and the Portuguese then established Tuticorin as the chief port on this coast. The pearl and 'Chank' fisheries off the mouth of the Tambraparni were once very famous, being frequently mentioned in Tamil literature".

Mendis has also pointed out, (Early History of Ceylon, p.20), that this Kingdom has been referred to by Greek writers of the 4th century B.C. and that Kolkis was the first capital of the Pandyan.

The Pearl Fishery is actually indicated as falling in the Gulf of Mannar in Ptolemy's Map of India prepared by Petrus Bertius as "Colchicus Sinus in quo Colymbesis pinici," (Colchicus Gulf in which lies the pearl diving place).

Apparently a conscript army was employed on the Pearl Fisheries. Hence the tradition that the Pandyan employed criminals on the Pearl Fisheries. In fact the first European armies to arrive in the Colchis Gulf area, in Ceylon and India, were formed according to Portuguese historians, by emptying the prisons of Portugal of their convicts, who preferred to risk their freedom in foreign climes and unknown lands than languish in jail for years if not for the rest of their lives.

Reverting to the use of this word by Herodotus, it is not impossible that the Egyptian king Sesostris did actually include these Pearl Fisheries in his conquests. This question too has been dealt with in some detail in my work referred to already, where I have pointed out "Herodotus clearly stresses the relationship between the Colchians and the Egyptians, and what is of particular importance, is the stress laid by Herodotus on the conquests of Sesostris who left behind an army of Colchians in the Caucasus region, being more far reaching than Darius. This makes it very probable that he had also included the 'Colchis' gulf between South India and North West of Ceylon and also the area up to the river Phasis in the North West of Ceylon, depicted in Ptolemy's map, both of Ceylon and the Caucasus, in his conquests.

This would appear to receive confirmation from the observation of Herodotus referred to above where he says, "This king set out from the Arabian Gulf and subdued all the dwellers by the Red Sea, till as he sailed on he came to a sea which was too shallow for his vessels. After returning from thence back to Egypt, he marched over the mainland....."

"It is also very significant, that, the Red Sea as understood in ancient times did not end at Aden but reached the Indian coasts, as can be inferred from what Lahovary, (Dravidian origins and the West, p 30), says 'Ch Autran has moreover observed that for the Greeks, the Red Sea or Erythraea Thalassa did not end at Aden but reached Indian Coasts'. This is confirmed by Ptolemy's geography where the Gulf of Aden has been described as the Red Sea and the Red Sea of today the Arabian Gulf.

This is also confirmed by the geography of Orosius (English translation of King Alfred's Anglo Saxon version of Orosius, p 31).

The reference to a shallow sea is of interest, as the Mannar Gulf, between South India and the North West of Ceylon, where lie the Pearl Fisheries, is a shallow sea and of which Ribeiro in his book on Ceylon, page 17, says, 'From Cape Comorin the coast called the "coast of the Fishery" runs inland making a gulf between Ceilao and the mainland similar to the Adriatic; this has a length of 57 leagues, and a breadth of 36, with its centre in the islands of Ramanacer and Mannar, between which bay flows over 12 leagues of sand banks. Here it is not possible to sail to the coast of Cheromandel except by two very narrow channels, at Ramanacer and Mannar, through each of which only a small sumaca can make its way and that too when the sea is high".

I must also refer to an interesting reference to the Colchis people of the Caucasian area as a military colony by Lahovary. In his book "Dravidian Origins and the West", page 39, he says, "As for the Egyptians, according to Herodotus, they thought they had so much in common with people of Caucasian Colchis that they imagined them to be descended from a military colony of Sesostris which had, in reality, never existed".

It would now appear, in view of the definite identification of Kalkie, (Colchis in Latin), with an army, which in effect is a military colony, that Herodotus and the Egyptians were correct. And Herodotus stands vindicated once more.

This identification of Korkie by Caldwell also helps to clear some confusion caused by the reference to the ambassadors sent by Wijeya to Madura for a Princess. The Mahawamsa clearly refers to Madura as the Madura in Southern India but says that the ambassadors reached the place by ship. It is now clear that the capital of the Pandians, (Madura when the Mahawamsa was written in the 5th century A.D), was then actually Korkie which was on the coast before silting took place.

In fact Ptol^omy's geography (100 AD) clearly describes Madura as Modura Regia Pandionis. This also makes the identification of the area from where the Princess came, namely, South India, more probable and incidentally provides additional evidence to prove the accuracy of the geography of the Mahawamsa.

This early contact between Anuradhapura and Madura from the time of Wijeya can also be inferred from what Fernando, (University of Ceylon Review, Vol.7, No.4, pp 222, 283, 284, 295), says "A close parallel to the early Brahmi records of Ceylon is offered by some interesting Brahmi records in South India..... Pandyan country. So alike those at Mihintale, Vessagiriya and such other ancient sites. Also bedsteads like at Mihintale and Vessagiriya".

"Inscriptions at Arikamedu in South India are the same as Brahmi of early cave records and assigned to the 1st and 2nd century AD. Scribes same in India and Ceylon and differing from those who carved records of Asoka, was existing in South India and Ceylon and practicing its arts even before the time of Asoka".

KANTALAI TANK

Regarding the publicity received by the Trincomalee Temple recently and a translation of a poem composed by ~~Kavi~~ ^{kavi} Raja Varothayen, an ancient poet of Ceylon, referred to in the press some time back, I am quoting below from the diary of Governor Van Sanden, a reference to the images that were rescued from the Temple at Trincomalee and the construction of Kantalai Tank.

The poem referred to above, and which appeared in the Government Gazette of 26/11/1831, is actually the translation of the "Konesar Stone Engraving", referred to generally as the "Trincomalee Kalvettu" in English. This poem would appear to include a description of the construction of the Kantalai Tank.

Governor Van Sanden's Diary for 7/6/1786 reads as follows:

"In the evening I went to visit the celebrated temple at Temblegamme I requested him to show me the two celebrated images, the only ones saved from the temple of 1000 pillars when the Portuguese arrived

..... In the front was the image of King ^KKonesar and on his left of his wife Queen ^KIsoewerie Arunon brought from the coast (India) by King Kollectoe founder of Kandelay.

..... It would be too tedious to refer to all the tales related of the famous Kandelay Tank but I have obtained with great difficulty where all matters concerning the Pagoda Mountain and Kandelay Tank are inserted which is being translated by Mr. De Melho of Jaffna and which may serve to satisfy the curious in these matters."

Apparently the document alluded to is the "Trincomalee Kalvettu", referred to above by me and which was brought to my notice by a resident at Trincomalee in 1947.

The portion of the translation of this document pertaining to Kantalai Tank is as follows :

"The King and his Minister watched the construction of the tank and bund. Earth was cut from a vast area and was used for the repair of the sides (of the bund) which were constructed of stones. Several steps were constructed on the bund side as though to the entrance of a palace, and from the top of the steps the sluice was quite visible. From the steps to the sluice was laid a copper pipe (railing?). The sluice itself was such

that at the exit on the tank side the water was sucked into a pipe as though in a whirlpool and there was a machinery to control the efflux (with a platform) with ample space to walk about. The water thence rushed into a tank () and from this tank it escaped through two outlets. It looked very much as though the main body of the tank was the body of a living being with the sluice tank as its head and the water escaping from the two outlets could be compared to breath escaping from the nostrils of this living being, while breath came into the main body itself. There was a big rush of water at the sluice outlet and the sluice was one that could not alter at any time. A was constructed to safeguard the sluice and a special entrance (.....) was designed to admit those who had to do any work on the sluice or other things connected with it. The entrance to the sluice was under lock and key."

The translation obtained by me of the document which was in Tamil may or may not be perfect. Technical terms where the English equivalent could not be found, have been left blank. Probably they are technical terms in Tamil which some Tamil scholar may now be able to elucidate and use to advantage today. The translation was obtained by me twenty one years ago, when the question of working in the vernaculars did not arise.

I think the particular translation by De Melho referred to by Governor Van Sandan will be of great value, as he was supposed to be a native of Jaffna, who was a brilliant Tamil scholar. I have not been able to trace this document so far. Perhaps some reader may be able to help.

In this context it will probably interest your readers to know that McKenzie, Surveyor General of India, discovered an ancient manuscript in South India pertaining to land measuring.

A reference to this is made in the catalogue of Oriental MSS edited in 1857 by Taylor, where he says, "This book should, I think be translated, both to show the state of native science on this art, and also for the sake of getting at well defined, established technical terms; being much wanted; for practical uses in the Tamil language." This MS is not available at Madras according to information obtained by me so far.

Some of the technical terms are, however, quoted by Taylor in the catalogue referred to above by me.

The document translated by De Melho referred to above would appear to be the document referred to in my article Tirukonesar Kovil. This was traced by me subsequently.

BUDDHISM AND SOUTH INDIA

Regarding letters that appeared in the press recently on the subject of famous Buddhist missionaries who came to Ceylon from South India, according to B.C. Law and Geiger, the following references to Kaveripatnam, one of the cities in the area where Buddhadatta lived will I think interest your readers.

K. V. Raman in an article "Excavations at Pumpuhar" refers to this city as follows "Kaveripumpattinam or Pumpuhar, the celebrated port city of the Early Cholas, is now an insignificant fisherman's hamlet on the eastern coast of Tamilnad, where the River Kaveri joins the sea. Its flourishing commerce, its well-planned lay-out, beautiful mansions, the harbour area, the religious centres, etc., are all eulogised in early Tamil works like the Silappadikaram, the Manimekhalai and the Pattinappalai. The latter work gives graphic descriptions of the gay inhabitants of the area and their noble traits; the foreign merchants like the Yavanas (Greeco-Romans), who lived there for trade purposes; the artisans from places like Avanti and Ujjaini in upper India etc. The presence of temples for Siva, Vishnu, Balarama, Muguga as well as the Jain and Buddhist monasteries is attested by the works." According to the Manimekhalai, Goddess Champapati was the guardian deity of the city and indeed of the Jambudvipa as a whole (Jambudvipa-Kavardhaivam). She was venerated by all the people as She was the "Grand Old Lady" or Thonmudatti, as the epic mentions. There is now an old and dilapidated brick temple at Kaveripumpattinam dedicated to Champapati. "The foreign notices on Kaveripumpattinam are illuminating. There is reference in the Periplus to the two capitals of the Cholas in the region inland called Aggaru (Uraiyur) and 'the coast country which lies on a bay', the latter obviously referring to the port-city or the Pattinam. Ptolemy is more specific and he refers to the city as the 'Kaberis Emporion'.

Referring to recent excavations since 1962 he says, "the most significant discovery was that of a Buddhist monastery in the Melaiyur portion of Kaveripumpattinam. An entire wing of a Vihara, consisting of seven rooms, each about 8 feet square, was used for the residence of the Buddhist monks. Adjacent to this was another ornamental structure, perhaps a part of a mandapa. The building walls were decorated with beautiful stucco figures and paintings. One such exquisite stucco-head, full of artistic grace, was found in the excavations. A fine copper image of the Buddha in dhyana pose was found in one of the rooms. A large limestone slab, bearing the sacred feet of the Buddha (Buddhappada) and other auspicious symbols like the Purnaghata, Swastika, etc. is strikingly reminiscent of similar ones found at the famous Buddhist centres of Andhra, Amaravati and Nagarjunakonda with which Kaveripumpettinam was undoubtedly in live contact."

HINDUISM AND BUDDHISM IN CEYLON

Regarding the publicity that Tirukoneswaram Kovil has received recently, it would appear to me that the fact that Hinduism existed in Ceylon prior to the advent of Buddhism is not properly appreciated.

In support of above, I quote the following extracts from recognised authorities.

Malalasekera in his book "Pali Literature", says "Halls for Brahmins Tittharama (monastery for foreign religions) built by Pandukabhaya were Abhayagiri now stands.

Harischandra in his book "Sacred City, Anuradhapura" points out that Abhayagiri dagoba stands on the site of a Hindu temple.

Paranavitarane makes the following observations in the Journal RASCB Vol.31, No.82, 1929.

"Mahawamsa, in its account of the formation of Anuradhapura by Pandukabhaya in the 4th century B.C. mentions numbers of religions and public institutions established there by that Monarch.

The earliest inscriptions too, bear testimony to the presence of Brahmanas in Ceylon just after the introduction of Buddhism. They must therefore, have been living in Pre-Buddhist Ceylon too and the presence of the Brahmanas is evidence of the prevalence of their religious beliefs."

That the Tamils were also Buddhists and that the famous Buddhist missionaries who came to Ceylon were South Indians is confirmed by views expressed by the following recognised authorities.

Muthucumarasamy in his book "Dathavamsa" has pointed out that Tamil Buddhist kings ruled at Madura.

Arunachalam at a meeting of the RASCB (Vol.28, 1919) has stated that Tamils were Buddhists in the early centuries before and after Christ.

Geiger has pointed out that the famous Buddhist missionary Buddhagasa was a South Indian and that the Cola country was also the home country of two of the other most important Buddhist scholars, Buddhadata and Dhammapala (Culture of Ceylon, Mediaeval Times); while B.C. Law has observed (Indological studies) that South India was the home of Pali Buddhism till 1200 A.D.

Paranavitarane in his book "Art and Culture of the Sinhalese", has stated, that, "The earliest type of the Buddha image known in Ceylon is that of the Andhra School. A life size Buddha image of marble, obviously of South Indian origin, has recently been unearthed at an ancient site of Ceylon. There is epigraphical as well as

literary evidence to indicate that a brisk intercourse existed in this period between the Buddhists in Ceylon and their co-religionists in the Kistan Valley".

It is significant in this context that Tamils occupied even the Mihintale area at a very early date. This is clearly indicated in an inscription B.C. 262, referred to by Tennent in his book on "Ceylon" as follows "the inscription on the rock at Mihintale ascribes to the Malabars the system of managing the water for the rice lands " and directs that "according to the supply of water in the lake, the same shall be distributed to the lands of the Vihara in the manner formerly regulated by the Tamils".

TIRUKONESAR KOVIL

In view of the publicity that the Hindu Temple at Trincomalee, referred to by De Queroz as the Rome of the Gentiles of the Orient, receives from time to time, I think the following article from Indiophilus, published by the Government Gazette about 140 years ago, will interest your readers.

"Among the various monuments of Hindu antiquity found in Ceylon, and which induced the late excellent and learned Sir William Jones to express an opinion that this Island "was peopled time out of memory by the Hindu race", the Temple which stood at Trincomalee is not to be forgotten. It would have remained to the present day as a venerable relic, had not the misguided religious zeal of the Portuguese, razed it to the ground in 1622 to supply materials for one of their fortifications.

Some time ago, through the kindness of a friend of mine, I was obligingly put in possession of a small manuscript poem composed in Tamil by Kavi Raja Varothayen (a celebrated bard among the ancient inhabitants of Ceylon) which though enveloped in a cloud of fable, gives an account of the origin and history of this sacred edifice; I was consequently induced to translate it, and have now the pleasure of laying the same before the public for their information.

"A king named Manu Niti Kanda Solen who ruled over the Country of Solamandalan learning from the Kailasa Puranam the Wonders of Tirukonathamalai and the magnificent state of its inhabitants, came over to the place; his son Kulakotu Maharajah who followed him thither afterwards raised the Temple, the spire, the pavilion and the sacred cistern, in the year 512 of Kaly Uug on Monday the 10th day of the month of Vaikasi".

"After having built the Temple, the king finding that much difficulty was experienced in obtaining rice and other things from Solamandalam for the daily use of the Temple, he meditated on means to obviate it, and accordingly caused (to the extent of 2800 Amonams) to be converted to the cultivation of paddy, and a tank to be converted in the vicinity for the irrigation of the said lands, both of which he consecrated to Koneser Swami. He afterwards proceeded to the village of Marukoor, on the north, on the 24th day of Panguni in the year 516 and brought from thence in a vessel to Tirukonathamalei seven families of the Velala caste whom he settled there, assigning to them the Temple and the lands appertaining to the same, as a hereditary possession. To these families, were entrusted the care of the Temple treasury, the regulation of the income and expenditure, the celebration of the festivals, and the presentation

of silk vestments to the Kings. As more people were required for the service of the Temple, the king went to the village of Karakadoe and by compulsory means, brought from thence on the 10th day of Vaikasi (of the year aforesaid) twenty more families, whom he likewise settled at the place, and appointed for the robing of the Lingam (Phallus) and to the offering of flowers at his shrine, to sweeping and illuminating the Temple daily - cleaning the sacrificial implements - performing libations of water - husking the paddy, and smearing the floor of the Temple with cow-dung - singing and playing of musical instruments - spreading cloth at animal sacrifices - hoisting and lowering of the flagstaff on solemn days, preparing essence of sander wood, and purifying the ornaments of the Temple. These people were also endowed with lands for their subsistence and five of them dignified with the title of Panda-rattar.

As the first seven families who were settled there were brought willingly from their country they received the common name of Tansattar in contra-distinction to the twenty families who settled there after them, who were called Varippattar because they were impressed, one out of every ten men in their country".

"The king contemplating that there were none to judge these Tanattar and Varippattar in the event of any dissension among them, determined to appoint a chief over them, he accordingly proceeded to Madurai and brought from thence a nobleman of the name of Taniunna Pupalen, whom he invested with the title of Wanniya, and ordained him Governor of Tirukonathamalei, authorising him to punish offences by fine, imprisonment in chains, or by death, according to their extent, or magnitude, strictly enjoining him to keep his institutions inviolate, and to conduct the affairs of the Temple and ceremonies thereof, without omission".

"The king further ordered that the citizens of Kattucolam should render their services to the Temple; that the citizens of Nilaveli should preside over the celebration of the festivals, and supply the Temple with six Amonams of paddy, also pay the tithes, taxes, and customs of their country to the Temple; that the citizens of Cottiyaram should furnish the Temple with betel, plantains, sander wood, curdled milk, clarified butter, 100 Amonams of rice, and the seeds of Amaneka, Punnei, and Ulippe trees. These latter mentioned seeds should be delivered to the citizens of Irativoe, to be made into oil, and then again delivered to the Tottiyen of Kovulimune who after entering the quantity into the accounts of the Temple, should pour it into the reservoir, where the same was to remain for lighting lamps. There were seven reservoirs built at the south side of the Temple for the reception of oil; they were enclosed with walls which were provided with doors, and a person appointed to overlook them, called Adikaree."

"When the above orders had been given the king next proceeded to regulate the affairs of (the interior apartments of) the temple. He ordered the servants to illuminate it every day with 1000 lamps lighted with butter, and 1100 lamps lighted with oil, to be placed both inside and out; and to sprinkle the ground with rose water impregnated with musk, and sander wood; he further ordered that they should at stated periods make oblations of rice mixed with milk curds; - to Supermaniya in 12 silver trays, and to the rest of the deities in 128 copper trays. Besides these he directed oblations of several thousand balls of rice to be made, and a lamp with a thousand camphor wicks to be burnt on particular occasions."

After detailing the foregoing particulars relative to the foundation of the Temple, and the institution of its ceremonies Kavi Raja Varothayen proceeded to relate the prophecies delivered by the king with reference to its future magnificence, and the revolutions which it would undergo by foreign invasions, but they are so incongruous, and confounded with fable, as is common with Hindu productions, that I have omitted the whole of it, and resume the translation as follows:

"The king (one day) after having performed ablution in the sacred pool, and his oblations and prayers, wearing around his head a wreath of Ottracha beads, painted his forehead with the holy ashes, went round the court of the Temple, holding in his hand a nosegay of flowers, and then entered into the sanctum sanctorum. He remained there so long that it raised the suspicions of his courtiers, who proceeding inside to look for him, found that he had become metamorphosed into a lotus flower, at the shrine of the God, upon which they made great lamentations.

The story of the king's transformation into a flower akin to what it related of the disappearance of Romulus, and like that prince, Kolakotu Maharajah also became counted among the Gods, and sacrifices were accordingly made to him by the inhabitants of Tirukonathamalei.

"Many years after this metamorphosis of Kolakotu Maharajah, a certain king called Gaja Bahu Maharajah made a pilgrimage to Tirukonathamalei, and on his arrival finding that the Pasupaler who had hitherto ministered in the Temple were dead, and none had succeeded them, he was plunged in grief, and invoked the deity to repair the breach which death had made in the priesthood. While the king was thus engaged in acts of devotion, he perceived two Brahmin youths floating on the surface of the ocean with the Vedas in their hand.

As soon as he saw them, greatly delighted, he rose from his seat, advanced towards them, into the sea, and seizing them one by each hand brought them to the shore, calling them at the same time by the epithet of Irupahei, (or the right and left hand as he had held them). He conferred on them the priesthood of the Temple, and gave directions to the Wanniya, Tanattar and Varipattar to respect and obey them, and also to render their services to them."

"Gaja Bahu Maharajah sent for the five tribes of townservants (namely smiths, potters, barbers, washers, and parreas) from Solamandalam, and fixed them at Tirukonathamalei, allotting to them land and paddy fields for their maintenance."

"Afterwards he caused a Tank to be built at Cottiarum in the neighbourhood of the river Mahavali-ganga, and paddy lands to the extent of 6350 Amonass to be improved and groves of punnei, Illipe, Amanaka, and cocoa trees to be planted thereabouts, he also gave orders that one-tenth part of their produce should be appropriated for the service of the Temple. This he performed in order to expiate a sin which consisted of his having once entertained the idea of pulling down the Saiva place of worship, and of building one of Buddha in its room".

"Gaja Bahu Maharajah afterwards called together the citizens of the country and having charged them to preserve the institutions of Kolakotu Maha-rajah inviolate, he degraded the Irupahor Brahmans with the title of the Raja Gurcos or sovereign pontiffs and entrusting to them all the jewels and treasure of the Temple returned to his capital Anuradhapura, where after reigning for a long period he at length entered into the bliss of Siva."

What I have translated above, though not literal, is the substance of the account contained in the manuscript, and I humbly hope that it may be of some use as a clue to persons who may make further researches into the antiquities of Ceylon."

The above references to the Temple are confirmed by an inscription I came across in the village of Kankuveli in Trincomalee district. A reference to this was made in the Survey Department News Letter No.04 of January 1949 by its editor Dr. R. L. Brohier. An extract from his reference is as follows :

This monument was found set up in the compound of a Sivan Temple in the village of Kankuveli about 4 miles west of the 62nd mile stone on the road from Trincomalee to Batticaloa. It is of granite, dressed one foot square and about 2½ feet above ground level. The inscription, reproduced below, appears

on two of its sides. The third bears the symbolic trident of the Sivan deity, while the fourth has not been used.

The inscription registers a grant of one veli of land in the village Kankuveli to the deity Konainatan (the god of Tirik-konai-malai) by a certain vanniari. It ends with the usual malediction, that "any person who violates the grant will bring on himself the sin of those who slaughter black cows on the banks of the Ganges".

The conclusions drawn from the inscription, which was, as a matter of fact, passed over as something of no importance, are, first that the veli, a South Indian surface measure, was in use in Ceylon during the 13th century. The unit of the system was a kuli or about 144 feet square. A hundred kulis representing one Ma, and 20 Mas a Veli. Secondly, that the extent of land under this grant was about 6½ acres. Thirdly, it discloses the derivation of Trincomalee. It also reminds us that "black cows" are animals of greater sacredness than those of other colour."

This inscription was seen by the Dutch Governor Van Sanden in the year 1786, who has made the following interesting observation in his diary of 24/5/1786.

"On the east side was a figure sculptured which the Malabars say is the Weapon of the God of War Waireven who had authority over the sea and sea coast, and, as it is in some respects similar to Neptune's Trident, it may serve as a further proof of Appegyer and N de Sommerat's assertion that the Greek's derived their system of mythology from India. And on the West and South sides were inscriptions in Malabar but the North was vacant. My interpreter translated the inscription thus :

"The vannia of Trincomalee and the seven headmen of the Agipanars of the village of Cangevelly (Kankuveli) have dedicated this field and other advantages to be derived from that village to their God Konynaden. Whosoever intrudes on this gift or takes any of these advantages to himself will grievously sin. This dedication was confirmed in the presence of two priests of the Castes Tanam and Warrallepattoem."

Nevill who published a journal, on oriental subjects, called Taprobanian, had also seen this inscription. He has pointed out that the importance of this inscription lies in the fact that it confirms the authenticity of the Trincomalee Kalvettu.

There is another inscription which refers to this Temple and that is the inscription which was found on the Temple building by Constantine de Sa, the Portuguese Commander who destroyed the temple. He sent a copy of the inscription about the year 1627 AD) to the king of Portugal with a letter to the following effect "when I went there to make this Fort, I found engraved on the Pagoda among many other inscriptions one which ran thus :-

"This Pagoda has been built by _____ Nevertheless shall the time come that a nation of the Frangis will destroy it and thereafter shall no king of the Island of Ceylon rebuild it."

This was found among the Portuguese manuscripts at the Hague by Mr. E. B. Reimers, the Government Archivist. The inscription can still be seen at the entrance to Fort Frederick.

That this temple was under the jurisdiction of the King of Jaffna is clearly established by the reference to this temple in the Annual Letter of 1613, referred to by Rev. S. A. Perera in his article "Jesuits in Ceylon", ("Ceylon Antiquity", Vol.2, p.11). This letter referring to the Portuguese army which marched to Trincomalee says "The army finally reached the famous temple of Trincomalee, a massive structure of singular workmanship. It was of great height and was built of blackish granite on a rock projecting into the sea. Intent on building a fort on this rock, the General summoned the king of Jaffnapattam, but as he delayed to come, the General marched to Jaffna and made it clear to the king that he intended to build a fort there.



RELIGION AND THE STATE

In view of the endeavour being made by certain societies to ensure a specially privileged position to the religion of the majority race, in the new constitution, the following extract from "The Constitution of India" by Gajendragadkar who was Chief Justice of India till recently is of interest. "The Constitution makers realised that in a multi-religious community such as the Indian community, secularism alone was consistent with a true democratic spirit. India is not a theocracy; it is a secular democracy. India has no state religion as such. Hindus are undoubtedly a majority community in India. Even so, Hinduism is not the state religion of India. The Indian Constitution respects all religions alike and it lays down that so long as religions function within their respective legitimate spheres, the constitution is religiously neutral in regard to them. It is perhaps not unlikely that the constitution makers avoided the use of the word, "secularism" because the concept of secularism, as it developed in Europe in the nineteenth century was anti-religious and anti-God.

Indian secularism, it is necessary to emphasise, is not anti-God or anti-religion. It recognises the fact that all religions have elements of truth and no religion can claim the monopoly of truth. From ancient times Hindu philosophers have consistently proclaimed that all religions lead to God and, unlike some other religions, Hinduism has never put forth the claim that it alone is the true religion. This spirit of tolerance is the foundation of the theory of Indian secularism, which therefore treats all religions alike and does not expect any citizen to believe that one religion is better than another.

This belief is well illustrated by the relict of Asoka, the enlightened Emperor, whose dominion in ancient times (Circa 273-233 B.C.) spread over a substantial part of India.

"The increase of spiritual strength is of many forms. But the root is the guarding of one's speech so as to avoid the extolling of one's own religion to the decrying of the religion of another, or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance. As proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should also be honoured suitably. Acting in a contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and also does disservice to religions of others. One who reveres one's own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all other religions does injure one's own religion most certainly".

.....The problems which Indian democracy has to face are many and complex. But Indian democracy is determined not to allow any religious consideration to trespass into the discussion of these problems."

The above extract illustrates how very advantageous it is for a country to be a secular state. Fortunately Ceylon is more or less a secular state today. It is hoped that the new constitution will ensure that it is a secular state, and follow a neutral policy, adopted with considerable advantage by India.

There is an impression that in the pre-colonial period special place was assigned on occasions of state function, to Buddhism. It would, however, appear that on state occasions only the Brahmins officiated and Hindu rituals observed.

This may be inferred from what Ariyapala, (Society in Mediaeval Ceylon) says, "Purohito wielded great influence in the King's Court..... Institution of Purohito maintained to the last phases of Sinhalese Kingdom..... First chaplain mentioned is Canda in time of Pandukabhaya Appointment of a Brahmin par excellence in keeping with Indian traditions", and, that Hindu temples meant as much as Buddhist temples to the Buddhists. "In the Mahawamsa we shall see below, frequently controversies are reported between different Buddhist sects, but hardly any serious conflict between Brahmanism and Buddhism up to the beginning of the modern era I think the study of the Mahawamsa even which is compiled by Buddhist priests, shows us how fallacious it is entirely to separate Buddhism from Brahmanism We know moreover that Brahmanas and Samanas were equally supported by the ruler and it is a Buddhist priest by whom this is acknowledged and praised as a pious and meritorious work?"

In this context what K.M. de Silva points out, (Ceylon Historical Journal, p.91, Vol.10), is of interest. "It must be pointed out that Buddhism as it exists today and as it existed in 1815 was an amalgam of the original Theravada Buddhism and elements of Mahayana Buddhism and Hinduism. The fifth clause of the Kandyan Convention undertook to protect and maintain all this and not merely Theravada Buddhism pure and simple. A Sinhalese version of the convention printed in P.E. Peiris's "Sinhale and the Patriots", pp.591-593, makes this clear. There specific reference is made to the religion of the Buddha and the Agama of the Devas and protection is promised to both the viharayas and devalayas.

It is important to stress the three-fold nature of popular Buddhism because one of the arguments used by those who sought to sever the connection between the British government and Buddhism was that the Kandyan convention protected only the "pure" Theravada Buddhism."

It is relevant to note that the Kandyan Convention applies only to the Kandyan territory, conquered by the British in 1815, and administered separately for a period of time before it was amalgamated with the maritime provinces, and that too despite a prayer by the Kandyans, "may all meet with generous consideration, as to save their country from dismemberment, and from being incorporated with the maritime districts so that it may continue to subsist in the ancient integrity as the kingdom of Kandy, and retain its celebrated name of Sinhala", (Marshall, "Ceylon").

CASTE DISCRIMINATION

The publicity given to the question of discrimination on grounds of caste reminds me of observations made by Tope in his book on the Constitution of India, which I think will interest your readers.

Quoting article 17 of the Constitution pertaining to untouchability, he says the article does not define untouchability and quotes the Oxford English Dictionary which defines 'untouchability' as a non-caste Hindu whom caste men may not touch and goes on to observe that article (17) fulfils at least 'in law' though perhaps not in fact the dream of Gandhi who worked hard for eradication of untouchability.

Referring to temple administration, he points out that administration of its property has been placed on a different footing from its right to manage its own affairs which no legislation can take away.

Regarding temple entry, he has pointed out that the state can legislate, providing for social reform and welfare or throwing open of Hindu religious institutions of a public character to all classes and sections of Hindus.

He has also observed that the Supreme Court has pointed out legislation throwing open religious institutions must not be very wide in its application. It stated 'it is a traditional custom universally observed not to allow access to any outsider (i.e. a person not connected with the spiritual functions) to particularly sacred parts of a temple as for example, the place where the deity is located.

He has also observed that the Indian Constitution has adopted evolutionary methods for effecting religious and social reform in contrast with the drastic revolutionary methods used by Kemal Pasha.

The revolutionary method referred to by Tope is in accordance with the drastic or rather dramatic methods being attempted by the militant evangelists of our revolutionary parties and which in fact has slowed down what was being achieved by peaceful methods and even without recourse to the law. I believe this eradication was initiated by private persons long before the politicians arrived on the scene.

The reference to this question in the Encyclopaedia Brittanica is of considerable interest. It says "The greatest danger was that reformers might press on with the change for

political reasons before research had shown what should be preserved. It would be a tragedy if, though lack of understanding the opponents of caste should destroy what was good in their efforts to eradicate its evils, or if, in their efforts to save what was good, its defenders should find themselves defending what ought to be destroyed. »

RACIAL DISCRIMINATION

In view of the great efforts being made by Government to ensure that caste considerations are eliminated among the Hindus and the Hindu religious sects in the North, the views of the following authorities, of the caste considerations prevalent among the Buddhists and Buddhist religious bodies of the South are of interest.

C. E. Godakumbure, retired Archaeological Commissioner, says in the "Times of Ceylon", 25/3/1968.

" I have been following for sometime in your columns the subject of caste in the North. What baffles me is the attempt on the part of Buddhist monks to set right this social problem when distinctions of caste are rampant among their societies.

It is not a secret that the most influential and the largest order of monks in Ceylon, the Siamese Society, does not admit to the full ordination any one but a candidate who claims Goigama descent on both sides. This has resulted in monks of other castes also forming themselves into groups though not so openly.

The Hindu religion admits caste and it is very difficult for a follower of the teaching of .. and other great seers of the past to break from that tradition. But what excuse have the disciples of the Buddha, whether bhikku or layman, to adhere to a system which the Master condemned?

Not long ago I heard a discussion between two "learned" Buddhist monks where they misinterpreted the noble words of the Buddha which said that it was not birth but actions (conduct) which made a man an outcaste or a Brahman.

According to these bhikkus the passage meant "One's (previous) karma makes a man an outcaste or a Brahmana". They went on to comment that a person of low birth should not strive at great deeds. That in itself was a sin. The discussion was over Radio Ceylon. This is what the Buddhist monks of the eighteenth century openly taught, when they denied fellow human beings, admission into the order to strive for the highest goal. Had not a few good monks at the turn of the last century gone to Burma and brought a new ordination, very few persons in the coastal districts would have remained Buddhists. The majority of Buddhist monks still abide by their distorted interpretation of the Master's word.

When I was in places like Chunnakam, Kantharodai etc. in the Jaffna Peninsula, I came across a few youths who were anxious to enter the Buddhist order of monks. Now the Bhikku in charge of the Naga Vihare in Jaffna, I believe, belongs to the Siamese order. Can he admit them? May I request our Buddhist monks and lay leaders as well, to "cast out first the beam in their own eye" so that they may see clearly "to cast out the mole from their brother's eye"?

What have the two venerable prelates of Kandy to tell us? What is the verdict of our lay Buddhist leaders? What about the otherwise vociferous All Ceylon Buddhist Congress? Are they anxious to preserve the new rules of the societies of Buddhist monks, introduced in the eighteenth century, just as they were concerned over the araliya trees in our historical archaeological reserves?"

Raghavan in "India in Ceylonese History Society and Culture" -

"That caste and its evils were much in evidence in India of the Buddha's time, is clear from the several discourses of the Buddha and his methods in dealing with it. There is no indication of any segmentation of society in Ceylon into castes before the coming of Buddhism. It is one of the niceties of Ceylon's social history that the first positive indication of a multilateral social scene synchronises with the spread of Buddhism".

Bryce Ryan in "Caste in Modern Ceylon" -

"Whatever may have been the selectivity of priests during those centuries from the coming of Mahinda to Ceylon, and the advent of modern times, the eighteenth century knew the Sangha as a caste monopoly of the highest caste, i.e. "cultivators".

The question arises why the government does not extend its doubtlessly laudable efforts to eliminate barriers between man and man on grounds of caste in the South also. The reason is not that they lack any good intentions to do good to the people of the South, but that they are not in a position to defy the people of the South, unless they are prepared to climb down from their seats of power and of course deprive the country, at least the North, of their enlightened rule.

The above is clear from the pronouncement made by a Minister of the Government at a meeting, (Observer, 12/5/69) -

"The Government was conscious of certain drawbacks and shortcomings of the Sasana. But unfortunately, they were helpless as it was not their intention to rectify certain situations that demand reforming in the interest of the Sasana they were not living in the age of Parakramabahu or Rajasinghe who ruled the country with an iron hand If we legislate to control and supervise the ownership of the Sangha it would be misrepresented to the people and the government would lose favour among the people".

Of course, the above democratic considerations do not apply to the people of the North, particularly as the more they are defied the more favour the government will reap in the South.

This means legislating a and enforcing equalisation of castes, at the point of the bayonet, as done in the temples of Jaffna, is different from using iron-hand methods on the people in the South. This discrimination does not offend the law as it stands at present as it is only a racial discrimination, not caste.

CASTE DISCRIMINATION BY RELIGIONS

With reference to the question of caste discriminations by religions against minority castes raised by political leaders and the publicity the matter has received, I am giving below some views expressed by outstanding historians, statesmen, scholars, and experienced administrators, which will I think interest your readers and also enable them to form their own opinions on this vital subject. The views of Hewit have already been communicated on an earlier occasion but is included in this communication also so as to give a connected picture of the subject matter as a whole.

Masson, Cursel, Grabrouska and Sterna have in their book "Ancient India" expressed the view that the caste of Brahmans who organised caste gave itself chief position and that way for the caste system was prepared by Aryan customs and institutions was the work of Brahman Priesthood.

Basma, Reader in History of India of the University of London in "The Wonder that was India" says "when the Aryans entered India there was already a class division in their tribal structure The four classes, the Priest (Brahmana), the Warrior (Ksatriya), Peasant (Vasiya) and Serf (Sudra) were crystallising throughout the period of Rg-Veda. They have survived to the present day Early Tamil literature gives no evidence of caste, but the growth of Aryan influence and the development of a more complex political and economic structure produced a system in some ways more rigid than that of the North.

Chatterji, ex-Professor, Comparative Philology, Calcutta, ex-President, Bengal Legislative Assembly and erudite historian has in his work "Dravidian" expressed the view that Buddhism was a revolt of the masses against the priestly classes.

Nehru has in his "Glimpses of World History" observed "Buddhism was a revolt against caste and priest-craft and ritualism. Gautama did not approve of image worship. He did not claim to be a god to be worshipped. He was the Enlightened one, the Buddha. In accordance with this ideology, Buddha was not represented in images and the architecture of those days avoided all images. But the Brahmans wanted to bridge the gap between Hinduism and Buddhism and were all trying to introduce Hindu ideas and symbolism into Buddhist thought; and the craftsmen from the Graeco-Roman world were also used to making images of the gods. Thus gradually images crept into the Buddhist shrines. To begin with they were not of the Buddha but of the Bodhi-Sattvas, who, in Buddhist tradition, are said to be previous incarnations of Buddha. The process continued till Buddha himself was depicted in images and worshipped."

Hewit who was Commissioner Chota, Nagpur has in a paper to the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1888 observed - "The priests who wrote for the most part, after the caste system, resulting from the amalgamation of the different races, had become an article of the Brahmin faith, made it their object to secure general recognition and thereby make Brahmins as priests of Gods and guardians of national morality, supreme in church and state.

It was the Brahmins who displayed great industry and unwearying tenacity of the race it was the Brahmins who waited for their chance during many centuries of Buddhist rule who again led the revival of eclectic Hinduism and the final development of the caste system which culminated in the 8th and 9th centuries in the absorption of Buddhism on Vishnuism into the Hindu religion and the destruction of Hindu national life, the interest of the caste being substituted for that of the nation". .

B. C. Law, Fellow, Calcutta University, in his "Indo-logical Studies" points out that Brahminism and Muslim conquest dealt final blow to Buddhism and monks fled with manuscripts to Nepal, Tibet, Burma, Kambuja, Orissa and South India.

Raghavan who was Emeritus Ethnologist, National Museum of Ceylon, in his work pertaining to "Society and Culture," states - "That caste and its evils were much in evidence in the India of the Buddha's time, is clear from the several discourses of the Buddha and his methods in dealing with it. There is no indication of any segmentation of society in Ceylon into castes before the coming of Buddhism. It is one of the niceties of Ceylon's social history that the first positive indication of a multilateral social scene synchronises with the spread of Buddhism." The earliestst reference he points out is contained in the works of the Mahawansa ~~la~~ setting out the retinue of peoples that accompanied the Bo-tree from India to Ceylon.

Geiger, a recognised authority, who has spent a life time, 50 years, in researches on the Sinhalese language, culture, etc. says in his book "Mediaeval Culture, Ceylon", in reference to Sinhalese culture - "The fundamental basis of this culture was the Caste-System which in the course of time gradually had become very complicated, with innumerable subdivisions and with a vast number of prescriptions and regulations."

Rice, who was the Director of Public Instruction, Mysore, has in a contribution to "The Madras Journal of Science - 1878" - pointed out "Greeks were favourable to Buddhism which owed its success in India most likely to the support of the non-Aryan population."

AUTONOMY IN INDIA AND CEYLON FROM ROMAN TIMES

In view of the interest created in the country on the subject of District Councils, I think the following observations made by the historian Nilkanta Sastri in his work on the "Cblas" will be read with interest. This also gives some indications of the standard and methods of government prevailing in olden times.

"The encomiums bestowed on ancient village republics of India by the observant British administrators of the early 19th century, though, we may not accept them as literally true, are clear proof that, until then, the village continued to be the real centre of social life and the principal nursery of social virtues. And from the hundreds of Cola inscriptions that have come down to us, we see that under the Colas the villages of Southern India were full of vigour and strength.....

The beginnings of the system of village government that we see in full swing under the Colas must be sought in an earlier age. The Pandya and Pallava inscriptions of the 8th and 9th centuries, Shewa system, very similar, but not quite so developed in operation throughout the Tamil country.

Government by means of primary assemblies comprising the adult males of each village was the central feature of rural organisation They were subject to general supervision, in particular a periodical audit of their financial transactions, by the officials of the King's government. Otherwise, they were left to themselves where important business was transacted by these assemblies, such as a change in their constitutional procedure or an alteration of land rights affecting the revenues of government, their meetings were attended by officers of the King's government That the villages were little republics which had a large measure of autonomy in the management of their own affairs is seen from the powers of taxation for local purposes and of granting exemptions from such taxes and dues enjoyed by their assemblies and from the separate staff, comprising doubtless only a few officials employed and controlled by them. Of their power of taxation for local purposes, an idea may be formed from the instances in which assemblies grant remissions and assignments of dues without any reference to the King's government and in the exercise of their own power Between an able bureaucracy and the active local assemblies which in various ways fostered a live sense of citizenship, there was attained a high standard of administrative efficiency and purity, perhaps the highest ever attained by the Hindu state

A remarkable parallel on the position of townships in the Cola empire is furnished by that of the cities of Gaul in the Roman Empire as can be seen from the description of the latter by Fustel de Coulanges, "Each city possessed its public property comprising buildings, land, capital fund, contributions. It could receive donations and requests. It directly administered all this property. It regulated land rights and lent out its money on interest. It got contributions for itself such as octrois, market dues, tolls on bridges and roads the imperial government had no agent always present in the city It possessed its directing Senate, its corps of magistrates, its jurisdiction, its police, its treasury, its goods moveable and immoveable, its public fund, its schools, its clergy, and its high priests. None of all these came to it from outside. Magistrates, professors, priests, everyone was found within".

The reference to the parallel in the institutions between South India and the Cities of Gaul in the Roman Empire is not in the least surprising, as there was more intercourse between South India and certainly at least North Ceylon and Rome early in the Christian and Prechristian era, mainly on account of trade, than ever since. V. A. Smith has pointed out in an article of great interest to historians and scholars on Graeco-Roman influence in India in the R.A.S. Bengal Journal of 1889, "I can see no reason what ever to feel sceptical about reality of diffusion to a limited extent of Greek books in Greek among the learned classes of India during the early centuries of our era why it should be supposed incredible that Kalidasa could read plays of Menander I cannot imagine".

Hookerji laterly of Calcutta University quotes Foulkes as saying "The fact is now scarcely to be doubted that the rich oriental merchandise of the days of King Hiram and King Solomon had its starting place in the sea ports of Dakkan and that with a very high degree of probability of some of the most esteemed of the spices which were carried into Egypt by the Mediantish merchants of Genesis XXX Vii 25, 28 and by the sons of the Patriarch Jacob (Gen: XIiii.ii) had been cultivated in the spice gardens of Dakhan".

Hookerji observes further "The labours of Von Bohlen confirming those of Lassen have established the existence of Martime Commerce between India and Arabia from the very earliest period of humanity". "More interesting and reliable information regarding some of these South Indian ports is supplied by the Tamil literature of the times in which are contained descriptions of magnitude and magnificience which cannot fail to bring home to our minds the throbbing international life pervading entire Tamilakan".

"The Greek names for rice (Oryza), Ginger (Zingiber), and Cinnamon (Karpion) have close correspondence with their Tamil equivalent viz. arisi, inchiver and karava, respectively and this identity of Greek with Tamil words clearly indicates that it was the Greek merchants who conveyed these articles and their names to Europe from the Tamil land". The words Oryza and Zingiber have been used by Ptolemy about 100 A.D. in his geography of Ceylon.

Information relevant to the degree of prosperity and maritime activity reached in Ceylon also at the same time as in the South Indian ports, is provided by the famous German geographer and historian Heeren, based on information of a highly authentic nature supplied by Sir Alexander Johnstone.

The degree of authenticity and reliability of the information supplied by Sir Johnstone, who also held the post of Chief Justice of Ceylon can be gauged from the following extracts from a communication by him to the R.A.S. Great Britain in 1827 where he says "The late Sir Thomas Maitland that I might be enabled to afford His Majesty's Ministers such recent information as they might require sent me in 1806 on a circuit completely round the island with the fullest powers to collect authentic and detailed information relative to the ancient and modern history of the country, origin of all the different classes of inhabitants, their laws, their castes, their religion, their language, their agriculture, their manufactures, and their commerce In the course of the inquiry all the best informed men of the island zealously cooperated from every part of their respective districts".

In his "Historical Works" Heeren states "upwards of 300 years before Christ, and consequently of nine hundred years before the time of Cosmas, the island of Ceylon and above all the northern part, together with the channel which divides it from the Indian continent, was the seat of a very active and opulent trade". He also continues to state that the trade was in the hands of the Arabians, Persians and Malabars.

I finally quote from an article by Kennedy in the journal of R.A.S. Great Britain, 1898, where he says "Every unknown article which we find imported by sea into Babylon before 500 B.C. brought with it a Dravidian, not a Sanskrit, designation." This is also convincing proof of the Tamil origin of the articles from India and Ceylon in Biblical times, when South India and at least North Ceylon, formed the heart of the commercial world for about 25 centuries. That this should be so is nothing unusual

when it is appreciated that even the greater part of North India was also Dravidian before the Aryans invaded India, according to Masson-Oursel, Nehru, Chatterji (late of Calcutta University), Mendis (late of Ceylon University) and Burrows (presently) of Oxford University). ~~This also explains the presence of the trilingual (Tamil, Chinese, Arabic) inscriptions at a port in the South of Ceylon as recently as about the 14th century, A.D. This can still be seen at the Colombo Museum.~~

That a people who had a trade with the known world for about 25 centuries should have had an enlightened form of government with a large measure of autonomy even at village level can be easily understood.

(Vol 18, pp 358-359).

In a communication to R.A.S.G.B., ¹⁸⁶⁰ 1860, pertaining to an embassy to Rome from Ceylon about 50 A.D. and the ~~Famil~~ ^{Famil} people who probably occupied North Ceylon at that time, Ode ^{O de} ~~Banvoir~~ ^{Banvoir} ~~Biaulx~~ ^{Biaulx} says that "even at this day ~~they are~~ ^{we find them} distinguishable ^{from the Sinhalese} by qualities which we are accustomed to look upon as the characteristics of a free people or at least of people living under known laws. They are industrious, persevering, intelligent, orderly, provident and have a keen sense of the rights and advantages of property there you everywhere meet with something that tells of Municipal care or individual exertion, but with nothing that is the work of an imperial will aided by imperial sources."

Since writing above a valuable Tamil inscription to prove that the system of Cola administration actually prevailed, at least in Tamil districts, have been uncovered in Trincomalee district by Indrapala. He says ("Cola Occupation Of Polonnaruwa" Sun, 3/8/1972) "This record is significant in many respects. It provides us information relating to the arrangements made by the Cola emperors for the administration of Ceylon as a province of their empire. It also helps us to know something about the working of local assemblies at least in the villages inhabited by Tamils..... This inscription refers to the deliberations of the local assembly of Rajaraja eaturvedi-mangalam (Kantalai), to the tax collectors of that village (who also

HERODOTUS AND THE HOLY WRIT

My purpose in writing this article is to draw attention to an aspect of the Bible which would appear to me not to have been adequately appreciated and that is that it is a very valuable source book for historical and geographical research.

Keller in his book "The Bible as History", has very ably proved that the Bible is a most valuable historical document. Douglas a very learned writer has also written articles which also illustrate in a convincing manner this aspect of the Bible. Any one interested in this subject will find his contributions written in a very elegant style, of absorbing interest.

His articles appears in volumes V & VI of the Ceylon Literary Register. The editor has pointed out that Douglas, who was a businessman in Bombay, was the most accomplished writer in all India at that time. The few extracts I quote below will show that this was no idle tribute.

"It is said in the Bible, "And it came to pass that night, that the Angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians a hundred four score and five thousand; and they arose early in the morning, behold they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib, King of Assyria departed and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh (2 Kings 19)".

Herodotus the famous traveller of the 5th century B.C. refers to this subject in his records and regarding which Douglas, ("Ceylon Literary Register", 1891-92), has this to say, "Belshazzar's Feast and the Fall of Babylon have exercised the imagination of many a poet and painter, and criticism stands abashed at the glowing narrative.

It may serve however, to strengthen a wavering faith in the Holy Writ that Herodotus is explicit enough on the feasting and dancing on that memorable night. He says, the city was taken at both extremities, some time before it was known at the great Royal rendezvous. The statement of Herodotus that the destruction of Senachrib's army was due to field mice is a rude awakening to our preconceived notions, and looks askance at the poet's pen and painter's brush, though it detracts nothing from him whose name is the Almighty. It is a sharp descent, however, as one would say, from the wing of an archangel to one of the smallest of God's living creatures. The means are different but the end is the same.

The nibbling of mice may have been as effective as the breath of an archangel. "Look at me and learn to reverence the Gods" was the inscription which Herodotus tells us was placed on a statue of Vulcan, with a mouse in its open palm, erected at Memphis as supposed to commemorate the event, and we can only repeat the dictum :-

"Where reason fails with all her powers,
There faith prevails and love adores."

The version of Herodotus presupposes I imagine that the mice must have devoured the food of the army before they attacked their thongs, bucklers and bowstrings. In Greek, mouse and rat are the same word; in Latin, the rat of Egypt, *mus Egyptius*. In 1879, millions of rats invaded the Dekhan and destroyed the crops over a thousand miles".

The above quotation which the reader will perceive provides ample data to justify the tribute paid to Douglas by the editor also conveys the depth of scholarship revealed by him.

The reference by Douglas to the destruction of Sennacherib's army as due to field mice and the descent from the wing of an archangel to one of the smallest of God's living creatures is of interest as while he points out that Herodotus has confirmed the Bible where it refers to the decimation of Sennacherib's army he doubts the reference to the archangel as the means of the destruction of the army. The reference to the archangel is symbolic and is actually a reference to the scourge of plague which was actually the immediate cause of the destruction of the armed might of Sennacherib.

That it was not the rats themselves but the plague that was the cause of this disaster can be inferred from what Keller has pointed out in his, "The Bible as History", where he says at page 257, "Whilst the Assyrian records are enveloped in a veil of secrecy, the Bible says: "And it came to pass that night, that the angel of the Lord went out, and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred four score and five thousand, and when they arose early in the morning, behold, they were all dead corpses. So Sennacherib, King of Assyria departed and went and returned, and dwelt at Nineveh". (2 Kings 19)¶

Herodotus of Halicarnessus, the most famous traveller in the ancient world,..... helped to solve the puzzle In Egypt he had a long conversation with a temple priest who imparted a strange story to the inquisitive Greek.

It happened that at the very time that Sennacherib the Assyrian marched against Egypt with a large armed force, there was a priest king on the throne of Egypt who treated

the army as a contemptible profession. The Egyptian warriors, who had been so disdainfully dealt with, refused to take the field. Thereupon the priest king hurried to the temple in deep despair. There he was told, God would help him. Replying upon this, the king, who had actually no soldiers behind him but only shopkeepers, tradesmen and market folk went to meet Sennacherib. At the narrow entrances into the country "an army of field mice swarmed over their opponents in the night gnawed through their quivers and their bows, and the handles of their shields, so that on the following day they fled minus their arms and a great number of of them fell. Hence concludes Herodotus' story, "this king still stands in Hephaestus' temple with a mouse in his hand, and with the following inscription, "Look on me and live in safety".

However obscure the meaning of this religious legend may be, it's core is historical.

For the peoples of the ancient world - as also for the Bible (1 Samuel) - the mouse was what the rat was for the people of the middle Ages. It was the symbol of plague.

On the edge of the city of Lakkish, Starkey, the archaeologist, found shocking proof of the story ^{of} 1938: A mass grave in the rock with 2000 human skeletons, unmistakably thrown in with the utmost haste. The epidemic must have raged with frightful destruction among the Assyrian warriors".

Further confirmation of the devastation of countries by plague introduced by rats is provided by De Queroz in his book, "Conquest of Ceylon" where at page 15 he says, "But as all human prosperity has its limits, and great riches become an incentive to great vices, when this City and Kingdom was most prosperous, then were they ruined entirely, there preceding a protracted civil war followed by a contagion of small pox, which is the plague of these nations and warm climates, where it attacks the same person two or three times.

There was added to this a lack of provisions and an invasion of poisonous rats, and by these scourges the greater part of the people of that City perished in punishment, as they confess of unspeakable crime....."

The reference to poisonous rats is of significance in this context. Thus we see that the archaeologist has helped to restore our faith in the poet, the painter and the Holy Writ.

As Douglas has pointed out in an article "East and West of Old" (Ceylon Literary Register 1890-91), the Bible is the best source for the studies of ancient land routes along which the commerce of the ancients was carried between East and West.

The prominence attained by cities like Alexandria, Babylon was undoubtedly due to their position on these ancient routes. One is not surprised at the fabulous reputation that Babylon enjoyed at a point of time in history when it is remembered that all the commerce between East and West passed through this city when she was in the zenith of her glory. Douglas has even raised the question whether Mecca did not acquire prominence even before it became associated with the Prophet Mohamed. It is trade and commerce that originally carried culture and religion round the world. It is also of interest to note in this context that as far as I am aware the earliest missionary to come East from the West of Europe was Bishop Sighelmus ("Ceylon", Officer of Ceylon Rifles, Vol.1, p.299 and Portuguese Discoveries and Dependencies by D'Orsey, p.47). Officer of the Ceylon Rifles has pointed out that Sighelmus "was sent by King Alfred in 833 to India on a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas, and returned laden with spices, as related by William of Malmesbury (Book 2) but, he makes no mention of Ceylon," while D'Orsey has pointed out that he was Bishop of Sherborne.

King Alfred who was a scholar himself was familiar with the history and geography of India and Ceylon as he had translated the geography of the Spanish writer Orosius into Anglo Saxon. In fact he was the earliest scholar to indicate correctly the position of Ceylon in relation to India.

Referring to the ancient commerce and trade routes Douglas points out, "The means of the intercourse between European and Asiatic sea-ports in the dim ages that preceded the construction of large sea going ships is a subject full of interesting details which ought not to be permitted to pass into oblivion. It has been well remarked by Heren that the grand feature of ancient commerce, as distinguished from the commerce of later times, is that it was almost exclusively confined to the land A long uninterrupted continent, in modern times the greatest obstacle to commerce constituted in earlier times its chief facility. The desert steppes of Asia formed the mercantile ocean of ancients and the companies of "camels their fleets".

Referring further to the trade from the East he says "we learn from the words of the Prophet Ezekiel who says the merchants of Dedan brought the merchandise of the Persian Gulf to Tyre, the Phoenician capital on the Mediterranean coast.

This route must consequently have run through the North-easterly part of the land. Addressing the city of Tyre (Eck.-xxvii, 15) he says :- "The men of Dedan were they merchants; many isles were the merchandise of thy land; they brought thee for a present ebony and horns of ivory;" The whole chapter is occupied with the subject of the ancient caravan trade between the East and West, and well repays perusal on this account alone. The fact of the commercial intercourse thus alluded to is still further proved by a passage from Isaiah who when he threatens Arabia with a foreign invasion forgets not to mention the interruption it would cause to its commerce. He says (xxi, 13-16) :- "In the wilderness of Arabia will ye be benighted. O ye caravans of Dedan! To the thirsty bring out water, O inhabitants of Tema! Bring forth bread for the fugitives, for they flee before the sword and before the fury of war! In other words, the trading caravans which had hitherto journeyed undisturbed were to be driven off the usual route by the approach of the enemy, and compelled to pass their nights in the wilderness, where the hospitable tribes of the Tema would, out of compassion bring them water and bread. These passages clearly prove the existence of the caravan trade by the eastern route in very ancient times, and they are of the greater importance as evidence from the infrequency with which the caravans are mentioned by historical writers. It is from the prophetic writings rather than from the secular historians that the extent of the commerce of the ancient world may be gathered.

Regarding the large scale transport of peoples from one country to another by the Emperors and Monarchs of old he makes the following interesting observation, "The tyrants of these times had no scruple in transplanting peoples. The bulk of the inhabitants of Miletus, in Asia Minor, were transported into Inner Asia and settled on the Persian Gulf.

The Colchians were supposed to be a colony of transplanted Egyptians or Indians, the Paconians of Asia Minor, and the Erotians to Susians, and the greatest of all, Sennacherib carried off to Nineveh 200000 Jews from Judah and Jerusalem. If you are incredulous of the Holy Writ, you can read the fact graven on the rock of Behistun. And of the other captivity the evidence exists on this, that now (1891) half the population of Baghdad are descendants of the Jews."

SOME ANCIENT HINDU TEMPLES

I am giving below some notes on some ancient Hindu temples of Ceylon which may be of interest and use to those interested in this subject. In this article I am making reference to historical records which as far as I am aware are not generally known and will therefore be of interest and value to those who wish to investigate the history of these ancient temples.

Tirukoneswaram

There are many articles that have been written on this temple which give many historical references to this temple. The two references as far as I am aware which do not appear to have been generally known are the references to General Azevedo who after he reached Trincomalee made a special march to Jaffna to apprise Sankili of his intention to build a fort at Trincomalee, and a reference to the cremation of a king of Kotte at Trincomalee.

The first reference is of historical importance as it would appear to be the only record which makes a specific reference to the authority exercised by Sankili over Tirukoneswaram.

The references are:- "Jesuits of Ceylon", (Ceylon Antiquary, Vol.2, p11), "The army finally reached the famous temple of Trincomalee, a massive structure of singular workmanship. It was of great height and was built of blackish granite on a rock projecting into the sea. Intent on building a fort on this rock, the General summoned the king of Jaffnapatam, but as he delayed to come, the General marched to Jaffna and made it clear to the king that he intended to build a fort there."

De Queroz (Ceylon, pp 295, 296), "It is scarcely possible to describe the grief which the Chingalese showed, when they heard that their king was killed which caused sorrow even to those who listened to them; they called him Father of the Country and its defender. The soldiers threw down their arms at his feet to show that they were of no avail in his death. The Courtiers and Citizens over and above their customary mourning added another, and mourned for the government that was over. The women cutting their hair also protested their widowhood. Sadness reigned everywhere, and everything was in confusion, because they thought that their Empire had ended with Boneca-Bau and because this king was beloved of all, for as he was affable, he was esteemed by those who knew how to value this quality, and few feared his rigour..... He was of good stature, eyes somewhat

small, in colour fair more inclined to white than black, gay in conversation, acute and piquant in speech, but truthful in his dealings. From Calane he was taken to Cota, and thence to Triquilimale, where he had prepared his resting place, all making reverence to him in their fashion, for they say he died a great pagan".

Verukal Kovil

I am not sure if this temple is in existence today. Nevill has dealt with an interesting inscription pertaining to this temple, in his journal "Taprobanian", (Vol.2, p163). According to him the inscription reads as follows : "The wall on the South is the gift of Kayila Wanniyen, the Western side of Simmapillai of Palai, son of Tamasa, the northern side of the people of Maida-kkalapur of Nikompukkaraiyur, and the gift of the Seddis (is the eastern)."

He has also made some interesting observations regarding the temple. The following extract is of interest, "This famous little temple stands up on a site sacred to Kataragama Deva or Skanda (formerly Mithra), upon the northern bank of the ~~Vesukal~~^{Vesukal} of the Mavili-ganga, and near its mouth. The site is of such great antiquity that it is traditionally said to have been visited by Skanda himself, after his fight with Suran. The sanctuary is a small square stone building, with a modern stucco top, covered with grotesque mouldings of the style now effected by Vellalas,..... It is said this court was built by one Nalla Nayaka Chetti, but there is only the name and tradition..... The temple now holds in its sanctuary a large brass group of Skanda and his two wives, but anciently there was only the usual velordart"

This temple was visited by Governor Falck. This is recorded in a diary of a tour undertaken by him in 1767. The record is as follows "After crossing three small streams and some level paddy fields we passed through Tsjed-ara-weele and arrived at Suamikoil or Wirgell~~koil~~ (Verukal), a large stone built heathen (Hindu) temple."

Devinuwara Temple

Several historians including the famous traveller Ibn Batuta have written on this famous temple. The record by Iban Batuta is of special interest and I am therefore reproducing it in this article. It is an extract from the Ceylon Literary Register, (Vol.1, 1931, 3rd series, p202).

The extract reads as follows: "The town of Dinewar, large one, built near the city and inhabited by merchants. In a vast temple is seen an idol bearing the same name as the town. In this temple are upwards of a thousand Brahmins and djoguis (Yogis) and about five hundred women, born of idolater fathers, who sing and dance every night before the statute. The town and its revenues are the private property of the idol, all who live in the temple and who visit it are supported therefrom. The statute is of gold and of the size of a man. In place of eyes it has two large rubies, and I was told that they shone by night like two lamps."

This temple is indicated in Ptolemy's Geography (100 A.D), where the town is referred to as "Sacred to the Moon," an obvious reference to the temple. I have dealt with this in my book "Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography", a typescript copy of a second edition, which deals with the city of Devinuwara, in more detail, is available at the Colombo Museum.

This temple is also referred to in the Kokilay Sandesaya.

There is one reference which would appear not to be known generally but is of special importance as it specifically establishes that the Buddhist temple there is of recent origin.

The reference is by Johnville, who was the first Surveyor General of Ceylon. He has noted in his diary when travelling with Governor North in 1800 "what little remains of the ancient edifice shows its plan, a long rectangle to which corresponds a gallery of 3 or four hundred pillars. The new temple is insignificant. Among other debris on the ground is a lingam 2½ feet long, which the priest of the place called "Isvare roupe, "Figure of Isvara." A temple to Boudhou was being built near this pagoda," (Travels in Ceylon, 1700-1800, translated by Raven Hart, p87).

McKenzie who was a Surveyor-General of India had inspected temples on the west and south coasts of Ceylon, when he was serving in the army in 1796.

He has made some interesting observations on this temple in the Asiatic Researches, (Vol.6, p441), where he says "On narrowly examining these remains, little doubt remained in my mind that this was the site of an ancient Hindu temple, on

the ruins of which the Cingalese building was raised at a much later period..... We need not be surprised to find a game of Mahadeo reared on the utmost bounds of Lanka-deepa and their habitable world, and shall be ready to suppose that the ablutions at the furthest point of Ramiser became the greatest extent of their pilgrimages only, when revolutions, of which we have yet no distinct accounts, and the introduction of foreign religion and nations into Ceylon, rendered the pilgrimage to Devincor no longer practical.

Muneswaram Temple

There are two ancient references to this temple which refer to the destruction of this temple about the year 1756.

The references are as follows, De Queroz, ("Ceylon", pp426, 427), "The (the Portuguese army), made their way a league up the River and on its bank in spite of the resistance of the natives, they destroyed the villages of Chilao and Marjesirao (Muneswaram), with fire and sword..... They destroyed for the third time Nigumbo, Caymel and Alugao, and with many other spoils they passed on to the ancient Pagode of Munucarao, razed it to the ground....."

Jesuit Letter 1610, ("Ceylon Antiquary", Vol.2, 1916-1917, Part 2, p81), "We wrote last year that the famous idol of Monoceram was completely overthrown and the infamous stone shattered,..... The Church of St. Paul is built near this idol, and in front of it a Cross was erected in commemoration of the event."

Thiruketiswaram Temple

Nevill has recorded some very interesting and valuable information relating to this temple and the famous ancient city of Mantota. These references ^{are} given in his book Taprobanian, (Vol.2, p165).

9 He has dealt with various aspects including the contact this city had with Roman and even Phoenician trade. He has placed on record valuable references to Roman, Bactrian, Pandian, and Sinhalese coins. He also says "we have an abundant scattering of slug, of glass, stone ware, pottery, beads, files, pumice and other polishing and cutting ~~tools~~ tools of ancient workmen....."

Regarding the city and the trade he says "This city was a great emporium, the population of which mainly belonged

to the Kadiyar race, where it attracted the cupidity of the Portugese. In 1543 A.D., a missionary sent by St. Francis Xavier, converted these people to Christianity, but the political use made of their conversion so excited and alarmed the Chakravarti Raja of Jaffna, their ruler, that he nearly extirpated the new religion by the wholesale executions which took place about 1546 A.D.

The trade of the port was then shattered, and when the Portuguese finally destroyed the Tamil rule, in 1590, the old port was abandoned in favour of Mannar, which could be defended by the shallow channel between it and the main island, from a sudden surprise by land. When they took final possession, they sacked and burned the city of Mantotte and razed its ancient temple to the ground

Nevill does not give the authority for his statement that the Portuguese burned the city and razed the city to the ground. As far as I am aware, no Portuguese writer has mentioned this. We have therefore the authority of a very erudite scholar who appears to have made on the spot investigations and the strong probability that as in the case of many other temples, this temple was also destroyed by the Portuguese.

Thir^u Kovil

Nevill has referred to this temple in his Dravidian Journal of Oriental Sides, ("Taprobanian", Vol.1, p4). I am quoting below a few extracts. Anyone interested in pursuing the history of this temple will find his notes of interest and use.

He says in his Journal " I propose to edit from time to time in this Journal such Tamil inscriptions as may be discovered in Ceylon. I now give one conveying land to the Sivanana Sankakara Kovil, now known as Thirukowil in the Batticaloa District."

He has quoted the inscription and given a translation of same.

He makes the following observation regarding the inscription: "Vovila is now called in Tamil Vevil and is a tract of fields some four miles South of the temple, the Sinhalese name of which I have ascertained to be Bowila. Sivanana Sankakara was an ancient benefactor of the temple, which is dedicated to Kathirai-andavan, or Kathiragam Deva, a form of Skanda....."

Nallur Temple

The Temple of Nallur or the Holy City as the name would imply was destroyed in about the year 1560 when the Portuguese attacked the city.

When the city of Nallur was taken, Sankili who was the king at the time, betook himself to the Palace which appears to have been outside the city and when he was further pressed he fled to his fortress at Kopay.

The following extracts pertaining to this temple and the Palace at Nallur are of interest.

De Queroz ("Ceylon", pp361 and 363), "When the city was taken, the Prince advised his Father to betake himself to the Palace outside it, defended by a small fortalice; and so he did for greater security. Our men found good spoil and some women of quality whom the Viceroy entrusted to Luis de Melo da Silva and to D. Antoniode Noranha, who treated them with all honour;"

Referring to his flight from his palace, De Queroz says, "He ordered things of greater importance to be removed from the Palace and entrusted the Queen and other women to the son to be put in safety. Then he set out with some soldiery, but hearing noises at a short distance, he thought they were Portugese and was about to turn back, when he was assured that they were his own men who were retiring through that place. They in turn, being misled in the same manner as the Prince, fled to the woods, whence they returned at the daylight watch to burn the Palaces to which the King set fire with his own hands..... Thus he sallied out of the praca with the pagodes on his back, but without the tooth of Buddum, which had remained there on the death of Tribule and was found in the city, and he followed the Prince who had encamped a league and half from the place in a strong house of sunbaked brick....."

The strong house of sunbaked brick is actually the fortress of Sankili at Kppay of which Fr. Gnanapragasar says "(Ceylon Antiquasy", Vol.2, Pt.3, p194), "When the Portuguese under Constantino de Braganza invaded Jaffna for the first time in 1560, the reigning king - the usurper called Sankili by some and Xaga Raja or Chaga Raja Segaran by others - fled from his palace at Nallur which he had set on fire and "retired" to a fortress that lay a league and a half from there", says Diego de Conto, the official Portuguese historian of those times.

This fortress was, adds the same author, "built entirely of unburnt bricks, with its bastions and round turrets, very well made and pretty strong".

Subsequently when the Portuguese took full possession of Jaffna, a church was built on this site. It is now a private property, called by the people Palaiya Koddai (the old fort), according to Fr. Gnanapragasar.

TRADITIONS NOT BRICK AND MORTAR

I wonder how much credence can be given to the astonishing report in a press to the effect that government proposes to dissolve Parameshwara College and convert it into an University. However, as the report has not been contradicted, I presume that some credence can be given to this report.

I am surprised that the government should make such an astounding proposal to dissolve by the stroke of the pen, an institution built over a period of decades by private enterprise, and convert it into an University. Those responsible for this move should realise that it is tradition over the years, not brick and mortar, that build up seats of learning.

One can appreciate the predicament in which the government is placed by the revolt in the seats of learning in Ceylon resulting not only in closing some teaching colleges but also in serious physical damage to the institutions themselves.

Having made a mess of the teaching institutions within a few months of assuming office the government has the hardihood to dissolve institutions built over the years by the sweat and toil of private enterprise and hallowed by tradition, so as to find a place for Tamil scholars who are being arbitrarily denied the place they have won by sheer merit and industry at the University of Ceylon at Peradeniya and satiate communal pressures.

This shortsighted, parochial and communal policy will mean that apart from Tamil students being denied good academic education, the students of Jaffna will have to do with less and less of schools, as if this policy is to be seriously followed, there is nothing to prevent further schools being dissolved when further communal violence is threatened against students following courses other than science and engineering.

Such ad hoc and irresponsible proposals would not have been considered by those at the helm of affairs if they knew that a high standard of culture, scholarship and learning has been associated with the North and its people over the centuries. It is a mistake to think that equipment alone makes a successful scholar, though in the present situation even this test has not been impartially applied. In support of the above I quote the following authorities.

Malalasekera when interviewed by the Ceylon Daily News regarding the admissions in 1969 pointed out that the schools in Jaffna provided facilities for the study of science subjects and that the students were enterprising who did well at examinations.

A Dutch Governor had been so impressed by the proficiency of students of Jaffna that he has left on record how students conversed in Latin.

Another Dutch Governor, Van Sanden if I remember correctly who was born in Ceylon, had his entire education in Jaffna.

Tamil farmers used to study Aristotle to improve themselves. This can be inferred from what Sir Alexander Johnstone has said of a Juror who appeared in a murder trial. His conduct at the trial caused such a stir in the country that he sent for him to ascertain how he had acquired such mental acumen. To his surprise he produced a book, which to Sir Alexander Johnstone's surprise was none other than the Dialectics of Aristotle in the Tamil language.

Law (Pali Literature) says "According to Edward Muller in early times it was North West of Ceylon which was the seat of culture pointing to influence of South India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges Valley."

Malalasekera has pointed out (Pali Literature of Ceylon), "The Tamils of South India, w then as now were earnest students of Sanskrit literature and we may well presume that their existence in the island helped much in encouraging the study of Sanskrit in Ceylon."

Colebrook one of His Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the administration of Ceylon, has pointed out, (24/12/1831), "There is a small English class in the central establishment of the Church Missionaries at Cotta, near Colombo, and a large one in the principal seminary of the American Missionaries at Batticotta, near Jaffnapatam. In both Seminaries, but chiefly in the latter, the students have made some creditable proficiency in mathematics and in other branches of useful knowledge, affording the most satisfactory proofs of the capacity of the natives, and of their disposition to avail themselves of the opportunities of improvement afforded to them.

The American missionaries are fully impressed with the importance of rendering the English language the general medium of instruction, and of the inestimable value of this acquirement in itself to the people.

As the northern districts of the island are chiefly indebted to these missionaries for the progress of education, the benefits of which are already experienced it is but just to recommend that they should receive all the encouragement from the government, to which their exertions and exemplary conduct have entitled them".

The above amply testify to the high standard of scholarship and culture in the North for centuries and what is even of more immediate relevance is the earnestness and exertions of the Tamils to improve themselves and which along brings them success at academic level. The ecomiums from outsiders also illustrate how much they appreciate exertions of students to improve themselves and make this, and quite justifiably so, the grounds for affording them encouragement.

What do we now find in Ceylon, which is now free and independent, students who have realised their life long ambitions to enter the highest seat of learning have been arbitrarily rejected and have now to content themselves with second rate teaching institutions, to be upgraded of course by the stroke of the pen, whereas in the seats of learning of any other country, they would have been robed in purple and stood on pedestals as models for emulation by the less worthy students.

But it is not to be, as they have to be sacrificed by powers that be, on the altar of racialism, so as to maintain themselves in seats of power, even though the competent authorities at Peradeniya have washed their hands of this sordid affair so as not to soil their hands with such a foul deed.

What of the future for the Tamils. Strangely it would appear that Colebrooke has given an indication unwittingly though. In his recommendations under reference he has divided Ceylon into five areas with Jaffna, Trincomalee, Kandy, Colombo and Galle as the centres of administration.

In the map, the Jaffna area includes the Northern Province up to Capetyn, as well as, a part of the North Central Province. The Trincomalee jurisdiction includes the whole of

the Eastern Province. He appears to have followed the principle of grouping peoples of the same language and customs and traditions and anticipated by nearly 120 years what the Indian National Congress did on getting independence, as one of their first acts on receiving independence was to carve out states on a linguistic basis bringing people of similar cultures and customs together. However much a people may need a good economy they can always do with less but language, culture and tradition alone make the difference between ultimate survival or extinction.

The inclusion of Anuradhapura in the Jaffna area is of interest. What Knox mentions in his work that people in Anuradhapura spoke the Tamil language may possibly have a bearing on this.

To come back to Colebrooke's recommendations, he makes the interesting recommendation to the effect that each area be administered direct from Whitehall, with the Governor having reduced powers.

In view of the obvious appreciation that the foreign powers have expressed and the encouragement they have given to the enterprise and exertions of the Tamil people, even though not independent at that time, it is interesting to speculate whether any limit can be placed on the benefits that the Tamil peoples and Tamil students can acquire for themselves now, as a free and sovereign people, from such powers, for their improvement and of Tamilnad.

TRUE TO TRADITION

The military and naval assistance given to Ceylon recently by the Indian government, is of historical interest, as it is in keeping with the traditional assistance obtained by Ceylon over the centuries and until very recent times.

This practice ceased only with the advent of the Western Powers, commencing with the arrival of the Portuguese in Indian waters early in the 16th century. Since then the control of the Indian Ocean has been the aim of several powers, the French, Portuguese, Dutch and the British. This is so even today only that the powers that are now seeking to achieve naval supremacy in these waters are the British, American and Russian. It is perhaps not generally known that even the French had a fleeting skirmish with Ceylon and were actually in occupation of Trincomalee port for a few weeks.

That the possession of Ceylon was a step in the control of India has been recognised. Ferguson, quoted below, has in his evidence before a Military Commission actually referred to Ceylon as the key to India. Trincomalee harbour has also played not only a vital role in the control of India but also provided a vital base for a navy to control the commerce in the Indian Ocean, which spreads from the shores of Arabia to the East Indies.

Over the ages trade has been man's main quest and in its wake followed the spread of languages, scripts, cultures and religions. God and Mammon and Good and Evil, will perhaps at least, as far as, commerce is concerned, continue till the end of time, as inseparables.

And long before man knew to cross the oceans, first by use of the man power of the galley slaves, then sailing by harnessing the monsoons, and later by steam and electric power, the vast deserts and camels and mules, provided the only means of transport, as pointed out by Douglas in an interesting article where he says "The means of the intercourse between European and Asiatic seaports in the dim ages that preceded the construction of large sea going ships is a subject full of interesting details which ought not to be permitted to pass into oblivion. It has been well remarked by Heeren that the grand feature of ancient commerce, as distinguished from the commerce of later times is that it was almost exclusively confined to the land

A long uninterrupted continent, in modern times the greatest obstacle to commerce, constituted in earlier times its chief facility. The desert steppes of Asia formed the mercantile ocean of ancients and the companies of camels their fleets".

In support of the above observations I quote below from various historians and scholars which I think are of interest and relevance.

Philalethes, (Governor Horton), says in his book on Ceylon "But, whatever may be the wealth of Ceylon in vegetable, animal or mineral products in cinnamon the circumstance which renders the possession more particularly valuable to Great Britain, is the great facilities it offers for the preservation of a naval superiority in that part of the world. The harbour of Trincomalee, alone, is, in this point of view an inestimable acquisition. Here, on the confines of a wide, perilous, and inhospitable ocean, the whole navy of Great Britain might ride in security, while the eastern monsoon was tempesting the neighbouring sea, spreading through the Bay of Bengal and covering with wreck the shores of the adjacent continent",..... "As long as we possess that great naval power in the west, which is likely to be coeval with our present government, the harbour of Trincomalee will, more than anything else, favour the permanence of the same power in the East. The dominion of land may be more gratifying to the thirst of military distinction, but it is the dominion of the sea, which can alone afford security to commercial enterprise."

Geiger has in his book on mediaeval culture of Ceylon pointed out that Velaikkaras and Rajputs were employed in Ceylon for military purposes. He has also observed "The Sinhalese as cultivators appear never to have been a warlike people. The militia was, therefore, of no great military value."

Ferguson, referred to above by me, has in his evidence before the Military Commission - 1865 - stated "It was not without weighty reasons that the British Government chose to give up their hold on the magnificent Island of Java in order to secure possession of "the Key of India", - Ceylon with the Electric Telegraph now connecting Trincomalee with every station in India, vessels of war and troops there stationed could be hurried off at the shortest notice to any point in the East where we have possessions or commence. The value therefore, to the Empire at large, of Trincomalee, can scarcely be overestimated; but I trust it will not be decided that therefore and because Trincomalee happens geographically to belong to Ceylon, military expenditure of this Colony should be enhanced in proportion. I do not

admit that the people of the East and the South of the Island require over-aweing by a considerable military force, or if they did, that Trincomalee is the post from which to overawe them. The wide imperial question ought not to be encumbered with the exceedingly narrow Colonial one. To the Imperial Government, Trincomalee may be said to be invaluable, - to the Colony it is next to valueless".

^a
Baldeus, in his book on Ceylon, also touches on this aspect of Trincomalee harbour. He says "The Portugese, who were at first much perturbed at the arrival of the Danes in Ceylon, greatly rejoiced over their departure, so much so that their one endeavour thereafter was to see how they could exclude all other nations from Ceylon, to achieve which they found no better plan than to erect a fort in the said bay". The fort referred to is the Trincomalee fort erected by the Portuguese after dismantling the famous Hindu temple that was there.

Abeyasinghe, referring to the activities of the Portuguese, when they were attempting to subjugate the Kandyans, says in his book, "Portuguese Rule in Ceylon", "While the Portuguese were receiving reinforcements from Goa or other sources, Vimaladharmasuriya was not fighting a ^{alone} war. Assistance for him came from the Nayak of Madura and the king of Meliapur. Their aid took the form of contingents of Vadugai troops, who, according to the Portuguese writers, were some of the best fighting men in India at the time. The two east coast rulers of South India helped Kandy not only because of political sympathies, but also because of the trade relations that existed between their territories and Kandy. Their aid reached Kandy through the ports of Mannar, Puttalam and Trincomalee and through the Kingdom of Jaffna. That the King of Jaffna should have afforded transit rights to troops going to the aid of Kandy is a significant point. The ruler at the time was Pararasa Sekaram, who had been ^{set} on the throne by the Portuguese in 1591. Yet he allowed help to pass through his territory and even, it was alleged, negotiated and procured aid from India for his brother monarch. He continued to do so until his death in 1615".

It is of interest to note in this context that Sangkili who succeeded Parasa Sekaram was actually seized and executed by the Portuguese for assisting the King of Kandy and this was the reason why the Portuguese brought the kingdom of Jaffna under their rule. This means that the Tamil people lost their independence for assisting the Kandyans.

Abeyasinghe, referring further to the military assistance sent by the Viceroy of India to the Portuguese in Ceylon, says, "Towards the end of the year 1602 or at the beginning of 1603, he sent a force of 300 Indian Christians and 340 Portuguese to the Island, thus bringing the total force available for the conquest of Kandy to about 800 Portuguese soldiers, 12,000 Sinhalese lascarins and the Indian Christians. He also planned to send two small vessels with eighty soldiers to patrol the eastern waters of Ceylon so as to prevent Vimaladharmasuriya receiving reinforcements of Vadugai troops from the Nayaks of the east coast of South India".

In this context the following extracts from a historical note pertaining to Portuguese period, by R.L. Spittel in the Times of Ceylon Annual, 1968, are of considerable interest and relevance.

"At that time, the Island was divided into four main kingdoms: Kotte, including Colombo the richest and largest; Kandy in the central mountains; Sitawaka between the two - all three peopled by the Sinhalese; and Jaffna in the North, inhabited by the Malabars (Tamils) who had their own king In 1518, the Portuguese arrived with an armada and built a store of stone and mortar on a headland jutting into the sea, and equipped it with artillery. The store had now become a fortress.

The King of Kotte resented this. Aided by the Moors he attacked and besieged the fort with an overwhelming force, but was unable to dislodge the Portuguese who, though small in numbers, had the advantage of fire-arms, and were indomitable fighters.

This was the beginning of a long series of hostilities in which the Sinhalese and Muslims, supported by the fleets and soldiers of the powerful Rajah of Calicut, strove hard to drive the Portuguese from the Island, without success".

CASTE REIGNS SUPREME

It was heartening to see conscience stricken priests and political, religious and lay leaders, agitate for eradication of discrimination between man and man on grounds of caste. But perhaps they may be disappointed to know that caste continues to reign supreme, in that, it is rigidly and securely enshrined in the very organisation (priesthood) which administers the religion. This applies not only to the Hindu religious bodies but to the Buddhist establishments also, as in the Buddhist set up (Siam sect) only a vellalla is eligible to be a priest.

This can be inferred from a judgement in the Appeal Court, which provides interesting reading in the context of the present agitation by various bodies to eliminate discrimination on grounds of caste and as it also indicates that the agitation is not sufficiently broad based. Owing to the prevalence of these caste considerations tens of thousands of Buddhists are not eligible even to be considered for appointment as priests in the Siam sect, only because of their caste.

The only permanent solution to this caste problem is to eradicate it from the fountain head, that is from the religious sects themselves. Furthermore, it is absurd to accept a such a situation, as it amounts to society permitting for example, the guardians of the law (police) to indulge in a vice in which society itself is forbidden to indulge by law.

The judgement referred to is from "Appeal Reports" edited by Austin and is as follows -

"Rambookwelle Oonanse the defendant, was the Chief-priest of the Huduhompolle Temple but having adopted the Amerapoorra persuasion, Government dismissed him and appointed Wariapolla Oonanse (the intervenient) in his stead. Defendant however, having refused to give up possession of the said Temple, the Crown brought this action to eject him but before trial he having died, the resident Priests of the Temple (some of whom also professed the Amerapoorra faith) were made defendants on the record. These latter contended that being pupils of the founder of the said Temple, one of their body should be appointed to the vacancy now caused by the death of Rambookwella in preference to the Interveniient. The Court below decided in their favour. The following, however, is the judgement of the Supreme Court, "The questions before the Court are simply,

"1st. Has the Government a right to appoint a priest of the Asgiri establishment of the Siam sect, who is not a pupil of the founder?

2nd. Is a pupil of the founder who has adopted the Amerapoora faith eligible under any circumstances to the office of the chief-priest of this Temple?

"It now appears that since the establishment of Buddhism, there have existed two sects in that religion, that of Siam and that of Amerapoora and though deputations from Amerapoora were occasionally received at Kandy in the time of the Kings, it did not exist as a recognised sect when that kingdom passed into the hands of the British Government. No Vihares or Pansellas were occupied by Amerapoora Priests - all the religious establishments belonged to the rival establishment of Siam. It appears also that though many of these points (perhaps all, except that which restricts the selection of priests to persons of the Vallalla caste, which is a rule of the Siam sect) may appear immaterial to persons of a totally different creed, they are essentially the votaries of either sect. The manner in which certain prayers are pronounced for instance, is considered as rendering them propitious or unpropitious to the Deity, according to the respective opinions of the sect to which the parties belong. These things therefore, however formal or however insignificant they may appear to strangers are symbols of, and acknowledged tests of faith, essential articles of doctrine. It appearing therefore that one sect, viz. the Siamese alone has existed in Kandy and that at the time of the foundation of this Temple the Sovereign was Siamese, the Chief of the Asgiri establishment (of which this is avowedly a dependency in matters of faith) Siamese, and the founder of this particular Temple Siamese, the Court is of opinion that it would be acting *contra formam doni*, contrary to the undoubted intentions of the founder and of the persons who have endowed this temple with lands, and contrary to the plain construction of the treaty of 1815, were it to allow this property to pass into the hands of persons who cannot but be deemed to profess an heretical faith by the Siamese Buddhists. It may be true that the Amerapoora is the more ancient and purer faith, but this is entirely foreign to the question at issue, which is not one of orthodoxy in Buddhism, but of Tenne and Property, and in this sense it is sufficient that the faith now professed by some of the respondents differs from that of the founders and unrecognised at the period of the accession of the British Government for them to be ineligible to foundations endowed by the followers

of another creed. But the Court would not have it understood that by this decision it in anyway infringes the acknowledged principles of religious toleration, there is nothing in its decree or on the reasons on which it is founded to prevent the Amerapoora sect from propogating their sentiments, from buying, from building, from occupying Pansellias and Vihares within the Kandyan territories. The Court merely determines that they cannot usurp the property of others, and turn it to purposes evidently opposed to the religious wishes of the holders of such property."

"As regards the tenure of this Temple, there seems to exist no doubt that it should be considered Sanjaka, the Temple having been built little more than sixty years, and there being no Sennas or Royal grant produced or proved to have existed or been given for it, though the king granted lands; consequently the Crown is not limied to the selection of a pupil of the founder for the Office of Chief Priest, but it may select any Buddhist Priest belonging to the Asgiri establishment and professing the doctrines of the Siam sect. "

"On these grounds the decree of the District Court is set aside and in lieu thereof it is now decreed that the Interveniient, Wariapolla Oonanse, be put into possession of the Temple and Garden of Huduhoespulle and its dependencies as Chief Priest thereof, and that he be allowed to exercise all the rights and powers, and to perform all the duties and receive all the profits and emoluments attaching to his said office of Chief Priest, in as full and effectual a manner as his predecessors have hitherto done."

It is clear from the above that only vallallas are eligible for appointment as ministers of the religion. This is just as undemocratic as confining appointment of Ministers of a Government to Vellalas.

FEDERALISM ANSWER TO RACIALISM

Reference the question of a federal form of government for the Tamil peoples of the North and East, it would appear that, there is no alternative for such a form of government. In point of fact that is the form of government that has been already in operation since about 1956 and there appears to be no question that the racialist aspect has only gathered momentum.

There can also be no doubt that this element has now an opportunity to make itself dominant in a year or two with the discarding of the Soulbury Constitution and the framing of the new constitution.

My reasons for saying that racialism or communalism has received emphasis since about 1956 are the Sinhala only act which was enacted in 1958 and that too by a political leader who himself advocated three federal States for Ceylon and parity for the two languages. The irony of it all is that Tamil was taught in ancient Ceylon in Sinhalese areas and that too by Buddhist priests in *pirivenas* till when the Portuguese arrival in Ceylon.

Since then the administration has been racialist and communal. Not a single Tamil has been appointed a Vice Chancellor of an University. There can be no doubt that no Tamil will ever be a Governor General or a President, if and when, a new form of government comes into power. In fact some interested parties want the constitution to lay down that only a Buddhist should be a President, Inspector-General of Police and I believe even an Army Commander.

Even the drafting committee of the proposed new constitution is functioning only in Sinhalese, (*Mirror*, 19.7.70) debarring Tamils automatically from having a hand in this vital function unless he knows Sinhalese and that too of a very high standard.

Tamil citizens of Ceylon who established their right to enter the Universities of Ceylon by sheer merit and industry are to be debarred only because they are Tamils.

Castes other than Vellala Sinhala castes are not eligible even to be considered for ordination as priests. This has the sanction of the laws of the land, (*Appeal Reports-Austin*). Will the constitution makers dare to make caste discrimination an offence on the face of this practice being observed by the Buddhist hierarchy? According to which thousands of Buddhists cannot become Buddhist Priests only because of this caste discrimination.

The present Minister of Constitutional Affairs was very wise when he said, before the Sinhala Only Act was passed, that, it was unwise and unstatesmanlike to go against parity and that parity was the solution. (Towards a New Era, p.429). Time has proved he is correct. However as Minister of Constitutional Affairs he has now the golden opportunity of giving effect to his liberal and statesmanlike views.

Federated States is the only answer to the racialist form of government now in operation and which will certainly be more so with the passage of time.

In this context what Rutnam had pointed out some time ago in an article "Two Nations But One Ceylon" is of considerable relevance and interest. "I regret very much to observe that when the process of history was rapidly taking its normal course towards the unification of Ceylon and its eventual Ceylonisation, forces to impede such consum^{at 10/17}ation should be set in motion by the forcible Sinhalisation of the Tamil provinces and the introduction of the Sinhala Only Act. This could only result in disaster to the ideal of a United Ceylon for which so many of us have striven and sacrificed, in our great and little capacity, all these years.

Exactly thirty one years ago on the 1st July 1926, before our present Sinhalese or Tamil Parliamentarians, excepting the Prime Minister, were in politics, I find I had written a letter over a column in length to the Ceylon Morning Leader, a powerful newspaper of the time, opposing the views of our present Prime Minister, then a political tyro fresh from Oxford. The Prime Minister had then advocated in a series of long articles in the Ceylon Morning Leader, and through the Progressive Nationalist Party of dedicated young men, of which he was the leader and R.S.S. Gunawardena and I, among others, were members, a Federal Constitution for Ceylon, dividing the country into three States composed separately of Kandyans, Tamils and Sinhalese, only solution to our political problems. Believe it or not these were his ipsissima verba.

Indeed the Prime Minister declared that Federation was "The
The Kandyan National Assembly too was of the same opinion. This is what it declared at that time. "the solution that the Kandyan National Assembly submits will, we believe, be both equitable to all and just to us. We suggest the creation of a Federal State as in the United States of America, the two provinces inhabited by the Low-country Sinhalese forming one unit; the Tamil provinces another, and the five Kandyan provinces a third, with a central Government uniting all these."

Mine was a feeble voice crying in the wilderness for a unitary form of Government against the polished accents of the Oxford returned political pundit who had by then started his own planned career with the active, and I say this deliberately, decisive assistance of R.S.S. Gunawardene. Indeed he had begun to storm and shake the foundations of the citadel of the great Goonesinghe himself, then, the champion and standard bearer of the under-privileged, and acknowledged leader of the young working class movement.

Regarding Federation, if one wishes to know what Federation means, and to learn why it is so ideally suited to solve the problems of this country, one should refer to the issues of the Ceylon Morning Leader of the 19th and 27th May, and 9th, 23rd and 30th June and 17th July 1926. There we find our Prime Minister in his best style, pleading, persuading and arguing with assurance for a Federal Constitution for Ceylon. One of these issues contains a long report of a speech he made in Jaffna whether he had proceeded to preach to the converted. Chelvanayagam, for all his forensic skill and rhetoric, could not have done any better.

I feel flattered to note that the Prime Minister has now become a convert to my arguments. But unfortunately, like most other converts, he is so militant and intolerant of his own previously held convictions, that he is driving me to seek refuge in the political philosophy that he has now discarded. This intolerance is a psychological complex which I have also discovered among our politicians who have become converts to Buddhism".

Now that the Tamil people are a free and sovereign people, secession may be well worth considering.

There are two very obvious advantages. Firstly re-establish the free and close centuries old cultural and trade contact with India which was broken by the intervention of foreign powers for their benefit and secondly they will be free to obtain foreign aid in all forms, financial, technical, etc. from foreign countries until such time as they establish the prosperity they undoubtedly enjoyed before the arrival of the foreign powers and the set back they received in consequence of their arrival.

In support of this I will quote the following authorities; Ceylon Literary Register, (1931, 3rd series, p.91), referring to a report by Sir Alexander Johnstone states, "The object of this measure is to revive the trade which formerly prevailed between every part of the Gulfs of Arabia and Persia and the Southern Peninsula of India, and which trade was directly the cause of a very considerable trade in those days between the Southern peninsula of India and the Northern part of the island of Ceylon and indirectly the cause of the then improved state of the agriculture of that part of the island."

Tennent, ("Ceylon," Vol.2, pp.509-510), "It is characteristic of the spirit of this people that the Dutch met nowhere a more determined resistance than from one of the native princesses, the Wannichee Maria Sembatte, whom they were obliged to carry away prisoner and to detain in captivity in the fort of Colombo."

For the security of their conquests the Dutch erected a Fort at Moeletivee on the eastern coast, but the sole result of their policy was the impoverishment and desolation of the Wannani, without insuring its thorough subjection. The people, impatient of their presence and control, appear to have abandoned agriculture and peaceful pursuits".

And again in a footnote at page 75 it is observed that North wrote to Earl of Mornington of the "Infamous fraction of Madras civilians" "more than 4000 inhabitants from the single district of the Wanny had been driven away, since our occupation of the island".

It will therefore be seen that the Tamils have not only a moral but legal right for even free foreign aid from the Dutch and British people. I am sure the two Queens will graciously accede to any request so as to restore the former prosperity of the country of the Princess Maria Sembatte, which was devastated by their "infamous Madras civilians".

Tamils should realise that the unilateral rejection of the present constitution by the Sinhalese people have left them (Tamils) completely in the lurch. Joint sovereignty in a federal form of government or total secession is a sine qua non.

In any event for how many more years are the people of Ceylon going to depend for their livelihood and necessaries on the industry of the Indian labourer. We must not overlook the facts that fast developing tea industries in other countries, and conflicting political ideologies and interests of nations, can depress our tea market, and, even if not so, more of the profits will have to be siphoned off for the benefit of the workers themselves on the estates, unless socialism that has now swept the country means something else.

FREE AGAIN

The question of the Sinhalese and Tamil areas which received prominence in the Senate recently has in fact been touched on by a very early historian of Ceylon at a time when the present political implications were not even remotely contemplated.

Ribeiro has in his book on Ceylon, written about three hundred years ago observed, "They say that this island had seven kingdoms and I am not surprised at this, for even today on the coast of India the gentiles of each small province form a separate kingdom, as we see on the coast of Canara and Malavar

Turning to Ceilao the chief king and kingdom there were those of Cotta; this king the others revered with respect due to an Emperor This kingdom stretched along the sea from Chilao as far as Grevayas and embraced the best districts of the island, viz: the four Coralas,..... the whole of the kingdom of Dinavaca The kingdom of Ceitavaca The kingdom of the seven corals The kingdom of Chilao

These were the seven kingdoms which were usually said to make up the island of Ceilao without including the kingdom of Jaffnapatan although it is in the same island for this does not consist of Chingalas but is a settlement of the Malawars and also the other kingdoms which used to exist there in ancient times, such as those at Batecaloa, Trequilamale and Jaula, which have not been considered as such for many years"

In the above context the following reference by Ribeiro to the deed of gift made by the King of Kotte bequeathing Ceylon, excepting the Tamil Kingdom to the King of Portugal, in 1580 A.D. is of interest, "The Emperor Dom Juno Paria Pandar conceived such an affection for the Portuguese that he would not leave them, but continued in Colombo till the year 1597 And when he felt that his hour was drawing near, he set about arranging his affairs In his will he declared that he had no son to succeed him in his kingdoms, and therefore he appointed the King of Portugal his universal heir to all of them, and thus he became absolute lord of all the territories situated within the Island, only the Kingdoms of Candia and Uva belonging to Dona Catherina, while the kingdom of Jaffnapatan had its own native king"

It is also of interest to note in this connection that early in the 19th century the Supreme Court functioned in two distinct divisions, Gazette, 6th August, 1810).

The two distinct divisions had its headquarters at Colombo, having jurisdiction over the districts of Colombo, Chilaw, Negombo, Ealutara, Galle, Matara, Tangalle, and Hambantota presided over by the Chief Justice and at Jaffna, with jurisdiction over the districts of Jaffna, Mannar, Puttalam, Wannu, Trincomalee, and Batticaloa, presided over by the Puisne Justice.

It is of interest to note in this connection that failure to grasp the fact, that, countries in Asia, including even large islands, were not solely peopled by a particular race, or even had an unified government, has and can lead to inaccurate and misleading geographical and historical conclusions and assumptions.

The fact that any country has an unitary government even today does not imply that it is or was peopled by a particular race of people.

Even many of the names of Ceylon do not appear to apply to Ceylon as a whole. Gerini has pointed this out in reference to Ceylon in his "Researches into Eastern Asia" where he says, "when speaking of Ceylon, pp380-382, I have shewn that Naga-Dipa which has been taken by some writers as a quite distinct island, was really a portion of Ceylon, and from this example I am led to doubt as to whether there really was a comprehensive name for the whole island, those hitherto believed to be such (Sinhala, Tambapanni, Mandadipa, Ratnadvipa) being but perchance specific designations for distinct portions (or districts) of the island.

It is with Europeans and Europeans alone that originated terms such as Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Madura, Bali, as comprehensive names for those considerable islands."

In this context the following extract from a memorial sent by the Kandyans to the Government (Marshall, "Ceylon"), is of interest, "may all meet with generous considerations, as to save their country from dismemberment, and from being incorporated with the maritime district, so that it may continue to subsist in the ancient integrity as the kingdom of Kandy, and retain its celebrated name of Sihala."

I must also point out in this connection that the Tamil Kingdom was conquered by the Portuguese only in 1617 A.D.,

according to Officer of the Ceylon Rifles ("Ceylon", Vol.1, p.291), who has pointed out, "In 1604 the Raja was again chastised for assisting the king of Kandy; and the Portuguese, according to Faria, might have taken possession of his dominions, only they were not at that time in a position to do so, but it was subsequently accomplished in 1617, when the Governor of Ceylon, Constantine de Saa, hearing that the Raja was corresponding with the king of Kandy, had him captured, and sent to Goa, where he was deposed and executed".

This means that the Tamil people lost their sovereignty to the Portuguese, for attempting to assist the Sinhalese king.

It would be seen from what has been stated in the foregoing paragraphs that the Tamil kingdom was independent of the Sinhalese kingdom and that the island was occupied by two races, Sinhalese and Tamils, each occupying separate areas and independent of each other when the Portuguese arrived in Ceylon.

This also means that these two peoples were two distinct sovereign peoples till they were conquered independently by the Portuguese and that they lost their sovereignties not to each other, but to the Portuguese and subsequently to the Dutch and the British and that the removal, now contemplated, of the foreign yoke, imposed by right of conquest on the two peoples, would mean the recovery of their sovereignties by these two peoples.

It is nice to think that these two races will now be free and independent again, each in their own right, after nearly four centuries, and the free world richer by the addition of two more sovereign peoples.

THE NEW CONSTITUTION

Some views expressed below on certain aspects of the procedure to be followed in evolving a new constitution may be considered for whatever they are worth.

The position of the Tamil people vis a vis the Sinhalese people in any discussion on the fundamentals of the proposed new constitution should be as one sovereign people to another, particularly as the Queen, that is the British Government, which alone is responsible for the present unitary form of government, by right of conquest, is not to be a party, in any degree, to the evolution and installing of the new constitution.

Neither the Tamil people nor the Sinhalese can dictate the form of government that the other should have or on fundamentals, as they were independent of each other at the time the foreign powers established their rule by right of conquest.

According to the voting at the last election, as has been in the last few elections, the Tamil people have voted for the Union form of government by returning the Federal Party in a large majority. If this view is contested a referendum must be taken to decide the issue so that the people will have the final say.

The role of professional people and leading citizens should at best be that of advisers to the Tamil people, but the final say on fundamental issues should be with the elected representatives of the Tamil people, and where even here there is an element of doubt the issue or the issues should be settled, as pointed out above, only by a referendum.

India freely resorted to this device during the period when the constitution was being evolved and have held such a referendum to ascertain the views of the people, ("Constitution of India", Tope).

One is therefore not surprised at the unanimity with which the Constituent Assembly of the most diversified country in the world accepted the new constitution. In the Assembly of 308 members there was only one dissentient vote!

It is very relevant to note that as the British Government is to be ignored in the evolution and installing of the new constitution, it follows that the Tamil people who owe their allegiance only to the Queen of England cannot be

dictated to or coerced by any other peoples and are free as a sovereign people to determine the form of government they want and the conditions on which they should join, if they decide to form a joint government.

In view of the importance of the issue raised here I take the liberty to emphasise again that the form of government the Tamil people want, and the fundamentals they consider necessary, in a constitution, should be decided by the Tamil people and the Tamil people alone, if necessary by a referendum, and certainly not by other peoples, particularly foreign in race, culture, language and religion.

Professional people and leading citizens should, as pointed out above, act at best as advisers to the Tamil people, and; for once take the back seat.

CONSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS FOR THE MAJORITY COMMUNITY

It is difficult to reconcile some of the basic resolutions put forward by a socialist Minister for the evolution of the new Constitution with the socialist policies advocated by the socialists for the last few decades.

On the language issue there is no mention of any parity status for the Tamil language. A policy advocated by them for some decades. In fact one of the socialist leaders has forcibly expressed himself and gone on record in favour of parity by pointing out that it was unwise and unstatesmanlike to go against parity and that parity was the solution. It is relevant to note that this view was expressed in no uncertain manner even at a time when the majority community was not in favour of it. So that there is no justification whatsoever to shift grounds now because the majority community is against it.

It is also very relevant to note that these socialists managed to keep alive as a political party till now, by collecting a few seats here and there by climbing on the backs of the Tamils and obtaining their support with the promise of parity. This is an unchallengeable fact.

Another major plank of the socialists was the stress laid on economic development as the solution for the problems of the country and not racial or religious considerations. But what do we find now. A leader of a socialist party itself proposes a basic resolution to confer protection and assistance to a religion and that too only because it is the religion of the majority community.

The affording of protection and assistance to any religion, even of a minority community, (which at least would have made some sense), in a modern constitution, and that too by a socialist leader, in a socialist powered government, is to say the least ludicrous, if not political chicanery pure and simple.

This means the promises held out for the Tamils by the socialists have not only been ignored but the very opposite have been installed as corner stones of the new constitution, namely, ignoring the right of the Tamils to their language and guaranteeing protection and assistance to a majority community in respect of their religion, whereas it is the language and religion of the minority Tamil race that should have been afforded this protection and assistance.

I am not aware of a single constitution in any country where protection has been afforded to the language and religion of a majority community as against a minority community.

It is ironical that the Tamil language which was appreciated by the Sinhalese kings themselves and taught even in Sinhala country and that too by Buddhist priests in the pirivenas, and placed on an equal footing by the Dutch and British governments who ruled Ceylon, should now be degraded by a subject race of yesterday, for it is relevant to note that the Tamil and Sinhala Races were independent and also independent of each other, before they were independently conquered by the foreign powers, Portuguese, Dutch and then the British, who imposed an Unitary form of government.

It is also now clear why the Southern politician is keen on continuing this Unitary form of government in preference to a Union form of government, as in the Unitary form of government he can gradually eliminate the Tamil language and also occupy Tamil Country, which in fact he has already commenced in the Eastern Province, by using his majority vote. The irony of it all is that religion which was considered the opium of the masses by the socialists is now being installed as a corner stone of the constitution and that too by a socialist leader. It is like a man attending his own funeral, and that too without any feelings of remorse.

TAMIL CONFERENCE ON THE CONSTITUTION

I suggest that this conference pass a resolution that the new Constitution lay down that the Tamil language should be the official language of the Tamil race in Ceylon, without any qualification.

Surely if the Tamils are to be denied the unqualified use of their own language as their official language in their own country does it not follow ipse facto that the Tamils have no right to claim the lands where they have lived for centuries as their native land and to consider themselves natives of Ceylon. I do not think anyone seriously disputes the right of the Tamils who live in the Tamil country part of Ceylon to call themselves natives of Ceylon.

It therefore follows IPSO FACTO that they cannot be morally or legally debarred from using their own language as their OFFICIAL language in their own country, without any qualification WHATSOEVER.

To debar them from doing so, is like telling the Germans for example, that they have no right to use their language as their official language, or say the French people in Switzerland telling the German people in the German districts of Switzerland that they have no right to the unqualified official use of the German language.

Articles in this publication illustrate with specific authorities that -

(a) Tamil was taught even in Sinhala Nad and that too by Buddhist priests.

(b) That the Tamil and Sinhalese languages have been placed on an equal footing by the Dutch and British governments.

(c) Tamil was a link language in Ceylon and South East Asia. That Malayalam and Tamil were used in passports in South East Asia is clear from the following comments on a Tamil copy of a passport attached to the Arabic passport obtained from the Asiatic Society, London, and translated by the Tamil History Academy, Madras:

"The document is written in the Tamil language which was in vogue for two or three centuries. This document is an order issued by a Sultan named Azarathunja Savuga Alamaha from a place (town) named Achin in an Indonesian island. It appears that this order was originally written

in Malayam language and subsequently rendered in Tamil. There are certain Arabic and Persian words in the document and their meanings are, not discernible. The document contains the orders of the Sultan directing that the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the Javanese should not harm his ship 'Alamaha' and her captain. The date of the document is in the Mohamedan era and it is the year 1701 A.D. (1701)".

(d) Tamils were conquered independently of the Sinhalese by the foreign powers.

(e) The unitary government now in force is a government imposed on Ceylon by the Portuguese, Dutch, and British.

(f) The Tamils were just as independent, free and sovereign race as the Sinhalese and neither have the legal or moral right to impose their views or their language on the other.

(g) Both the Tamil and Sinhalese races now living as they had for centuries in Tamil Nad (Northern, Eastern Provinces and the Puttalam District), and in Sinhala Nad of Ceylon respectively, since the virtual rejection of the Soulbury Constitution, are now free and sovereign peoples each in their own right.

Actually the Tamil language should be encouraged and taught in Sinhala Nad as done before the arrival of the foreigners for the following reasons :

(a) It (Sinhala) is ~~not~~ ^{as} fully developed a language ~~compared with~~ the Tamil language.

(b) It is actually composed of a large element of Dravidian words. Mendis and Godakumbara specifically support this.

(c) There is ^{little or} no original literature as such. ~~Godakumbura and Mendis have made this clear.~~ The many
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(d) There is no proper dictionary. De Souza has pointed out at a Senate meeting to the effect that according to Dr. Wijesekera no dictionary is possible in view of the inadequacy of the Sinhala literature.

I am mentioning the above facts as one often reads reports in the press that Sinhalese should be taught to Tamil students. I hope we have heard the last of it. It is definitely much more beneficial for the Tamil students to concentrate on the study of languages such as English and Russian.

LETTER TO AN EDITOR

Regarding the reference in your editorial to gate crashers into foreign affairs, I would point out that the Tamils were an independent people occupying territories of their own in India and Ceylon for centuries not only before the modern European powers came to the East but even before the Indo Aryans from Afghanistan invaded and destroyed Dravidian settlements in North India. In this connection please see my article "Tamil Nad and Ceylon", with you.

It should also be realised that when the Portuguese attacked the Kandyans it was the Tamils of Ceylon and India who assisted the Kandyan king and that the Portuguese were assisted by the Christians and some coastal Sinhalese. Please see my article "True to Tradition", with you. This was so even when the British invaded Kandyan territory and by virtue of it some of the Sinhalese leaders have been able to carve out pocket boroughs for themselves today.

That the object of attaining unity in an unitary government aimed at by the Soulbury Commissioners has failed is testified by two of the Commissioners themselves, see my article "Tamil and Tamil Nad" (2nd supplement), with you.

It will be noticed that at Independence a Sinhala dominated government had placed Tamil and Sinhala on an equal footing. So that what has really happened, now that independence has been achieved, is that the Sinhala politicians have taken the first opportunity that has come their way, of a two-third majority, to whip round and stab the Tamils in the back. It is only in keeping with the act of trachery on which the Sinhala dynasty was founded when Wijeya after achieving dominance over the Yakkas with the assistance of Kuveni turned round and stabbed her in the back. This is told in poignant terms in the Mahawassa (Turnour's edition), where kuveni says "On thy account, having murdered yakkas I dread these Yakkas: now I am discarded by both parties; whither can I betake myself".

But as far as the Tamils are concerned, it should be realised that both Tamil Nad and Sinhala Nad lost their independence independently to the foreigners and now that the foreign powers are gone the Tamils are as such independent as the Sinhalese. In fact as pointed out in more than one article with you, the Tamils lost their independence because they went to the assistance of the Kandyans. So I see no reason why the Tamils cannot also voice their views on foreign affairs.

Was it not a Tamil who flayed an imperialist race at the zenith of its power, on the floor of the House, when Sinhalese were being taken out and shot without even the semblance of a trial?

Was it not a Tamil that braved the mine infested seas to fight for the Sinhalese cause in England?

As against this witness what happened in 1958 when isolated Tamil women and children and priests were massacred, butchered, dynamited and roasted alive, (the last eye witnessed by a High Commissioner himself), in the heart of Sinhala Mad and all because they wanted to continue to use their language in the manner that they have undoubtedly exercised in their own right for numerous centuries. A language which has given the Sinhala language much of its vocabulary and practically all its literature and ballads and plays and a people who have given them the Pali literature and all their famous Buddhist missionaries, see article (Indo-Ceylon Cultural Contacts) with you.

As against this did a single Sinhalese leader publicly lift a finger against this brutal carnage of defenceless women, children and priests. They did not even have the courage to appoint a commission as it would have disclosed that some Sinhala leaders were themselves behind this carnage.

As to how the Indo-Aryan language was imposed on the Dravidians and others can be inferred from the following extract from the "Hindu World" by Walker p.485 - "the bulk of scholarly opinion leans to the view that the peaceful and prosperous cities of the Indus Valley were sacked by successive hordes of Aryan barbarians from the Iranian highlands who came with deadlier weapons and strange arms. The populace of walled towns were not warlike and had poor defences. Maharjodera was sacked and pillaged and its inhabitants slain without mercy. Groups of skeletons of men, women and children, in contorted attitudes, found in the houses and the streets, tell all too plainly that the end of this flourishing civilisation was abrupt and savage. And at page 37 Walker says "Not for nothing was the epithet Purandara (Sacker of Cities) conferred on Indra, for like the Huns, Goths, and other barbarian hordes, the Aryans left in their wake a trail of smouldering towns and villages." So it will be seen that the Indo-Aryan language found in this part of Asia was imposed on the Dravidians and various tribes by bloody carnage.

In this connection it is of relevance to note what Chatterji the eminent North Indian Philologist and

scholar has said on the question of ethnology of India. He has pointed out that "Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C." (Tamil Culture, Vol 8, 1959, AP 301, 309, 310).

That Dravidians were in North India also when the Aryans entered India has been pointed out by Mendis, "Early History of Ceylon", Nehru, "Glimpses of World History", and other scholars of repute as for instance Burrows, Boden, Professor for Sanskrit at Oxford.

The following extract pertaining to the Indus Valley ("Hindu World", p. 484, Walker), is also of considerable interest and relevance. "It would appear that the chief ethnic ingredient was provided by a race of Mediterranean type related to the Sumerians, who probably came to India about 2500 B.C. by way of the Mulla Pass and the coastal route which runs through Las Bela and the Makran and crosses the Hab river near Karachi. They may have been the forbears of the Dravidians, some of whom ferred southwards to the Deccan and became the progenitors of the Dravidian races".

It is of relevance to note in this context that the Dravidians in Kalinga (Deccan) also were pitilessly massacred by Asoka. The massacre was so ruthless that a feeling of revulsion for war overtook him and made him a devotee of the Buddhist faith. And this is what is happening again today in East Bengal to the Bengali people who are also mainly a Dravidian people overrun by the Indo-Aryans in the West and Mongols in the East, ("Race Map of India", Imperial Gazetteer of India).

SOME SURPRISING STATEMENTS

There were two surprising statements made in the course of the debate in the Senate on the Throne Speech.

According to one statement, Buddhism never looked down on any people. One would infer that there was no discrimination between people according to Buddhism as obtaining in Ceylon. But in fact caste discrimination does exist according to Buddhism as practiced in Ceylon and is even recognised by the laws of the land.

In support of the above I quote the following authorities.

According to the following judgement (Appeal Reports, edited by Austin), no person is eligible to be considered for appointment as a priest to the Siam sect unless he is of the Vallale caste. It reads as follows: "Rambookwelle Conanse the defendant, was the Chief-priest of the Huduhoompelle Temple but having adopted the Amerapoera persuasion, Government dismissed him and appointed Wariapolla Conanse (the intervenient) in his stead. Defendant however, having refused to give up possession of the said temple, the Crown brought this action to eject him but before trial he having died, the resident Priests of the Temple (some of whom also professed the Amerapoera faith) were made defendants on the record. These latter body should be appointed to the vacancy now caused by the death of Rambookwella in preference to the Interveniens. The Court below decided in their favour. The following, however, is the judgement of the Supreme Court.

The questions before the Court are simply,

1st. Has the Government a right to appoint a priest of the Asgiri establishment of the Siam sect, who is not a pupil of the founder ?

2nd. Is a pupil of the founder who has adopted the Amerapoera faith eligible under any circumstances to the office of the chief-priest of this Temple?

"It now appears that since the establishment of Buddhism, there have existed two sects in that religion, that of Siam and that of Amerapoera and though deputations from Amerapoera were occasionally received at Kandy in the time of its Kings, it did not exist as a recognised sect when that kingdom passed into the hands of the British Government. No Vihares or Pansellas were occupied by Amerapoera priests - all the religious establishments belonged to the rival establishment of Siam. It appears also that

though many of these points (perhaps all, except that which restricts the selection of priests to persons of the Vellalla caste, which is a rule of the Siam sect) may appear immaterial for persons of a totally different creed, they are essentially the votaries of either sect. The manner in which certain prayers are pronounced for instance, is considered as rendering them propitious or unpropitious to the Deity, according to the respective opinions of the sect to which the parties belong. These things therefore, however formal or however insignificant they may appear to strangers are symbols of, and acknowledged tests of faith, essential articles of doctrine. It appearing therefore that one sect, viz. the Siamese alone has existed in Kandy and that at the time of the foundation of this Temple the Sovereign was Siamese, the Chief of the Asgiri establishment (of which this is avowedly a dependency in matters of faith) Siamese and the Founder of this particular Temple Siamese, the Court is of opinion that it would be acting *contra forma doni*, contrary to the undoubted intentions of the founder and of the persons who have endowed this temple with lands, and contrary to the plain construction of the treaty of 1815, were it to allow this property to pass into the hands of persons who cannot but be deemed to profess an heretical faith by the Siamese Buddhists. It may be true that the Amerapoora is the more ancient and purer faith, but this is entirely foreign to the question at issue, which is not one of orthodoxy in Buddhism, but of Tenne and Property, and in this sense it is sufficient that the faith now professed by some of the respondents differs from that of the founders and unrecognised at the period of the occasion of the British Government for them to be ineligible to foundations endowed by the followers of another creed. But the Court would not have it understood that by this decision it in anyway infringes, the acknowledged principles of religious toleration, there is nothing in its decree or on the reasons on which it is founded to prevent the Amerapoora sect from propogating their sentiments, from buying, from building, from occupying Panselas and Vihares within the Kandyan territories. The Court merely determines that they cannot usurp the property of others, and turn it to purposes evidently opposed to the religious wishes of the holders of such property.

"As regards the tenure of this Temple, there seems to exist no doubt that it should be considered Sanjaka, the Temple having been built little more than sixty years, and there being no Sannas or Royal grant produced or proved to have existed or been given for it, though the king granted lands; consequently the Crown is

not limited, to the selection of a pupil of the founder for the Office of Chief Priest, but it may select any Buddhist Priest belonging to the Asgiri establishment and professing the doctrines of the Siam sect."

"On these grounds the decree of the District Court is set aside and in lieu thereof it is now decreed that the Intervenant, Wariapolla Oonanse, be put into possession of the Temple and Garden of Huduhoempolle and its dependencies as Chief Priest thereof, and that he be allowed to exercise all the rights and powers, and to perform all the duties and receive all the profits and emoluments attaching to his said Office of Chief Priest in as full and effectual a manner as his predecessors have hitherto done."

According to Dr. Godakumbure this practice is still in force. He has pointed out, (Times of Ceylon, 25.3.68) -

"I have been following for sometime in your columns the subject of caste in the North. What baffles me is the attempt on the part of Buddhist monks to set right this social problem when distinctions of caste are rampant among their societies.

It is not a secret that the most influential and the largest order of monks in Ceylon, the Siamese Society, does not admit to the full ordination any one but a candidate who claims Goigama descent on both sides. This has resulted in monks of other castes also forming themselves into groups though not so openly. The Hindu religion admits caste and it is very difficult for a follower of the teachings of Vedās and other great seers of the past to break from that tradition. But what excuse have the disciples of the Buddha, whether bhikku or layman to adhere to a system which the Master condemned? Not long ago I heard a discussion between two "learned" Buddhist monks where they misinterpreted the noble words of the Buddha which said that it was not birth but actions (conduct) which made a man an outcast or a Brahman. According to these bhikkhus the passage meant "One's (previous) karma makes a man an outcaste or a Brahmana". They went on to comment that a person of low birth should not strive at great deeds. This in itself was a sin. The discussion was over Radio Ceylon. This is what the Buddhist monks of the eighteenth century openly taught when they denied fellow human beings, admission into the order to strive for the highest goal. Had not a few good monks at the turn of the last century gone to Burma and

brought a new ordination, very few persons in the coastal districts would have remained Buddhists! The majority of Buddhist monks still abide by their distorted interpretation of the Master's word.

When I was at places like Chunnakam, Kantharadai, etc. in the Jaffna Peninsula, I came across a few youths who were anxious to enter the Buddhist order of monks. Now the bhikku in charge of the Naga Vihare in Jaffna, I believe, belongs to the Siamese order. Can he admit them? May I request our Buddhist monks and lay leaders as well, to "cast out first the beam in their own eye" so that they may see clearly the ~~to~~ cast out the "mole from their brother's eye"?

This means that thousands of Buddhists are not eligible even to be considered for appointment as priests to the Siam sect only because of their caste.

The next surprising statement is the statement to the effect that the Tamils in Ceylon were descendants of invaders from South India. By this I presume it is intended that they cannot be considered as citizens of Ceylon in their own right as they descended from descendants of invaders from South India. This is a surprising statement to make as in that case the Sinhalese (descendants from Dravido-Aryans of India) who are supposed to have come from North India should also not be considered citizens of Ceylon as they are also invaders. Or is it to be considered that invaders from South India, next door to Ceylon, should be considered as intruders and not those from North India.

In fact if this theory is carried to its logical conclusion the Sinhalese (Dravido-Aryans) should be de-citizenised and expelled from Ceylon, not to India but beyond India, as the Indo-Aryans invaded North India as a nomadic race, long after India was peopled by the Dravidians ^{both} but in the North and South of India.

It is inconceivable that Dravidians who were in South India a few miles away from Mannar long before the Indo-Aryans entered even North India in about 1500 B.C. did not come to Ceylon which was considered the Eldorado of the East.

My authorities for the above statements are as follows :

Nehru, (Glimpses of World History), "when the Aryans entered India, India was already civilised it is clear that the Dravidians had a rich civilization then in Southern India and perhaps also in Northern India"

Mendis, (Early History of Ceylon) "At the time the Aryans entered India, the Dravidians occupied not only South India but also the greater part of North India There is evidence to prove that in the early centuries of the Christian era, Dravidians helped to form the Sinhalese race It is difficult to gauge the extent of Tamil blood among the Sinhalese, but there is no doubt that it is considerable. Otherwise it is difficult to explain why the Sinhalese language not only in its vocabulary but also in its structure shows the influence of Tamil so strongly and why the Sinhalese caste system is so similar to the caste system of South India."

Chatterji, in an article pertaining to Aryans and Dravidians, "Anthropological, ethnological, and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the proto Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people, we may regard the pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Punjab culture as being of Dravidian speech. The proximity of the Dravidian speaking Brahmi's to Sindh and Punjab lends some support to the view that Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Aryans first entered India round about 1500 B.C....."

It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards. Some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan are from this source, showing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan.

All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language has changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austric, and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before is due primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of the original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech habits, and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so to say, the native speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little the approximation became complete. The situation during the forgotten epochs of the linguistic absorption of the non-Aryan speakers in Northern India was one which can be visualised through what we actually see in those areas of India where the non-Aryan languages

as speeches of backward "Aboriginals" (Adi-basas) are slowly receding before the continuous and unabated pressure of Aryans: e.g. in the Kol-speaking areas of Bihar, Bengal and Orissa, in the Tibeto-Burman tracts in Nepal, Bengal and Assam, and in the Kurku speaking and Gondi and other aboriginal tracts in Madhya Pradesh. In the last Vedic period, there were just scattered islands of Aryan speech in the Punjab and Gangetic India, in a land of Dasas, Dasyus and Sudras of Nishadas and Nagas and of Kiratas. By the middle of the first millenium B.C., the tables were turned, and in the time of Buddha, the country from Gandhara to Magadha, was mainly Aryan-speaking with islands of Dasa or S'udra (i.e. Dravidian) and Nishadar or Naga (or Austric) speech in the countryside and beside the virgin forests of Northern India. We hear in the Pali Jataka, for instance, of Candala villages in Northern India, where only the non-Aryan Candala speech, whatever it was, was spoken!.

Brehier, (Ancient Irrigation PL 3) "The extraordinary ancient irrigation system in the littoral district of Mantai, Musali, and Nanaddan encompassing the whole of the Mannar plain, offers indubitable evidence of the boldness of conception which characterised the more advanced practice of tank building in ancient times and of the fact that there must have been an immense population congregated for commercial and agricultural purposes, in a part of the Island which is now desert.

Sir Emmerson Tennent's very elaborate work establishes, beyond all doubt by reference to specific authorities, that Ceylon was a great mart in very ancient times for the interchange of traffic between the Eastern and Western world. Eminent authorities demonstrate that the entrepot of this early trade was confined to the North Western shores of the Island.

"This part of Ceylon cannot but have been known to enterprising inhabitants of South India long before the Prince and his men from the Ganges accomplished a voyage to the Island."

"The extensive ruins at Mantotta must therefore have been the work of remotest times, constructed, may be, by the ancient Nagas or by early South Indian immigrants."

Law, (Pali Literature), "According to Edward Muller in early times it was North West of Ceylon which was the seat of culture pointing to influence of South India and not to Aryan immigration from the Ganges Valley."

Malalasekera, (Pali literature of Ceylon), "Ceylon was inhabited by a race of men whom Vijaya and his companions called Yakkas and who evidently belonged to a colony of settlers that had migrated from South India. For there is no reason to doubt that Vijaya's band was only one, perhaps the best known and the most powerful who had gone over from India in their southward course."

Also see my article "Pre-Vijaya - Dravidians and Ceylon" in this publication. and extract from "Hindu World" by Walker in article "Letter to an Editor" in this ~~publication~~ work.

BUDDHIST MISSIONARIES

With reference to the Buddhist missionary, Buddhagosa referred to in your columns recently, the following views expressed by eminent authorities, in respect of Buddhist missionaries from South India, will, I think, be of interest to your readers.

B. C. Law in an article on "South India as a centre of Pali Buddhism", says, Nagarjuni Konda inscriptions prove that there was a mahavihara for Buddhist recluses coming from different countries among which Damila is mentioned. These Buddhists were Theravadins, Gandhavamsa says that Kanchipura was one of the main centres of Pali Buddhism of Theravada. Madurai also (Madhurasutta pattana) is mentioned as the place where Buddhaghosa and Buddhagitta lived for some time, before the former repaired to Kanchipura. Buddhaghosa was a native of Tirunelveli region. Ura-ga-pura (modern Uralyur in the Tiruchiyapali District) was the birthplace of Buddhadatta who lived in the village of Bhuttamangala near "the flourishing island port of Kaveripattana." Buddhaghosa and Buddhadatta were contemporaries and they flourished in the 5th century A.D. South India continued to be the centre of Pali Buddhism as late as the 12th century A.D, a date to which Anuruddha, (a Buddhist teacher of South India, according to the Talaing records) the celebrated author of the Abhidhammattha is assigned.

Geiger in his work "Ceylon in Mediaeval Times" says that during the reign of Mahanama in the 5th century A.C Buddhaghosa came from India to Ceylon, and studied in the Mahavihara in Anuradhapura the Sinhalese commentaries under the guidance of the Thera Sanghapala. He composed the Visuddhimagga and translated some of the Elu commentaries into Pali. The extensive post-canonical Pali literature originates with his activity.

According to the chronicle, Buddhaghosa who was born in Bihar. It has been pointed out, however, that this information is wrong and that he was a South Indian from the Andhra Country. The Chola country was the home of two other most important Buddhist scholars who came to Ceylon during the same period, Buddhadatta and Dhammapala.

THE WANNICHEES OF THE WANNI

The following references to the Wannichees (who were mentioned in the press recently), by the erudite historian, Tennent will I think interest your readers.

"The Portuguese, after the capture of Jaffnapatan became the nominal sovereigns of the Wanni, but their dominion never extended beyond the sea coast, and they exercised no actual control over its restless Chieftians and their followers. The Dutch as the successors of Portugal affected to assert a right of supremacy; but were only enabled to enforce their annual tribute of elephants by a frequent resort to arms.

In 1782 these continued conflicts were brought to an apparent issue by a combined and vigorous effort of the Dutch who routed the forces of the Wanniyahs at all points and reduced their country, at least the outward semblance of submission.

It is characteristic of the spirit of this people that the Dutch met nowhere a more determined resistance than from one of the native princesses, the Wannichee Maria Sembatte, whom they were obliged to carry away prisoner and detain in captivity in the fort of Colombo."

① P.T.O.

"After the transfer of the sovereignty of Ceylon to the British, the excesses and turbulence of this part of the country still continued. In 1803, on the occasion of our first hostilities with the King of Kandy, Pandara Wanniyah, an influential chief on the borders of the Neuera-Kalawa district, undertook to expel the English from his country and succeeded in occupying Cottiar, on the bay of Trincomalee.

He drove out the garrison at Meeletivee and seized the fort, which had been left in charge of a British Officer and a few sepoys; they escaped in a fisher's boat to Jaffna, while the insurgents carried away some useless cannon that still lie buried in a rice field near the Padivil tank.

The attempt was of course followed by no permanent success; the insurgents were speedily dislodged; the forts retaken and the power of the chiefs of the Wanniyah was finally and effectually extinguished. Their last descendant and representative was an old lady, who, in 1848, resided near the fort of Jaffna, and enjoyed a small hereditary state, the remnant of her ancestral home."

AN OLD RECORD OF THE FRESCOES

The rape of the Sigiriya Frescoes, which has so ^h soaked the artistic world and rightly received world-wide notice, reminds me of two interesting references I came across, some time back to Frescoes in general and the Sigiriya Frescoes in particular.

In one of these references Rhys Davids has observed that the Sigiriya Frescoes were drawn at the time when the terrace was built by Kasyapa, referred to by a writer as a "king in prospect, a regicide in intent, and a parricide in fact", and, after whose death the fortress had been abandoned and has ever since been regarded with superstition and dread.

He has also left the following record of an interview with a painter.

"I went to a Vihare to copy some old inscriptions on the granite boulders surrounding it and finding a man engaged in repainting the image and walls, I inquired from him how the frescoing was done. He informed me that the painter first spreads makul, a kind of very hard white plaster, over the wall or image and then with a brush made of aettuttiri or itana grass lays on the paint mixed with a gum made from the diwul tree. No previous drawing is made, at least not on the image or wall, and if the painter makes a mistake, he covers it over with the plaster and begins again.

It is curious to notice that the painter used no green, and I tried in vain to detect green on the Sigiri Frescoes and there is no separate word for green in the Sinhalese Language."

The second reference to Frescoes is to the Sigiriya Frescoes in particular. This is by Murray, who actually made a tracing of the Frescoes at the request of Sir William Gregory in June 1889. The importance of these copies are appreciated today, as they represent the only record of the Frescoes that have been ravaged by paint and chisel and serve as the only means of checking the extent of damage if any and how faithful the restoration is to the original. His record, from which I took the extract quoted below, is just as, or, even more valuable, as it gives details which may never again see the light of day when the restoration is complete and may not be quite obvious in the facsimile copies or even pass unnoticed in same, were it not for these references :-

"The erection of the staging was by no means an easy matter and the difficulties connected with the work were made greater by the absolute refusal of the resident chiefs and the local population to have anything to do with the disturbance of a rock chamber which they believed to be inhabited and protected by "Yakkhes"..... I was obliged to fall back upon the services of three Tamil stone cutters from South India who did their work excellently and to whom my success in reaching what had hitherto been considered an inaccessible point has been mainly due.

"The copies are not mere sketches but fascimiles made by means of tracing paper. The work of copying took me from sunrise to sunset every day for a week..... it was only possible to copy them lying at full length on my back close to the vaulted roof

"They (the Frescoes) represent thirteen female figures in all, but no doubt many more existed as traces of them are to be seen partly obliterated..... They are arranged either singly or in sets of two, each couple representing mistress and maid, the latter being of darker hue and in the act of offering the sacred lotus flower on a tray to her mistress. The maid in each case wears a jacket exactly similar to that used by Tamil girls of the present day. The ladies are bedecked with jewels but the bosom is left uncovered. The jewellery is that of a pattern now usually worn by Tamils, from the circular earrings to the 'Tali' the equivalent to our wedding ring, worn in a circle round the neck

One remarkable fact, however, that at once catches the eye, is the grotesque proportion of the hands, to which have been added in almost every case an extra finger. On one of the fingers, that of an attendant, the position of the hand appears to have been changed, the artistt having left his original intention in outline. Another noticeable point is that only one of the thirteen women wears a ring.

"In some portions of the roof that are more exposed to the elements, the plaster has fallen away, affording a fair indication of the method by which it was attached to the rock It is curious that green predominates. A colour rarely, if ever, used by native artists in these days.

"My operations during the week were watched from below by an interest crowd..... Finding two days pass without a mishap, a 'korale' or subordinate chief, inquired whether I could protect him if he ascended. He was greatly delighted with his visit to the demon-haunted chamber and soon spread the news of what he had seen....."

"I was myself not sorry when my week's work was completed, my last act being to cement into the wall a bottle, hermetically sealed, containing a newspaper, a few coins, and the names of friends who had visited me in the chamber to be discovered by the archaeologists of some future era."

Before I conclude I must point out what appears to be a contradiction which may possibly be accounted for by a historian or archaeologist.

Rhys Davids, as pointed out by me earlier, in this article, has stated "I tried in vain to detect green on the Sigiri Frescoes", but Murray has stated in the reference quoted above: "It is curious that green predominates, a colour rarely, if ever, used by native artists."

THE JURISDICTION OF THE JAFFNA DISTRICT

The following particulars and history of the jurisdiction of Jaffna District some centuries ago if not from almost the beginning of history, will be found to be of interest, and perhaps of use in assessing administrative and political issues that do, and, can arise, from time to time.

The jurisdiction of Jaffna District has been modified in comparatively recent times, and, is not so extensive as it was in earlier times. The jurisdiction of Jaffna District and the political set-up, at least at the time of the Portuguese and earlier, can be inferred from the very interesting instructions issued to the Dutch Governor of Ceylon by the Governor of India in about the year 1660 which read as follows :

"As it has been the practice in the Island of Ceylon from olden times for the low lands and provinces to be governed, according to the custom of the country by special Dessaves it has been decided to appoint a Dessave for the district of Jaffna Patam as has been done in Colombo and Galle..... He will have authority over the inhabitants of the four provinces, islands and the large district of Wannai..... He must further see that there is no encroachment upon the Company's lawful sovereignty obtained by force of arms. As this duty is within the province of a Dessave, he is to reside for six months in the district that stretches from Trincomalee to the southern point of the Island of Calpetyne. To this district belongs also besides the four provinces and the Islands, the lands of the Wannai, which we divided into seven provinces as also the provinces of Peeneryn, Mantette (Mannar) and Seeticoulang (Chetticoulang).

What is of particular interest is that the jurisdiction of Jaffna District extended not only to the islands off Jaffna but across the seas to the shores of India opposite Ceylon. The following extract from Valentyn's work on Ceylon, is given below as it has not only considerable relevance to this subject, but is also of much historical significance and interest.

There must be some historical background for this jurisdiction to have been exercised by Ceylon and not India, unless it originated in comparatively recent historical times following the conquest of the maritime areas of Ceylon by the Portuguese because the Portuguese had a superior Navy. This is a field which may be explored by a student of history.

This is of particular interest at the moment in view of the issues raised at diplomatic level over the jurisdiction of an island in this area. Apparently when India and Ceylon came under the Government, the British, and, possibly at some point of time of the Dutch administration, the question of jurisdiction between the shores of India and Ceylon did not arise. Now that the two countries are independent the issue of jurisdiction has arisen. The answer to the question raised by me above may provide the solution.

The extract referred to is as follows :

"The Jurisdiction of Jaffnapatam extends also towards the interior seas, north of Adams Bridge- and the eight inhabited islands situated therein- further extending to the Westward, to the continent of Teivre (Thevar King), within these interior seas, between the Adams Bridge to the south and Caljemeer (Kalimere) on the continent to the North is no more between the New Castle at Cangienture (Kankesanturai) and the said pagoda, but 7 or 8 leagues - so that the new castle in the one and the pagoda on the other side from S and N are visible one to the other side- and as in the contracts entered into with the Teuvre (Thevar King) the old rights to the Portuguese stands more distinctly enacted - it will appear thereby that this Northerly Inham (Gulf) from Adams Bridge, upto Cangienture (Kankesanturai) and the Pagoda Caljineer (Kalimere) are under our jurisdiction, together with the large Inham (Gulf) in the South from the Cape Comerien (Comerin) upto the Adams Bridge again to the North which put all these nine islands under the Company's Powers- and are all inhabited by Christians - and orders have consequently been issued, that no vessel should be allowed to navigate between Tancere (Tenkarei), on the Westerly corner of the Island Amsterdam, and the Pagoda Caljemeer (Kalimere), without being provided with passport from our Government."

The four towns Kalimere, Cape Comerin, Talai-Mannar and Kankesanturai which lie at the corners of the area to which this jurisdiction applies occupy prominent positions stretegetically and topographically.

That this has been so even in ancient times is evident from the fact that three of them appear on Ptolemy's map of India and Ceylon, an authentic and ancient ~~document~~ *geography* about 1900 years old.

Kalimere is referred to as Kalliken, which is derived from Kalli-medu, Tamil for cactus-eminence according to Caldwell, ~~the Tamil scholar.~~ *who has made a special study of the Dravidian languages.*

Cape Commerin appears as Kemmaia, and, is derived from the Sanskrit word Kumari, referring to a Goddess.

Talai-Mannar can be identified with Tala-cery which can be derived from Talai-cedy (Head point) or Talai-karel (Head shore) in Tamil.

The appearance of the Tamil language in this ancient ^{geography} ~~document~~ pertaining to India and Ceylon is vouched for by Caldwell in his brilliant book on Dravidian Grammar, where he says, "It is a remarkable circumstance that the largest stock of primitive Dravidian words contained in any authentic written document of ancient times are these which are contained in the notices of the Greek geographers Ptolemy and Strabo. Many names of places and tribes recorded by them are identical letter for letter with names now in use."

Those interested in this fascinating subject will find Ptolemy's Geography by McGrindle and also the book on Sanskrit by Berreys, presently Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford, who has indicated the existence of the ~~main~~ ^{mainly} Dravidian languages in Northern India also about 3,000 years ago, of interest.

In conclusion I would draw attention to the Tamil inscription at Nagadipa containing a Pert regulation issued by Parakrama Bahu I directing how shipwrecks etc. should be disposed. This definitely establishes jurisdiction of Ceylon over the Islands in the vicinity of Nagadipa and incidentally also the official language that prevailed in Jaffna District at that time.

THE FALL OF THE KANDYAN KINGDOM

The fall of the Kandyan kingdom and the Indo-Ceylon problem referred to in the press in recent times appear to be attributed directly or indirectly to the last monarch of the Kandyan Kingdom.

This is not factually correct. I think it is only fair by the last King of Kandy that your readers should be acquainted with the actual facts as told by officials who held high office at that time and also by scholars and historians with a profound knowledge of the history of this Island.

Marshall, who was Deputy Inspector-General of Army Hospitals and who accompanied the Royal Family, as physician, to Vellere in India quotes from the manuscript notes of Simon Sawyer on the "Conquest of Kandy as follows: "It has been frequently stated that the king had by his tyranny, forfeited the loyalty and attachment of the great body of the people, but this imputation is not well founded. His quarrels were with the chiefs and the chiefs alone and perhaps the circumstances which particularly rendered him obnoxious to the hatred of the chiefs was the disposition he evinced a determination to protect the people from the oppression of the aristocracy, the real tyrants of the country."

Giffard, Advocate Fiscal, in a letter to the Secretary of State to the Admiralty has observed, "Peer Wilson (Government Agent, Uva) had gone out with a small detachment to endeavour to persuade the revolted to return to their duty and received for answer that the British Government had deceived them instead of protecting them, and abandoned them to their tyrants the headmen, and that a king was necessary for their relief from oppression". Wilson lost his life in the rebellion.

Paul Peiris, referring to Governor Brownrigg in his works "Sinhalese and Patriots" says "a campaign of vilification depicting Sri Wickrema as a monster of cruelty and wickedness and subtle propaganda aimed at creating discontent and misapprehensions among his subjects prepared the way for his proclamation of 10.1.1815 announcing that the sole object of the expedition was to uphold British prestige and deliver the King's subjects from oppression and put an end once and for all to the Malabar dynasty."

Malalasekera in reference to the King's Adigar at the time of Governor North has this to say in his work on "Pali Literature of Ceylon" : "He was fired by a treacherous desire to procure the death or the dethronement of the king and ascend the throne himself.

With this end in view he spared no pains to spread dissatisfaction among the king's subjects and ceaselessly plotted against his life.

He entered into secret negotiations with Fredrick North, who had come as first British Governor of Ceylon, and the latter, instead of disclaiming any participation in the treacherous designs of Pilama Talauwe, disgracefully lent himself to "intrigues inconsistent with the dignity and honour of this high office."

TRIAL BY JURY

The question of trial by jury which received publicity recently reminds me of an interesting reference I came across in an article headed "India and Comparative Philology" by M. Schele De Vere of the University of Virginia, pertaining to a trial by jury in Ceylon at the time of Chief Justice, Sir Alexander Johnstone. The record referred to is as follows : "In 1825, a Greek, Nicolo Kiephala of Zante returned from India, after spending some time in Benares. He brought along with him and presented to the library of the Vaticana, "MS containing the Sanskrit original of the moral sentences of the Indian philosopher, Sankea. It was translated into Greek..... An Indian translation of it was also published."

As the Indian philosopher was translated into Greek, so our readers may feel some curiosity in learning that the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, was translated into Sanskrit, at least his Dialectics. Adelung in his historical sketch of Sanskrit literature, as translated and amended by the Oxford Publisher, Tallboys (1832) refers to the Asiatic Journal, June, 1827 p.814, where the following account of it is given :-

"After the introduction of juries into Ceylon, a wealthy Brahman, whose unpopular character had rendered him obnoxious to many, was accused of murdering his nephew and put on trial. He chose a jury of his own caste but so strong was the evidence that the jury were thoroughly convinced of his guilt. The dissentient juror, a young Brahman of Ramiserum, stood up, declared his persuasion that the prisoner was the victim of conspiracy and desired that all witnesses might be recalled. He examined them with astonishing dexterity and acuteness, and succeeded in extorting from them such proofs of their perjury that the jury, instead of consigning the accused to an ignominious death pronounced him innocent."

"The affairs made much noise in the island, and the Chief Justice (Sir A. Johnstone, himself) sent for the juror who had so distinguished himself and complimented him on the talents he had displayed. The Brahman attributed his skill to the study of a book, which he called "Strengtheners of the Mind". He had procured it, he said, from some pilgrims at Ramiserum who obtained it from Persia, and he had translated it from the Sanskrit into which it had been rendered from the Persian. Sir A. Johnstone expressing curiosity to see this

work, the Brahman brought him a Tamil manuscript on palm leaves, which Sir Alexander found, to his infinite surprise, to be the "Dialectics of Aristotle."

Further investigation by me disclosed the interesting information that the Brahman in question was a farmer, as it reveals that a high standard of culture prevailed among the Tamils at that time at Rameswaram. This is not surprising as according to old records, the standard of education in Jaffna, too, even in Dutch times also, was high as students used to converse in Latin.

It is of interest to note that the jury consisted of 13, and also that the identity of the persons who pronounced the accused guilty or not guilty was also known. This was so at the trial by jury in the Kandy State trial when Molligodde, three Buddhist priests and, two others were tried for treason. They chose to be tried by an English speaking jury. The jury consisted of six Europeans and seven Ceylonese. They were found not guilty by a verdict of seven to six. The seven who found them not guilty were the Ceylonese, who were the Rev. De Saram, the Rev. Dias, Mudaliyars Don Jacobus Dias, J.J. de Saram, V. de Saram, Don J.F. Dias and L. de Leiwara.

The reference to "Brahman of Ramiserum" needs clarification, as Rameswaram then as now fell within the jurisdiction of India as can be inferred from the observation made by "Officer of the Ceylon Rifles" in his book on Ceylon, (1876). "The records of the Pagoda at Ramiseram relate that it was joined to the continent by a narrow neck of land until 1480 A.D. when a breach was made in it by a storm, subsequently enlarged by succeeding storms." It is of interest to note that even according to the Greek geographer Ptolemy of about 140 A.D., Rameswaram came within the jurisdiction of India. He has referred to it as koru, of which McCrindle makes this interesting observation in his edition of Ptolemy's Geography of India. It is remarkable, as Caldwell remarks, that the Portuguese, without knowing anything of the koru of the Greeks, called the same spit of land Cape Ramancoru.

Reverting to the Kandyan State trial referred to above, it is of interest to note that Molligodde was dismissed from office, even though he was found not guilty. However, the Government was subsequently convinced that he was actually innocent and reinstated him in office.

The reference "After the introduction of juries into Ceylon" would appear to convey the impression that trial by jury was first introduced into Ceylon by the British. That

the jury system was in force in Ceylon during the Dutch rule is apparent from the following extract from the "Instructions from the Governor of Ceylon, 1656 to 1665" :
"In reviewing the law cases it has been found that some mistakes have been made. The most serious of these is that for criminal cases, and even in cases where capital punishment was inflicted only four persons sat in the jury. Yet the death sentence was pronounced! As this was apparently due to the want of qualified jurors, your honour must avail yourself of the officials at Mannar in cases of this kind..... No sentence is to be pronounced without the unanimous vote of seven jurors."

THE VANNIARS

The reference to the Vanniars in the Press recently remind me of an inscription I came across at Kankuveli, a village in the Trincomalee district and referred to in the Survey Department News Letter No.4, 1949. This particular inscription was also noticed by the Dutch Governor Van Sanden, who commented on it in his diary of May 27th 1786. This had also received the attention of Hugh Nevill of the Civil Service who published a note on it in the "Taprobanian" edited by him.

This inscription confirms the traditions that tell of the existence of a Vanni hierarchy which was finally extinguished in the 19th Century. The observations made regarding this inscription in the various notices referred to above will I think interest your readers.

The notice published by the editor, Dr. R.L. Brohier, in the Survey Department's News Letter is as follows:

"This monument was found set up in the compound of a Sivan temple in the village of Kankuveli, about four miles West of the 62nd mile stone on the road from Trincomalee to Batticaloa. The inscription..... appears on two of its sides. The third bears the symbolic trident of the Sivan deity, while the fourth has not been used.

The inscription registers a grant of one veli of land in the village Kankuveli to the deity Konainathan (the god of Tirik-Konai-Malai) by a certain Vanniar. It ends with the usual malediction that any person who violates the grant will bring on himself the sin of those who slaughter black cows on the banks of the Ganges".

The conclusion^s drawn from the inscriptionare, first that the veli, a south Indian measure, was in use in Ceylon during the 13th Century. The unit of the system was a kuli or about 144 feet square, a hundred kulis representing one Ma or 20 Mas a veli. Secondly that the extent of land under this grant was about 6½ acres. Thirdly, it discloses the derivation of Trincomalee. It also reminds us that black cows are animals of greater sacredness than those of other colour."

Van Sanden in his diary of May 24th, 1786, states as follows, "About 3 p.m. left for Canguel-meli (Kankuveli), here I found 10 vellales and 2 children. The paddy fields had been lying waste for many years, the wannia told me, from want of water, but that this had not always been the case appeared from a remarkable stone, which stood upright

in front of a decayed pagoda.....

On the east side was a figure sculptured which the Malabars say is the weapon of the God of Wairaven who had authority over the sea and the sea coast and, as it is in some respects similar to Neptune's Tridant, it may serve as a further proof of Appegyer and Me de Sommerat's assertion that the Greeks derived their system of mythology from India. And on the west and south sides were inscriptions in Malabar but the north was vacant."

Hugh Nevill who edited the "Taprobanian" published the following notes in volume 3 of this journal :-

"This I discovered at the Tambiran Kona Nathan Kovil at Kanguveli, a village in Kottiar-Pattu near the Mahavaeli Ganga. It is in old Tamil form and forms 21 lines of letters on a small, squared post It reads thus: "The Wanniar at Malai and the Adappas of the seven towns unifying gave the field at Kanguveli for the use of the Tampiran Konai-nathan. If any one whatever should think prejudicially to this, let him acquire the sin of one who kills a Karam (red or dun) cow on the banks of the two Mutalimai, the Tanas and the Varipatta (assent)."

"This is evidently ancient and is of interest as confirming the account given by the Kalvettu of the government of the district by the Wannian of Trincomali or Malai acting much as an hereditary Doge of Venice would have done, with his council of the seven Adappas. Tambiran is an honorific name for God, so far as I know, applied only to forms of Siva. The two Mutalimai were the managers of the chief temple at Trincomalai, as organised by the Chola princes, and the Tana and Varipatta were the subordinate temple officers."

Hugh Nevill had also come across another inscription which has a reference^o at Verugal also in Trincomalee district. I am not aware whether this temple and inscription are still in existence. A note by him published in volume I of the "Taprobanian" reads as follows: "at the Verukal temple I found a small gneiss post, about 2½ feet long, apparently nearly buried beneath earth and rubbish, on the south of the temple and near the wall"

The translation of the inscription is as follows: "The wall on the south is the gift of Kaila Wannian, the Western side of Simmapi¹⁴⁹¹, of Palai, son of Tamasa, the northern side of the people of Maddakalappur and of Nikompukkaraiyar and the gift of the Seddis (is the eastern)."

→^o to Vanniars in a temple

According to Nevill, the Kayila Wanniyar is the Wannai chieftain of Tiruconamalai, also called Kayila. Nikompukkaraiyar is evidently a reference to Negombo of today. Evidently the fishermen from Negombo used to fish in this area during the south-west monsoon. It is the practice even today for fishermen on the west coast to fish on the east coast during the south-west monsoon.

The name Nikombukkaraiyar is Tamil, meaning village on the coast of Negombo. Nevill has observed Negombo is still called Nikompukkarai by some Tamils. I believe there are Tamils even today in Negombo whose language still continues to be Tamil.

Nevill has also observed - "This famous little temple stands upon a site sacred to Kataragam Deva or Skanda, upon the northern bank of the Verukal arm of the Mawili-ganga and near its mouth. The site is of such great antiquity that it is traditionally said to have been visited by Skanda himself, after his fight with Suran."

INDO-CEYLON LINKS

With reference to the subject of Indian and Ceylon connections in ~~your issue~~ ^{the press} of 30.9.71, I think the following references to the famous missionaries, Buddhagosa, Buddhadatta and Dhammapala is of interest.

Dutt (Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India), dealing with the subject of Buddhist culture and the places from where these missionaries came, says "Buddhist culture of the north migrated south of the Vindhyns into the Empire of the Sittavakanas. It was in the wonted way of all culture migrations in ancient history - that is, by the existing routes of travel and communications. With the tramp of merchants and men on business went in softer tempo along these routes the unhurried tread of migratory parties of Buddhist monks."

"Leaving all legends, both Ceylonese and Burmese aside we may turn more profitably to the internal evidence of his works. This leaves little room for doubt (i) that Buddhagosa was an Indian, a native of Andhra, (ii) that he stayed from time to time at several monasteries (e.g. at Kancipura) and Buddhist centres in South India, (iii) that he knew well the topography as well as the social life of the south, while his knowledge of northern India was remarkably sketchy, and (iv) that most of his literary works (all in Pali) were actually undertaken and completed at Anuradhapura in Ceylon."

"Both Buddhadatta and Dhammapala hailed from South India. The former belonged to Ugrapura in the Kaveri region, then under the Chola (Kadamba) Kings, ~~the~~ ^{the} latter to Kanci (Conjeevaram in the Madras State)."

The above is confirmed by Law in his article "South India as a centre of Pali Buddhism" and Geiger in his book "Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times."

DUTUGEMUNU

Reference the subject of Dutugemunu's sojourn in Kotmale district which received publicity in the press recently, I think the following reference to this matter in "Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography", (Revised Edition), by me, will be of interest.

"B.S. Perera (Ceylon Historical Journal Vol.11, 1953, pp.241-250) says 'Malai meaning in Tamil a mountain or hill is found even today in the central parts of the island. They are come across in literature produced many centuries before the opening up of plantations..... R~~a~~malaya, Kotmale and Gilimale are some of the examples.'

The reference to Kotmale is of interest as it is actually Kotai-mali meaning mountain fortress. This would appear to confirm the legend that Dutugemunu lived at Kotmale during the time he rebelled against his father. Dutch maps (Maps, Land and Surveys, p53) actually gives Kotmale as Goetemale. This fully confirms that a rock fortress (Kotaimalai) existed in ancient times in the area now known as Kotmale, a typical corruption of the Tamil word Kotaimale.

This also confirms the fact that according to the chronicles, Dutugemunu went into hiding in the 2nd century B.C. to a district by the name of Kottamalaya and in the time of the invader Magha the Tooth and Bowl Relics were concealed at Kotthumala, RASCE, New Series, Vol.6, p.117). Even today there is a place in South India named Kottaimale, McGraw - Hill Atlas).

The following observation made by Heeren in reference to "Ceylon" by Knox, (Asiatic Nations, app. XI p.428), 'mountain called by Ptolemy, Males, under which were the elephant pastures, extending as far as the sea, still bears the name Malele among the natives' is significant in this context, as it means that the natives in the Kandyan Kingdom called this mountain by the same name that it was known in the time of Ptolemy 17 centuries earlier.'

THE SOVIET UNION

The following extracts from the "Courier" of November, 1967, an UNESCO publication pertaining to language and education in the Soviet Union will, I think, interest your readers :

"Soviet children are taught in more than a hundred languages as different as are histories of their individual speakers. In the Georgian language there are the written monuments fifteen centuries old while the Evenki (Tungus), who live in northern Siberia, have only acquired a written language since the Socialist Revolution of 1917, just as half a hundred other peoples of the U.S.S.R. who have had no written language before. The inhabitants of the Soviet Union differ widely in appearance, the colour of their skin, their way of life and in number of population.

"..... But whatever the region, all men and women share one common feature : absolute equality. Naturally this makes for close ties and national unity."

"The attraction exerted by science and technology upon Soviet youth is unmistakable. In addition to schools technical clubs abound where youngsters of 10 to 12 years of age build model boats or aircraft, assemble wireless sets and so on. Even so, we consider that the development of our education lags behind our needs - behind the evolution of science and technology....."

"In view of the outstanding educational opportunities which we are able to offer young people and because of the limited capacity of our laboratories, we have naturally had to adopt a system of selection which ensures the admission to our university of talented young people who know exactly what they want to do."

TOWARDS A SLAVE STATE

Reference annexed articles "Tamil and Tamil Nad" Supplements (1 and 2) pertaining to the language problem it will be noticed that at time of independence negotiations the Tamil language not only enjoyed an equal status with the Sinhala language but had also to be studied by the British public servant for promotion, and further, a Sinhala dominated government had by an overwhelming majority, made both Tamil and Sinhala official languages.

Complete freedom of worship was allowed and no discrimination in any degree was made between religions.

Since the citizens of Tamil Nad, in as much as, the citizens of Sinhala Nad were a free and sovereign people before they were independently conquered by the western powers, I cannot see why the citizens of Tamil Nad only should be deprived of the unrestricted use of their language and also how an alien religion can be given pride of place over the religion of the citizens of Tamil Nad in their own State.

As pointed out already even the British public servant had to study Tamil so that he could work in Tamil Nad.

Apparently the new constitution is being framed so as to make a slave State of Tamil Nad, which even the British rulers did not contemplate, as otherwise, they would not have insisted on British public servants studying the Tamil language.

And according to Tacitus only slaves can be denied the free use of their own language and when Tacitus made this remark Tamil was already a fully developed language and in use in this part of Asia. And for about 20 centuries, at least, some of the words as pointed out by Caldwell (Dravida Grammer), after a study of the Tamil words in Greek Geography, have retained their identity letter for letter.

This means the citizens of Tamil Nad are being deprived of the rights they enjoyed not only during the colonial period but even before foreign domination.

ANURADHAPURA FIRST A HINDU CITY

Reference my article "The Pandians", which appeared in the press recently, where I referred to Hindu temples in Anuradhapura, I am giving below an extract from my work "Ceylon in Retrospect" which gives more detailed information.

"That Hinduism and Hindu temples existed at Anuradhapura before the advent of Buddhism is clear from the following extracts :-

"Malalasekera (Pali Literature of Ceylon) "Halls for Brahmins Tittharama (monastery for foreign religions) built by Pandukabhaya where Abhayagiri now stands."

Harischandra (Sacred City, Anuradhapura) points out Abhayagiri dagoba stands on the site of a Hindu temple. This is referred to by Chapman, (C.R.A.S.C.B. Transactions 111, p.478), who quotes Rajaratnacari page 41 "The King (Walagambaw) moreover, caused to be broken down a temple which belongs to a heathen priest called Gire, and on the said place caused to be built twelve temples to Buddu, one joining another, and in the midst caused to be raised an immense vehare or monument, and joining his name, Abaya, with the name of the heathen of the heathen priest called Gire, called the same monument by the said Abayagire, and made an offering of the same to the priest Tissa, who had befriended him in his exile."

W.A. de Silva, (JRASCB, Vol.28, 1919-21), says, the first Buddhist shrines founded in Anuradhapura is Isurumuniya Rock Temple. Before it was converted to a vâhare it was a temple of Gods.

Paranavitana, (JRASCB, Vol.31, No.82, 1929), "Mahawamsa in its account of the formation of Anuradhapura by Pandukabhaya in 4th century B.C. mentions numbers of religions and public institutions established there by the monarch. The earliest inscriptions too, bear testimony to the presence of Brahmanas^{nci} in Ceylon just after the introduction of Buddhism. They must therefore have been living in pre-Buddhist Ceylon too and the presence of the Brahmanas is evidence of the prevalence of their religious beliefs."

^m In this context the views expressed by Ariyapala and Nicholas are of much interest.

Ariyapala, (*Society in Mediaeval Ceylon*, p.47), has pointed out that, "Purohita wielded great influence in the king's court - Institution of Purohita maintained to the last phases of Sinhalese kingdom - First chaplain mentioned is Canda in time of Pandukabhaya - Appointment of a Brahmin par-excellence in keeping with Indian traditions," while Nicholas, (*University of Ceylon Review*, p.259), has observed, "according to Paranaavitana - Brahmanas held an honourable place in society in those days and some of them were in sympathy with Buddhist movement - Vijaya, Pandukabhaya, Devanampiya Tissa, had Brahmin purohitas - kings endowed Brahmana shrines in city and Brahmanas were generally people of influence and wealth."

FROM SLAVERY TO SOVEREIGNTY

Mujibur has in a message to the Bangla Desh nation, on the remembrance day of those who suffered for their language in 1952, said that the movement for Bengali also being an official language is often referred to as the beginning of their movement for independence.

The language position here is similar but not identical, in the sense, that, in the case of Bangla Desh, Bengali had been recognised as a regional official language by the British as in the case of Tamil and Sinhalese in Ceylon, but in the case of Tamil, it had been recognised by the Government as an official language of not only of Tamil Nad but of entire Ceylon, even before Ceylon became independent, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhala votes. This means at the crucial period of Independence negotiations, Tamil had already been recognised, by the highest legislature of the country as an all-island official language.

The following extracts have much significance in this context.

From "Satyagraha" by Ponniah, Balasunderam in the Foreword has observed "shortly before the introduction of the new constitution a resolution was passed by an overwhelming majority in the State Council declaring Sinhalese and Tamil as the official and national languages of the island. This was, probably, done to win the support of the minorities in their agitation for constitutional reforms. But after the Sinhalese politicians had achieved their object they sought ways and means of not only completely disregarding the solemn promise contained in that resolution but also of denying equality of opportunity and fair treatment to the Tamil speaking people of the Island..."

Ponniah has observed, in reference to the context for power between the U.N.P. and S.L.F.P., "At this crucial moment Dr. N.M. Perera, M.P. and President L.S.S.P. interposed and warned the two communal parties that unless they mended their approach to the language question, they would be throwing the whole nation into utter chaos.... It is a danger to the well being of the nation when a racial majority is called upon to determine the manner in which a racial minority in the country should use its language....."

Similar views were expressed by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva... Dr. de Silva pointed out that the Ceylon Tamils were in a great measure responsible for the independence of Ceylon and that such independence should be shared alike by the Tamils and Sinhalese..."

The position now is that hundreds of thousands of Tamil speaking citizens will have to learn a foreign language overnight so as to be able to transact public business with a couple of hundred officials.

The irony of it is that even during the rule of the foreign powers the Dutch and British officials who had to serve in Tamil Nad or deal with Tamils had to learn Tamil for promotions and increments.

What is now being done is to abolish a right recognised at least regionally by foreign powers and already specifically recognised as an all-island official language, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhala votes at time of independence negotiations.

A nation that cannot use its language for its day to day activities has only two courses open, that is, to die a slow death physically or, join in a federal form of Government, where it can use its own language.

I do not think that it is generally realised, that, in this part of Asia, from the Himalayas to Dondra Head, the only two peoples who were reduced to a state of slavery, ironically after attainment of Independence, were the citizens of Bangla Desh and Tamil Nad (Ceylon). I say this, because as already pointed out above the right of the people to be dealt with in ordinary public business in their own language was recognised by the imperial powers, Dutch and British. In fact in Ceylon, the British, Tamil and Sinhalese officers had to learn Tamil and/or Sinhalese, as the case may be, to earn their increments or qualify for promotion.

But after independence the Bengali language was officially ignored and so was the case of Tamil, even though it had been given the the status of all-island official language even before independence was obtained.

Apparently solemn undertakings here have no more permanent value than writing on water. Unless it be that the word "solemn" has a different meaning in this part of the world. The Oxford dictionary must be finding it difficult to keep pace with such a fast progressing country like Ceylon !

I have yet to hear of a case where a country or a people who lost the rights they already had, after attaining independence. Unless, of course, here again, the word "independence" has a different meaning in this part of the world !

And why I say that these two peoples have been reduced to slavery is that only slaves can be denied the use of their own language, by, of course, draconian laws. Tacitus has pointed out this centuries ago. In fact an endeavour was made by the Dutch Government in Ceylon to make the slaves, among whom were those they had imported from the Madras Coast and planted on their cinnamon plantations from Chilaw to Tangalla, to study Dutch by shaving their heads. They were permitted to grow their hair and wear a hat only after they had learnt the language.

But even this was found impracticable. Apparently they found this too severe an imposition, even on a slave, for the reason that it was absurd to expect thousands of peoples to learn a foreign language so as to

be understood by a couple of hundred officials and so the Dutch insisted on their own people learning the native languages so as to be able to address themselves to slaves in their public and other businesses. So it will be seen that the citizens of Tamil Nad have now lost an existing right which was conceded to even slaves during the Dutch and British period.

These slaves both in the North of Ceylon and South West Coast of Ceylon were emancipated only in about 1839 AD by Sir Alexander Johnstone.

This problem did not arise in India, as India has a federal form of government of about 14 states carved out on a linguistic basis. This was almost a promise made by Nehru in about 1933 from prison in a letter to his daughter, the present Prime Minister of India, (Nehru, "Glimpses of World History"). This undertaking he honoured when India became free. He has also indicated that Hindi should be made an ALL INDIA language with the consent of the minorities.

But in Ceylon the regional official status as well as the all Ceylon official status conferred on it by an overwhelming majority of Sinhalese votes have been abolished after Ceylon got its independence.

Now that Bangla Desh has attained sovereignty, Tamil Nad (Ceylon) is the only pocket of slavery left in this part of Asia.

I wonder for how long this blot on civilisation will continue to mar the image of the free world.

The following works may be referred to for confirmation of the subject material appearing in this ^{article} ~~chapter~~, Valentine, ("Ceylon," Vol 2, PP 43, 237, 238, 781, 782), Pieris, (Ceylon Littoral, 1593), Rajasingham, ("Mirror", 15/12/68), Memoirs of Dutch Governors, Instructions to Dutch Command in Ceylon from Dutch Governor General India (1655-1665), Sinnatamby ("Ceylon in Retrospect", PP 101-105, in Colombo Museum), Ariyapala, ("Society in Medieval Ceylon" P 286), Brohier and Paulusz, (Lands, Maps and Surveys, Vol 2, P43). Kearney ("Communalism and language in the Politics of Ceylon", P 63), Tope, ("Indian Constitution), Study of Indian Constitution, Vols 1-5), Balde^gis, ("Ceylon", P 294).

CEYLON

Faint handwritten text, possibly a title or note, partially obscured by a large, faint outline of a map.

Map showing Tamil Nad and Sinhala Ned

ABBREVIATIONS

T. C. ...

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A CULTURAL OASIS

I was interested to reach the remark "It is the fashion in most government departments to let existing assets deteriorate and to blame the situation on the government's lack of funds and foreign exchange difficulties. The University of Peradeniya has shown that progress can be made in spite of such difficulties", by your columnist Boris in your issue of 24/7/72, as this was a point that occurred to me in the course of my visits to our libraries in Colombo and Peradeniya, in which are deposited valuable literary treasures and the labours of our scholars.

To any one who has seen and experienced the shoddy manner in which premises and assets are maintained and administered and the atmosphere of casualness and the lack of sense of urgency that generally pervades our public institutions today, a visit to the libraries such as at the Universities of Peradeniya, Colombo and Museum and Public Libraries will be a revelation.

The organisation of the Museum Library, which has had a new Librarian for some years now, has had many welcome innovations and can serve as a model to any institution on how a public institution should be run and what quiet efficiency can achieve.

It is a great pleasure to work in these institutions and I hope they will continue to expand and improve.

As regards works for research, I think I can with some degree of certainty state that more valuable literary treasures are available within a radius of one mile of Guildford Crescent in Colombo, than in any other corresponding area in Asia.

The libraries which contain a magnificent collection of rare works are the Libraries of the Museum, Public Library, Archaeological Department, Royal Asiatic Society, Ceylon Branch, Colombo University, apart from a valuable private collection of books at Guildford Crescent of the Evelyn Rutnam Library and the collection of classical works of the late Mr. J.L.C. Rodrigo, whose scholarly and human contributions we now miss and whose demise has created a cultural void difficult to fill.

Guildford Crescent is therefore something more than just any other street and strangely enough it can also be called the cradle of the age of renaissance in Ceylon as it was here that were housed the earliest hostels of the University of Ceylon whose warden was Mr. C. Suntheralingam and through those portals have passed a whole host of scientists, doctors, Senators, lawyers, judges, civil servants, permanent secretaries and Bishops, of various religions, races and cultures, who have made a mark

in life in their respective spheres, some of whom still hold the lime-light, such as T.S. Fernando, Colvin R. de Silva, H. W. Thambiah, S. Madenan and J. T. Rutnam.

And if we include the magnificent five storeyed library at Peradeniya and the Archives at Gangodawila we can safely say we have one of the best collections of books in Asia. A cultural oasis that has kept alive the torch of learning in the otherwise cultural desert of Sir Ivor Jennings.

It would however appear that with the decline of the study of English and the Classical Languages, which have provided a link for over a century with the rest of the world, the cultural contact with the rest of the world will gradually diminish, when it is appreciated that the vast majority of students now leaving school do not have an adequate or ^{have} no knowledge of English at all, and, that the vast majority of the books are in English.

I am reminded of what Arther Clarke said about the effects of television if it were to be introduced to Ceylon, that, it would have the same effect on Ceylon as when the Portugese arrived in Ceylon, ~~reference~~ ^{reference} I believe to a live contact with western knowledge whereby the ~~arts~~ ^{arts} of "that education of modern by ancient thought which we call Renaissance" were brought to the shores of India and Ceylon.

While on this subject it is of interest to note that as far as I am aware the first contact of the orient with a western oriented institution was at a college at Goa. Da Cunha has in an article referred to this institution, (I cannot at the moment remember the journal where I got this information). At this institution students from every country in Asia were educated inclusive of Sinhalese and Tamils and even a Prince from Ceylon. It is therefore probable that this institution had the first western oriented library in Asia.

Japan was not among the first countries whose students studied at Goa, but according to information I have had, students from Japan were also enrolled later at this institution at the instance of St. Xavier. It is interesting to speculate if this was her first contact with the western world of knowledge and in which she is now a leading light.

A contribution of an unique nature similar in some aspects to the discovery of the famous Rosetta stone, which had an inscription in two languages and three scripts (hieroglyphics, demotic and Greek) and gave the key to the translation of Egyptian hieroglyphics till then ^u undeciphered, and of which Ceylon can be proud, is the identification of Asoka with Devanampiya Priyadarsi Raja of the rock inscriptions at Delhi, Girnar, Cuttack and Afghanistan. This was based on a communication by Turnour

of Ceylon to Prinseps of India which was promptly acclaimed by Prinseps as a contribution of great significance and of which Zoysa writes, (RASCB, Vol. V, 1874, P7), "when James Prinsep discovered the lost alphabet of ancient India, and read the rock inscriptions at Delhi, Girnar, Cuttack and Afghanistan, which had baffled the attempts of all previous Orientalists and others to decipher, he found that they were written in the Pali language and, were edicts issued by a king whose name was "Devanampiya Piyadasi Raja", Piyadasi the beloved of the gods; but he was unable to find the name of such a sovereign in any Indian history or record. He however lost no time in communicating his wonderful discovery to his friend and fellow labourer in Ceylon, the late Honourable George Turnour who at once identified the sovereign as "Asoka" or "Dharmasoka"... and in support.... quoted a passage from the Dipa Vansa..... Prinsep in acknowledging the service..... wrote as follows:- "The first correction in point of importance comes as usual, from Ceylon, the very Lanka the very first meridian whence the true longitude of all ancient Indian history seems destined to be calculated!" and again "Mr. Turnour has thus satisfactorily cleared up a difficulty that might long have proved a stumbling block to the learned against the reception of the late inscriptions as genuine monuments of a fixed and defined period, the most ancient yet achieved in such an unequivocal form".

Strangely enough it was Asoka's ancestor (grandfather) Chandragupta who has provided the first firm date for the linking of the chronology of the histories of the western world with that of India. This was first pointed out by Sir William Jones, a brilliant orientalist, when he identified Sandracottus of the Greek annals with Chandragupta of the Sanskrit annals. This was an identification of the greatest importance and of which is recorded in the British Encyclopaedia "The Puranas and the Pali chronicles of Ceylon agree in attributing a reign of 24 years to Chandragupta. The Greek accounts of the campaigns of Alexander the Great tell of a meeting between Alexander and an Indian called Sandracottus, who at first supported Alexander and afterwards quarrelled with him. The identification of this Sandracottus with Chandragupta of the Indian sources was of fundamental importance in establishing a chronology for early Indian history, for which it provided the first certain date."

The importance of the contribution, to this significant synchronisation, of great importance, between western and oriental chronology, by the Classics, has been admirably expressed by Phil Bonnae in an article "India in the Classics", (Calcutta Review, Vol 28), quoted in my work "Ceylon in Retrospect", where he says "we must expect then to find the knowledge of India possessed by the ancients in early times, or previous to Megasthenes

to be very limited and vague. But it was not on that account the less important, for without it the whole of that period of Indian History must, like the preceding Ages, be a blank, to be estimated by Yugs or ages, the extent of which only the vast imagination of an oriental can conceive. The peculiar value of the information regarding India derived from the Classics, that by means of them, and them alone, can we introduce order into native accounts, and reduce a monstrous and fabulous chronology to harmony of intelligibility. It is only at these points where India ~~has~~ in the course of its history, touches upon other nations, that we can hope for faint rays of it, to relieve the mind that has panted through cycles of ages in search of a resting place. It is only when a historical being like Alexander, with his trustworthy Ptolemy and Aristobulus, steps on that mighty scene, that we find a place for the soles of our feet, and from that point proceed, as best as we may to look about us in the darkness, to catch forms hitherto aerial and mythical, and to bind all by the sure fetters of an accurate chronology....."

286, Buller's Road,
Colombo.
72-07-12.

From Sovereignty To Slavery

It is ironical that when Ceylon attained unallayed sovereignty on 22.5.72 the citizens of Tamil Nad should have been condemned to slavery. By this I refer to the sovereign status they enjoyed till the year 1617 and which they lost when the king of Jaffna, Sankili, was captured and executed only because of the assistance he was rendering to the beleaguered Sinhalese people of the Kandyan Kingdom who were being attacked by the Portugese (Sinnatamby, "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", articles "True to Tradition", "Tamil and Ceylon", and supplements 1 and 2).

It will be noticed from above articles that even the introduction of English by the foreign rulers as a common official language was done by a foreign power as an administrative necessity and at least they did so by right of conquest when both the nations came under one rule, whereas the ruling party now had acquired power by virtue by an unitary form of government at a time when Tamil had already been recognised as an All-Island official language by an overwhelming majority of Sinhalese votes. The Tamil language was used even in Sinhalese court circles for official communications, see my article "English and more English".

This means that they now seek to deny the Tamil people an existing right by a power actually acquired by double crossing the Tamil people. They even have the impudence to strut about Tamil Nad and make arrogant speeches, as if they had liberated the people of Tamil Nad, by actually conquering the British.

The end result is that hundreds of thousands of Tamil speaking people have to learn a foreign tongue overnight so as to transact public business with a couple of hundred bureaucrats. This difficulty does not arise in the case of Sinhala speaking citizens not only in Sinhala Nad but even in Tamil Nad as the Tamil public servants have to learn Sinhalese, a burden not cast on Sinhalese public servants who serve in Tamil Nad. One cannot conceive of a more glaring instance of discrimination, of a high handed and callous nature, against the Tamil public servants and hundreds of thousands of Tamil Speaking people.

Even in Tamil Nad a Sinhala speaking citizen can transact his business in any public office without any impediment as even Tamil public

- (2) -

servants have to learn Sinhalese, but, a Tamil speaking citizen cannot do so even in his own country without any let or hindrance as the public servants are ^{not} compelled to learn Tamil which even the Imperial rulers (Dutch and British) compelled their own officers to learn so as to be able to address themselves to the Tamil speaking people and work in Tamil Nad.

Is a country or a people to be run for the benefit of a couple of hundred officials or the hundreds of thousands of its citizens? Even the foreign powers who ruled here recognized the fact that the people came first. The following extract from the Colombo Journal, 1832, is illuminating in this context.

"We gave in a late Journal an abridged report of the examinations of the junior civil servants at Madras. The system is in very point of view admirable, as it necessarily secures those qualifications which enable the public servants of the company to execute their duties with the greatest benefit to the mass of the native population. Young men capable of attaining such proficiency in the native languages cannot but gain with ease other acquirements, which may be advantageous in the exercise of their public duties..."

And now the power acquired by deceit has been used to degrade the Hindu religion and that too in Hindu country (Tamil Nad). This is the first time, as far as I am aware, whether it be the constitutions of 1798, 1801, the Kandyan Convention, even though it did not apply to Tamil Nad, Donoughmore, Soulbury, that the Hindu religion has been degraded, (Sinnatamby, "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", article "Tirukoneswaram and Sankili"). Well I suppose it is difficult to resist the temptation to acquire merit and what better and of course easier way of acquiring merit than by extolling one's own religion over other religions.

First deceived ^{over} ~~our~~ citizenship, then language and now religion. What a heavy price, a policy of cooperation and compromise, has exacted from the Tamil race.

For how long are the citizens of Tamil Nad to live in uncertainty in their own native land not knowing what further violence will be done to the sovereignty of their religions and their language in their own country and the integrity of their own territory, resulting in their having to go on their knees at every public counter not only in Sinhala Nad but even in their own native land and beg to be heard in their own language, as a concession, even if they, Sinhala or Tamil public servants, know Tamil, as they are not specifically required by the constitution or by any

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regulation to pass a qualifying exam in Tamil or attain a required standard in Tamil in a public examination as in the case of Sinhalese, and as such cannot be compelled to work in Tamil.

The language problem has hitherto been used by rival parties in the South only for election purposes and for 14 years no settlement has been made as then it will lose its political value. I cannot see how this can be settled except undoubtedly by some very effective action by the citizens of Tamil Nad.

As against this witness the violent resistance that was unleashed by the leaders of the present Government when the Tamil language Regulations Bill was introduced in 1968 by the legally constituted government of the day, when they resisted every inch of their way along Galle Road with the express purpose of physically obstructing the sitting of Parliament.

Yours faithfully,

J. R. Sinnatamby.

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286, Buller's Road,
Colombo 7.
72-07-12.

ENGLISH AND MORE ENGLISH

It would appear that it is only a matter of time for English to be made a compulsory subject in our schools so as to rend apart the veil of ignorance that is steadily enveloping the field of knowledge in Ceylon and thereby bring the world back again to our doorstep.

The main obstacle is not only translating publications from books in foreign languages into the vernaculars but also to keep pace with the pace of modern research.

Apart from the economic angle of making translation^s and publishing same for a small race more so for the Sinhalese than the Tamils, who can and do benefit from books in South India, there is the problem of making the translations themselves.

This was a point I raised at a conference in 1954, where I pointed out that a translator must know both the languages concerned and also a knowledge of the subject. My proposal was that students who satisfy these requirements should be selected and encouraged go make a thorough study of the subject and the languages concerned and be thereafter employed on translation work. No notice was taken and we have lost 18 years, and what is worse, the position, at least as far as Sinhalese is concerned, is now almost irremediable as I do not think we have students available now who fulfill all the requirements mentioned above.

The above was forcibly brought to my mind recently when I received a translation of a Latin work from a professor in the university.

These are his actual words as appearing in the "Translator's Note" attached by him to the translations. "I had always known, in theory, that the translator of a technical treatise required more than a knowledge of the two languages involved. But it was only when I began to translate this work of Bertius that I realised, in fact, how essential was a knowledge of the subject and of the technical jargon peculiar to it."

This is a point also touched on by Puisse Justice Clarence, ("Law Quarterly Review", Ceylon Literary Register, Vol 5, 1890-91), in an article on the "Administration of Justice in Ceylon", where he says "Unlike India, Ceylon has no courts in which justice is administered in the native languages, excepting, indeed, the "Village Tribunals",.... As I have had no personal experience of the Indian vernacular codes I will not pretend to say on which

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side the advantage lies, but there are certainly disadvantages inseparable from the employment in small courts of a language not understood of the people..... There is, again, the further risk of the proceedings suffering from incorrect interpretations. I do not say that the proceedings in the Courts of first instance suffer from dishonest interpretations; but I am afraid they suffer sometimes from sheer incompetency on the interpreter's part. The interpreters are but poorly paid, an interpretation needs no mean degree of intelligence, plus, a very thorough knowledge of both the languages concerned. It has happened to me, when trying criminal charges on circuit, to find the rendering of a local interpreter characterised not merely by inaccuracy but by absolute distortion."

Why I say that this difficulty will arise particularly in the case of Sinhalese is because in South India English is a secondary language and has been so even after India became independent and from reports I have read, South India would appear to be making vast strides in various fields.

This means there are available in South India today Tamil students who know both the Tamil and English languages as well as their subject.

The value of the study of English in India was stressed by MacCaulay; in doing so he has pointed out that if Russia studies the English language she will soon be pressing on France and England. This is indeed prophetic. He also said that if they, the English, did not adopt Latin, and Greek and persisted only with the Anglo-Saxon, they would not have reached the position they had attained, (*Hindu weekly, Madras Hindu, January 1972*). While Churchill has pointed out that the future is to the educated.

We can now understand why Tamil was taught in the South of Ceylon also in ancient times. Geiger who has spent almost a life time studying the culture of the Sinhalese race says "Knowledge of the various languages and dialects spoken in Ceylon and of South India was highly appreciated. The sons of distinguished families who were brought up by Parakkamabahu in his own palace were also instructed in the use of foreign languages. A Grand Thera from the Kola country who was made a royal teacher at the court of Parakkramabahu, 14th century, is praised as a man intimate with philosophic works and well versed in various tongues (nana-bhasa-vasarada, 90.80) (The four languages to be studied in ancient Ceylon were Sanskrit, Pali, Sinhalese and Tamil: saku magada elu demala, Giri Sandesa, 15th century ed Mudisasa Rumaranatunga, V221, of Subbhasita, 17th century V.5 (Ed), (*Culture of Ceylon in Mediaeval Times, P67*)).

In fact during the Portuguese and Dutch period even the Portuguese language was known in court circles. Paul Peiris in his book "Dutch Power" says that when the king received a communication from the Dutch Commander, in AD 1660, in Dutch and Latin, he requested the Dutch Commander to send him communications in Portuguese or Malabar, to eliminate any misunderstandings due to faulty translations and in 1639 the king sent a communication to the Dutch Governor at Batticaloa in Portuguese and Malabar.

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The time will also come when we will have to go back to South India for science teachers. It is not realised that about 40 years ago there were a large number of South Indians teaching these subjects in schools in Ceylon. In fact there appears to be a clamour already in South Ceylon for science teachers from North Ceylon. But the time will come when both North Ceylon and South Ceylon will have to go back to South India for science teachers as our science will not measure up to modern scientific knowledge in view of the rapid strides made in the world of science so much so that even travelling to the moon is ceasing to make news. The problem will not arise in South India as English is a recognised language in the field of education and has continued to be so without any break ever after India attained independence.

It would appear that it is even necessary to revive the study of classical languages Greek and Latin also. In this context the following extract from my work "Ceylon in Retrospect" may interest your readers. "I cannot see how we can dispense with the study of the classical languages, if we are to pursue investigations into past history as this work will I hope illustrate..... It would appear that the study of the classical languages has become even more urgent and compelling than ever before, and as pointed out by Wilde, (The Rise of Historical Criticism), "The study of Greek, it has been well said, implies the birth of criticism, comparison and research. At the opening of that education of modern by ancient thought which we call the Renaissance, it was the words of Aristotle which sent Columbus sailing to the New World, while a fragment of Pythagorean astronomy set Copernicus thinking on that train of reasoning which has revolutionised the whole position of our planet in the universe. Then it was seen that the only meaning of progress is a return to Greek modes of thought... Across a drear wast^e of a thousand years the Greek and the modern spirit joins hands."

~~Yours faithfully,~~

~~J. R. Sinnatamby~~

LANKA

The interest now evinced concerning one of the names by which Ceylon has been known from ancient times, namely Lanka, it would appear that the following extract from my work "Ceylon in Retrospect" may interest your readers. In the chapter dealing with some names of Ceylon, I have referred to this as follows.

"According to investigations made by me this word 'Lanka' is not a name of Ceylon as such but a name which is synonymous with the word 'island'. This is a word that appears to have been applied to small islands formed in the estuaries and mouths of rivers and in large marshy areas.

My reasons and authorities for the above statement are as follows:

Kiepert (Ancient Geography) has pointed out that the word 'Lanka' is not an Aryan name. The inference is that it is a word given to the island by the people of South India which adjoins Ceylon, but actually Ceylon is referred to in most inscriptions in South India as Ilam, Elam.

Abreu (The Indian Antiquary, 1884, Buddhist Legends) has pointed out Lanka as name first known to Aryans who went there.

Mendis has pointed out (Early History of Ceylon, P7) that Lanka means island by which he presumably means it is synonymous with the word island.

That different islands in the Maldives were also called Lanka is clear from the following extracts from an article "Excerpts Maldiviana" by Bell (JRASCB. Vol. 31, 1930, P555). It would appear, in this article also, that, Ceylon is also referred to as Lanka. As there were several islands, they had to be distinguishing descriptions as 'Here', 'There' as in the case of the Lankas in the delta of the river Godavery, dealt with in the sequel.

The extract is as follows "The employment in Lomafana No.2 of the term "Lakka", as synonymous with "Divehi Rajje" of a later period, to denominate the "Maldivian Realm", finds valuable collateral support in the Bodugala Miskit Lomafanu; in which distinct reference is made to more than one "Lakka" - "Aahilakka Mahilakka", Lanka the "Far" (literally there) and the "Near" (literally "Here").

These terms may cover the Lakkadives and Maldives Island Group - unless (not impossibly) 'Aahilakka' denoted Ceylon itself".

Further evidence pointing to the use of the word 'Lanka' meaning an island in general is provided in an article on "Bandar-Maha-Lanka", (The Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register, Vol. IV. P227), an extract from which reads as follows 'Burnouf speaks so of Bandar Mahalanka. Discussion the situation of Nagadvipa he says that there is a Nagalanka, a Pootalanka and a Bandar Mahalanka not from from each other at the mouths of the Godavary and the Krishna, and concludes from it that the name Lanka (which is the name of Ceylon), with or without Naga is of frequent use on that coast, and direct communication with Ceylon in ancient times'.

Burnouf says he found these names in a very detailed map in which one of the Mouths of the Godavary is marked 'Bandermalanka River', only it is Bandermalanka and not Bander Mahalanka.

If now to complete our research we look up the Imperial Gazetteer of India, xii, we find the following: "once through the hills the river (Godavary) again opens out and forms a series of broad reaches dotted with low alluvial islands (lankas), which are famous for the tobacco they produce' P298. It would appear that lanka, as found in Nagalanka, Pootalanka, Bander Mahalanka, has nothing to do with Sri Lanka. As regards Bandar Maha Lanka there is only this:

Discussing further the history of the word Bander Maha Lanka the article says "This is, however, not the only occasion in which Burnouf and Tennent were both misled by the name Lanka. Tennent said that 'the Hindus, in their system of the universe, had given prominent importance to Ceylon, their first meridian, 'the Meridian of Lanka' being supposed to pass over the island. And Burnouf wrote: 'Less geographers indients.... font pasur leur premier meridien a Langka. This however created difficulty for the Meridien passes through Ujjein and if it pass through Ceylon the ancient Lanka must either have been further to the West, or it extended Westwards, both of which Burnouf discuss at learned length.

But a modern and very reliable authority on Indian Chronology, Dewan Bahadur L.D. Swamikann Pillai, says very explicitly that the Lanka of the ancient geographers was not Ceylon but an imaginary island. For purposes of calculation they imagined an island to be on the equator at the same longitude as Ujjein and named it Lanka."

The reference to Lanka as being an imaginary island is of interest, as in point of fact there is a place by the name of Lanka-furrin the Maldives which also interesting enough has the longitude of about 75° 20' passing through it in close approximation to that of Ujjein (about 75° 50').

This point is touched on by Bell in page 555 of the JRASCE Vol. 31, 1930, where he said "A further curious point - may be purely accidental but nonetheless not to be ignored even if a strange coincidence only - in connection with 'Lanka Puri' as the presumed Capital of Ravana's "Raksasa" Digitized by Noolaham Foundation. noolaham.org aavanaham.org existence of an island at

the present day.... now written and pronounced 'Lankau-furi' which lies on the Eastern Roof of North Male Atol". On this point Forbes makes this observation, which further confirms the existence then of a Lanka Pura in the Maldive and Kaka - dive islands. He says (Vol.2 P259), "It is not unnatural conjecture that the Maldive and Laka - dive islands were at one time dependencies on Lanka, when its capital of Sri Lanka poora was in longitude 75°53'E%.

The confusion over the actual meanings of the Lankas in the Godavery delta and again of Ceylon with the Lanka of the ancient geographers, is readily clarified, if we accept that Lanka is simply a word which is synonymous with island and has therefore been applied to several islands. In fact even today there is an island off the Malay Peninsula which is Lankawi (Mc Craw's Atlas, 64 - 65, B9).

That the word Lanka has been used for islands in deltas and marshy areas in a general sense even in Europe is confirmed by Lahovary (Dravidian Origins and the West, P285), where he says a related form, always with the meaning of a marshy ground, of an easily flooded valley, of low ground near a river, can be observed in the dialects of North Italy, with lan ca; in Rum; with lunca (wrongly considered as of Slav origin). In Spain and chiefly in central Spain, we find various localities with the name of Lanka, considered as a pre-Roman denomination by Menandoz Pidal (Prof. of Avila, Soria, Cuenca, Saragossa). In the Nearnese dial; lenghue is a marshy place. We meet with the same term, having the same meaning, in the Dravidian regions of the eastern shores of the Deccan, Lanka, for the low lands of the deltas of the coastal rivers (Nilakantha Sastri)."

It is of interest to note that Lanka is not given as a name of Ceylon, by any of the Hellenic geographers or historians (Winstedt, "Commas Indopleustes", P352). This confirms not only that Lanka is not a name of Ceylon as such but also the accuracy and discernment with which Hellenic writers have prepared their records.

Since writing the above interesting evidence that Ceylon has been known as Lanka to the North Indians is provided by an article written by Professor Inam of the University of Peradeniya pertaining to Iran and Ceylon. He has stated that in the Hindi language the name for cardamon is Lanka. This drew my attention to an observation made by Professor Rabin, of the Hebrew University of Israel, when reading a paper on Tamil words in the Hebrew Bible, at the International Conference of Tamil Studies, at Madras, in January 1968, that the name Elam of Ceylon is associated with the name for Cardamon which is also Ealam. Apparently Ceylon has been associated in various parts in India with cardamons for which Ceylon has been famous.

TRINCOMALEE DISTRICT

Severed

As the British have finally severed their connection with Ceylon, it is of interest to note, that, the district of Trincomalee, so also other Tamil territories of Ceylon, have now regained their sovereignty, after nearly 350 years, as Sankily, King of Jaffna, was captured and executed in about 1616 AD and the Trincomalee temple destroyed thereafter by the Portugese so as to build a fort at Trincomalee. It is of such significance that Azvedo walked all the way to Jaffna from Trincomalee to apprise the King of Jaffna of his intention to build a fort at Trincomalee as it definitely establishes the King of Jaffna's jurisdiction over Trincomalee Temple, the Rome of the Gentiles.

This fact is referred to in the Annual letter of 1613 quoted by Fr. S. G. Perera in his article on "Jesuits of Ceylon", (Ceylon Antiquary, Vol. 2. P11). The reference is as follows, "The army finally reached the famous temple of Trincomalee, a massive structure of singular workmanship. It was of great height and was built of blackish granite on a rock projecting into the sea. Intent on building a fort on this rock, the General summoned the King of Jaffnapatan, but as he delayed to come, the General marched to Jaffna and made it clear to the King that he intended to build a fort there."

The fish sign, which is the emblem of the Pandians can still be seen at the entrance to Fort Frederick. Undoubtedly this port had much to do with the Pandians of South India from at least about 6th century BC., and who provided Ceylon with her first Queen about 500 BC (Sinnatamby, "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", Article "Pandians"), see also Foulkes, (Indian Antiquary, Vol. 3, P10), quoted in my work "Ceylon in Retrospect."

o P.T.O.

The great antiquity of the Tamil race and their language, which according to the Mahawansa, would have been the language of the large retinue who accompanied the Pandyan Princess from South India to Ceylon, can be gauged from what Rabin, Professor in the Hebrew university of Israel, has pointed out in a paper, read by him at the International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968, where he says "The linguistic evidence points on the whole to contact with Dravidian or even more specially, Tamil speakers on the coast of South India..... The

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Western Asian names for Indian products here discussed would show Dravidian occupation of the sea coast to have taken place at least before the beginning of the 6th century for which Biblical evidence is generally accepted by Bible scholars as genuinely contemporary. If we accept Solomon's expedition, and especially if we believe the 'Songs of Songs' to represent substantially early conditions, the evidence for Dravidians in South India is advanced as far as the tenth century BC.....". While Ellawala (Social History of Early Ceylon, PP155,158), has pointed out "Brahminism was the earliest civilized religion in Ceylon", and in reference to Tamils of India "It is also believed that in the pre Aryan period only country beyond the sea known to the people of Tamil land was Ceylon. It is therefore ~~impossible~~^{unjustifiable} to suppose that South India had a strong influence on Ceylon both culturally and socially".

That Brahminism was the earliest civilized religion in Ceylon is also attested by Malalasekera, Harischandra, W.A. de Silva, Paranavitana, as according to these scholars Brahminism was the religion at Anuradhapura before the advent of Buddhism (Sinnatamby, "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", article "Anuradhapura First a Hindu City").

The connection of Tamil people of Ceylon with South India, as well as the original temple of Trincomalee, would have been maintained to this day, were it not for the arrival of the western powers, Portugese, Dutch and then the British, and, the destruction of the temple of Trincomalee by the Portugese.

Now that the connection with the British has been totally severed what more natural than a renewal of a contact which lasted for over 2000 years, at least, (500 BC to 1500 AD).

In this context the following inspection notes of a Dutch Governor, Van Sanden, of Trincomalee, recorded nearly 190 years ago, when Trincomalee District was administered by the Dutch is of interest. These notes are of considerable importance to the citizens of Tamil Nad in view of the stress laid by the Governor himself of dealing with the people in their (people's) language. This policy was also observed by the British government who made it compulsory for their own (British) officers, who work in Tamil districts, to learn Tamil.

The inspection notes, which appear in the gazette of October, 1st, 1834, are as follows:-

"16/5/1786 - In the afternoon the Thombo having been prepared in the Malabar Dialect. I sent for the Wannia and inhabitants of the village

Needoer (Natur) and found them to be composed as follows

24/5/1786 - about 3 p.m. left for Canguelmeli (Kankuveli). Here I found ten vellales and two children. The paddy fields had been lying waste for many years, the Wannia told me, from want of water, but that this had not always been the case appeared from a remarkable stone, which stood upright in front of a decayed pagoda. It was of granite 1 foot $11\frac{1}{2}$ inches high, broad from W to N and E to S $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches and from N to E and S to W $19\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the east side was a figure sculptured which the Malabars says in the Weapon of God of War Waireven who had authority over the sea and sea coast, and, as it is in some respects similar to Neptune's Trident it may serve as further proof of Appagyer and M.de Sommerat's assertion that the Greeks derived their system of mythology from India. And on the West and South sides were inscriptions in Malabar but the north was vacant.

My interpreter translated the inscription thus:

The Wannia of Trincomalee and the seven headmen or the Adipanners of the village of Cangoevelly (Kankuveli) have dedicated this field and other advantages to the be derived from that village to their God Konynaden. Whosoever intrudes on this gift or takes any of these advantages to himself will grievously sin. This dedication was confirmed in presence of two priests of the castes Tanam and Warrallepattoen.....

+ At 3.45 p.m. left Kankuveli for Neilepalle..... I inquired if the children learned to read and write as they did ~~not~~ in most Malabar places....

I was vexed to receive the usual reply 'Parents had not learned and the children might equally do without it' and besides they had no masters. I again took the Wannia to task for his neglect and finding there were two or three children who knew their ABC I gave them small presents and promised to remember them when I returned and reward them if I found them improved.

Friday 2nd June..... I ordered the Government proclamation, (re headmen etc., not receiving gifts), translated into Malabar, to be audibly read to them and the flags and penants of my vessels' and the Government boats flying, 21 guns were fired as soon as the reading was over, as I thought it requisite to attach as much ceremony as possible to the business in order to impress it more deeply on the memory of the people, who really possess hardly anything of human nature but the outward form.

Wednesday 7th June..... In the evening I went to visit the celebrated temple, of Tanglegamme..... I requested him to show me the two celebrated

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images, the only ones saved from the temple of 1,000 pillars when the Portuguese arrived.

..... In the front was the image of King Konesar and on his left..... of his wife Queen Isoewerie Arumen brought from the coast (India) by King Kokekptoe....."

..... It would be too tedious to refer to all the tales related of the famous Kandelay Tank but I have obtained a book with great difficulty where all matters concerning the Pagoda Mountain and Kandelay Tank are inserted which is being translated by Mr. De Melho of Jaffna and which may serve to satisfy the curious in these matters."

TIRUKKETISVARAM

I am giving below a report on some excavations done at Tirukketisvaram by Mr. S. Samuganathan, Conservation Assistant. This report is from Appendix I to the Report on the Archaeological Survey of Ceylon, Vol. IV, 1950, by Dr. S. Paranavitana.

In this connection I would draw attention to my article "Some Ancient Hindu Temples" appearing in my work "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", typescript copy available at the National Archives, where I have referred to some very valuable information relating to this temple, by Nevill, in his book "Taprobanian", (Vol. 2, P165).

It is suggested that the Tirukketisvaram Restoration Society should request the Archaeological Commissioner to return all the articles, thirthakal, lingam, beads, pottery, cutting tools of ancient workmen etc. referred to by both Samuganathan and Nevill, to Tirukketisvaram Temple, where an archaeological museum should be brought into existence, commencing with these finds as a nucleus, to serve for all such finds in Mannar district.

Codrington too had carried out some excavations in this area. At a lecture at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch in reply to a question by me he said the results of the excavation ^{were} ~~was~~ being published. This matter too may be taken up by the Tirukketisvaram Restoration Society.

Samuganathan's report is as follows: "Mantai in the Mannar District is the ancient Mahatitta (Sin. Matota), the principal sea-port of Ceylon when Anuradhapura was the ^{cap} ~~capital~~ of the Island. There are frequent references to Mahatittha in the chronicles; it was flourishing from the earliest historical period.

The walls and double moats of the ancient city can still be traced in the site.

Archaeological investigations were carried out on the site in 1887 by Beake and A.M. Hocart in 1925-28. The results of Hocart's work could not be published in adequate form as he had to relinquish his post as Archaeological Commissioner due to ill-health in 1929.

The ancient saiva shrine at Mahatittha called Tirukketisvaram is referred to in Tamil devotional hymns dating from the 7th century AD. The Pali Dathavamsa also testifies to the existence of a Brahmanical shrine at the site in ancient days.

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Further excavations commenced on April 18, 1950, and are in progress. An ancient road almost forty feet wide from the eastern gate is located. Running parallel to it is another ancient road but narrower. On either side of these roads there are vestiges of buildings. The road from the eastern gate leads to a building, probably a temple of a later period. No definite date can be assigned to it until further investigations are carried out. However at this spot a "THIRTHAKAL" is found which fits into pieces that are lying around the modern temple. A damaged lingam, one of the largest found in Ceylon, is said to have been found on this spot some forty years ago. Further excavations at this site would reveal the nature and use of this building. A pottery rimmed well or soakage pit and two stonelined wells have been located. The stone well 3 ft. 0 in. in diameter has been successfully dug 32 ft. 0 in. below the present surface up to water level. This has yielded some interesting pottery types and fauna bones which are receiving study.

Considerable types and forms of pottery from Rome, Arabia, and China have also been found. Among them are Arretine pottery which should be a source for dating the strata.

Outside the city walls some burials were located and excavated. One of these pits revealed a full skeleton in situ with associated pottery. Dr. P. K. Channugam, Professor of Anatomy of the University of Ceylon, who visited the site and exhumed the remains, brought them to the University for comparative study. Further skulls and bones from the neighbouring pits were also collected and sent to the university.

Beads of considerable variety have also been found. A systematised study of the pottery and small finds will take time for further investigation.

An object of great interest is a small toy ivory chariot drawn by four horses. It has two ten-spoked wheels joined together with an axle. The pole attached to the axle is in the centre between the two pairs of horses. At the end of the pole is a yoke which rests right across the neck connecting the four horses.

Owing to climatic conditions and lack of water, excavation will be terminated in the near future and continued next year for a further season of three months."

TAMILS AND ANCIENT CEYLON

In this article I am dealing with various authorities who have referred to the existence of the Tamil language in Ceylon in very ancient times. This question has been touched on in my work "Ceylon in Retrospect", typescript copy available at the Colombo Museum.

Ralph Pieris has pointed out, ("Sinhala Social Organisation" P4 and footnote B, ~~1122~~), "It is sometimes supposed that the surviving jungle villages of the Sinhalese Dry Zone are relics of an antique Aryan social order which, in the central highlands, had been contaminated by the Dravidian impact of Kandyan times. The theory is not borne out by the facts, for the Dravidian 'influence' long antedated the Wet Zone civilization: Under Vijayabahu I (reg. A.D.1056-1111), Sinhalese civilization was still in the melting pot, and for certain royal edicts, Tamil and Sinhalese scripts were used side by side. If the determination of the precise nature of the Dravidian 'influence' presents in superable difficulties data relating to the so called 'Aryanisation' of Ceylon is even more fragmentary....." And in the footnote Pieris says "The presence of many Tamil words in the late Kandyan times in no way implies that the referents of these expressions were imported from South India. It is almost always a case of old wine in new bottles, and corresponding terms, particularly in land tenure, appear in ancient inscriptions."

Social History of Early Ceylon, Ellawala

And at P158, ~~he~~ has observed "It is also believed that in the pre-Aryan period the only country beyond the sea known to the people of the Tamil land was Ceylon. It is, therefore, justifiable to suppose that South India had a strong influence on Ceylon both culturally or socially."

Kuhn who also touches on this subject has pointed out in an article "Indian Antiquary", (Vol 12, P55), "To what linguistic family this non-Aryan substratum of Sinhalese belongs, must for the present be left unidentified. That the original population of Ceylon was of Dravidian race, as Caldwell indeed more than once maintains, certainly seems evident from anthropological and ethnological stand points, as well as from the horrible demon worship (on this subject Bandiris de Silva Gooneratne, in the Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the R.As.Soc. 1865-66 P81-117), reminding one entirely of the Dekhan, and might find a sort of confirmation in many morphological and syntactical as well as various phonetic analogies of the languages....."

Bandiris Silva referred to above has pointed out (JRASCB, 1865-66), that demonology was the earliest form of worship in Ceylon, and that seven-eights of the incantations now employed by the Sinhalese are in the Tamil language.

The prevalence of the Tamil language in central Ceylon even before the employment of Tamil labour on plantations has been stressed by Perera, (Ceylon Historical Journal, Vol 11, 1953, PP241-250), who has pointed out, "Tamil place names are found mostly along the sea coast and in Anuradhapura, Chilaw and Puttalam Districts. Though there are no native Tamils living along the sea coast south of Colombo, the Tamil origin of most of the present inhabitants there is seen from the fairly large number of Tamil place names. The ge names of these people too attest to their Tamil origin. The word Malai meaning in Tamil a "mountain or a hill", is found even in the central parts of the island. They are come across in literature produced many centuries before the opening up of plantations and show that the Tamil element in the composition of the Sinhalese is far greater than is usually considered. Ranmalaya, Kotmale, and Gilimale and some of the examples."

It is of interest to note that the presence of a Tamil speaking people in central Ceylon in ancient times can also be inferred from the fact that mountains and hills are also referred to in this area as Kande, Godde, as, Kanda, Konda, and Gudde, are given as Dravidian words by Burrows and Emmeneau in their in their study of the etymology of the Dravidian languages, (available at the Public Library, Colombo). Lehovary has also stated that Kanda is Dravidian, (Dravidian Origins And The West). It is therefore not surprising that Ptolemy has described the central mountains of Ceylon by the Tamil word Malaa (Malala), in his geography (100 AD).

The prevalence of the Tamil language in the Anuradhapura area also and connection of this area, with South India in very ancient times, can also be inferred from the studies carried out by Fernando and Thevarajan.

Fernando, (University of Ceylon Review, Vol 7, No.4, P222,283, 284, 295), says "A close parallel to the early Brahmi records of Ceylon is offered by some interesting Brahmi records in South India..... Pandyan country.

So alike those at Mihintale, Vessagiriya and such other ancient sites.

Also bedsteads like at Mihintale and Vessagiriya."

"Inscriptions at Arikaedu in South India same as Brahmi of early cave records and assigned to 1st and 2nd century A.D.

Scribes same in India and Ceylon and differing from those who carved records of Asoka, was existing in South India and Ceylon and

practicing its arts even before time of Asoka."

"Intercourse between Andhra and Ceylon.....
Practice of commencing inscription with 'Siddham' bears testimony
to this close connection between Ceylon and Andhra Country."

Thevarajan, referring to early inscriptions, in an article
"Tamil patronage to Buddhism", says, "There are Tamil words in quite
a number of these early inscriptions. The word Parusaka (Perusakan)
is found in a number of early inscriptions. This is a simple term,
in Tamil meaning 'the noble or the great' or 'the dignified' or
'the Chief'."

An inscription in cave No.7 at Vessagiri at Amuradhapura
and an inscription at Maha-Rataale Rock have the word 'Marusakan'.
This is a simple term of kinship in Tamil meaning 'son-in-law' or
'nephew'. The word 'Vavi' is found in a number of inscriptions.
Inscriptions at Avukana Vihara, Illukavava, Ganekanda, Galweva and
Alutgal Vihara to mention a few have the word 'Vavi'. This is a simple
term in Tamil for Tank..... The word Kani meaning land is used in the
Vessagiri Rock inscription No.1. Thus the language of the inscription
is apparently Tamil and Prakrit.....

Some Tamil names of persons which are in vogue even today are
found in some of these inscriptions. The name Velu is found in the
Netukanda inscription, Yatahalena Rock Temple inscriptions, and Mandagala
Vihare inscription."

In view of the opinions expressed above regarding ancient
inscriptions and connection of Ceylon with South India the following
extract from my work "Ceylon in Retrospect" is of interest, "The views
expressed by Fernando on the Brahma-scripts receives support from Nila-
kanta Sastri. Referring to inscriptions in natural caves in South India,
he says (History of South India, P14) '..... short inscriptions in natural
caves in the Tamil districts which seem to record the names of the
carvers of the rockcut beds they contain or their occupants, though
their script is Asokan Brahma with modifications, the language employed
in them seems to be the most ancient form of Tamil so far known to
epigraphy. These records number only twenty or thirty in all, though
many more of a similar nature are found in the island of Ceylon....' "

That the Tamil language can be traced to ancient times in the
Sinhalese areas of Ceylon also is not surprising as the Dravidian languages
prevailed in this part of Asia centuries before the Indo-Aryans, a nomadic
race, invaded India, and imposed their language on the Dravidian and other

peoples in India, as the Dravidian peoples occupied not only the southern part of India but even the northern part of India, when the Indo-Aryans invaded India. This means, that, as Ceylon was peopled by Indian immigrants from all parts of India, even those who came from north India, would have had a dravidian or other language on which an Indo-Aryan element had been imposed or vice versa. What Chatterjî has pointed out, ("Tamil Culture", Vol 8, 1959, PP301,309,310), is very illuminating in this context "Anthropological, ethnological and cultural as well as religious considerations have all suggested that the *Proto* Dravidians of India were an Asianic and East Mediterranean people, we may regard the Pre-Aryan builders of the Sindh and Punjab culture as being of Dravidian speech..... It is remarkable how significant a Dravidian element we have in the Indo-Aryan languages from Vedic Sanskrit onwards. Some of the commonest words of Indo-Aryan ~~are~~^{are} from this source, shewing the very deep and intimate influence exerted by Dravidian in transforming Indo-Aryan..... All this would indicate to what an extent the Aryan language changed its character in its non-Aryan (Dravidian, Austric and Sino-Tibetan) environments in India. This type of change, as has been suggested before is ~~done~~^{due} primarily to the Aryan language being adopted by large numbers of original non-Aryan speakers, modifying it according to their own speech habits and then by sheer weight of numbers swamping, so to say, the entire speakers of Aryan, and forcing them, through influence of new environment, to accept these modifications and innovations. Little by little by little the innovation became complete."

~~In the above context the following extract from my work "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", typescript copy available at the National Archives, is of relevance and interest. In this connection it is of relevance to note what Chatterjî the eminent North Indian philologist and scholar has said on the question of ethnology of India. He has pointed out that 'Dravidian was the speech of the entire North-West, when the Ariyans first entered India round about 1500 B.C.', (Tamil Culture, Vol 8, 1959, PP301, 309,310).~~

That Dravidians were in North India also when the Aryans entered India has been pointed out by Mendis, "Early History of Ceylon", Nehru "Glimpses of World History", and other scholars of repute as for instance Burrows, Boden Professor for Sanskrit at Oxford.

The following extract pertaining to the Indus Valley ("Hindu World" P484, Walker), is also of considerable interest and relevance. 'It would appear that the chief ethnic ingredient was provided by a race of Mediterranean type related to the Sumerians, who probably came to India about 2500 B.C. by way of the Mulla Pass and the coastal route

which runs through Las Bela and the Makran and crosses the Hab river near Karachi. They may have been the forbears of the Dravidians, some of whom forged southwards to the Deccan and became the progenitors of the Dravidian races'."

The following authorities also confirm the subject material of this article. Bertolacci, who was Auditor General of Ceylon, has observed in his book on Ceylon, "I suppose that, in remote antiquity, the coasting trade, from one half of Asia to the other half, must have passed through the straits of Mannar; and that, consequently, a great emporium was formed on the coast of Ceylon opposite to it..... Many merchants from Persia and Arabia, disposing of their goods at those places of depot, and returning home with their ships laden with the produce of Coromandel, and of the countries near or beyond the Ganges. Hence numberless establishments must necessarily have been formed at and near Mannar, for the convenience of many trading nations..... Hence the cause of a great population near Mantotte and Aripo; hence the origin of an extensive cultivation around the Giant's Tank".

That the trade in South India was of considerable antiquity is stressed by Foulkes who has come to the conclusion, (Indian Antiquary, Vol VIII, P10), "That the Dakhan^k has been in possession of civilised institutions and manners for thirty centuries and more from the present time. And if this conclusion should surprise anybody, it is nevertheless in perfect accord with the fact, now scarcely to be doubted that the rich oriental merchandise of the days of King Hiram and King Solomon had its starting place in the seaports of Dakhan, and that, with a very high degree of probability, some of the esteemed of the spices which were carried into Egypt by the Mis^dantish merchants of Genesis XXVII 25,28 and by the sons of the Patriarch Jacob (Gen. XXXIII, II), had been cultivated in the spice gardens of the Dakhan^k."

The above receives confirmation from what Rabin, Professor in the Hebrew University, Israel, has pointed out in a paper, read by him at the International Conference Seminar of Tamil Studies, Madras, 1968, where he says "The linguistic evidence points on the whole to contact with Dravidian or even more specially, Tamil speakers on the coast of South India..... The western Asian names for Indian products here discussed would show Dravidian occupation of the sea coast to have taken place at least before the beginning of the 6th century for which Biblical evidence is generally accepted by Bible scholars as genuinely contemporary. If we accept Solomon's expedition, and especially if we believe the 'Songs of Songs' to represent substantially early condition, the evidence for Dravidians in South India is advanced as far as the tenth century BC.."

HOW MOTHER INDIA SOLVED HER PROBLEMS

In view of the citizenship, language and religious problems, that have, ironically enough, arisen or rather created by warring political parties, in their scramble for power, after the country attained full sovereignty, it is of interest to study how Mother India solved these problems.

At the time of independence negotiations all the peoples of Ceylon, already citizens of Ceylon, had votes. Tamil had already been recognised as an official language of Ceylon, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhalese votes. The State was secular as regards religion. When Tamils and Sinhalese jointly struggled for independence there was no cleavage in the country on account of citizenship, language and religion, and that proved ^{it} ~~was~~ _^ they way for an unitary form of government.

But the majority vote of the majority race in an unitary government, offered a tempting bait to exploit a communal line to seek power, and powers that were, were not slow to exploit it, and, the part played by the Tamils in the joint struggle for independence conveniently forgotten.

The first casualty was of course citizenship, as this immediately conferred additional voting power on the majority race in an unitary government. Then the language issue was exploited, and which, and which alone, was the main cause of the political upheaval of 1956 bringing its exponent, the father of federalism and once an **a**postle of parity, to the pinnacle of political power.

And now religion by which the religion of the majority race has been given the foremost place above the other religions in the country. This means that in an unitary constitution it acquires precedence over the Hindu religion, the oldest civilized religion of Ceylon, in Hindu country itself, that is, Tamil Nad, (Tamil Districts) of Ceylon.

An unitary form of government has only stoked communalism and whetted the appetite for exploiting language extremism and

religious fanaticism, and the Sinhala political leaders have not been slow to exploit same for political power.

In India there are about 14 states, and 23 languages have been automatically recognised as the official languages in their areas. In fact even areas where different peoples formed one administrative unit under British rule have been carved out by independent India on a linguistic basis, forming federal states. In Ceylon even though the two races occupied distinct districts, at time of independence negotiations, an unitary constitution came into being, no doubt for the reason that at the time of independence negotiations, there was no cleavage in the country on account of citizenship, language and religion. But now large sections of the people have been decitizenised and hundreds of thousands of Tamil speaking citizens rendered dumb and inarticulate overnight and their religion degraded in their own country.

The Indian leaders were wise not to bring a communal approach into their deliberations in the Constituent Assembly, so much so that of 308 members in the Assembly the new constitution was accepted with only one dissentient vote. Where as in Ceylon the citizens of Tamil Nad have lost the rights they enjoyed for centuries and even during imperial rule, and, at time of independence. I have yet to read of an instance in all the pages of history where a people lost their existing rights after attaining sovereignty.

The irony of it- is that these rights were recognised even by the erstwhile rulers of Ceylon, that is, by the British and even the Dutch, who always issued proclamations in both languages, (Sinnatamby, "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", article "Tamil and Tamil Nad", typescript copy available at the National Archives). The British government compelled even their own officers (British) to learn Sinhalese and Tamil so as to be able to serve in Sinhalese and Tamil districts.

They were informed, (Instruction of 22/7/1813 by the Commissioner of Revenue), "that a competent knowledge of the Tamil language provided by such testimonials as the regulations require, will entitle any Civil Servant on this Establishment, to equal

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consideration, as a claim for employment in those Districts where that dialect prevails, as he would derive from a knowledge of Cingalese in that part of the Island where the last mentioned language is the general medium of intercourse and public business" and again that, (Instructions of Chief Secretary of 25/9/1822)",
 "..... the intention of his Majesty's Government, in future not to promote civil servants to situations..... until they have attained tolerable proficiency in the native language".

Now that Sinhalese is the official language of Ceylon and only Tamil public servants are required to pass qualifying examinations, and, that too only in Sinhalese, hundreds of thousands of Tamil speaking citizens of Ceylon have to go on their knees at every public counter in Ceylon, and, that means not only in Sinhala Nad but even in their own native land (Tamil Nad), and beg to be heard and dealt with in their language (Tamil). I say beg to be heard and dealt with in their own language as they cannot insist, not only on the Sinhalese public servant, but even on the Tamil public servants, to hear or deal with them in their own (Tamil) language. The emphasis is on the word "insist".

On the subject of language and culture this is what Nehru has said, (Glimpses of World History), in a letter from prison to his daughter, the present Prime Minister of India, and, which he honoured when he came into power, and, what a contrast to how our leaders reacted after they acquired power via an unitary form of government, "when the Ariyans entered India, India was already civilised..... It is clear that the Dravidians had a rich civilisation then in Southern India and perhaps also in Northern India. Their languages, which are not the daughters of Aryan Sanskrit, are very old and have given literatures. These languages are Tamil, Telugu, Kannarese and Malayalam. All these languages still flourish in India. Perhaps you know the National Congress, unlike the British government, has divided India on the basis of languages. This is far better as it brings one kind of people speaking one language and generally having similar customs into one provincial area. The congress provinces in the South is Andhra Desha or the Andhra Province in Northern Madras, where Telugu is spoken, Tamil or the Tamil province where Tamil is spoken, Karnakula, which is south of Bombay and where Kannadar or Kannarese is spoken and Kerala which corresponds roughly with Malabar, where Malayalam is spoken.

There can be no doubt that, in future provincial divisions of India a great deal of attention will be paid to the language of the area.

Hindustani is understood in most parts of India. It is likely to become the common language of India. But this of course does not mean that, the other principal languages, which I have mentioned above should disappear. They should certainly remain as provincial languages, for they have fine literatures and one should never try to take away a well developed language from people. The only way for a people to grow, their children to learn, is through their language."

There can be no doubt that an unitary government has only created problems by giving a racial majority voting power which obviously they have not been slow to exploit, by raising communal (religious and linguistic) issues.

In this context what Ponniah observes in respect of the language issue in his book "Satyagraha" is of relevance "with language as the basic issue, the hot race for power had begun between the United National Party and the Sri Lanka Freedom Party. At this crucial moment Dr. N.M. Perera M.P. and President of the Lanka Sama Samaja Party interposed and warned the two communal parties that unless they mended their approach to the language question, they would be throwing the whole nation into utter chaos..... It is a danger to the well being of the nation when a racial majority is called upon to determine the manner in which a racial minority in the country should use its language.....

.....Similar views were expressed by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva... Dr. de Silva pointed out that the Ceylon Tamils were in a great measure responsible for the independence of Ceylon and that such independence should be shared alike by the Tamils and Sinhalese..."

The implication in Dr. Perera's observation that the racial approach of the two parties (SLFP and UNP) would through the whole nation into utter chaos is indeed prophetic as today national unity and the national economy is in a chaotic state and will undoubtedly continue to deteriorate and unless and until independence as pointed out by Dr. Colvin R. de Silva are shared alike by the Tamils and Sinhalese.

The only basis for a settled government is for the two races to have a constitution which ensures each other's sovereignty. But as matters stand today one can understand the present move for separation.

It is of interest to note that such separationist moves have hitherto been forestalled by Mother India by a wise and non-communal constitution, providing for an union form of government adopted by her leaders. No amount of safeguards in an unitary constitution will solve the problems; as Farmer has observed (Ceylon A Divided Nation), "..... Constitutional safeguards might conceivably have done something to control the violence of the communal dispute; through since the Senanayake Government found a way of disenfranchising the Indian Tamils, one is left to wonder what value other safeguards might have had in the event and in the Ceylon setting."

The following extract, (Framing of India's Constitution - Vol.I) which details the manner, in which the Indian Congress approached the problem of minorities, is an object lesson for some of our political leaders. The extracts are as follows "There is the problem of the method of reaching agreed conclusions. There is particularly the question of how to deal with dissenting minorities, since it may be taken for granted that absolute unanimity cannot be reached. The Congress wishes to proceed on the basis that a majority decision of the representatives of any particular community should be taken as the considered view of that community. As for relative evaluation? Mahatmaji has already stated clearly that the Congress stands for the position that safeguards for the protection of the legitimate interests of minorities should be such as would be satisfactory to the particular minority community, otherwise we should be landed once again on British coercion."

And what has now taken place in Ceylon is what was anticipated but forestalled by the wise leaders of India. In this context the following extract ("The Framing of India's Constitution - A Study"), is of relevance of and interest. Regarding the language question it says "The most forceful exponent of this point of view was T.T. Krishnamachari who said that "language imperialism", as ^{he} termed it, threatened to bring into being a type of totalitarianism and warned the Assembly against its reaction on the rest of the units of the nation of India to be. He made no secret of the fear that he entertained that the Hindi issue, pressed too far, might result in a secessionist movement.

"I would convey a warning on behalf of the people of the south for the reasons that there are already elements in South India who want separations and it is up to us to tax the maximum strength we have to keep those elements down, and my honourable friends in the U.P. do not help us in any way by flogging their idea of "Hindi Imperialism" to the maximum extent possible. It is up to my friends in the U.P. to have a whole India, it is up to them to have a "Hindi India." The choice is theirs and they

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can incorporate it in this constitution; and if we are left out, well, we can only curse our luck and hope for better times to come."

The words "the Hindi issue, pressed too far, might result in a secessionist movement" is indeed prophetic, at least as far as Ceylon is concerned, as this is what has happened in Ceylon.

The non communal and democratic approach by Nehru saved the situation in India. This is what he told the Constituent Assembly, (The Framing of India's Constitution - A Study), "Language ultimately grows from the people; it is seldom that it can be imposed. Any attempt to impose a particular form of language on an unwilling people has usually met with the ~~usually met with the~~ strongest opposition and has actually resulted in something the very reverse of what the promoters thought. I would ^{dec} this house to consider the fact and to realise if it agrees with me, that the surest way of developing a natural all-India language is not so much to pass resolutions and laws on the subject but to work to that end in other ways."

No wonder this democratic approach by Nehru, and, Ghandi's views referred to earlier, paved the way for the new constitution to be accepted by the 308 members of the Constituent Assembly of the most diversified country in the world, with only one dissentient vote. A parliamentary achievement by Nehru unparalleled in all recorded history.

On the question of religion the tolerant and democratic approach by the Indian leaders also paved the way for the almost unanimous acceptance of the new constitution.

This spirit of tolerance which the leaders brought to bear on this question is admirably expressed by Gajendragadkar, who was Chief Justice of India, in his book "The Constitution of India". He has observed "Hindus are undoubtedly a majority community in India. The Indian Constitution respects all religions alike and it lays down that so long as religions function within their respective legitimate spheres, the constitution is religiously neutral in regard to them....."

The problems which Indian democracy has to face are many and complex. But Indian democracy is determined not to allow any religious consideration to trespass into the discussion of these problems."

THE MOORS

Regarding the subject of the origin of the term Moors and the Muslims in Ceylon which has received publicity in the press, it would appear to me that the Portugese were responsible for the use of the term Moors to describe the Muslims in a broad sense.

This matter received my attention in my work, "Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography" where I have pointed out, that, "It was the Portugese who gave the name Moors to Muslims in Ceylon, this was for the reason that people of the same appearance and religion who came to Portugal from Mauretania were called Moors by the Portugese. It is for this reason that Tamils have been known as Malabars by Portugese and Europeans who succeeded them. The Portugese called all Tamils Malabars as they were of the same appearance and religion, as the people of Malabar, and, whom they called Malabars".

It is pointed out in the Souvenir issued by the Moors' Islamic Cultural Home, (P22, note 6), "Moors' or 'Maurs' is the generic term by which the Muslims were known to the people of the Iberian Peninsula, deriving from 'Mauretania', situated across the Straits. The Portugese, after the fall of Muslim rule in the Peninsula and their discovery of the passage to the East round the Cape of Good Hope, bestowed the appellation upon the Arabs and the descendants whom they found established in every part of the Afro-Asian coast in the 16th century. In Ceylon, this name gained currency with the successive colonial regimes," and at page 22 (note 11), "Tamil is the home language of the great majority of the Muslims of Ceylon. In the Tamil language as spoken and written by the Muslims of Ceylon and of South India, a number of Arabic words are used, which in many cases have displaced their pure Tamil equivalents. The term Arabic-Tamil has therefore gained currency to indicate the Tamil of the Muslims, at one time. Arabic-Tamil was written in the Arabic script..... being improvised to denote four Tamil sounds unknown to Arabic.... Today Arabic-Tamil is being generally written in the Tamil alphabet with or without diacritical marks."

In this context the reference by Officer of the Ceylon Rifles (Ceylon, Vol1, P404), to the Moors, ^{is} of interest, he says, "The term 'Moor' may be traced to the Spanish Moro or Italian Mori, corruptions of Mauri or Mauritania, on the African shores of the Mediterranean, the old name being partly retained in the

modern Morocco. The inhabitants call themselves Moghribins, and their country Mogrib. Formerly in Europe Mohometans were called Saracens or Moors, without distinction of race or country, and the latter term was universally applied to those in India by the Portugese. The Ceylon Moors of the present day are not pure Arabs, but a mixed race formed by intermarriage with other natives in the island, and are all Shafees, one of the minor sects of Sonnees. They used Arabic in their ritual, but their vernacular is Tamil mixed with Arabic words, and their religious books are in the same language, except the Koran, of which they have an abridgement written by Umbela, in the twelfth century. They have also translations in Arabic of ancient Greek and Roman authors, Plato, Galen, Aristotle, Euclid, and Ptolemy. Albertus Fabricius, in his "Biblio. Graec." (1862), refers to Arabian translations of Hippo and Galen, dated AD 847".

Regarding the reference to Ptolemy I must point out that there is a complete translation of Ptolemy's Geography available in the Arabic language. The Arabic map of Ceylon in this geography, which I obtained from the Library of Congress, Washington, appears in my book "Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography".

Some of the translations referred to above were seen by Sir Alexander Johnstone who was Chief Justice of Ceylon in the early part of the nineteenth century. There was also available a copy of Aristotle's Dialectics in Tamil. This was brought to the notice of Sir Alexander Johnstone by a juror who appeared in a murder case, and made a great impression at the trial. The following extract from Asiatic Journal, June, 1827, page 814, is of interest in this context "After the introduction of juries into Ceylon, a wealthy Brahman, whose unpopular character had rendered him obnoxious to many, was accused of murdering his nephew and put on trial. He chose a jury of his own caste but so strong was the evidence that the jury were thoroughly convinced of his guilt. The dissentient juror, a young Brahman of Ramiserum, stood up, declared his persuasion that the prisoner was the victim of conspiracy and desired that all witnesses might be recalled. He examined them with astonishing dexterity and acuteness, and succeeded in extorting from them such proofs of their perjury that the jury, instead of consigning the accused to an ignominious death pronounced him innocent."

"The affairs made smauh noise in the island, and the Chief Justice (Sir A. Johnstone, himself) sent for the juror who had so distinguished himself and complemented him on the talents he had displayed. The Brahman attributed his skill to the study of a book, which he called "strengthenener of the mind". He had procured it, he said, from some pilgrims at Ramiserum who obtained it from Persia, and he had translated it from the Sanskrit into which it had been rendered from the Persian. Sir A. Johnstone expressing curiosity to see this work, the Brahman brought him a Tamil manuscript on palm leaves, which Sir Alexander found, to his infinite surprise, to be the "Dialectics of Aristotle."

In this context it is also of interest to note what is pointed out in the Sourvenir of the 'Moors' Islamic Cultural Home', (page 23, Note 25), in respect of the Muslims and the Tamil language, "Hansard, 1885-6, P35. 'Kadutam' is a Tamil word meaning 'document'. Sessional Paper, XXII of 1885, contains the comments of G.A's of several Provinces on the proposal to introduce registration of Muslim marriages. E. Abdul Cader Lebber, 'one of the leading Muhammedan gentleman of Jaffna,' reported to the G.A., "The protocols of Kadutams are always written in the Tamil language, but in Arabic characters, with a slight modification of the signs thereof to suit the Tamil sounds. It is called Arabic-Tamil and most of the Mahammedans can read it."

The reason why the home language of the great majority of the Muslims of Ceylon was Tamil and the protocols of Kadutams are always written in the Tamil language is that the Tamil language was the language of the greater part of the littoral coasts of Ceylon, where the Arabs and Muslims settled down, and, where conversions and intermarriages took place.

That the greater part of the littoral coast was inhabited by the Tamils can be inferred from the records referred to below of various administrators and scholars who worked in or visited Ceylon.

Cleghorn, Ceylon's first Colonial Secretary, (Ceylon Literary Register, Vol.6 1891-92, P43), "^{Two} different nations from a very ancient period have divided the land. First Sinhalese in the Southern and South Western parts from Walauwe to Chilaw and secondly, Malabars in the Northern and Eastern districts."

Bronhier, Provincial Judge, Puttalam, (Historical Account of Ceylon), "The inhabitants differ as much in the Northern and Southern parts of the island as the generality do from those of the

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coast. In the former, that is to say Calpetyn on the west to the neighbourhood of Batticaloa on the east side, hardly a vestige of the Sinhalese customs is to be found and their language is generally unknown.

Modder, (Manual of Puttalam District), "Race speaking generally, Puttalam is a Tamil District."

Government Census report, 1911, "Mannar and Puttalam are Tamil districts. There is a large admixture of Tamil blood and speech in the Sinhalese Districts of Chilaw and Negombo."

Reland (Journal Royal Asiatic Society Ceylon Branch, Vol.14, No.47, 1896) "..... the greater part of the inhabitants of the maritime districts used the Malabar tongue; so that from the town of Negombo to near about Dondere the use of the Sinhalese language prevails, but in the District of Jaffnapatam and in the remaining districts situated along the shore which are nearer to the continent the Malabar tongue is spoken.

Marshall, (Ceylon), "Sinhalese, from Magampattee on the east to Chilaw on the west coast. Tamils, Eastern and Northern parts of the island.

De Queros, (Conquest of Ceylon), has pointed out that from Negombo to Jaffna they speak the Tamil language better.

Tambiah, (The law of Thesawalamai), has pointed out that according to despatches by Sir Alexander Johnstone, the Thesawalamai law applied with slight modifications to the Tamils of the North Western Province also.

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AN ETYMOLOGICAL STUDY

In this chapter I am dealing with the etymology of some topographical names which can be considered dravidian or of dravidian origin. In support of some of the etymologies I have quoted from Burrows and Emmeneau's work "A Dravidian Etymological Dictionary." When quoting from this work I have referred only to the reference number. By Burrows (3882), I mean the reference number 3882 in the book.

Ranmale, Kotmale, Gilimal^e.

Male which forms a part of these words is actually Malai, a dravidian word, meaning mountain. I have dealt with this word in detail in Chapter 3 of my work "Ceylon Ptolemy's Geography" (Revised and Enlarged Edition), available at the Colombo, Museum, Also see Burrow, (3882).

Ranmale actually means gold mountain. It is of interest to note that Ran means gold in the Sanskrit language and that there is an area in Napatule which is even today described as T^ohanga-malai. T^ohngam is the Tamil for gold.

Male (Malai) which appears as Malea in Ptolemy's map of Ceylon is also spelt Malaya, which is the Sanskrit form of the Dravidian Malai (Cultural Heritage, India, Vol.10). This provides indubitable proof that the central mountain ranges of Ceylon have been known by the Dravidian word Malai in time of Ptolemy (100 AD), as it is described by Ptolemy as Malea in the map of Ceylon. Mountains have also been described as such in ancient literatures of Ceylon, e.g. the Mahawamsa.

Kande

This is how mountains are referred to in the south of Ceylon. This also is a Dravidian word for Mountain.

According to Burrows (1548), the Kanarese for mountain is Konda. In this one can see the the origin of the Dravidian word K^andai for the hair knot.

Lahovary (Dravidian Origins in the West, P33), says, Kanda, Ganda, Konda, signifies 'height' in the Dravidian dialects and also that Gandara means "rocky region" even though the Dravidian language is no longer spoken there. The Gandara area in south of Ceylon, where is sited the famous ^{hindu} ~~Dravidian~~ temple, is apparently so called because of the terrain.

Percival, ("Ceylon,"P249), has also pointed out that Conde or Cande signifies mountain.

In this connection it is of interest to note that the word "godde" which is frequently applied to small hills in South Ceylon is also Dravidian, as according to Burrows, (1402), ~~Gadda~~, Gudde, Gudda^u means hill, mountain in the Kannarese language.

The Officer of the Ceylon Rifles has also pointed out (Ceylon, Vol.2 P11), that konda means mountain in the Teluga language.

According to the Dravidian Comparative Vocabulary, Vol.1, edited by Sethupillai Venkata Rao, Nayar, Maria^{PP} Bhatt, published by University of Madras, Hill is Konda (Tamil) Gudda (Kannarese), and Gudde (Tulu), and hair knot, Kontai (Tamil). Reland in his book on Ceylon, page 85, has pointed out that Sinhalese refer to mountain as Conde. Conde is actually Konde, A Dravidian word referred to above.

Kandura

This is a name applied to in South Ceylon to streams that flow down from the tops of and sides of mountains. The etymology of this is also dravidian as Kande means "mountain" in the dravidian dialects and Ur means "flow" (Burrows, 642). Kandura would therefore appear to refer to what flows from the mountain. A natural stream.

Kande ela

This is the name applied to an artificial channel which conducts water along the sides of hills and is so distinguished from natural streams that flow from mountains and which are called Kandura, referred to above.

It is of interest note note that such channels are called "Kandle" in Germany and France according to Lahovary ("Dravidian Origins in the West",P332).

Kandy

Kandy, capital of Central Province is derived from Kande, which is the dravidian word signifying mountain, height, see Kande for further information regarding the etymology of this word. Kandy is apparently an anglicised form of Kande.

Kandy district is also called Kande-Uda-Rata. This means the district on top of the mountain. Here "kande" is retained in an unmutilated form means ^{mountain} mountain.

Senkadagala

This town adjoins Kandy. The name would appear to be actually Sen-Kanda-gala, which means copper coloured (Chem, Dravidian) and mountain, (Kanda, Dravidian) and rock (Kal, Dravidian). Geiger has pointed, (Mediaeval Ceylon History, para 4), that the old name of Kandy was Senkhandesela, which would appear to be Sen-Kanda-Salai, meaning the manor or a hall of residence on the copper coloured hill or mountain. Salai means hall in Tamil.

In the manuscript, Madura ^{pusti} Veediya which gives the circumstances under which King Kirti Sri Rajasingha met his death, it is pointed out th t the King fled to Kunda-sale which the Dutch occupied Kandy.

Kundasale is also referred to as Kondasala, Kondesalle by Spittel, ("Far Off Things", P144), and in the Ceylon Literary Register, (1892, Voo.6, P377), respectively.

Mantotte

I identify Mantotte with the Mahatitthe of the Mahawamsa. Mahatitthe is the Pali form of the Sanskrit form Mahatirtha. Mahatitthe has generally been taken to be Mantoddai or Mantai in the Mannar area.

Ramanathan has pointed out (RASCB, 1887-88, Vol 10. P117), that Mahatittha is the Pali form of the Sanskrit Mahatirtha meaning great water or river for ablution and that in the case of Tiruketisvaram its tirtha was the palavi of the adjoining sea. He has also pointed out tht Matoddam is not derived from Mahathirtha. It is composed of Ma and Toddam just as Pu/toddam is composed of Pu and Toddam, meaning flower garden.

Mahatittha has actually been translated as the great landing place in the Mahawamsa. It should actually be translated as the great bathing place.

The river in this place is actually called Parappa Oya. Parappa signifies Brahmin priests; evidently a reference to the officiating priests at this great bathing place or actually observing the prescribed religious rites themselves at this holy site.

See Annexure (A)

Further evidence which appears to confirm Ramanathan's view is actually provided by Burrows (3832), who has pointed out that Mannuru, Mannu, means, to bathe, perform ablutions, cleanse, bathe as an idol. Lahvary has also pointed out, (Dravidian Origins in the West, P283), that Mannu means to bathe and is a Dravidian word.

Mannar, a town in the vicinity of Mantotte, apparently still retains the original Tamil name by which this area would have been known as the great bathing place and retained in the Pali form Mahatitthe in the Mahawamsa and in fact is referred to as Mannara ^a _n ~~on~~ the Mahawamsa.

Oya

This word is applied to some rivers both in the Tamil and Sinhalese areas of Ceylon. It would appear to me that this word is applied to soft and slow flowing rivers as opposed to the generally fast flowing rivers of Ceylon known as Gangas.

The Rivers of Ceylon which are typical of the first category are Maha Oya, Malwatte Oya, and Yan Oya. It will be noticed that these rivers flow through long stretches of flat land and hence are generally, slow, soft flowing and sluggish.

The association of these rivers with the idea of something that moves softly, gently or slowly receives confirmation from Burrows, (831,832), who has pointed out that Oyya in Telugu means slowly, gently, softly, and Oyanne in Kanarese means slowly, gently,

Kalinga

An ancient place on the banks of the Mahaweli ganga south of Polonnaruwa was known as Kalinga Nuwara. From this place two channels commenced, from a dam, across the river, called Kalinga nuwara. The channel from the left bank is called Kalinga Yodhala (RASCB, 1959, New Series, Vol VI, P186).

The etymology of Kalinga is Dravidian. Burrows (1100), has pointed out that Kalinka, Kalincu, Kalunku, means sluice, flood gate, water weirs for surplus vents. Apparently it was for this reason that the place referred to above was known as Kalinga Nuwara, as important channels commenced from a weir across the river.

The Chambers Dictionary has also referred to water weirs as Kaliku, while S.K. Iyengar has pointed out that Kalingu Variyam refers to a committee that looked after sluices.

Palnagara

It would appear to me that Kandy of today, derived as pointed out earlier from Kande, was first known as Pal Nagara, which is the Tamil for the city of the tooth. As Kandy to which the tooth relic was brought would have been an underdeveloped wild country without a name, it is natural that it would have been referred to then as the city of the tooth.

My reasons for saying that the early references, referred to Kandy, as the city of the tooth relic, is that the Portuguese who arrived first in Ceylon in the early 16th century have referred to the city of Kandy as Palnagure, De Queroz, ("Ceylon", PP258,270 702), has refer ed to it as the metropolis and the place where the court existed, meaning evidently the palace.

It is also significant that the word Kandy, (Candea), was known to the Portuguese, but they have applied it to the metropolis (capital). The following extracts from De Queroz's work are of relevance.

At P258 he says "..... and already in 1547 they built a church of Our Lady of the Conception, which stood for sometime in Palnagare, the Metropolis of that kingdom, (though the Portuguese knew it by no other name than that of Candea)....."

The comment by De Queroz "though the Portuguese knew it by no other name than that of Candea" is of interest, as it would appear that the Portuguese have themselves known the metropolis and the kingdom as Candea. The name Palungare has apparently been obtained by them locally in the capital itself.

At page 270 De Queroz observes "..... Boneca Bau came to know that at Candea there had risen against Javira Astana his third brother, and that he had entered the capital... . The army then set out in fresh order for Palnegure, the metropolis of that kingdom.."

It is clear from above that the capital was known as Pal Nugara, (Pal Nagara) and the kingdom as Candea, (Cande Uda Rata).

Ribeiro, (History of Ceylon P80), translated by Pieris has also referred to Kandy as palnagure. In this context the observation by Pieris ("Ceylon - Portuguese Era" Vol.1, P320), in reference to Kandy "The capital was in Yati Nuwara, and was indifferently known as Senkadagala Nuwara, which latter name was corrupted by the Portuguese to Pal Nagura", is of interest as it is obvious that there is no semblance of any connection between the two names phonetically or otherwise. Pal Nagura is obviously Pal Nagara meaning city of the tooth in Tamil. In fact Paul Pieris has pointed out us

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The fact that the capital was known by the Tamil name Pal Nagara can also be understood, as the tooth relic was guarded by Tamil soldiers. Further-more Tamil was also a language that prevailed in court circles, (Pieris, "Dutch Power" PP72,159), as letters were received and sent out from the court in the Tamil language.

It is also significant as pointed out by Proctor (Ceylon Literary Register, Vol.2, 3rd Series, 1932, PP94-95), that Tamil soldiers were in charge of the tooth relic at Polonnaruwa and probably at Yapahuwa. The temple at Polonnaruwa where this relic was kept, at least temporarily, was in the model of a hindu temple.

In this context the following extract from a paper read by Arunachalam, (RASC, 1915-16, Vol.2 P190), is of interest.

"The Siva Dewale No.1 is the choicest example of a Hindu temple found at Polonnaruwa, if not throughout the Island, and lies just south of the elevated quadrangle within which lie the ruins of Buddhist and Hindu shrines, combining the architectural features of Ceylon, South India and Cambodia in a strange and not inharmonious grouping. The Dewale is all of carved stone, delicately fitted and wrought. 'In almost every detail,' says Mr. Farrer in his 'Old Ceylon', 'the thing is perfect, and perhaps it is more than fancy that finds Hellenic memories in the purity of its line and the perfection of its proportions... Tradition calls this lively jewel of stone-work the Dalada Maligawa of Polonnaruwa, asserting that this was the shrine of the Tooth Relic. Tradition here lies, for this temple is not Sinhalese but Tamil of the finest, it is not Buddhist but Hindu, it is not a shrine of the Tooth Relic but a temple of Siva the Destroyer. The Tooth Relic, we know, was treasured in the Wata-da-ge, and in all probability this Saivite shrine, so beautiful and ornate, is some family chapel of Parakrama Bahu the Great, who, for all his cult of Buddhism and its ancient monuments, never swerved from the faith of his ancestors.' The traditional name may be due, as Mr. Pell conjectures, to the building having been at some time or other used as a temporary resting-place of the Tooth Relic, pending its permanent lodgement in a Buddhist shrine worthy of its sanctity....."

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Officer of the Ceylon Rifles has pointed out, ("Ceylon", Vol.2, P84), that Kandy owes its origin to a vihara built there in the 13th century as a safe place for the tooth relic. It is therefore natural as pointed out earlier it would have been referred to as the city of the tooth.

In this context it is of interest to note that Dantapura in India from where the tooth relic was brought is shown as Palura in Ptolemy's Geography of India. 100 AD. This has been dealt with in detail in my work "Ceylon in Ptolemy's Geography" (Revised and Enlarged edition, PP75-76, typescript copy available at Colombo Museum), which I reproduce here.

"... . Nevill in his journal "Taprobanian" has pointed out that Palura shown by Ptolemy on the map of India, Orissa State, is Dantapura from where the Tooth Relic came to Ceylon. Palur is the exact Tamil equivalent of Dantapura as Pal means tooth and Ur means city in Tamil. This place is now shown as Puraⁱ on Indian maps and this is all that remains of what was once known as Palura and then Dantapura. Dantapura is the exact Sanskrit equivalent for "Tooth City". That Puraⁱ was an ancient city is confirmed by the fact that in a Tamil Map of India, (India Records Office, London), Puri is referred to as Purana Puri, meaning ancient city.

Caldwell has pointed out that Telugu (A Dravidian dialect), was spoken as far as the Ganges at the time of Ptolemy. This explains the reason for the Tamil form (Pal-ur) of Dantapura in Ptolemy's time. This is clear from his book "Dravida Grammar," (PP7-8), where he has observed "Telugu spoken as far north as mouth of Ganges. This appears both from geographical limits assigned by Greeks to territory of Andhras or northern Telugus and from many names of places mentioned by Ptolemy as far as mouths of the Ganges being found to be Telugu."

Apart from the absolute linguistic identity between Dantapura and Palura, further proof of an independent nature of this identification is provided by J. Gerson Da Cunha in his memoir on the "Tooth Relic of Ceylon." In the footnote at P31 he says "The town of Dandagula, the Dantapura of the Buddhist chronicles, is now Raja-Mahendri, which is about 30 miles to the North East of Koringa. See Colonel Cunningham's "Ancient Geography of India" PP518-519". Another Dantapura is said to have been situated on

the northern banks of Krishna, and to correspond with the modern Amaravati one of the ancient Trikalingas."

The Dantapura referred to in the first part of this note is actually identified as already indicated above with Puri, which is some distance further from Raja-Mahendri. What is remarkable is that the second Dantapura is actually indicated by Ptolemy as Palura and falling in the vicinity of Maesolis river identified with Krishna by Yule, according to McGrindle in his book "Ancient India by Ptolemy" P66. Samuel Butler in his "Atlas of Ancient Geography" also places Palura near the mouth of the Krishna river. What is most remarkable is that of all the places indicated by Ptolemy in his entire geography of India, with the exception of Madura, only the town of Palura has been shown in two places and it is only of this town (Dantapura) is there a legend of two places known as dantapura (Palura according to Ptolemy), and further, the second place falls in the very area indicated, by da Cunha.

Furthermore there is a legend that the Tooth Relic was shipwrecked and stranded on the eastern coast of India on its way to Ceylon. This is additional confirmation of the accuracy of Ptolemy's location of the second Dantapura (Palura).

The veracity of Ptolemy's location and this identification is also confirmed by a record of modern times. This is a record from Lindschoten quoted by Yule, according to which the name Palura survived till modern times, (McGrindle, "Ancient India by Ptolemy" P70). This identification is also confirmed by B.C. Law, at P149, Historical Geography of Ancient India, where referring to Puri he says "It is the Dantapura of Dantakura of the Great Epic (Udyogaparva, XLVIII, 1883) and Palura of the Nagarjunkonda Inscriptions, which is near Chicacola."

The prevalence of the Tamil language in ancient times in the Sinhalese areas also of Ceylon receives support from Ralph Pieris, ("Sinhala Social Organisation", P4 and foot note 8), Ellawala, ("Social History of Early Ceylon", P158), Kuhn, ("Indian Antiquary", vol. 12 P55), Perera ("Ceylon Historical Journal," Vol.11, 1953, PP241-250), Fernando, ("University of Ceylon Review", Vol.7, No.4, PP222,283,284,295), Thevarajan, ("Tamil Patronage to Buddhism). For details regarding these references see my work "Tamil Mad of Ceylon", typescript copy available at the National Archives.

These references see Article "Tamils And Ancient Ceylon" in this work.

THE FIRST INSTRUMENT OF REPRESSION

The point stressed by Government, that, it seeks to introduce a Press Bill only to protect its freedom is apparently based on the assumption that the people of Ceylon are so gullible. Can we blame them for taking this attitude ?

Did not they, at the last election, storm the country from end to end, making palpably extravagant promises ranging from rice from the moon to solving unemployment in 24 hours, and they got away with it, with a landslide victory, unparalleled in all recorded history.

So far so good, but they overlooked one fact that the day of reckoning must come and it did with a vengeance that has kept and is still keeping the Government on the run, so much so, Government is now feasible only by invoking the aid of emergency regulations.

And one had to swallow the humiliation of having to accept a constitution under emergency regulations when public meetings were banned, and when public opinion could not express itself soundly and the press ventilate their views freely, which a Ministry of the Government when queried had the effrontery, to state on the floor of the House that they had to do so to protect themselves ! Where as if they felt that they could govern a democratic country only with the aid of arms, and, draw up and promulgate a new constitution only under the protection of armoured cars, the only democratic step to have been taken was to resign or waited till normal conditions prevailed again.

And now it is clear, that, as obviously they cannot honour the indiscreet promises and commitments, made in their mad scramble for power, the only way they can continue is by repression. And what better instrument for achieving this end than by ensuring a compliant press and a timid public opinion, with of course the noble intention of protecting her freedom.

A compliant press will of course prove no stumbling block to the policy of repression, now being adopted in Tamil Nad, (district), where young men are languishing in jail only because they want to use their language in the manner in which they have done for centuries, before they lost their independence, independently of the Sinhalese race, only to the European powers, and during foreign rule on par with the Sinhalese language; and a language which had already been recognised as an all island official language, and, that too, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhala

votes, and worship their Gods in their own sovereign country and their religion, the oldest civilized religion of Ceylon and whose Gods are worshipped by Buddhists also, in the manner they have done for centuries and at the time of independence negotiations, as their foremost religion. And it was only for this, namely, that they wanted to use their language in the manner they have done for centuries in their own sovereign country, Tamil Nad, that their isolated and defenceless brethren and sisters and priests were subjected to violence in the heart of Sinhala country in 1958. What else, are they to do if they cannot use their own language, as their general medium of intercourse and public business, in their own country. Are they to starve and die and be driven like dumb cattle in their own country ?

This reminds me of what Voltaire has observed of how millions of Christians were tortured by Christians in the name of the Christian religion and for love of God.

All this can be traced directly to the power of the majority race vote, possible only in an unitary form of Government, a power acquired by double crossing the Tamil speaking people of Ceylon on the language, religious, and citizenship issues, as the Tamil language had already been recognised as an all island official language, and, that too, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhala votes, and the government secular and no citizen voteless, at time of independence negotiations; a power more deadly than even nuclear fission, as all that it needs is sufficient energy and intelligence to raise one's hands and should a lusty eye.

One can therefore understand the step taken, as announced by Government on the floor of the house, to get support, in the shape of armaments, from a government of 600 million people, to ensure continuance of this power, and, that means, of the repression that flows from it.

For how long are the Tamil speaking citizens of Ceylon to live under the shadow of the sword of Damocles and what terrible alternatives they have, and, that too in the 20th century, of languishing in jail, or foregoing the use of their own language, in their own country, and now under the new constitution, swallow the humiliation of seeing their own Hindu religion, degraded in their own Hindu country, and, if they press for the use of their own language in their own country and accord foremost place to their own religion in their own country, the horrible alternative of seeing their, isolated and defenceless, brethren and sisters

and priests, subjected to violence in the heart of Sinhala country. That they should use whatever method ^{or} device, and, get whatever support they can from any source, they can, so as to regain their language, religious and citizenship rights, they already enjoyed before the loss of independence and at time of independence negotiations, is now a matter of paramount importance. It is a sine qua non.

HOW VERY PROPHETIC

In the context of what is happening today to the Tamil speaking peoples of Ceylon, when they have been deprived of the citizenship and language rights and the worshipping of their own religion as their foremost religion in their own country, rights which they undoubtedly enjoyed before loss of independence and at time of independence negotiations and at time when the imperial ruler quitted the country, and when there is a move for separation, the plea of Angarika Dharmapala to Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan that Ceylon and India should get together is indeed prophetic.

But who ever would have anticipated at that time that such a move for separation would arise and would be caused by the Sinhalese leaders of the South, who with good reason adored Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan in 1915.

Was it not he, a Tamil, that flayed the Governor of an imperialist race, at the zenith of its power, on the floor of the House, when Sinhalese were being taken out and shot without even the semblance of a trial? And was it not he, a Tamil, that braved the mine infested seas to fight for the Sinhalese cause in England?

And all that the Tamils have reaped, so far, as soon as the Sinhala politicians seized power, by of course double crossing the Tamil speaking people on the citizenship, language and religious issues, is the torture of their isolated and defenceless women and children, and men and priests, in the heart of Sinhala country, and, only because they wanted to use their own language in their own, ^{country} not Sinhala country, as they have done for centuries on their own right.

This historic letter appears in an article written by J.T. Rutnam in an article on Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan, (Mirror 26/11/1971), "The Angarika Dharmapala who was interested ⁱⁿ in Calcutta during this time wrote to him a letter dated 21/10/1915 from Sri Saddharma Mandir, 44 College square, Calcutta, where he stated, "The day that you are taken away from Ceylon, from that day there will be none to defend the poor neglected Sinhalese. They are a doomed nation with none to guide and protect them. Unhappy Sinhalese. If only they are under the Government of India, a hundred newspapers would be there to ventilate their grievances.

The two religions Buddhism and Hinduism, that are to be found in Ceylon, came from India; and the two races Sinhalese and Tamil, do trace their origin to India.

Their civilisation is Indian, and just as the Colonial Britisher looks to England as his mother country, so should the Sinhalese look to Northern India as their mother country. Under the Colonial office, the Sinhalese and Tamils will never get equal justice with the British settlers. Not so with the India Office.

It is time to commence agitation in Ceylon to have Ceylon brought under the Government of India. Without the protecting shadow of India, Ceylon would decline. It is the view of able Indian politicians, that to get justice, Ceylon should be brought under the India Office and made part of Madras and Bengal.

Burma is under the Government of India and Burma is to India as Ceylon is to South India. May you live long to see Ceylon and India working together under the same Government."

The observations "under the Colonial Office, the Sinhalese and the Tamils will never get equal justice with the British settlers" does sound strange today as it is the Sinhalese politicians, who have deprived the Tamils of the rights they already enjoyed, and ironically under the British themselves, in respect of citizenship, language and religion, as soon as, they seized power in the manner referred to above.

The Angarika Dharmapala's wish that India and Ceylon should work together and that otherwise she would decline is prophetic indeed, as evidenced by the depths to which national unity, national economy, national security, have sunk in this country.

And strangely enough it is the Tamils, and not the Tamils and Sinhalese, who have to depend on the Indian newspapers, to ventilate their grievances, and that too, not due to the British who have quitted voluntarily and unconditionally, but because of the Sinhalese politicians.

Whoever would have prophesised such an ^{ignominious} end to the noble aspirations of the Angarika Dharmapala and Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan.

DOUBLE CROSSED ALL THE WAY

The statement made at Jaffna recently by the Member for Jaffna that the Tamil language was not destroyed under foreign rule is quite correct. The problem of the Tamil speaking people is that ironically enough it was not destroyed by the foreign powers but has been destroyed by the Sinhala Only government of today as both the Dutch and British governments issued all proclamations not only in Sinhala but also in Tamil and they even specially required their own officers and priests to study the Tamil language as a prerequisite for working in Tamil Districts (Nad) and earning their increments, but now only Tamil officers should study Sinhala not vice versa.

It is not generally realised that the Tamil language was recognised and taught even in Sinhala Districts (Nad) and that too by Buddhist priests. It was, according to Godakumbure, taught even in the mediaeval colleges of Sinhala Nad while several plays and ballads in Sinhalese literature are merely translations of Tamil literature. That is why Mendis has pointed out that Sinhalese literature has little originality.

In fact at the time of independence negotiations the Tamil language had already been recognised as an official language of entire Ceylon by an overwhelming majority of Sinhalese votes. When Mr. J. R. Jayawardena introduced a motion in council that Sinhala be an official language of Ceylon, Mr. C. Suntheralingam interrupted his election campaign at Valuniya and proceeded to Colombo and told him he should accept parity for Tamil and Sinhalese and that otherwise the Tamils will block independence. It is because Tamil was already recognised as an official language of Ceylon and all citizens had voting rights and the state was secular that the ground was paved for an unitary form of government.

That is why I say that Sinhala only government of today has acquired power, by way of majority vote, possible only in an unitary form of government, by double crossing the citizens of Tamil Nad, all the way, on the language citizenship, and religious issues, and now they have even the impudence to strut about Tamil Nad and make arrogant speeches as if they had liberated the people of Tamil Nad by actually conquering the British.

It will be noticed that a difficult situation created by the language and citizenship issue has now unfortunately been further aggravated by making Buddhist^m the foremost religion of the

land and in an unitary government the Hindus are constitutionally bound to accord an alien religion first place even over their own religion in their own Hindu country. In fact Hinduism is the oldest civilized religion and had prevailed in Ceylon and even in Anuradhapura before the advent of Buddhism. In fact some of the Buddhist edifices in the heart of Anuradhapura stand on sites on which Hindu temples existed before the advent of Buddhism.

It will be seen therefore that since independence the Tamil language has been destroyed, as according to the constitution Sinhala is the official language and the Tamils cannot use their language even in their own native land for their general medium of intercourse and public business.

Regarding the citizenship issue it is relevant to note that when Dr. N.M. Perera introduced a motion, (Hansard, July, September, 1937), in Council, to ban indenture of immigrant Indian labour to prevent exploitation, his motion was opposed by the great majority of Sinhala members; which included four Prime Ministers, despite the appeal of vytilingam Indian Member, not to bring Indian labour and cast them away when not required and the specific warning that this country should shoulder the full implication of immigrant labour, while Philip Gunawardena observed that Indian labour brought here should enjoy citizenship rights and Ratnayake warned that unless Sinhalese leaders rise up to the occasion and protest against fresh indenture of labour... they will be cutting their throats.

What has happened now is that as there are enough Indian labour they are being sent away unceremoniously to solve a problem for which as pointed out above the Sinhalese leaders alone are responsible and worse still, ^{even those who already} enjoyed voting rights dicitizensised.

It should also be realized that the people of Tamil Nad lost their independence, and, their king, his life, by going to the assistance of the Sinhalese people who were being attacked by the Portuguese helped by the Christians and coastal Sinhalese.

The end result is that young men are languish^{ing} in jail only because they want to use their language as their general medium of intercourse and public business and accord their Gods and their religion in their own country the foremost place.

What else are they to do? Are they to starve and die and be driven like dumb cattle, from pillar to post, in their own native land, till some bureaucrat condescends to descend from his "Sinhala Onlt" pedestal, and, deals with them in the only language (Tamil) they know.

What a heavy price, a policy of cooperation and compromise, has exacted from the citizens of Tamil Nad. First they were double crossed over citizenship, then language and now religion. What next !

What the Sinhala Only oriented politician has still not appreciated is that the foreign rulers have gone and that not only Sinhala Nad and its people but even Tamil Nad and her people are also equally independent each in their own right and that the patronising attitude they adopt only makes them look ridiculous.

The future course is obvious, federalism or separation.

Reference may be made to my work "Tamil Nad of Ceylon", pages 9, 10, 21, 40-42, 187-188; at the National Archives, for confirmation of subject, material referred to above.

THE STUDY OF ENGLISH

It is heartening to see that there is a general appreciation of the importance of studying English and even of restoring English as a compulsory language. In my article pertaining to this subject which you were kind enough to give publicity, I drew attention to the emphasis laid on the study of English by Mac Canlay where he pointed out prophetically that if Russia adopts the study of English she will soon be pressing on England and France.

The adoption of a world language or a language with the widest currency, for propagation of knowledge religion, cultures, can also be inferred from the rule played by the Greek language in this respect.

The following extracts from, "The Bible as History", by Keller, illustrate very emphatically the value of acquiring a knowledge of a world language.

"Life in the Roman Empire took on more and more the stamp of Greece. Roman civilisation was to a large extent Greek civilisation: Greek was the world language which united all the subject peoples of the East."

"Two unusually far-sighted rulers, Ptolemy I and his son Ptolemy II Philadelphus, developed their capital city of Alexandria into a nursery of Hellenistic culture and learning, whose fame extended far beyond the borders of their own kingdom and make it a radiant centre of attraction for emigrants from Judah among others. In this crucible they steeped themselves in the beauty of the Greek language, the only means of tasting the delights of the prodigious advances of the human mind and the human spirit. It was the international language of learning and of commerce, the language of tens of thousands of Israelites who knew no other home.

The rising generation no longer knew Hebrew as their mother tongue. They could not longer follow the sacred text in the services of the synagogue. Thus it came about that the Jews in Egypt decided to translate the Hebrew scriptures. About 250 B.C. the Torah was translated into Greek, a fact of immeasurable import for Western civilisation.

The translation of the Bible into the Greek tongue was for the Jews in Egypt such an incredible step forward that legend took hold of it. The story is told in an apocryphal letter of Aristaeus of Alexandria.

Philadelphus, the second of the Ptolemaic dynasty, took great pride in the fact that he possessed a collection of the finest books in the world. One day the librarian said to the monarch that he had brought together in his 995 books the best literature of all nations. But, he added, the greatest books of all, the five books of Moses, were not included among them. Therefore Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent envoys to the High Priest to ask for a copy of these books. At the same time he asked for men to be sent who could translate them into Greek. The High Priest granted his request and sent together with the copy of the Torah 72 learned and wise scribes. Great celebrations were organised in honour of the visitors from Jerusalem, at whose wisdom and knowledge the king and his courtiers were greatly astonished. After the festivities they betook themselves to the extremely difficult task which had been assigned to them, and for which there was neither prototype nor dictionary. They set to work out at sea, on the island of Pharos off Alexandria, at the foot of one of the seven wonders of the world - the 300 feet high lighthouse which Ptolemy II had erected as a warning for shipping far and near. Each of them worked in a cell by himself. When the scholars had completed their work and the translations were compared with one another all seventy-two are said to have corresponded exactly, word to word. Accordingly the Greek translation of the Bible was called the "Septuagint", meaning "the Seventy".

What had previously been made known only in the sanctuary, only in the old tongue, and only to the one nation was now all at once available and intelligible for people of other tongues and other races. The hitherto carefully guarded door into the 'tents of Shem' was thrown wide open."

The universality of the Greek language at this period has also been pointed out by Wilde, (De Profundis, who has observed, "It was always supposed that Christ talked in Aramaic. Even Renan thought so. But now we know that the Galilean peasants, like the Irish peasants of our own day, were bilingual, and that Greek was the ordinary language of intercourse all over Palestine, as indeed over the Eastern world."

The wide area covered by the Greek writings of that time can also be inferred from the little known fact that it is to the Greek works of that time that we have to go for the largest records of Dravidian words and of which Caldwell has observed ("A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian, P91), it is a remarkable circumstance that the largest stock of primitive Dravidian words contained in any written documents of ancient time - the earliest

authentic extant traces of the existence of the Dravidian languages, as distinguished from Sanskrit - are those which are found in the notices of the Greek geographers Ptolemy and the author of the "Periplus Maris Erythraei;" including also the "National History" of Pliny. Many of the names of places and tribes recorded by those geographers, not long after the commencement of the Christian era, are identical letter for letter, with names now in use.

It is also of interest and relevance to note the contribution made by England and knowledge of English towards socialism.

The writings of Voltaire, the father of socialism, were running into their fifth edition in England, when they were still being burnt publicly in Paris, even though Voltaire's satire was mainly directed against certain practices of the Christian religion, which was also the religion of the people of England.

How much England and the London Museum have contributed can also be inferred from what Ewart has pointed out in his article on Lenin. Referring to Lenin's house in London he says "The house they occupied was at 30 Holford Square in the area lying north of Euston Road. It was situated between the British Museum and Highgate Cemetery, where Karl Marx was buried. In London the Lenins assumed the name Richter - a concealment necessary for the safety of his lieutenants and followers in Russia. Inevitably the reading room of the British Museum became Lenin's favourite haunt, as it had been that of Karl Marx, so that august edifice has the distinction of having fed the minds of the two pioneers of communism.

Lenin and Krupskaya (his wife) also set to work to acquire a working knowledge of the English language. Regularly they listened to the open-air speakers in Hyde Park to improve their vernacular English". In this context it is of interest to note that Marx first attracted attention by his forthright contributions as an editor. This was Seth says in an article on him "After some months in Bonn, he gave up the idea of university teaching and was asked to accept the editorship of a newspaper, the Rheinische Zeitung, which had been founded by a group of young disciples of the philosopher Hegel to counteract the influence of the reactionary Kolnische Zeitung. So, at the beginning of May, 1842, he settled in Cologne. In his articles for the paper - which were mostly attacks on the Prussian Government of the day - he displayed a fearlessness which made a striking

impression on readers accustomed to frightened and compliant Journalism. Indeed, they earned for Marx the reputation of being the first German journalist of note.

He fought the censorship, the Prussian Government and his more cautious friends."

In Ewart's reference to Lenin's banishment and his wife Krupskaya can be seen again the value of a knowledge of English. He said, "I will still working on his book, the Development of Capitalism in Russia, when his year's sentence ended. The Tsar then announced his banishment to Siberia for a further three years.

When Lenin heard this decision he jested: "Pity they let me out so soon. I would have liked to do a little more work on the book. It will be difficult to obtain reading matter in Siberia. Before he got out of prison, Krupskaya was thrown in and she therefore got no opportunity of to see him before he left for Siberia in January, 1897. Later Krupskaya joined him in banishment and together they translated from English into Russian The History of Trade Unionism, by Sidney and Beatrice Webb - although at that time Lenin could not understand a word of spoken English ! "

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CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS VERSUS POLITICAL AMBITIONS

I was glad to see a resolution brought up in the Municipal Council of Colombo, which in effect, if not in law, recognises the fact that the Tamil Language should be recognised as a matter of necessity as a language of the administration of Colombo, (Observer 18-12-72).

There appears to be a general impression that the Tamil language had no place in the administration of Ceylon before Ceylon attained independence. I am not surprised as no government since 1958 has given unqualified legal recognition to the Tamil language even in Tamil districts.

However, to revert^{to} the City of Colombo it is not generally known that during the Dutch and British periods both Tamil and Sinhalese were equally recognised throughout Ceylon and they compelled even their officers to learn Tamil and of course Sinhalese as a prerequisite to working in Tamil and Sinhalese areas and transact public business with the Tamil and Sinhalese people.

In the early British period the Gazette notifications pertaining to trade etc in Colombo and Southern and Western provinces were published in English and Tamil only. The gazettes of this period, (early 19th century), in the Colombo Museum Library, will authenticate above statement.

In fact during the Dutch period Tamils and Muslims were forbidden to build houses in Colombo. There was no reference to Sinhalese as apparently Colombo was composed of Tamils and Musliams. This law was rescinded in 1832 by the British by a Gazette notification. Confirmation can be obtained from the gazette of this period.

The Seminar in Colombo during the Dutch period taught six languages. The six languages were Tamil, Dutch, Portuguese, Hebrew, Latin and Greek but not Sinhalese.

It is also not generally known that at time of independence negotiations the Tamil language along with the Sinhalese language had already been installed as an all island official language on a motion in Council, by J.R. Jayawardena, by an overwhelming majority of Sinhalese votes, the Hansard of the period will authenticate this statement.

In view of this fact and the fact, that the government was a secular government and there was no hint whatsoever of any decitizensation of any citizens, an unitary form of government came into being automatically. But the situation changed rapidly after independence as the majority vote

of the majority community offered a tempting bait for political exploitation. As a result thousands of citizens were decitizenised and hundreds of thousands of Tamil speaking people rendered officially dumb and inarticulate overnight, and have in consequence to go on their knees not only in Sinhalese areas but even in their own Tamil country and beg of bureaucrats to deal with and write to them in the only language (Tamil) they know. I say this because according to the constitution Sinhalese is official language and public servants have to qualify only in the Sinhalese language. This means even Tamil public servants cannot function in Tamil without violating the laws of the country. That is why the Tamil speaking people cannot insist on the bureaucrats dealing with them in their (Tamil) language and have therefore to beg of them to do so, by stealth, as a favour even in their own country.

And now even the Hindu religion, the oldest civilized religion of Ceylon, has been degraded by the constitution, and, in an unitary government, it applies in Hindu country, to Tamil districts also.

The reason why the Dutch and British Governments insisted on their own officers learning the Tamil and Sinhalese language was not to provide a luxury to the people of Ceylon, it simply flowed from the recognition of the fact that the government and the bureaucracy was run for the benefit of the citizens and not the citizens for the benefit of the government and the bureaucracy. This is a right that must be guarded jealously by the citizens as the position is fast deteriorating. It is only recently that the citizens of this country were compelled to suffer in silence the humiliating experience of seeing the Chairman of the Constitutional ~~an~~ Court, an ornament of the judicial service, treated indifferently.

I am quoting below extracts from authentic sources which substantiate subject material referred to above.

Instructions issued by the Commissioner of Revenue dated 22-7-1813.

"With reference to the Regulations lately published by His Majesty's Civil Service of this Island, I am directed to state to you that his Excellency considering the acquisition of the Tamil language to be a qualification equally essential for His Majesty's Civil Servants employed in the Northern District as the knowledge of the Cingalese is for those holding situation in the provinces of the South, ^has submitted such his opinion to the consideration of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent, and as no doubt can be entertained of the gracious disposition of His Royal Highness to afford fullest encouragement to every useful acquirement for the furtherance of His Majesty's interest and service of this colony - I have further to intimate to you His Excellency's assurance that a competent knowl dge of the Tamil language provided by such testimonials as the Regulations require, will entitle any Civil Servants of this Establishment, to equal consideration as a claim for employment in those Districts where that Dialect prevails, as he would derive from a knowledge of Cingalese in that part of the Island where the last mentioned language is the general medium of intercourse and public business.

From the Colombo Journal, 1832.

"We gave in a late Journal an abridged report of the examinations of the junior civil servants at Madras. The system is in every point of view admirable, as it necessarily secures those qualifications which enable the public servants of the company to execute their duties with the greatest benefit to the mass of the native population. Youngmen capable of attaining such proficiency in the native languages cannot but gain with ease other acquirements, which may be advantageous in the exercise of their public duties....."

From the Chief Secretary's office dated 17.4.1821 to Heads of Departments.

"I am directed by the Lieutenant Governor to transmit to you English, Tamil and Cingalese copies of a minute which has been issued for the effective control of expenditures in paying labourers...."

From Communalism and language in the politics of Ceylon / - Kearney.

"At independence in 1948, the political leadership of Ceylon was committed to the gradual transition to Sinhalese and Tamil as official languages. The post independence United National Party government was essentially a continuation of the State Council, leadership. D.S. Senanayake formerly leader of the State Council became Prime Minister. The Cabinet included Dudley Senanayake, J.R. Jayawardena and S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike, all of whom had been prominently associated with Swabasha policy."

That there should be three official languages in a city is nothing new. In Delhi there are three officially recognised languages and I believe there is more than one official language in Bombay.

The language problem will continue, unless and until, the Tamil language is recognised again as an official language of Ceylon in its own right, and, not as a favour or, concession.

One very important consideration that does not appear to have been noticed so far is that a language policy is, or rather should be concerned not with providing a luxury or to flaunt imperial or political power on a people, but to serve the needs of citizens. This means that as there are much more Tamil speaking people in Sinhalese areas than Sinhalese in Tamil areas will one be unjustified in stating that the language policy of today is meant more to satiate and sustain political ambitions than to meet the needs of the citizens. Surely for the reason given here it is the Tamil and not the Sinhalese language that has the much greater right to an all-island official status; this implies of course the placing of the interests of the rights of citizens above that of the ambitions of the politicians.

The end result is that any Sinhalese citizen can transact public business without any impediment even in Tamil districts, but hundreds of thousands of Tamil speaking citizens cannot do so even in their own country, Tamil districts.

Can one therefore disagree with Farmer ("Ceylon" - P70), when he says "The truth, unpalatable though it may be to some, is simply that nobody unacceptable to the present second wave of resurgent, Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalism has any chance of constitutionally power in contemporary Ceylon". And this situation will only continue to deteriorate in an unitary form of government. The only permanent solution is a feral form of government or separation.



