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A STUDY IN LOCAL HISTORY: KIRILLAPONE IN THE 18TH CENTURY¹

by
G. P. S. H. de Silva

Studies in Sri Lanka's local history, particularly of villages, have not received adequate attention of our scholars. Published bibliographies of writings in English² have practically no entries on the subject. What material is available in Sinhala are not readily accessible as there are hardly any comprehensive bibliographies of writings in Sinhala. The best known published works in English on local history -though not of villages as such- are still the Manuals produced in the late 19th and early 20th century by the British/local administrators.

The first such publication was by Boake on Mannar³ done for his own edification. On reading it, the Governor requested the Government Agents of other districts too, to produce similar works. The works which thus came to be produced on request were on Nuvara Eliya, Uva, Vanni, and the North Central Province⁴. These latter works excelled that of Boake, as perhaps they had the advantage of seeing a work(s) done before them, and also as the districts on which they wrote, had more material than for Mannar.

A work of a somewhat different character from the Manuals, but containing copious information on villages of the Central Province, was produced by A C Lawrie, the District Judge of Kandy. Like Boake's Manual, it was compiled for his own use, and not on anyone's request. To date, it stands as a very comprehensive compilation on the given villages.⁵

During the Independent Era, the then Government Agent of Matale, Cyril Gamage, too initiated a publication on Matale, which many years later was published in 1984.⁶

Apart from such Manuals or descriptive works, and of subsequent eras also saw a number of other publications in a different tenor, published on towns or cities like Anuradhapura, Colombo, Galle, Hambantota, Kandy, Jaffna, Kurunegala, Matara, Nuwara Eliya⁷ and Ruhuna.

The more recent period has seen some books in Sinhala published on places and place names, but to my knowledge apart from one publication

on Ambalangoda⁸, there are hardly any extensive works published on villages based on verifiable historical data, as available at the National Archives or in any other such identified institution(s).

One reason for the paucity of published works on the history of villages would be the lack of researchable material. Unlike for a county in England, a village in France, Sweden, or a county in China, where records of local administrations are available for well over a five hundred years, here, we have almost nothing -except for the information given in *lēkam miṭi* and the Portuguese and Dutch *tombus*- on the history or administration of our villages.⁹

In Sri Lanka, two of the best sources for such studies are the aforesaid *lēkam miṭi* and the Dutch *tombus*. *Lēkam miṭi* of around the 17-19th centuries give particulars of villages for the Kandyan areas while the Dutch *tombus* of the 18th century¹⁰ provide almost similar particulars, but in more detail and organized form, for the coastal areas and the hinterland where the Dutch held power. It is noted, that from such sources it is possible to work forward, but it is difficult to work backwards, either in respect of people¹¹ or of other details, due to the constraints already stated, namely, lack of other authentic records.

The points noted here above, are given as a backdrop to the study of Kirillapone. Today, Kirillapone is a Ward of the Colombo Municipality. But, this study is of the village Kirillapone during Dutch rule, and is mainly based on the documents of the 18th century.

Kirillapone does not find mention in any historical chronicle of Sri Lanka, or in other historical or literary works such as the *Rājaratnākaraya*,¹³ *Rājāvaliya* or the *Sulurājāvaliya*¹⁴. It finds no mention in published *kaḍaim-pot*¹⁵, nor in any of the *sandesa* poems of the 15th century.

Kirillapone may not have found mention in historical literature, as it seems to have had no land-mark or building of significant importance, or any well known institution such as a *pirivena*, temple or other place of worship. Perhaps, during the times of the Kotte kings (1372-1597) it would have been only an adjacent area to the citadel, with no noteworthy characteristics.

The Portuguese held the western littoral and some interior parts of the island during the period 1518-1656, and Kirillapone was within their domain.

Accordingly, the earliest source, where some detailed information should have been found on Kirillapone are the Portuguese *tombus*. The

better known Portuguese *tombu* was compiled between 1609 and 1614 by Antão Vaz Freire. It gave details of villages which came under their rule. But, unfortunately, the volume in which such details on Kirillapone would have been included, is now lost.

Up to date, only two of the four volumes produced by Vaz Freire, have been located: they are the Codices 284 and 480 at the Torre de Tombo Ultramarino in Lisbon. Of the available two volumes, the Government of Ceylon, had obtained a hand-copied set in 1927, and are available for reference at the National Archives.

An earlier Revenue Register, compiled by them in 1599, found in 1966, by Daya de Silva, the bibliographer, at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre de Tombo in Lisbon, has been published in English translation by her husband, Prof C R de Silva. Unfortunately, that Register too does not have any information on Kirillapone.

Prof C R de Silva also mentions a supplementary *tombu* of Kotte prepared by Amarão Roiz in the 1630' and also a *foral* of the pagoda lands by Ambrosio de Freitas de Camara, belonging to the same period. But, none of them too have been found so far.¹⁸

Thus we see, that some of the early sources where specific information should have been found are not available today, or have not been found so far. In a way, that negative information too would be positive information, for one would know what sources had drawn a blank as far as Kirillapone is concerned.

Let me come back to the Portuguese *tombu* of 1614. This *tombu* had a companion volume known as the *foral*. The *foral* shows only the tax that had to be paid to the King of Portugal by those who held villages granted to them. Of these *forals*, there are two, dated 1614 and 1618, and copies of them together with their English translations too are available at the National Archives.

In the *foral* of 1618, there is a place named Quillapatu but the translator of the *foral*, has not identified it with any known village. In the list of villages, it is included under Salpiti Korale, and is the last village named for that Korale. The five other villages mentioned just before Quillapatu are, Pannala Pagore or Pagoda, Caurana i.e. Kaudana, Gangulla, not identified, Quallibovilla i.e. Kalubovila, Dey walla i.e. Dehiwala and then comes Quillapatu.

Although the order in which the names of villages are mentioned in the *foral* does not help in the identification of Quillapatu with Kirillapone according to the present demarcation of those villages, yet, one would observe that they are not far away from the place now known as Kirillapone. But, whether Quillapatu could be Kirillapone, can only be posed as a question. Unfortunately, there are no topographical maps of the period and hence some other criteria should be adopted even to conjecture the modern equivalent of the Portuguese Quillapatu.

It may be noted that in the English translation of the third volume of the Portuguese *tombu*, published as the *Ceylon Littoral* by P E Pieris, he has translated Quilamano as Galamuna and Quitivatava as Galhitiyava. It is apparent that the identifications had been made on the basis of the other villages close by.

On that basis, perhaps one may query whether Quillapatu could be identified with Kirillapone; i.e. going by the other villages in the vicinity, which have been identified.

According to the *foral* all villages held by the Portuguese paid an annual quit-rent in money -in larins and xerafins²⁰ and/or firelocks and lances. In the case of Quillapatu, it paid to His Majesty's Treasury, i.e. of the Portuguese, one xerafim and one lance.

Apart from such conjecture, the Portuguese documents available to us as at now, present no definite or certain information on Kirillapone.

Chronologically, the next available documents for a study of Kirillapone are the records kept by the Dutch during the administration of the territories held by them between 1640 and 1796. It is in their records that we find for the first time Kirillapone mentioned as a village. Their *tombus* furnish lists of people who lived in the village and of their landholdings.

The earliest Dutch *tombus* which mention Kirillapone are those of the 1766-1771 series. The enumerated villages in the area are Gangodavila, Udamulla, Talapatpitiya, Madivala, Mirihana, Pagoda, Edirigoda, Nugegoda, Narahenpita, Timbirigasyaya, Kirillapone, Wellawatta, Kalubovila, Dehiwala, Nedimala, Nikape, Kaudana, Pallidora, Karagampitiya, Galkissa, Watarappola, and others. (See Appendix I)

The villages enumerated in the *tombu*, before and after Kirillapone, makes it absolutely certain that the Kirilapenne mentioned therein, is the Kirillapone of today.

As noted earlier, the Dutch *tombu* provide particulars of people living in a village and of their land-holdings, and accordingly, such details are available for Kirillapone too. Herein, it may be noted, that even if the Portuguese *tombu* would have been available, such particulars as names of persons and their individual property, would not have been forthcoming from such *tombu*. The latter gave only categories of people living in a village, and the total extents of land that belonged to such people; no particulars of landholders or of their individual possessions are mentioned in the Portuguese *tombu*.

In the Dutch *tombu*, 28 principal land-holders are enumerated for Kirillapone. The names given are: Colombage, Kehelwattege, Parangige, Nawollege, Merinnege, Walgamage, Liyanage, Kumbaltote achchige, Polwattege alias Dewamullege, Jasinge, Uragodage, Weligammege, Mohandiramge, Henadirege, Gaallage, Jayasuri Achchige, Wannige, Pierisge, Atapattuwege, Punchi Hittige, Edirisinge, Welatantrige, Widanalage, Adambarage and Martinnege. (See Appendix II)

The *tombu* list also gives the caste of persons named, as they were important for determining the due services. Thus, of the families named, there were 22 of the *Goigama* caste and 6 of the *Durāwa* caste. There was also a woman called Jebona, a freed slave of a Kapuru Bandige; she is not identified with a caste.

A later entry -made under a 1/2 number- mentions a certain Louis de Saram Wijesekera Karunaratne Mohandiram of the Guard and Mahavidaan of Panadura. The latter had bought in 1788, the entire property of Uragodage Janan; but it is stated that the Mohandiram was living in Colombo, and not at Kirillapone.

Looking at some particulars given of landholders, a Kehelwattege Siman Almeida Appuhamy, 22 years of age, is noted as the Headman of the Salpiti Korale; it is also noted that he had further land in Nugegoda and in Narahenpita. Other service personnel mentioned are 1 Saparamadu²⁴, 1 Lascorin²⁵ of the Atapattu²⁶, 2 Lascorins of the Guard, 1 Vidaan²⁷ of the Cinnamon, 1 Vidaan, 1 with no service, and 3 with extra-ordinary service.

The persons enumerated in the Kirillapone *tombu*, would have been fairly affluent persons, as a number of them have had further possessions in other villages too. The other villages in which they held land, too were around Kirillapone, namely, Mirihana, Kalubowila, Karanpittiye (? Karagampitiya), Pallidora, Wellawatta, Madurawala in the Rayigam Korale, Attidiya, Dehiwala, Galkissa, Udahamulla, Bambalapitiya and Colpetty.

The pattern of land ownership shows that those who could afford to purchase more land, seem to have preferred to acquire them within a given geographical area. Among the land holders of Kirillapone, only one person had held land in another *korale*, and that is in the Rayigam Korale, which too is in the neighbourhood of Salpiti Korale.

As for identification of lands mentioned in the *tombus*, it is only the traditional owners of such lands, who would be able to do so without difficulty; it is they who would know the locations of the holdings of their ancestors. An outsider would not be able to identify any land of a particular person -unless of course, title would be available from Dutch times- as most of the lands are known by common names such as Kajugahawatta, Kosgahawatta, and the like.

Of the lands mentioned in the Kirillapone *tombu*, one readily identifiable land is Balapokunawatta. It is identifiable, as it has a landmark, namely the Balapokuna. Even today, there is a Balapokuna road in the area, which no doubt has been based on the ancient land-mark *Balapokuna*. During the Dutch period, that land had belonged to Andre Pierisge Joan Pieris, and its extent was 6 morgen and 459 square roods²⁸. It had been planted with 872 coconut trees 110 jak trees and 10 areacnut trees. In addition to the highland, the owner also had 35 curunies of sowing extent of paddy, classified under ninda.

In the *tombus* the extent of a land is shown by the number of coconut, jak or areacanut trees it had, and the number of trees that could be planted in its vacant area. In respect of paddy fields, *chena* or *deniya* lands, the extent is shown by the sowing extent in *amunams* and *kurunies*.

At times *tombus* provide more details of a land: and once again Balapokunawatte could be shown as an example for the type of information that would be available in a more detailed entry.

Thus, in respect of Balapokunawatta, it is stated that Bastian Perera's father's brother, named Amarpera Attepattu Appuhamy, who was the father of Maria Perera, had disposed of some land at Wellawatte, and purchased half of this land [i.e. of Balapokunawatta] on 14/3/1709, whereas the other half which was 6 morgen and 459 square roods, had been planted as shown in the tombo entry.

Further, it mentions the number of trees planted by Lusia Perera's son Hettige Siman Gomis; by a Kumbaltotage Achchige Batan Nainde; by one Merinnege Anthonan de Costa; and by one Weligamage Appu Nainde.

It also mentions that half of Appu Nainde's plantation, is possessed by the first mentioned Hettige Siman Gomis.

Land ownership, had always been, and still is, of a very complicated nature -and present day land litigation, sometimes, is seen to go on for decades. It is seen that in the Dutch period too, complicated land transactions and land use had taken place in Kirillapone, as seen in the given example on Balapokunawatta.

Another aspect seen in land entries, is land sales. It was seen above, that around the 1770', there had been 28 land holders in Kirillapone. According to the recorded information in the Land *Tombu*³⁰, there had been 31 land transactions in the village between 1709 and 1788; the year 1712 had seen the highest number of transactions, namely 7, in 1753 there had been 6 transactions, and in 1750, 5 transactions. Other years had seen only 1 or 2 transactions.

The total number of trees planted in Kirillapone, at the time the *tombu* was compiled, was 7683 coconut trees, 1417 jak trees and 1319 areacanut trees. Of fields, the total extent sown, had been 31 *amunams* and 38 *kurunies* of paddy, 3 *amunams* of *wilhaḍu*, and of others, 12 *amunams* of *chena*.

One method of estimating the acreage of a planted area is to divide the total number of trees planted, by the number of trees per acre as is reckoned today. The present rate of planting coconut as a single plantation, is about 75 trees to an acre; that would give around 100 acres for Kirillapone. The other trees were perhaps inter-planted in the main coconut plantation.³¹

The extents of fields possessed by individuals were given under *amunams* and *curunies* and were variously categorised according to local custom. The categories were *muttettu*, *ninda*, *otu*, *ande*, *malapālu*, *nilapālu*, *puran*, *deniya*, *oviṭa*, *wilhaḍu* and *chena*. Of these categories, the total extents were 1 *amunam* and 25 *curunies* of *ninda*, 2.31 of *otu*, 0.5 of *ande*, 7.21 of *malapālu*, 0.8 of *nilapālu*, 20.21 of *oviṭa*, 3.0 of *wilhaḍu* and 12.0 of *chena*. Thus, in Kirillapone, the largest categories were under *oviṭa*, followed by *chena* lands, and *malapālu* fields.³²

Although Kirillapone was one of the areas selected in 1877, for the earliest attempt at Registration of Title to land during the period of British rule (1796-1815-1948), I failed to locate in the Department of the Surveyor

General, a general map or plan of the area. If such a plan was available, one could have made a reasonable guess as to the limits of Kirillapone during the Dutch era, by reading it along with the available information in the *tombu*.

The population of Kirillapone during the Dutch period could be estimated around 400 people. The Head *tombu* of the viilage, i.e. the volume which gives particulars of the principal land-holders has a list of 289 persons in the folios available today. That number includes the number of persons in the immediate family and in the collateral lines, given in respect of each principal entry. Here, we are a liitle unfortnuate with our source, as the folios for the entries after No 18, i.e. from 19 to 28, are not available in the volume.

According to the available list, the oldest principal land-holder, Mohandirange Pedro Silva, was 70 years old, and the youngest, Weligammege Abraham, was only 15 years of age.

Dutch records provide us with another source to see the names of persons resident in a village: that is the School *tombu* also known as the Parish Register. For Kirillapone, that source³³ mentions 19 ge-names. (See Appendix III)

In comparing the entries in the two tombos it is seen that some names mentioned in the Head and Land tombos are not mentioned in the School *tombu*, and *vice versa*.

The particulars given in an entry in a school *tombu* are: the name of the father and the mother, the date of marriage, names of the children, the dates of their baptism and the age at that time, dates of entering school, dates of leaving school, and whether they had left to another village or whether they had died. Religion-wise, the school *tombu* lists are those of Christians, i.e. those who had been baptised.

However, the fact that land holders names do not appear in the School *tombu*, would not necessarily mean, that they were non-Christians. Names like Andre Pierisge, Louis de Saram, Martinnuge, Merinnege, Thomas Pierisge, appearing in the Land *tombu*, but not in the School *tombu*, sounds Christian, but, that too would not necessarily be a criterion to determine whether they were Christians or not.

The non appearance of some names in the School *tombu*, while they appear in the Land *tombu* could be due to the fact that they may not have got married in the Kirillapone church. Or, it also could be that, although

they had Christian sounding names, they were not Christians, as the majority of the people of this land are, even today.

With regard to the population of Kirillapone, some further information is available of a little later date, namely, for the year 1814. That was the year, the British published their first *Return of the Population*³⁴ in the area that was under their control.

According to that publication, Kirillapone had 181 males and 120 females above the age of puberty, and 92 and 75 respectively, below the age of puberty, i.e. a total of 427 people.

Although not much faith is placed in the figures given in the *Return*, yet considering the proximity of Kirillapone to Colombo, the administrative centre, one could perhaps presume that providing inaccurate/false figures, would have been minimal from a place that close to Colombo. Further, it is also seen that the numbers given in the *Return*, is seen to be close to the numbers computed from the Dutch *tombu*, and thus, the number around 400 persons computed for the Dutch period, may not seem to be unreasonable.

Another detail given in the *Return*, is that there had been 18 tiled houses at that enumeration. A tiled house, apparently denoted affluence. The Dutch Land *tombu*, had listed 28 land owners in the 1770', and it may be that at least some of the tiled houses noted in 1814, may have been constructed by the more affluent proprietors of the Dutch period. It is seen that the lapse of time between the *tombu* registration and the 1814 population count was only about 40 years; and hence, the more substantial houses constructed during the Dutch period, would have been still standing in that year of the British count; it is unfortunate that the names of owners of such houses at that count are not available.

Thus, the information in the two sources, namely, in the Dutch *tombus* and in the 1814 population count would seem to reflect a fairly dependable picture of the people living in Kirillapone during the 18th and early 19th century.

As for the antiquity of Kirillapone as a village, it was seen that it had not been referred to in the Sinhala literature of the 15th century, or even as undeniable evidence for its existence in the Portuguese *tombus*. However, going by the Dutch *tombus*, one could assume that at least some of the people named in the *tombus* would have been settlers in the area either from the time that Kotte gained prominence as the capital of the

island, or may be even from earlier times, i.e. from about the 13th century when the shift to the south-west of the island, is seen to have commenced.

In this respect, a study of names given in the *lēkam-miṭi* for the Kandyan areas, together with those given in the *tombos*, could perhaps yield some evidence of people bearing similar ge names living in the two areas, namely, in the domain of the king, and of the Dutch administration. If any such evidence would come forth from a comparative study, that would certainly be important for any study of inter-domain movements.

Even if results of such studies would prove negative as far as Kirillapone is concerned, yet they would provide valuable information on the movements and migrations of people during the periods to which the documents belong.

In any event, a larger comparative study of the *lēkam-miṭi* and the *tombus*, with emphasis on the people and their possessions, would certainly throw much light on the social fabric of the village in Sri Lanka, at least during the period from about the 16th to the 18th century.

As for the infrastructure, such as roads and pathways which would have criss-crossed the village, neither the Dutch maps and plans nor those of the early British period available at the National Archives reveal any information. The available maps also provide no information on the location of a Church at Kirillapone, but that there had been a school -which would have been normally located within the church premises- is seen from the extant School *tombus*. However, it is also noted that Van Goor's publication on the educational establishment in the areas held by the Dutch during the period 1690-1796,³⁵ too has not indicated a school for Kirillapone; the closest shown by him is at Milagiriya. More research would be needed to arrive at a finality on that point.

As postulated earlier, it may be reasonable to assume, that Kirillapone would have been a populated village at least from the time of the kings of Kotte, if not from earlier times. But, also as said earlier, it would not be possible to establish that assumption by documentary proof.

As for Kirillapone, more information is available for the 19th and 20th centuries. A study of such sources would show, how Kirillapone moved from a mere village during the Dutch and the early British periods to be a Ward of the Colombo Municipality in 1939. That would bring the study to the present era.

In this paper, I have not attempted a deeper or critical analysis of the available data. The primary objective on its presentation, was to show the basic documentation that is available for village studies in coastal Sri Lanka, and to show with Kirillapone as an example, the variety of information the *tombu* entries yield.

In-depth historical studies of our villages, I should say, is a *sine qua non* for a better understanding of this country. I might add, that it is of vital importance today.

APPENDIX I

Kirillapone and the neighbouring villages mentioned in the Dutch Head and Land Tombus, the School Tombos, and in [?] the Portuguese Foral

D/H & L Tombus 1766-1771	D/School Tombus 18th century	P/Foral 1618
[The order shown is as given in the Dutch Head and Land Tombus]		
Gangodavila	Gangodavila	Gangodavila
Udahamulla	Udahamulla	
Talapatpitiya	Talapatpitiya	
Madiwala	Madiwala	
Mirhana	Mirihana	Mirihana
Pagoda	Pagoda	Pannala Pagore
Edirigoda		
Nugegoda	Nugegoda	
Narahenpita	Narahenpita	
Timbirigasyaya	Timbiigasyaya	
Kirilepenne	Kirilepenne	[?]= Quillapatu
Wellawatta	Wellawatta	
Kalubowila	Kalubowila	Kalubowila
Dehiwala	Dehiwala	Dey walla

APPENDIX II

The list gives the names of the main entries, their caste, and their obligatory services, as given in the Land tombu; and, the counted number of persons mentioned for a family in the Head tombu.

1. Colombege Don Siman, G; 38
2. do Don Siman's grandfather's sister's husband Arachchilage Don Andre, G; 21

3. Kehelwattage Siman Almeida Appuhamy, G, present Headmen of the Salpiti Korale; has more land in Nugegoda and Narahenpita; 22
4. Parangige Christobu D'Abre, G, Saparamadu; 9
5. Jebel Dias, widow of Arachige Don Domingu, G; 15
6. Nawollege Don Luis, G, Lascorin of the Guard; 8
7. Merinjege Joan de Costa, G, Lascorin of the Guard, has more Pallidora land in Mirihana, Kalubowila; Koranpittige [Karagampitya], and ; 36
8. Walgamage Don Christoffel, G, Lascorin of the Guard; 14
9. Liyanage Adrian Fernando, G, no service, has more land in Wellawatta, Kalubowila & Madurawala in the Rayigam Korale; 6
10. Kumbaltotte Achchige Siman, G; 16
11. Polwattege alias Dewamullege Bastian Perera, G, Lascorin of the Atapattu, has more land in Attidiya; 11
12. Jasinge Boappu Nainde, G, does extraordinary service; 15
13. Uragodage Janan Nainde, G
14. Weligamage Abraham, G, does extraordinary service
15. Jebona, freed slave of Kapuru Bandige; 2
16. Mohandiramge Pedro Silva, D, has more land in Dehiwala, Galkissa and Udahamulla; 32
17. Nathalie Dias, widow of Henadirege Francisku Pieries, D, Vidaan of the Cinnamon, has more land in Bambalapitiya; 17
18. Gaallege Lourensu Pieris, D, does extraordinary service; 15
- [18]1/2 Louis de Saram Wijesekere Karunaratne, Mohandiram of the Guard, and Mahavidaan of Panadura, lives in Colombo
19. Jayasuri Achige Siman Perera, G, has more land in Kalubowila
20. do [Jayasuri Achchige Siman Perera's] brother Constantine Perera, G, lives in Kalubowila

21. Pabilinna Dias, widow of Wannige Louis Fonseka, G, lives in the village Kalubowila
22. Andre Pierisge Joan Pieries, G
23. Atapattuwege Bastian Perera Appuhamy, G [His] father's brother's daughter Maria Perera, widow of Punchi Hittige Don Marco Father's brother's sister's daughter Lusía Perera, widow of Hittige Domingo Gomis, G
24. Edirisinge Joan Joris, G, lives in the village Mirihana
25. Welatantrige Pasqual Boteju, G, lives in the village Narahenpita
26. Nathalia Silva, widow of Widanalage Andere Fernando, D, lives in Dehiwala
27. Adamberage Theodoris Alwis, D, Vidaan, lives in the village Colpetty
28. Martinuge Daniel, D, lives in Rayigam Korale Thomme Pierisge Adriaan Pieris & Christoffel Pieries, D, live in Wellawatta

G = Goigama; D = Durawa

Note:

Head and Land *tombus* for the Colombo District are in different volumes, and as noted earlier pages containing the numbers from 19 to 28 are missing in the Head *tombu*. Hence, the list was taken from the Land *tombu*, which is intact, and the numbers of the family members from the available entries in the Head *tombu*. Land *tombus* do not provide names of family members.

APPENDIX III

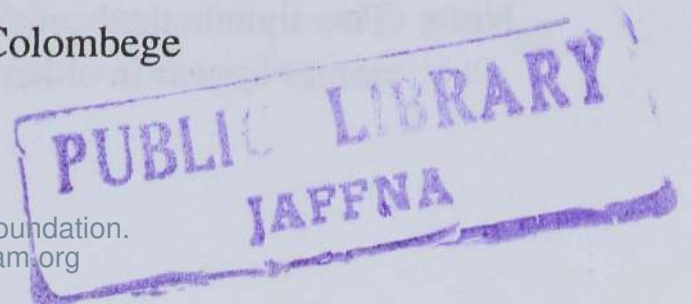
Ge-names mentioned in the Kirillapone Land *tombus* and the School *tombus*

Land Tombus
1766-1771

School Tombus*
18th century

Adamberege
Andre Pierisge
Arachchige
Attepattuwege
Colombege

-
-
Arachchige
-
Colombege



-	Dampege
de Saram Wijesekera	-
Karunaratne, Louis	
Dewamullege or Polwattege	-
Edirisinge	-
-	Ereuwala Geekiyanage
-	Galikssage
Gaallege	Gaallege
-	Gabriel Alphonso
	Gurunnanselage
-	Henadirege [or Hewadirege]
-	Henadoerapatirege
Hennadige	-
-	Hewahittige
Jasinge	-
Jayasuriachchige	-
Kapurubandige	-
Kehelwattege	Kehelwattege
Kumbaltota Achchige	-
-	Madiwalage
Martinnuge	-
Merinnege	-
Mohandiramge	Mohandiramge
Nawollage	Nawollege
-	Nissangege
Parangige	Parangige
Piyanage	-
Polwattege or Dewamullage	Polwattege
Punchi Hittige	-
Thomas Pierisge	-
Uragodage	-
Walgamage	Walgamage
-	Warahenege
Wannige	-
Welatantrige	-
Weligamage	-

* = SLNA 1/4054, 1/4055, 1/4057; 1/4056 is illegible

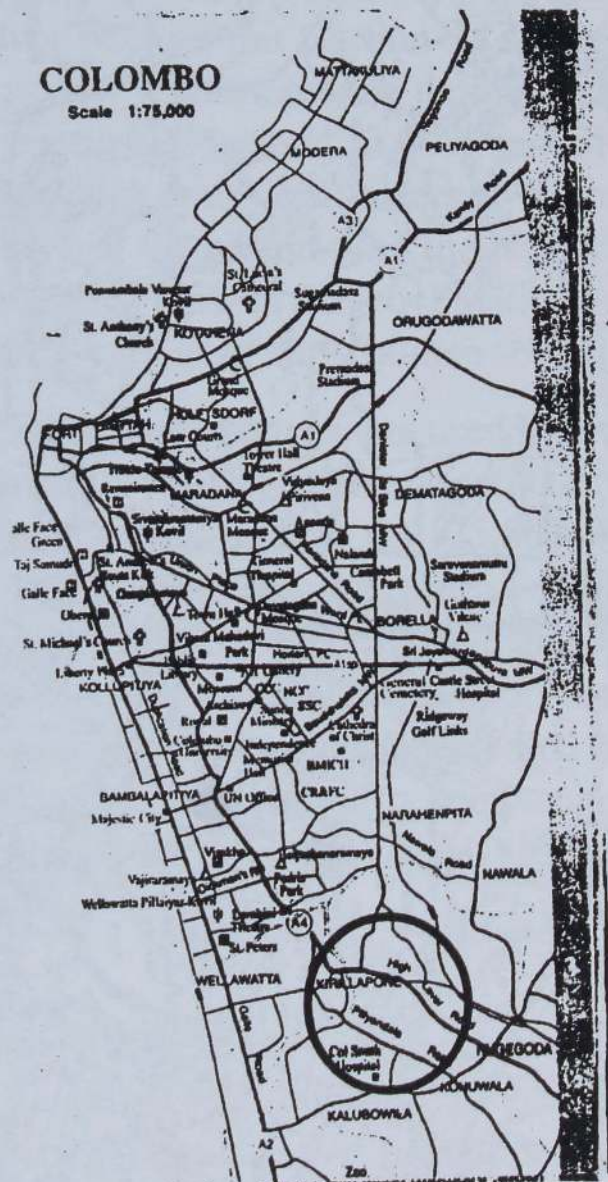
Note: The alphabetical order shown here is not the order in which the names appear in either *tombu*.

ENDNOTES

1. Edited text of a lecture delivered before the Society, on August 25, 1997. [Kirillapone was selected for this study as it is now my 'home town', where I have been living for the last 33 years.]
2. See references in *Bibliography of Ceylon*, Vols I-V, by H A I Goonetilleke, Switzerland, 1970-1983; Register of Books printed in Ceylon, in the Quarterly Statements published since 1885 in Part V of the Ceylon (Sri Lanka) Government Gazette.
3. Mannar, W J S Boake, Government Printer, 1888
4. Manuals of: Nuvara Eliya, C J R Le Mersurier, 1893; Uva, Herbert White, 1893; Vanni, J P Lewis, 1895; North Central Province, R W Ievers, 1899; Batticaloa, S O Canagaratnam, 1921
5. Gazeteer of the Central Province, Vols I-II, 1896-1898. A C Lawrie, was D J, Kandy, from 1873 to 1892, and subsequently, a Senior Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court of Ceylon
6. ඓතිහාසික මාතලේ Government Press, 1984
7. See supra 2, *Bibliography of Ceylon*; හම්බන්තොට දිස්ත්‍රික්කය, රංජිත් සමරණායක, සැලසුම් ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ අමාත්‍යාංශය, රජයේ මුද්‍රණ නීතිගත සංස්ථාව, 1963; ඓතිහාසික රුහුණ, විමල් සපුකොටන (සංස්කාරක) සමයවර්ධන, කොළඹ 10, 1995; අසිරිමත් නගරයක පිය සටහන්, දෙහිවල-ගල්කිස්ස මහ නගර සභාව, 2000; රුහුණ ප්‍රදීප, දෙල්තොට ව්‍යුපාල, තිලක් කුරුවිට බණ්ඩාර, 2000.
8. අම්බලන්ගොඩ පුරාණය A Sinhala publication on the village Ambalangoda, on the Southern coastal belt, published in 2000. Although the author, Jinendradasa de Silva, has referred to the Dutch *tombus*, and has also given some details from them, that material has not been adequately dealt with. A reference two original inhabitants (p.229) said to be mentioned in the Land *tombu*, is erroneous and unsupported.
9. The earliest references to villages -the most common economic unit or unit of administration from the earliest times even up to now- occur in inscriptions dating from about the 3rd c.BC. Historical and other literature contain names of villages given in various contexts, as well as references to various types of village assemblies or administration, but what is lacking, is continuous documentation on villages of any period from that pre-Christian era up to about the 17/18th century.
10. *Catalogue of the Archives of the Dutch Central Government of Coastal Ceylon 1640-1796*, M W Jurriaanse, Colombo, 1943; *Inventory of the Archives of the Dutch Government in the Divisions of Galle (Matara) and Jaffnapatnam 1640-1796*, S A W Mottau, The Hague, 1975

11. Family genealogies going back to around a five hundred years, are infrequently noticed in the media, but published historical studies worked on such information are rare to come by. Some published works on family histories are *The Tudugala Family* by J H O Paulusz, Tisara Prakasakayo, 1970; and the earlier *Notes on some Sinhalese Families* Parts I-V by P E Pieris
12. *Rājaratnākaraya* 16th c.
13. *Rājāvaliya* 16th c.
14. *Sulurājāvaliya* 19th c.
15. *Boundary Divisions of Medieval Sri Lanka*, H A P Abeyawardana, 1999, and his earlier work in *Sinhala Kadaim-pot Vimarsanaya*, Government Press, 1978
16. *Mayura Sandesaya*, 14th c. Gampola to Devundara, passed Jayawardhanapura (Jdp) *Tisara Sandesaya*, 1410, Devinuvara to Dedigama, passed Jdp; *Kovul Sandesaya*, 1410-1445, Devinuvara to Yapapatuna, passed Jdp; *Hamsa Sandesaya*, 1415-1567, Jdp to Keragala *Parevi Sandesaya*, 1427, Jdp to Devinuvara *Selalihini Sandesaya*, 1446, Jdp to Kelaniya *Gira Sandesaya*, 1456, Jdp to Totagamuva
17. The First Portuguese Revenue Register of the Kingdom of Kotte, translated into English, and edited by C R de Silva in *The Ceylon Journal of Historical and Social Studies*, NS. Vol.V, Nos.1 & 2, 1975, pp.69-153.
18. *ibid*
19. *Ceylon Littoral*, P E Pieris
20. Larin also called a ridi was a currency used by the Portuguese; 3 or 4 larins was equal to a xerafim. See *History of Coins and Currency from the 3rd century BC to 1998*, G P S H de Silva, Central Bank, 2000
21. Head Tombu: SLNA 1/3811, Land Tombos: 1/3766, 1/3848
22. *ibid*
23. Land Tombus: SLNA 1/3766/1-18, 1/3848/1-18
24. Saparamadu: Bellalas [i.e Goigama] but of somewhat less distinguished classes, due to the offices held by their ancestors. Employed as Commissioners for the inspection of fields and gardens and for carrying the imperial missive; also officiates like other native headmen at the gate of the Governor and of the Disava. Loten, see Sri Lanka Archives (SLA) Vol.3, 1985-6
25. Lascroon: Soldier; runs errands, communicates orders, summons inhabitants etc. Zwardecroon, see SLA Vol.3
26. Atapattu: Captain of the Guards of the king -Codrington; Messenger staff of the Disava -Gunasekera; see SLA Vol.3
27. Vidaan: Headmen -Codrington, see SLA Vol.3
28. 1 morgen = 2.11654 acres; also = 600 square roods, SLA Vol.3, pp. 19,131
29. 1 amunam = 4 pelas = 40 curunies 1 amunam sowing extent = 2.557 acres; for other computations see SLA Vol.3, pp.18-19

- 30. SLNA 1/3766, 1/3848
- 31. Mr S Berugoda the Retired Surveyor General, was of opinion that the average crown area of a particular tree, could also be used as a criteria to determine the acreage of plantations, when the information available is only the number of trees planted in a given land. According to that method, the land area would certainly be more than 100 acres, and I presume, such a calculation would be more accurate for lands that have a mix of trees.
- 32. *Mutteṭṭu*: land belonging to the king or other proprietor; *Ninda*: one's own land *otu*: sown for 1/10th share to the Company; *Ande*: sown for 1/2 share to the Company; *Malapālu*: land escheated by the death of the proprietor; *Nilapālu*: land escheated by the failure of male heirs; *Puran*: fields which lie fallow without rain-water or irrigation; *Deniya*: narrow valleys running between the spurs of a range of hills; also high ground; *Oviṭa*: flat or highland *Wilhadu*: bulrush land which cannot be used for sowing; *Chena*: highland or *hēn*..
- 33. School Tombos: SLNA 1/4054, 1/4055, 1/4057
- 34. *Return of the Population of the Maritime districts of the Island of Ceylon, 1814.* Published in 1816
- 35. *Jan Compenie as School Master. Dutch Education in Ceylon 1690-1795, Jan van Goor, [1978]*



HEWAGAM

KORALE

COLOMBO

DISTRICT

PALLE

PATTUWA



SEA-LEVELS AS HISTORICAL TIME-MARKERS IN PREHISTORIC STUDIES

by
Ananda Gunatilaka

ABSTRACT

Late Quaternary sea-level changes could be useful historical horizons in studies of archaeology and anthropology in Sri Lanka and elsewhere. The fact that land masses (like India and Sri Lanka) could be connected or severed as a result of sea-level fluctuations has important implications for the timing of regional human migrations, colonization and cultural interactions. Further, it is possible to speculate on the development of early human technologies as to their derived or indigenous nature in some countries. This is particularly so when anthropological / archaeological studies beyond the Carbon-14 range of age dating is involved. At present only Luminescence dating techniques appear to provide “reliable” age estimates beyond 30,000 years BP. Such dates could be calibrated against the high precision Quaternary global sea-level curves and local sea-level curves, thus improving the reliability of the former. Further, these curves have a built-in palaeoclimatic basis – an advantage in many anthropological studies of early human societies.

Bathymetric and archaeological data used in conjunction with sea level curves indicate that the earliest humans could have migrated to Sri Lanka from India anytime prior to circa (c) 125,000 yBP, whenever sea levels were –11 m or more below present mean sea level (the condition required to establish a land bridge). During Pleistocene glacial phases, with lowering global sea levels, a widening migratory corridor would occur between the two land masses. Examples are presented from Sri Lanka and the Arabian Gulf-Mesopotamian region to demonstrate the idea of sea levels as historical horizons in Holocene (last 11,000 years) times.

INTRODUCTION

There has been a lively debate among prehistorians as to when the tropical island of Sri Lanka (Ceylon), situated some 50 km off the southern tip of India at 8° North of the Equator, was first colonized by early humans

in the Pleistocene (Figure 1). The earliest settlement of Sri Lanka would have as its obvious provenance the sub-continent of India as other potential landmasses in the region were too far away. A eustatic drop in sea level of just 11 m is sufficient to create a land bridge across the Palk Strait (Figure 1). This link to India (called the Adam's Bridge) was last severed around 7500 years BP with the Holocene rises in sea levels at the end of the last Pleistocene glacial phase.

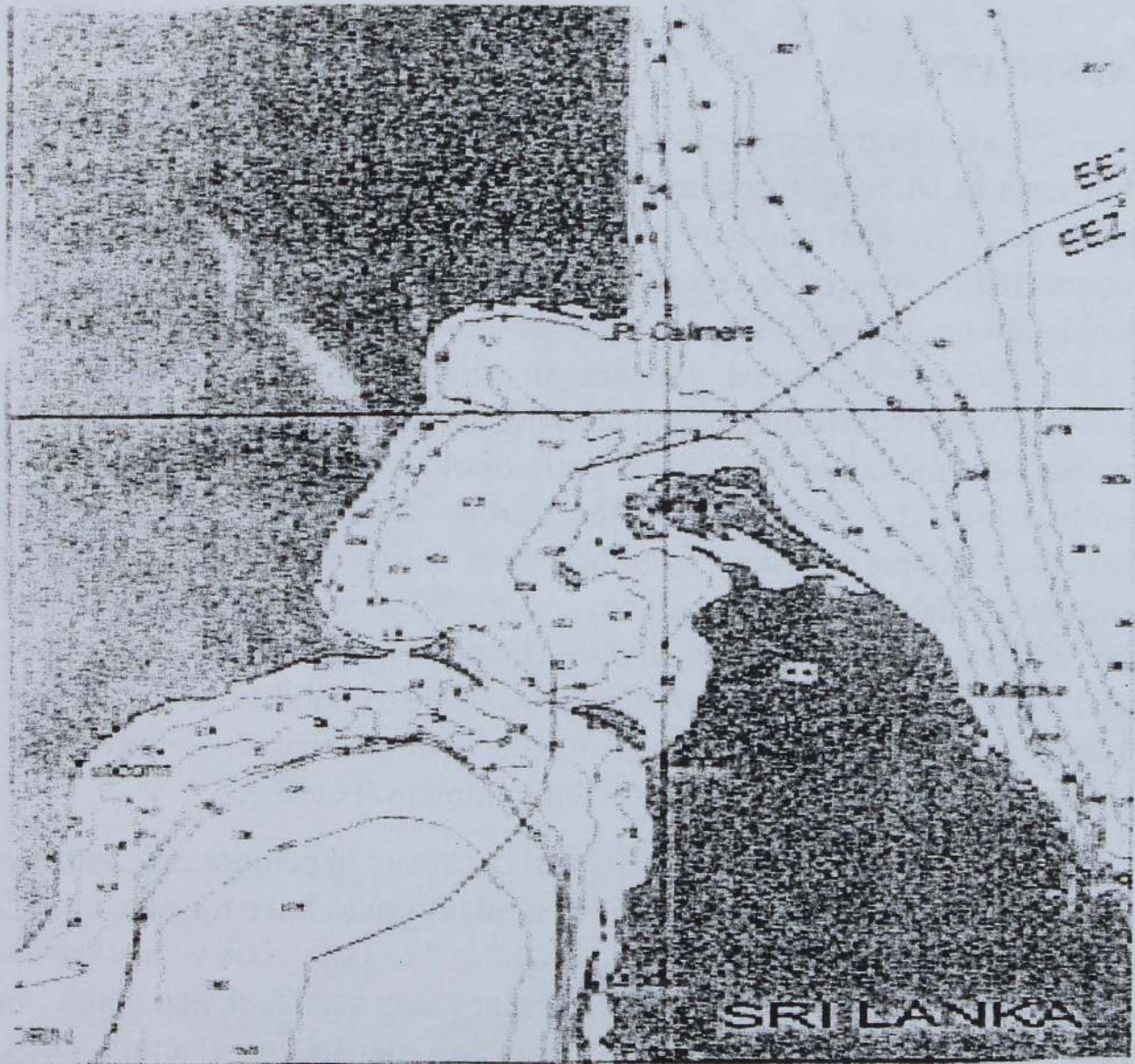


Figure 1. Location map between the two land masses showing the Adams' Bridge and Palk Strait – the potential migratory corridor of early humans in the upper Pleistocene, which was “open” for 80% of the time. Note the vast area in the Palk Strait within the 50m isobath (average sea level for at least 600-kyears).

Cave deposits with rich hominid remains in many high rainfall lowland areas of the island have been reliably radiocarbon dated (on charcoal) from c. 37,000 yBP down to c. 3000 yBP (Kennedy et al., 1987; Deraniyagala, 1991; 1992). Clearly, the island was settled sometime prior to 37 kyears BP. Standard Global Sea Level Curves (Shackleton, 1987;

Chappell et al., 1996) show that this was about the peak period (c. 35 – 18 kyears BP) of the last glaciation when global sea levels were at their lowest (Figure 2). Hence, as a first approximation we could postulate that the latest likely colonization of the island was during the early part of oxygen isotope stage (OIS) 3, which ranged from c.35 kyears BP to c. 62 kyears BP (Figure 2). It is very likely that in the dry-zone regions of the north of the island (the nearest to the Indian land mass), settlements were either open-air habitations or caves, but habitation deposits are hard to come by. But settlement could have occurred at any time during the last glacial phase, so long as sea level was –11m or more below present sea level (i.e. as far back as OIS 5e or 112 kyears BP). There is also artefactual evidence (only) that there were settlements as early as c. 130,000 years ago, probably by 300,000 yBP and possibly as early as 500,000 yBP (Deraniyagala, 1992). The pattern shown in Figure 2 was repeated approximately every 100,000 years, going back to c. 800,000 yBP (Shackleton, 1987).

The above three dates (130,000 yBP, 300,000 yBP and 500,000 yBP) are based on inferred raised terraces of coastal fluvial gravels. Thermoluminescence (TL) and OSL dates of c. 125,000 yBP to c. 75,000 yBP for implementiferous basal gravels at > +8 m elevation are based on eustatic altimetry with reference to present sea level; the coastal dune sands above these gravels have yielded ages of c.74,000 – 64,000 yBP and c. 28,000 yBP respectively (Singhvi et. al., 1986). Abeyratne (1996) discusses the reliability of the various dating techniques at length and opts for luminescence dating (for ages beyond 30, 000 yBP) in prehistoric studies. The higher terraces at +30 m and +50 m have been equated to high sea levels (Tyrrhenian and Milazzian respectively) at c. 300,000 and c. 500,000 years and are inferred as being as old as the Holstein and Cromerian interglacials in Europe (Deraniyagala, 1991). However, it is clear that at no time were sea levels higher than during the last interglacial (Fig. 2). Sea level curves going back to over 800,000 yBP indicates without doubt that the c.125,000 yBP level was the highest known for this period (Shackleton, 1987). Also the > + 8 m high sea level for Sri Lanka (a terrace level) inferred for the last interglacial maximum (Deraniyagala, 1992), is in doubt as the latest data do not indicate sea levels higher than 6 m ±1m (compared to present msl) at c. 125,000 yBP for open coasts (Fig. 2). Even in enclosed seas like the Arabian Gulf where sea levels are amplified due to the basinal configuration, the c. 125,000 year high sea level is never more than +5 m (Sanlaville and Packoff, 1986). The terraces at + 8 m, + 30 m, + 50 m etc. have nothing to do with sea level highs and are very likely due to tectonic effects. The data from high latitudes where post-

glacial isostatic rebound is high cannot be extrapolated to ice-free low latitude areas. However, any artefactual evidence of early humans in these fluvial gravel terraces will be real and needs to be dated specifically. The Pleistocene classification of Zeuner (1959) is no longer tenable in a modern context and archaeologists and anthropologists should be made aware of current ideas on Quaternary sea level history and climatic evolution, modern sedimentology and knowledge of local tectonics. On the other hand, the global sea level curves are truly universally applicable, irrespective of latitude. This study shows how sea level curves can be utilized as historical time markers and in clarifying uncertainties in prehistoric studies.

QUATERNARY SEA LEVEL HISTORY

The most significant development in Quaternary studies over the last 30 years has been the new picture of glacial-interglacial (G-I) cycles that emerged from oxygen isotope records in deep-sea sediments (Shackleton, 1987). These records consolidated the Milankovitch theory of climate change and provide a model for changes in global climate, ice volume and eustatic sea level fluctuations over the last few million years. The Quaternary Era (by international agreement) began c.1.82 million years ago (see Gunatilaka, 1998). This period is characterized by a series of (G-I) cycles with two distinct periodicities. The first c.1Ma shows a periodicity of about 41,000 years, which then switched to a c.100,000 year cycle during the last c. 800,000 years (Shackleton, 1987). This is a total of more than 30 (G-I) cycles, which is in contrast to the traditional four cycles of a bygone era.

During the last 600,000 years, the India-Sri Lanka land link was severed about five times and that too for brief intervals of no more than 20,000 years when sea levels were higher than - 12 m water depth. The rest of the time the land masses were connected. Consequently, there was ample opportunity and time between the short interglacials for transmigration of early humans from the Indian sub-continent to Sri Lanka, along with their lithic technologies. During the last one million years, only a small percentage of the time resembled full interglacial (like the present) or full glacial conditions (20 kyears) with sea levels as low as -120 m. 80 per cent of the time sea level was between -15 m and -85 m (Shackleton, 1987). So, what was the average sea level during the last say 600,000 years? Amazingly, it comes out at ~ minus 50 m below present sea level. Sri Lanka and India were connected most of this time. This has obvious implications for prehistoric studies in the region.

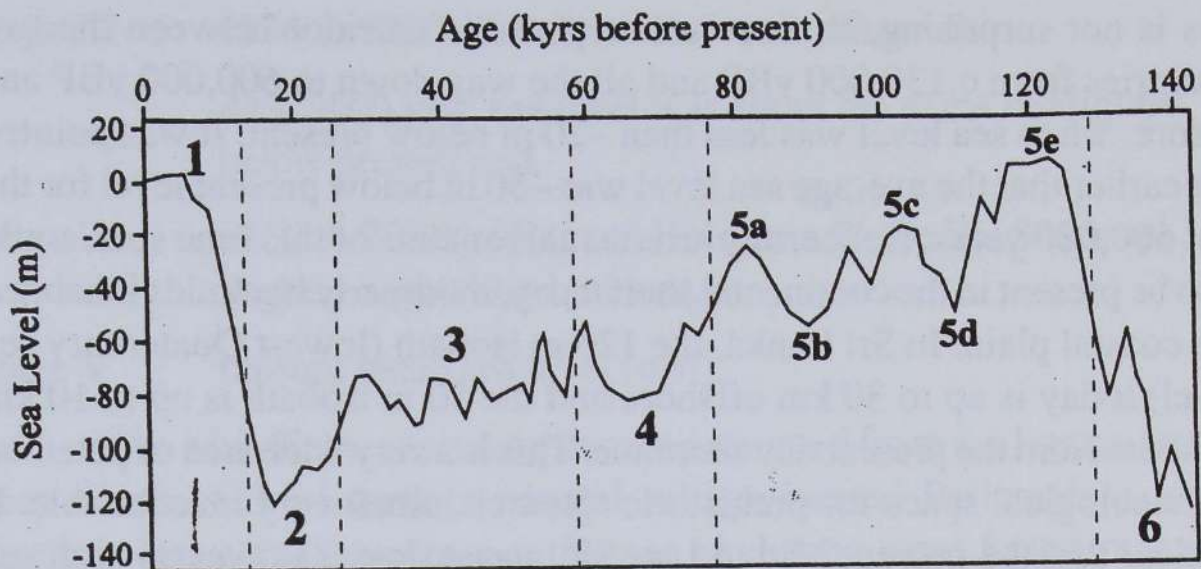


Figure 2. Detailed eustatic sea level history of the last glacial – interglacial cycle based on precision U/Th dating of coral reefs from the Huon Peninsula, Papua New Guinea with oxygen-isotope stages - OIS 1 – 6 (vertical dashed lines). After Chappell et. al., (1996). Note that sea level was higher than -12m (when the Land bridge was severed) for only two very short periods (OIS 1 and 5e) of the last c. 100,000 year climatic cycle. The extent of time when sea levels were -12 m or more below present msl (the migratory opportunity) can be read off from the curve, showing that 80% of the time the two land masses were connected.

Early Techno-Traditions in Sri Lanka

Significantly, Sri Lanka provides one of the earliest known occurrences of the techno-tradition referred to as geometric microlith tools, which is the hallmark of the European Mesolithic (Deraniyagala, 1992). The material used is exclusively quartz and chert. This occurs at four widely separated sites in the south of the country around c.31,000 yBP, which is a full 19,000 years earlier than in Europe for similar tools. By 37,000 yBP, anatomically modern *Homo sapiens sapiens* is recorded in Sri Lanka, as well as in Egypt, France, Slovakia and Southern Africa (Kennedy, 2000). The levels of sophistication of these microlithic tools (rhomboids, trapezoids, triangles, lunates etc.) are definitely indigenous to Sri Lanka. No similar deposits are known to occur in the *terris* of Tamil Nadu. Further, the use of fire is clearly seen around c.37,000 yBP (op.cit.). By contrast, the very early techno-tradition known as the Acheulian of making stylised stone handaxes and cleavers is seen in India (c. 600,000 yBP), but is not present in Sri Lanka or South India south of the Kaveri River. But various non-geometric small flake implements are found prior to c.31,000 yBP, which may have a sub-continental affinity (Deraniyagala, 1991; 1992).

Homo erectus is known from the sub-continent during the Middle Pleistocene, but not yet from Sri Lanka. If it did inhabit Sri Lanka, then

this is not surprising, as there was a periodic corridor between the two countries from c.130,000 yBP and all the way down to 600,000 yBP and before, when sea level was less than -20 m below present. It was pointed out earlier that the average sea level was -50 m below present level for the last 600,000 years. Hence, any artefactual remains of this time span could also be present in the continental shelf today, if the early hominids inhabited the coastal plain. In Sri Lanka, the 120 m isobath (lowest Quaternary sea level) today is up to 30 km offshore and the 50 m isobath is up to 10 km offshore from the present day shoreline. This is a very wide area of potential archaeological space for prehistoric research, albeit very inaccessible. It is clear that the present Mid to Late Holocene (last 6000 years) high sea levels are abnormal when considered in a total Middle to Late Pleistocene context (c. 800,000 years) – a fact that archaeologists and anthropologists in Sri Lanka should be made aware of. An average Pleistocene sea level of -50 m would not just open up the land bridge in the Palk Strait, it would actually create a kilometres wide corridor there. Any migrants need not just use the “Adams’ Bridge” only; they could use the wide swath of dry land between the two land masses (Figure 1). This would not necessarily have been a transit passage. People would have actually lived there, harvesting ample marine and coastal resources.

SEA LEVELS AS HISTORICAL HORIZONS

Sri Lanka

Several suggestions can be made with reference to this working hypothesis of using sea levels as historical time-markers in studies of prehistory. The high Pleistocene sea levels are potential chronological marker horizons (Fig. 2) as they would be barriers to continuous migration from the sub-continent. The isolation provided by barriers could be an impetus to modify or improve existing derived techno-traditions or even develop entirely new indigenous ones. The dearth of hominid fossil remains prior to c. 37,000 yBP in Sri Lanka is a drawback. The Holocene era is the easiest to deal with. Given below is the Holocene sea-level history of Sri Lanka (Katupotha, 1994).

- Stage I : 11,000 to 6240 yBP (Early Holocene). Rising sea levels.
- Stage II : 6240 to 5130 yBP (Mid Holocene). Holocene transgressive maximum. Sea level was ~ 1.5 m higher than present mean sea level (msl).

At ~ 4700 yBP sea level was slightly below present msl.

Stage III : 4390 to 3930 yBP (Late Holocene Phase I).

At ~ 3600 yBP sea level was about the same or slightly below present msl.

Stage IV : 3280 to 2270 yBP (Late Holocene Phase II). Sea level slightly higher than present.

Stage V : present mean sea level (msl).

Two Mid-Holocene examples are presented from Sri Lanka. In the deep south of the island (a coastal village named Pallemalala, near Hambantota) eleven incomplete human skeletons were found recently within an artificial shell midden (with artefacts, faunal food remains etc.) about 0.5 km inland from the present shoreline (Abeyratne, pers.comm.). These human remains probably correspond to Mid-Holocene Stage II (above) or slightly later, after sea levels reached a maximum and started withdrawing. In comparison with the data of Katupotha (1994) for the Hambantota area, this site may have been occupied sometime between 4800 yBP and 5500 yBP. The skeletons are in a dried up lagoon floor, which was prepared for burial rites, A community living close to the then shoreline, fishing and hunting for deer, sambhur etc, preparing food and making tools is indicated. Archaeologists believe that the site may indicate a Neolithic subsistence strategy. Hopefully, the record will improve with precise dating of the site and more discoveries along coastlines.

The second example is from Mannar in the northwestern shoreline of the island – a habitation site very thoroughly researched by archaeologists (Deraniyagala, 1992). The site at ~1m above present msl is in the intertidal zone and has been dated on charcoal at c. 3800 yBP. In later times, this was a port and trading emporium of great repute, with ships from ancient Rome and China visiting regularly. The coastline here is a prograding one (Gunatilaka, 1976), and today the site is over 1 km from the present shoreline and was obviously populated during the regressive phase (falling sea levels) following the Holocene transgressive maximum. The site is very close to the 3600 yBP sea level between Stages III and IV (above).

Arabian-Persian Gulf and Mesopotamia

The Quaternary sea level history in the Arabian-Persian Gulf and Mesopotamian region (in present day Iraq) is superbly documented (Sarnthein, 1972; Larsen and Evans, 1978; Stoffers and Ross, 1979; Al-Asfour, 1982; Gunatilaka, 1986; Sanlaville and Paskoff, 1986). The

archaeological record there is a rich and varied one. The Gulf basin (~224,000 km² in area) is no more than 80 m deep, with average depths of about 40 m. During the last glacial maximum (c.18, 000 yBP) this basin was totally drained out, with the Ur Schatt River flowing down its entire 1000 km length and draining into the Gulf of Oman. It would have been possible for early humans to migrate from Arabia to Persia (and vice versa) across this dry valley. The Gulf basin started filling up with the post-glacial transgression, starting about 14, 000 to 12,000 yBP (in the Gulf of Oman) and reached the head of the Gulf around 8500 to 9000 yBP, pushing the great river back to Iraq. This is one of the fastest transgressions known from the Holocene, about 10-m per year! Maximum Holocene sea levels were reached around c. 6000 yBP, far inland into the Mesopotamian plain. Sea level stabilized around 5000 yBP. Today a major delta/wetland is located at the head of the Gulf.

From the Neolithic mounds in the island of Bahrain (Dilmun) in the southern Gulf and early coastal settlements in Bahrain, Abu Dhabi and Sharjah (Sanlaville and Paskoff, 1986) to the Hellenic settlement in Failaka Island in the northern Gulf (Gunatilaka, 1986) and the records of ancient Sumerians (Crawford, 1991), sea level changes have played a vital role in their history. Nowhere in the world is sea level history and prehistory so closely linked and so well documented. The records of the Sumerians (c. 4500 yBP) show that the ancient cities of Ur and Eridu (on the floodplain of the Euphrates) were historically linked to the sea, but now lie some 100 km from the present day shoreline (Larsen and Evans, 1978). The Sumer – Mohenjodaro (in India) connection is well known from archaeological records and was obviously made possible *after* the Gulf basin filled up and sea level stabilized (c. 5000 yBP), when seafaring came into its own. The Mesopotamian plain has been continuously inhabited for over 5000 years and its interaction with sea levels has left a rich stratigraphic and artefactual record. 20 km offshore from Kuwait, is a well-established archaeological site in Failaka Island (c. 3200 – 5000 yBP) with a large Hellenic temple, a garrison, coinage and kilns etc. (see Gunatilaka, 1986). It is recorded that Alexander the Great stopped here, on his way to India. Clearly, the site was inhabited soon after Holocene maximum sea level was reached.

Five major cultural phases are documented from the Mesopotamian region (Adams, 1981). In the interval between 9000 and 7500 yBP (phase I), semi-nomadic hunter-gatherers (*pre-Ubaid*) were living close to the Ur-Schatt River or Shatt al-Arab (the combined channel of the Euphrates-

Tigris-Karun Rivers), which flowed down the Gulf during the last glacial maximum. With the following rapid Holocene transgression in the Gulf, these early peoples were continuously displaced and permanent settlement in coastal areas and the river valley was not possible. The estuaries in the Gulf now became rich resource areas. The climate was humid at the time. In fact, a wet climatic extreme (a pluvial phase) is well documented between c.9850 yBP and 8850 yBP from a marine proxy (Sirocko et al. 1993). The Period from c. 7500 – 5500 yBP (phase II) is designated the *Ubaid* Period, when irrigated agricultural settlements spread across the Mesopotamian plain (made possible by high water tables due to higher base levels following the transgression and coupled estuarine and floodplain development) and large towns developed in the south. The geological evidence indicates an arid phase developing during this period and the estuaries shifting further north, displacing populations (Roberts, 1989). The archaeological evidence indicates that agricultural areas narrowed due to reduced irrigation resulting from the aridity, displacing the people towards the estuaries and rivers. During the *Ubaid* Period sea level rose by >7m between 7500 and 5500 yBP, which translates into an inland marine transgression of 200 km or 11 m per year (Fairbanks, 1989). The transgression caused territorial changes on the plain and forced out or relocated communities. Ironically, this displacement also brought about cultural complexity in terms of inter-regional trade, administration, craft development and much warfare (Crawford, 1991). Despite rapid increases in population, state development was not visible.

Phase III (c. 5500-5000 yBP) is known as the *Uruk* Period when urban settlement patterns and strong social stratification is visible, with probably the first cities, writing and state level societies evolving (Algaze, 1993). This cultural complexity is related to a) stabilization of Holocene sea levels exactly during this phase with accompanying floodplain and estuarine expansion and b) increased aridity, which persist even today. Stabilization of sea level resulted in the first large coastal cities and at 5000 yBP, Ur and Eridu (now far inland) were located near the coast (Adams, 1965; Larsen and Evans, 1978). The *Uruk* was undoubtedly the most versatile and sophisticated civilization of the time, where writing was widespread (Algaze, 1993). By the *Sumer* Period (c. 4500 – 4000 yBP), delta progradation had started, but still maintaining a connection with the open Gulf through the dense estuarine network. The *Dynastic* phase followed the *Sumers*, with cities now shifting more towards northern Mesopotamia. The above chronology was worked out with the use of the

Holocene sea level curve and good stratigraphic control for the Gulf-Mesopotamian region, in what is now recognized as the cradle of civilization.

Two and possibly three new archaeological sites of regional importance were discovered in mainland Kuwait by this author (Gunatilaka, 1986). Pottery fragments belonging to the Ubaid period and Islamic period (10-12th centuries) were found on old gravel spits in the upper supratidal zone of the northern coastline. Shell middens of the pearl producing mollusc (oyster genus *Pinctada*) on a 5500 yBP beach-dune ridge indicate their association with the later stages of the Holocene transgression. Since the use of pearls is unknown at that time, it is likely that a migratory fishing community used them for food. (cf. shell middens of Pallemalala in Sri Lanka).

In the island of Bahrain is a c. 7000-year record of settlements (irrigated and cultivated), which can be related quite accurately to Holocene sea level changes (Sanlaville and Paskoff, 1986). They are known as *Ubaid 4* (c. 6.3 – 5.9 ky BP); *Jemdet Nasr* (c. 5.9 – 5.1 ky BP); *pre-Barbar* (c. 5.1 – 4.2 ky BP); *Barbar I* (c. 4.2 – 3.9 ky BP); *Barbar II* (c. 3.9 – 3.7 ky BP – main occupation) and *Kassites* (c. 3.7 – 2.1 ky BP). Since sea levels fluctuated by about 1 m (compared to present msl) between c. 3.8 and 2.5 ky BP, the settlements were occupied, abandoned and reoccupied a few times, with each major reoccupation related to the lowest sea level (at c. 3.7 and 2.5 ky BP). This is an excellent example of sea levels as historical horizons in an island situation. The maximum Holocene sea level here was about 1.8 m above present msl during the last c. 7000 years.

The extensive agricultural settlements along the River Nile during the great Pharaonic civilization of Egypt (c. 4500 – 2000 yBP) was possible due to the rise in Holocene sea levels along the Mediterranean coast, which raised base levels on the floodplain. In contrast, Jericho (in Palestine) was a flourishing city by 9500 yBP (long before the transgressive maximum). Many coastal cities in the Mediterranean were established at the peak of the transgression. Sea level curves there indicate a 2.5 m rise in sea level per 100 years at c. 9000 – 10,000 yBP – the obvious source for the mythical Biblical floods!

LATE QUATERNARY CLIMATES

The Quaternary glacialinterglacial cycles with their low and high sea levels respectively, were also accompanied by climatic changes. The

current climatic cycle has a periodicity of c. 100,000 years (Shackleton, 1987). During low sea levels, climates became drier in the tropics and humid during interglacials when sea levels were high (like today). Evidence from the deep-sea record of the western Indian Ocean indicates that the monsoonal and rainfall regime weakened during glacial phases and picked-up during interglacial phases (Nitsuma et. al, 1991). Since low sea levels persist for about 70 per cent of the time during a given cycle (Figure 2), drier phases are longer, thus pushing the climate into an arid or semi-arid mode. The coastlines being far away, the moisture supply to the island will be reduced. This results in major vegetation changes too, with Sri Lanka's ecozones shifting accordingly, thus drastically affecting their carrying capacities.

This author has maintained that the extensive vertebrate extinctions in Sri Lanka during the Pleistocene era were due to climatic changes (Deraniyagala, 1958; Gunatilaka, 1998). Recent work in India has shown that a considerable part of the sub-continent underwent very dry conditions during the last glacial phase. In the southernmost tip of India, just 0.5° North of Sri Lanka, stable isotope/chemical signatures of deep groundwaters show an extended aridity there during the last glacial phase, with pollen data indicating C4 type vegetation (Sukhija et al., 1998). At least semi-arid conditions must have prevailed in Sri Lanka during this time. In fact, recent palynological work indicates that an arid phase was present in the island between c. 18,000 yBP and c. 12,000 yBP and centered around 5000 yBP (Prematilleke and Epitawatte, in press).

The record of sea level changes, climatic changes and correlated cultural evolution is superbly documented for the Arabian Gulf-Mesopotamian region. Assigning historical horizons is largely a matter of choice, quality and precision of the data. The *pre-Ubaid* phase from c. 9-7.5 kyrs BP was very humid with strong summer monsoons (hunter-gatherers and early agriculture); the *Ubaid* from c. 7.5-5.5 kyrs BP was humid with a transition towards aridity in its later period; the *Uruk* which lasted for only about 500 years (c.5.5-5 kyrs BP) was arid and shows extreme cultural complexity, and were the most dynamic and successful in their cultural evolution; the *Sumer* and *Dynastic* phases (after 4.5 kyrs BP) were totally arid. Generally, after c. 6.8 kyrs BP there was progressive aridification in Mesopotamia (Sirocko et. al. 1993). It is a 5000-year cultural evolution from hunter-gatherer societies to the city-state in a single geographical region, where climate and sea level influenced the course of events in no small measure. There are similar sea level and climatic records

for the temperate zones of Europe and North America (Bradley, 1999). But evolution of cultural complexity started much later and is not as pronounced as in the Middle and Near East.

DISCUSSION

The idea for this essay arose after Dr. S.U. Deraniyagala presented the author with the two volumes on the *Prehistory of Sri Lanka* about three years ago. There is no new research embodied in this paper, but rather a reinterpretation of data and a new emphasis based on the most recent knowledge of Quaternary global and regional sea level history and palaeoclimatic research (both of which is the domain of geologists). It is also an attempt to integrate the fields of archaeology and geology in a Sri Lankan context. It will be seen that the conclusions herein, will greatly simplify and strengthen the archaeological discourse on the early prehistory of Sri Lanka.

Sedimentary geologists have access to two very powerful tools in their research. One is the well-measured stratigraphic section and the other is the sea level curve, with geological time and climate change keyed in. This has given rise to the new discipline known as sequence stratigraphy, which has made a paradigm shift in our understanding of Earth history. Today, the sea level curve (Fig. 2) has the status of a physical law of nature. It is constructed on a solid scientific basis from worldwide deep-sea data sets, and its implications have been revolutionary (Shackleton, 1987).

The TL and OSL artefact dates of c. 125,000 years BP are the oldest recorded yet from a high gravel terrace (Singhvi et. al., 1986; Abeyratne, 1996) and supposedly corresponds to the last high interglacial. This is followed by the younger dates ranging from c. 72,000 years BP to c. 28,000 years BP in coastal dune sands above the gravels. The extensive dune sands younger than 125,000 yBP are to be expected as they were derived from the exposed continental shelf sands during low glacial sea levels (as is the case of the SW-monsoon derived Wahiba Sands of Oman and indeed all Late Pleistocene coastal dune systems of the world). In fact, the directional sedimentary structures of all dunes along the western and southern seaboard of Sri Lanka show a SW → NE vector. Dune formation is interrupted during high sea levels, when the sand supply is cut off and erosion dominates (like at present). The +30 m and +50 m terraces, corresponding to implied high sea levels alone at c. 300,000 yBP (should actually be c. 325,000 yBP) and c. 500,000 yBP respectively (Deraniyagala, 1992) cannot be sustained, as these sea levels were much lower than the

125,000 yBP level (Fig. 2). However, if their absolute elevations + msl are determined by accompanying tectonic factors, then using high terrace levels in a purely heuristic sense is acceptable. To raise sea levels by 50 m above pmsl would require melting of 80 per cent of the Antarctic ice cap. This in turn would have flooded the present coastal plain for up to 20-km inland! There were also high global sea levels at c. 200,000 yBP and c. 400,000 yBP, which do not correspond to any terrace levels in Sri Lanka. There are no valid dates > 125,000 yBP (in Sri Lanka), and the global sea level curve shows conclusively that all high interglacial sea levels were much lower than the c. 125,000 yBP high sea level stand from any part of the world (Fig. 2).

High fluvial gravel terraces can be used as a proxy for high sea levels only in one instance (at c. 125,000 yBP), but not in order to establish an absolute chronology. Most likely, any marine Pleistocene deposits (which were in any case very thin and narrow as at Minihagalkanda) in coastal Sri Lanka were eroded away during the low sea level (glacial) phases. High sea levels on land must be proven with transgressive marine deposits (like the Holocene high stand of c. 6200 yBP in Sri Lanka or in Iraq). The c. 125,000 yBP date for a high gravel terrace is acceptable because it happens to coincide with a proven global high sea level stand (Fig. 2). This clarification is essential before we come to any conclusions regarding early human migrations. We can see from the sea level curve exactly when migrations would have occurred between the interglacials. The *highest* interglacial sea level at c. 500,000 yBP (which was -30 m *below* present level, c.f. Shackleton, 1987) would not have severed the land link between India and Sri Lanka. I will not be surprised if young dates are indicated from any of these high gravel terraces. When high basal gravel terraces are decoupled from supposedly correlative high sea level stands, the picture becomes clearer and simpler.

Very likely, the first settlement of Sri Lanka occurred sometime prior to 125,000 yBP as artefactual evidence of this antiquity is present (assuming the accuracy of this date of course). A precision of $\pm 15,000$ yBP on this date can upset even this conclusion. Anything more is only speculative in the absence of valid dating. However, it is possible that humans migrated here anytime prior to this date and as far back as 600,000 yBP or before as a land link with India was available due to low sea levels. To prove the chronology of migration is an enormous undertaking for the archaeologists. But the geological record of sea levels will definitely be helpful.

Any point or segment of the sea level curve can be used as a potential historical horizon. In Sri Lanka, the Pallemalala settlement in the south indicates that it was occupied during the Mid-Holocene. It is also a location where the Stone Age could have represented a Neolithic phase (Deraniyagala, pers.comm.). The climate was much drier than today in equatorial monsoonal areas between 5000 and 6000 yBP (Sirocko et al., 1993). In Mannar, the settlement is correlatable with Phase 1 – Stage III of late Holocene sea level (c.3800 yBP). In Mesopotamia, the record is outstanding. Not only is the Holocene rise in sea levels (after the LGM) correlated with human cultural phases, but changes in the latter can also be correlated with climatic changes. The increase in complexity, organization and status of the societies appears to have been influenced to a great extent by changes in climate accompanying sea level rise, culminating in state level societies after sea level was stabilized and *aridity reached a maximum* (the *Uruk* Period around c. 5500 yBP). The aridity forced the growing population to concentrate in city centres (such as Ur and Eridu), which may have had populations in excess of 50,000 (Algaze, 1993). Very often these centres were located at the confluence of river and sea or estuary. The time band when one cultural phase changed to another is a great historical time marker, which is related to sea level and climate change. The beginning of sea faring in the Arabian Gulf is another. The influence of the Holocene marine transgression and climatic changes on human cultural evolution is the great history of the Gulf-Mesopotamian region. Sea levels as historical horizons or time-markers are there for the picking for any prehistorian. It may not be a coincidence that many ancient civilizations in the Middle-East, Aegean and Mediterranean seaboards reached a peak in their cultural evolution only after Holocene sea levels were stabilized around c. 5000 yBP. Why sophisticated state level societies developed first in Mesopotamia is an enigma. It took another 400 – 500 years before similar developments occurred in Egypt (Algaze, 1993). The prehistoric “Neolithic” coastal settlement of Pallemalala in southern Sri Lanka, is also related to stabilization of Holocene sea levels, and also coincides with the widespread *regional aridity* between c.6000 – 5000 yBP– but was a very primitive cultural backwater compared to the time equivalent but highly advanced *Uruk* in Mesopotamia. The arid climate may have forced these humans from inland to coastal zones for better resource availability.

The four-fold Pleistocene classification (Zeuner, 1959) was formulated in relation to high latitude glaciated terrains. It is better to use the high precision Holocene and Pleistocene eustatic sea level curves and

isotopic stages (Shackleton, 1987) in prehistoric correlation, especially in low latitude areas with seaboard. The geological story has in no way diminished the archaeological findings. The latter is now on a firmer foundation than before.

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“BUDDHIST PROTESTANTISM”–THE REVERSE FLOW OF IDEAS FROM SRI LANKA TO THE WEST

by
Susantha Goonatilake

A central tenet on the recent anthropology on Sri Lanka has been the idea of a supposed Protestant Buddhism, where the apparent flow of Protestant ideas and cultural influences on the theory and practice of contemporary Sinhalese Buddhism is alleged. The present paper describes the reverse flow that is of ideas from Buddhism to the West as a result of the activities of Buddhist monks and laymen around and after the 19th century.

The paper traces the influences and resonances of Buddhist writings, many emerging from Sri Lanka on such writers as Hegel, Schopenhauer, Nietzsche, William James, Charles A. Moore, Santayana, Emerson, Irving Babbitt, Charles Pierce, John Dewey, Alfred North Whitehead, Charles Hartshorne, Heidegger, Paul Carus, Theodor Beer and Ernst Mach. Special attention is given to the influence of Paul Carus' journals *The Open Court* and *The Monist* on Ernst Mach and through his ideas on both relativity and quantum mechanics as well as on the anthropology of Malinowski. The paper also describes the Buddhist influences including those of the Sinhala tradition during the last twenty years on Western psychology.

The idea of Protestant Buddhism (defined as both protest and of imitating Protestantism) and its subsequent transformation has been suggested by Obeyesekere (1970, 1988)¹ to describe Buddhist practice in Sri Lanka of the 20th century. This theme has been accepted as true by many and has led to a chain of citations in the international literature legitimizing its validity (thus Bond 1988, Brow 1996, Holt 1991, Kapferer 1988, Kapferer 1991, Malalgoda 1976, McGowan, 1992, Prothero, 1996, Roberts 1994, Spencer 1990, Stirrat 1992)².

A careful examination of the evidence given by Obeyesekere for Protestant influences as well as of the contextual knowledge of these transformations (for example in other studies on the period including on key actors like Dharmapala, Olcott etc) find that the examples of alleged Protestantism is either false or spurious or both. I have done so in a recent book (Susantha Goonatilake *Anthropologizing Sri Lanka: A Civilizational Misadventure* Indiana University Press, 2001)³.

On the contrary, the flow of ideas from Sri Lanka to the West beginning with such journals like *The Open Court* and the *Monist* were more influential than the alleged flow of Protestant ideas and has echoes not only in Western philosophy, but also in modern science and psychology. In fact, it is seen that these Buddhist derived psychologies have more acceptance and empirical validity in the West than the somewhat soiled Freudian approaches that Obeyesekere has used on his Sinhalese subject matter.

The Protestant Buddhism thesis is as I show in my book falls within the full tradition of colonial anthropology that denies the locals their epistemological and civilizational perspectives. Let me first summarize a few points highlighting the hollowness of this pseudo theory, a detailed treatment is in my book.

As a central element of Protestant Buddhism, the authors mention the individual's own pursuing of the ultimate goal, like in the Protestant Reformation, rejecting the priest as an essential link between man and God⁴. Other facets of Protestant Buddhism the authors see the giving up of what they allege was Sinhalese Buddhism's "traditional" *laissez faire* attitude to other beliefs and turning to polemics, a fundamentalist attitude to Buddhism, Buddhism being considered a philosophy and not a religion and using English-language concepts.⁵

Instead of these being external Protestant implants, the individual search is however, the very essence of Buddhism, emphasized in many Buddhist texts. The apparent "eirenic" attitude to other religions existed together with a will to defend and spread Buddhism. Sri Lanka's defensive wars against South Indian invasions were also fought in terms of the protection of Buddhism. It is in the same spirit that with the collapse of the Sinhalese royalty, overtures were made by monks to get a Buddhist king from Siam⁶. And a monk dragged down the British flag as it was raised in 1815 to signify the transfer of sovereignty to the British.

The authors trying to show Protestant influence mention, that unlike earlier monks, the reformist monk Gunananda did not drop his eyes in front of others but looked directly into one's eye⁷. But *ganinnanses*, the monks who existed before the 18th century reforms, had families, and would have surely looked at their children in the face and others with whom they had a lay relationship. Further, monks took a leading part during anti British movements and revolts as recently as a few decades before the arrival of the Theosophists. British governors had also stated that monks carrying

subversive messages from group to group were an incendiary force. Monks had earlier acted as ambassadors, lay advisors and lawyers.

A cornerstone of “Protestant Buddhism” thesis is that the Buddhist revival was largely an externally driven one, brought about by the “Protestant” ideas of the Theosophists, especially of Olcott. But, it was reports of the 19th century debates between the Christians and the Buddhists, read by Olcott in New York that eventually led to his arrival in Sri Lanka. And regular reforms had been a constant theme in Sinhalese Buddhist history.

The authors, to buttress the Protestant Buddhism thesis, say that a society “Society for the Propagation of the Buddhism”, formed by Mohottivatte Gunananda, the key debater was in imitation of the Christian “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel”⁸. The society’s actual name was however, *Sarvajna Sasanabhivrdhidayaka Dharma Samagama* which directly translates as “Dharma Association Contributing to the Advancement of the Omniscient Sasana”. The locally grown Silvat Samagama of Velivita Saranankara of the early 18th century was formed for similar religious reform purposes⁹.

Unlike the thrust of the “Protestant Buddhism” thesis, there were criticisms of the conduct of local Buddhists long before Dharmapala started criticizing them (Tissa Kariyawasam’s *Religious Activities and the Development of a Poetical Tradition in Sinhalese 1852-1906*, 1973 Ph.D., University of London)¹⁰. This reformist zeal and “Protestant” search was all home grown, as readily admitted by the supposed harbinger of Protestant Buddhism, Olcott himself.

The authors claim that by creating a role between the laity and monks, Protestant Buddhism made monks “pattern themselves after a Protestant clergyman”, and become involved with the world¹¹. But this “special role” does not tally either with history or of experience. Monks - *ganinnanse* - before the 18th century reforms, had wives and children, and often tilled the land. And the wearing of white by Dharmapala that is considered by the authors, illustrative of his half way status is not unusual in Sri Lanka. In Cambodia and Thailand, there is a monastery lay official called the *achar* who acts as a key intermediary between monks and laymen, often being more informed of Buddhism than many monks. Another South East Asian “intermediate” example is the institution of *donchees*, female renunciates, some of whom live in the temple. The monks themselves taken as a whole function as an intermediary group in Thailand, Laos and

Cambodia because many males become monks as novices and give up the practice after a few months or years. The alleged sharp division between monk and laity is a recent colonial construct, now continued by our anthropologists.

The principal villains and targets of the Protestant Buddhism thesis are monks. As Edmund Perry points out in his Forward to an American translated edition of Rahula's book, *Heritage of the Bhikkhu*, this subversion of the monk's role was due to a Christian "conspiracy to convert the Buddhist monk from public leader to disengaged recluse"¹². Perry continues, "The image of the Buddhist monk as a public leader engaging in social and political activities had been obscured, deliberately so, by Western colonialists and their accompanying Christian missionaries"¹³. Perry notes that a particular type of Christian monastic role was now imposed on the Buddhist monk. Through this, the colonials dispossessed the *Bhikkhu* of their influence on the population. It is this same colonial tradition that the Protestant Buddhism thesis is continuing in its constructs.

There are other important aspects of Sinhalese lay and monk life that have been falsely ascribed by the authors to Christian influences. The authors thus claim that monks did no secular work traditionally before the coming of Protestantism¹⁴. This is belied by Rahula's book. The authors see a direct Christian influence on "chaplains" in hospitals and military establishments¹⁵ ignoring the well documented involvement of Buddhist monks and Buddhism with health including the building of hospitals in ancient Sri Lanka; all the ancient medical works, were written by them.

Another fake Christian imitation is the pursuit by laymen of Buddhist causes and social welfare work¹⁶. But this again goes against the well-documented history of social welfare policies that are integral to the Buddhist tradition including the establishment of hospitals, of wayside rest houses and the building of irrigation works.

The authors again claim a Christian hand when monks bless and officiate at different official gatherings including the blessing of military officials¹⁷. This is again historically untrue. In the author's search for external roots for most elements of the Sri Lankan protest movement they also say that Olcott invented the Buddhist flag¹⁸. This is a complete fallacy.¹⁹

The authors ignore well-known ideological struggles between Mahayana and Theravada and link the negative attitude towards Mahayana to the Protestants' critique of Catholicism. The authors also imply that

meditation cannot be learnt from a book ignoring that standard books on meditation were meant to be definitive guides. The authors look askance at 19th and 20th century Sinhala Buddhists who consider Buddhism and Christianity as respectively a philosophy and a religion²⁰. I deal with this in detail in the following section.

The debates with the Christians which led to Olcott and Blvatsky coming to Sri Lanka started as purely an internal Sri Lankan development, fed by outrage, as the Christians became more aggressive. A series of internal religious debates that had gone on earlier *among* the Buddhists themselves helped prepare the combative mood. Before this, the missionaries considered Buddhists and monks as “vacant in countenance” and almost stupid. But in these debates Buddhists showed themselves to be alert, throwing counter questions to those posed by the Christians. The Buddhists initially rested their position on their own readings of the Bible. But as the controversies progressed, they got further ammunition from European writings themselves such as those of the Free Thinkers. These European criticisms of Christianity were used to show that Christianity was under siege in its own homelands. In addition, the expressions of appreciation of Buddhism that were then beginning to appear in Europe were also mentioned²¹. Reginald Copelston the Bishop of Colombo was therefore to complain at the time “it is an error to suppose that Buddhism can be safely praised in England. All that comes out here and is made the most of”²².

An assertive global thrust is also seen in the caliber of the monk scholars who preceded the arrival in the country of Olcott Obeysekera’s harbinger of Protestantism. Letters written by many of the leading translators and writers of books on South Asia and Buddhism, such as Childers, Fausboll, Rhys Davids, Oldenberg, Rost, Muller, Minayeff, Hardy, Warren, Geiger, Lanman, Sir Edwin Arnold and Paul Carus brought together in a volume by Guruge indicate the extent to which these writers were dependent for their work on these Sinhalese monks and their intellectual heritage²³. Summarizing the nature of this debt, Viggo Fausboell, the great Danish Pali scholar said in a letter²⁴ “We, Europeans, must, of course, stand in need of such help as we are so far from the living fountains of Buddhism and so scantily furnished with materials”²⁵.

The *partial* correspondence with these monks in Guruge’s book come to over 450 pages indicating the richness of this East-West exchange of scholarly views²⁶.

These monks had within them several of the characteristics of Renaissance men. Thus Ven. Subhuti was in the 1890s, one of the earliest in Sri Lanka to possess and use an electric torch, a wrist watch, an electric bell and a phonograph. He also collected exotic plants, for example from Denmark. He was interested in deciphering the Asokan Brahmi script. He located on a modern map of Asia for Childers, the author of a Pali dictionary, defunct ancient states such as Aparanta and Mahimsaka. His intellectual contacts covered the globe from Western Orientalists to Japanese and Thai royalty²⁷. Subhuti had monk students from Burma, Cambodia, Thailand and China. He was also fully immersed in the religious controversies of his time, giving his extensive knowledge of Buddhism to those who debated with the Christians²⁸.

These monks subscribed to a very broad meaning of learning. This included the study of the language and literature of Pali, Sanskrit, Sinhala and Prakrit. They also studied *ayurveda*, the South Asian system of medicine, and other subjects like architecture, statuary and astrology - the last also implicitly having some aspects of astronomy. An important facet of their studies was the use of the comparative method. As accomplished scholars, they could compare - in literature, grammar, religion, philosophy and history, - theory with theory, text with text, and commentary with commentary. Many of the Western scholars who came into contact with them were amazed by their intellectual curiosity. As Guruge comments where the Western scholars “expected religious conservatism and narrow mindedness, they were confronted with an amazing width of vision and an unbelievably refreshing liberality”²⁹.

These monks also kept abreast of progress of Western based oriental studies having books from Europe and America sent to them including those on other Asian countries. They also helped European scholars establish contacts with scholars of other Asian countries like for example, Siam. They revised and corrected translations done by the Europeans, pointing out where necessary, their errors³⁰. Polwatte Buddhaddatta listed forty such scholar monks adding that there were more that he did not mention. So the intellectual base of the Buddhist Renaissance was large and predated alleged “Protestant” influences³¹.

It was by reading a description of Migettuwatte’s debates with the Christians that Olcott was sensitized to Sinhalese Buddhism. But Migettuwatte although not a scholar monk, was not uninformed of Western thought. He had among others referred to Isaac Newton in his debates³². But this was not strange. As Copper, the English editor of these debates

noted, "Some of the Buddhist priests are thoroughly versed in the works of modern scientists"³³.

This Renaissance mood driven by the local cultural logic is seen in the initial relationship with our authors' "Protestants". When the journal of the Theosophists began in 1879, Olcott invited Mohotivatte and Hikkaduwe to contribute to it. So Sinhalese in fact had begun reaching out to the world, using Olcott as a channel, before he reached Sri Lanka, the reverse of Theosophist influence on Buddhism³⁴.

Olcott's correspondence from New York with Ven Piyaratana Tissa is very revealing about the power relationship that he set up before he went to Sri Lanka. This was that of student to a guru, not of Protestant missionary. He wrote, "I pass among ignorant Western people as a thoroughly well informed man but in comparison with the learning possessed by my Brothers in the oriental priesthoods, I am as ignorant as the last of their neophytes... To you and as you must we turn, and say: Fathers, brothers, the Western world is dying ... come and help, rescue it. Come as missionaries, as teachers, as disputants, preachers... Persuade a good, pure, learned, eloquent Buddhist to come here and preach, you will sweep the country before you...."³⁵.

The key lay figure in the Buddhist Renaissance was Anagarika Dharmapala. Dharmapala's reading and interests were very wide. No intellectual lightweight, he was well read in the philosophical, scientific and scholarly literature of both East and West. He was read in the history and the different thought systems of South Asia, of the Arab countries and the classical Greek tradition, as well as post Renaissance Western philosophy. He discussed knowingly about Western classical writers, such as Antiochus, Antigonas, Aristotle, Democritus, Diogenes, Plato, Ptolemy, Pythagoras and Socrates. He also spoke with facility on scientific figures such as Galileo, Einstein, Darwin and Huxley, as well as on philosophers such as Machiavelli, Berkeley, Hume, Kant, Nietzsche, William James, Herbert Spencer, Spinoza, Schopenhauer and Mill. He was especially enamored of Darwin, referring to him no less than fifteen times in his published writings³⁶. His own philosophical position is seen in his view of Buddhism which he said had no place for "metaphysics, logic, dialectics, loathsome ascetic habits, magic, bacchanalian revelry, priestly formulas, destructive rituals etc"³⁷.

His international friends and deepest views were in keeping with this broad enlightened thrust. Among Dharmapala's friends was Sir Edwin

Arnold the author of *The Light of Asia* who considered him “my excellent friend”. Among the Indian national leaders that befriended him were Sarat Chandra Das, Rajendra Prasad (who later became India’s President), Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi³⁸.

He bemoaned the prevailing defeatist situation in India³⁹. Dharmapala did not take only from the “Protestant” West. He took wherever he thought fit. Thus, from Japan, he took the use of lanterns in celebrating Wesak. He took from India the need to expand cottage industries. He, when it suited him, quoted from British newspapers in his struggles.

He wanted the youth of the country to be educated broadly “to study politics, philosophy, history and industrial economics and to go to the root cause of our national decay”⁴⁰. He was critical of the existing education system that produced clerks in the country and wanted them “to migrate to Madras, Calcutta, Benares, Bombay, Lahore, Aligarh or Rangoon” for purposes of study saying that in Ceylon one gets only a “bastard education”⁴¹.

For his religious purposes, Dharmapala visited various places of religious interest overseas. But, equally important, he visited other sites very much in tune with the industrial age. He toured the US, visiting several industrial schools, and started an industrial school fund in San Francisco. He visited other Industrial Schools in London, Liverpool, Holland, Denmark and Italy. Indicating his Asia-centric perspective, he started his first industrial school, not in Sri Lanka, but at Saranath, Benares, India⁴².

To him the models of development were America and Japan. He was a persistent and vociferous supporter of scientific and technological education⁴³. He was critical of the lack of knowledge by locals. He attacked as drones those who went to England for pleasure without learning anything there⁴⁴. He said that “there is something about an alien rule, no matter how beneficial that stupefies”⁴⁵.

Another seminal event in the reverse flow was the coming together of Soyen Shaku, a Zen monk (who had led a strict life of a monk for three years in Sri Lanka) and Dharmapala with the German emigre Dr. Paul Carus, the editor of the influential *Monist* and *Open Court* Press. All three shared the view that Buddhism “was more fitted than Christianity to heal the breach that had opened between science and religion, since it did not depend on miracles and faith”⁴⁶. Dharmapala returned to America in 1896 at the invitation of Paul Carus and lectured across America enthusing audiences all the way.

Blavatsky and Olcott who together allegedly brought Protestant rationalism to Sri Lanka were themselves strong believers in the irrational and the mystical as well illustrated by recent biographies⁴⁷. This led to an inherent ideological tension between Buddhism and Theosophy reflected in tensions between Dharmapala and Olcott⁴⁸. Dharmapala made suggestions to Olcott that he resign from Theosophy activities, and moved in 1898 to change the name of the Colombo Buddhist Theosophical Society to Colombo Buddhist Society⁴⁹. Soon the final breaks were to come. Dharmapala resigned saying, “as a Buddhist, I sever my connection with the Pantheistic Theosophical Society”. Sumangala the leading monk also resigned⁵⁰. The outcome of the relationship with the Theosophists illustrates the real nature of the local revival, as one not of imitation, but of filtration of what was essential as defined by locals.

It was through the Theosophical contacts in London that both Gandhi and Nehru began to be interested in India’s own heritage⁵¹. But no one has suggested that the Indian independence movement and protest against British rule was that of a transfer of Protestant ideas through the Theosophists. Protestant Buddhism has denied locals their choice, and converted them into imitative puppets, reducing the locals into the same category of non-creativity that colonial discourse had earlier assigned them.

With this broad background of the situation of the revival in Sri Lanka, let me move to its indirect influence in the West, in philosophy, science and psychology.

“Philosophy” and “Religion”: East and West

Words such as “philosophy” and “religion” are European words with connotative baggage. There is now, an extensive literature in the West on the developments of Buddhist philosophical traditions. By the 1980s a large literature had grown up. Because Sri Lanka was an important intellectual home of Buddhism, this philosophical literature available on Sinhala Buddhism exceeds that available on its anthropology.

All the Christian sects were based on revealed religious truth written down in authoritative texts. In South Asia, strong philosophical undertones that discuss the nature of reality, whether the world is one or many, whether the world is material or mental or both are always intertwined with the “religious”. The philosophical context exists as an *essential* explanatory factor in the religious scheme. “Religion” and “philosophy” thus have

different connotations in a South Asian and Buddhist context in a Eurocentric one.

Over the last few decades, several serious studies have emerged that lay bare from an East-West comparative frame, many Eastern philosophical positions that accompany its “religions”. University departments have been devoted exclusively to their study and journals such as *Philosophy East and West* are exclusively devoted to the topic. Generally speaking, South Asia in the formulation of Moore, has an “almost infinite variety of philosophical concepts, methods, and attitudes, ... There are many differing approaches to reality ... [and] ... to truth”⁵².

There have been many studies in the tradition of East-West comparative philosophy that indicate that although Buddhist and Western philosophy may not necessarily agree on the answers to key questions, they sometimes broadly address similar problems. The inflow of Buddhist ideas to Europe and America in the 19th and 20th century were initially through the translation and transmission of Buddhist ideas from Sri Lanka.

Studies by comparative philosophers, the result of such transmission to the West, have indicated considerable overlap between key Western philosophers and Buddhism. These include Hegel, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche (described in detail in Goonatilake, Susantha 1999). In the case of American philosophers, Dale observed that there were South Asian influences including Buddhism on William James, Charles A. Moore, Santayana, Emerson, and Irving Babbitt which influences helped enlarge the debate on philosophy in America, for example in epistemology, psychology and on ideas of the self⁵³. William James, had ideas of the self “which could have been written by a Buddhist”. Buddhism’s process approach likewise has influenced or found parallels in a set of Western philosophers such as Charles Pierce, John Dewey, William James, Alfred North Whitehead and Charles Hartshorne⁵⁴. Price has seen significant parallels between Buddhism and early 20th Century thought⁵⁵.

The *Questions of King Milinda (Milinda Panna)* is one of the most popular Buddhist texts in Sri Lanka and Price says of this text that it “might almost have been written in Cambridge in the 1920s”. Hanna has seen parallels and similarities with Buddhism in the phenomenology of Husserl and Heidegger⁵⁶. Heidegger is quoted as saying, “If I understand [meaning Buddhist ideas] correctly, this is what I have been trying to say in all of my writings”⁵⁷.

One of the most seminal philosophical figures in this century because his ideas deeply influenced Einstein and the latter's theory of relativity was Ernst Mach. Mach's philosophy was very sympathetic to Buddhism, because like him, it denied a permanent self. Mach also contributed to Paul Carus' journals *The Open Court* and *The Monist*⁵⁸. As we noted earlier Dharmapala had a close association with Carus.

The above examples are only an indication of the fact that, as the West unfolded its philosophy in the last few centuries, there are several areas of similarities and contact between Buddhist and Western positions. These Buddhist philosophical and observational positions at times bear directly on issues of science, especially at the creation or acceptance of the revolutionary ideas of the New Physics (as I have shown in an invited Millennium Essay in *Nature* titled "Modern physics bears the imprint of Western and Asian philosophies", 25 May 2000, Vol. 405 issue no. 6785)⁵⁹.

The New Physics and Buddhist Philosophy

This new physics of relativity and quantum physics required a radical reorientation to the process of observation. In relativity, all observational platforms were deemed to be equivalent, and in quantum physics, the act of observation itself changed the field of observation. The key theorists in the two realms, Einstein and Shroedinger, were both deeply influenced by philosophy,

Einstein

Let me take the case of Relativity. Such indirect Eastern influence, one sees in the preparation of the background for Einstein's theories through the philosophical ideas of Ernst Mach and 19th century discussions on higher spatial dimensions.

The idea of higher spatial dimensions, beyond the three, one normally experiences (the x,y, and z dimensions) was essential to the acceptance of Einstein's idea of a space-time continuum as part of a four dimensional entity. An impetus, to such an interest in higher dimensions of space was the publication of the Theosophist Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine*.

One should here note that Blavatsky claimed to have got her occult knowledge from what she said were the Mahatmas, her Masters. Paul Johnson has written a book trying to elucidate the real sources of

Blavatsky's Mahatmas⁶⁰. They were based on a large group of men, and on occasion, a woman who helped throughout Blavatsky's life, collaborated and encouraged her. One such "Mahatma" included in Johnson's book is the Sinhalese scholar monk, Sumangala. She had corresponded admiringly with the monk. Even before her arrival in Sri Lanka, he was made a member of the Theosophical Society's General Council and an honorary Vice President of the Theosophical Society. Blavatsky and Olcott's later activities on behalf of a world wide Buddhist revival was planned with close collaboration with this monk and his colleagues⁶¹.

Blavatsky's *The Secret Doctrine* was not by any means a scientific tract, in the usual sense of the word. Yet, Theosophy's anti-positivist views were very similar to the hyper-space philosophy. The Theosophist C. W. Leadbeater equated four-dimensional sights to the idea of "astral vision" in Theosophy. Although Blavatsky herself did not believe in a fourth dimension, many Theosophists became interested in the fourth dimension. More importantly for science, two of the key philosophers in hyper-space, Flaude Boyden and P. D. Ouspensky got interested in the fourth dimension because of their background in Theosophy⁶². In a book with a foreword by Einstein on the recent history of theories on space, Max Jammer highlights the importance of P.D.Ouspensky's *Tertium organum* in sensitizing the new perspectives on space, Ouspensky's first book *The Fourth Dimension* placed him at the front rank of writers on mathematics⁶³. Einstein himself mentioned how whether the world was non-Euclidean was discussed extensively prior to the development of relativity⁶⁴.

There was another possible indirect backdoor influence of Eastern ideas on Einstein through philosophical ideas associated with Hume and Ernst Mach. These were two of the few philosophers that Einstein read between 1902 and 1904 immediately before his Special Relativity paper. Hume's book studied by Einstein was the *Treatise on Human Nature* which had strong echoes with Buddhism⁶⁵.

Several commentators have pointed to the surprising and detailed similarities between the thought of David Hume and of the Buddha on the fleeting, non permanent nature of the self. These commentators included such scholars as Moorthy, Whitehead and de la Vallee Poussin⁶⁶. Jacobson observes that in both these philosophical viewpoints separated by over 2,000 years, Athere is no thinker but the thoughts, no perceiver but the perceptions, no craver but the cravings..... The similarity is striking A⁶⁷

Jacobson strongly suggests that the parallels between Hume and the Buddha were very probably due to the dissemination of Buddhist ideas at the time through China⁶⁸.

Mach (1838-1914) had a major influence on Einstein. Einstein gave Mach credit for significant influences on his own thinking especially in the development of Special Relativity. He also wanted his General Relativity to conform to Mach's ideas⁶⁹. Einstein also pointed out in a more philosophical tract written in 1946 that his General Theory of Relativity provides for a strong support for some of Mach's ideas⁷⁰.

Einstein used Mach's principle that concepts and statements which could not be empirically verifiable do not have a place in science. He thus found that the notion of the simultaneity of two events happening at different places in space to be such a non-verifiable notion. This realization led him to Special Relativity in 1905 and ten years later to General Relativity. This method of Mach was therefore a heuristic that nudged Einstein into a new way of thinking. In his obituary on Ernst Mach, Einstein emphasized an interest in the theory of knowledge as necessary for the serious student⁷¹.

Mach himself had an attraction to Indian literature and science, including its mathematics. He also had a respect for all life. Some of his friends were Buddhists like Paul Carus and Theodor Beer. Paul Carus was strongly influenced by Buddhism and his viewpoint which he called Monism was closely related to the philosophical positions of Ernst Mach. Mach also contributed to Paul Carus' journals *The Open Court* and *The Monist*⁷².

It should be noted here that in the late 19th century and early 20th century a strong network of cross-cultural influences occurred around Buddhist ideas. These centered around the likes of Paul Carus and the Theosophists from the Western end and included a network of Sinhalese Buddhists, laymen and monks. The latter went on to launch the Sri Lankan Buddhist Renaissance and later the worldwide Buddhist resurgence. In fact the first foreign language to which Mach's *Analyse der Empfindungen* ("Analysis of Sensations")⁷³ was translated was not to a European language but Sinhalese.

Mach's first direct appreciation of a Buddhist philosophical orientation, especially with relation to the relativity of the observer was revealed when he wrote in his *Analysis of Sensations*⁷⁴,

But to ask that the observer should imagine himself as standing upon the sun instead of upon the earth, is a mere trifle in comparison with the demand that he should consider the Ego to be nothing at all, and should resolve it into a transitory connection of changing elements⁷⁵.

Although Mach did not write extensively on Buddhism or on his attitude to the philosophy, in 1913 in an autobiographical fragment he wrote tellingly:

“I also had to acknowledge that the unchanging ego was also a deception. I can scarcely confess how happy I felt, on thus becoming free from every tormenting, foolish notion of personal immortality, and seeing myself introduced into the understanding of Buddhism, a good fortune which the European is rarely able to share.”⁷⁶

It was in 1903 that the first references to the resemblance between Mach’s philosophy and Buddhism appeared. And in his death year of 1916, there were a number of articles that referred to Mach’s restoration of the Buddhist doctrine on the “self” and “ego”. The most enthusiastic observer of Mach’s connection with Buddhism, Anton Lampa, wrote in his book *Ernst Mach* published in 1918:

“Mach’s thought shows a remarkable agreement in its main characteristics with those of Buddha in the exclusion of metaphysics and the concept of substance”.

Although Mach influenced Einstein, the physicist, the philosopher Einstein himself in his own later philosophical musings after his main discoveries were essentially over, rejected adherence to what he called “Mach-Buddhist reductionism”.

The other revolution that defined physics of the twentieth century was quantum physics, the physics of the very small. Here, the commonsensical world again breaks down and new philosophical insights are required transcending the classical world of Newton. The key figure in quantum physics, equivalent to Einstein in relativity is Schrodinger, whose celebrated equation defined the behavior of particles and waves at the microscopic level.

Schrodinger was influenced by two Western philosophers Ernst Mach and Schopenhauer which latter had written about his chief work *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung*: ... I do not believe that my doctrine could ever have been formulated before the Upanishads. Mach’s parallels with

Buddhism we have already seen. And Schopenhauer's direct debt to Buddhism is of course well known⁷⁷.

Although it would be a gross exaggeration to say the Buddhist – and other South Asian – connections gave rise to the new physics, Buddhism undoubtedly helped partially pave the intellectual background for it, at least in the philosophical orientation that the new physics required. It is however in psychology that Buddhist influence is found more obviously.

A Search For New Psychologies

One of the earliest contemporary discoveries of non Western psychology at first hand by an American academic psychologist and described as a true voyage of discovery is the book *Through an Eastern Window* by Jack Huber written on the basis of his travels to the East in the mid 1960's. At the end of his few days in Japan and a longer stay in Burma, he returned to New York. "And", he records "something had happened to me"⁷⁸.

What indeed had happened, as he elaborates were the effects of a personal exploration by him, a Western psychologist, guided according to Buddhist practitioners into his own mental world and the resulting view from within. These internal views were the effects of meditation. But to quickly refute popular western misconceptions around the word 'meditation', he observed that the word meditation usually has a religious ring about it, but as he experienced it, it was not an occult or "spiritual" phenomenon. It was "not religious in any of the usual senses of the word"⁷⁹.

He realized that these internal observations, 'meditations', had transformed him. He contrasted this with the usual Western view prevalent then in the early sixties, the heyday of both Freud and behaviorism, that mental structures were, generally basic and hard. If one was a schizophrenic, one was always so, unless one went through a fundamental restructuring by deep psychoanalysis. Patients, it was further felt, had no control over their own destiny. And, psychotherapists often acted as if patients knew nothing about themselves.

Huber's Burmese (that is Theravada) meditation instructor on the other hand, played a different role. He was at the most, a guide. He could not produce anything for the meditator. What ever could be derived was the meditator's responsibility and only his. Meditation, Huber observes, has part of the explorer's spirit in it. One explores one's innermost self⁸⁰.

Huber's was one of many explorations and changes that began to nibble away in the 1960s at the received wisdom of psychology. One other received wisdom was that autonomic control of the involuntary muscles was generally considered impossible⁸¹. But, in the late sixties, Neil Miller applying techniques of conditioning pioneered by Skinner and Pavlov showed that in fact, involuntary muscles could be changed by will by a technique called biofeedback⁸².

Biofeedback was applied to human volunteers, and it showed that control of involuntary muscles could also be done in humans. But biofeedback was limited. It required a lot of equipment, and it could generally change only one physiological function at a time, depending on what function was being monitored and fed back to the individual⁸³.

But, there had been claims of similar control of physiological functions coming for centuries to the West from the East, from various types of mind cultivation techniques associated with the broad Asian cultural region. And by the fifties and sixties, there were scientists and medical personnel in the Western tradition studying these phenomena using sophisticated instrumentation. Dr. Anand in India in a pioneering set of studies of yogis showed significant and dramatic changes in yoga practitioners. He showed that a yogi sealed in a metal box could slow his intake of oxygen, which was an involuntary mechanism. Electroencephalogram measurements showed that there were changes in the electrical activity in the brain. Alpha waves heightened during meditation. These results paralleled those that were being experienced by Japanese experimenters on another group, namely Zen Buddhist monks. The results under controlled scientific conditions proved that indeed the operations of the presumed involuntary, autonomous system could be changed by voluntary acts⁸⁴.

Later, American scientists monitored yogis and found some who could control their heartbeats at will, either increasing them up to 300 beats per second or lowering them down to 30 beats⁸⁵. And, Dr Joseph Kamiya was able to train persons to produce alpha rhythms at will after training. Since then, hundreds have replicated these experiments⁸⁶.

Meditation On The Electronic Rack

The most sustained of studies done on the general topic of meditation was by Dr Herbert Benson and his colleagues at Harvard⁸⁷. The results of these and other related studies have been published in the most orthodox

of scientific journals, such as *Science*, *Nature*, *Scientific American* and several other more specialized journals. Initially they were done on TM and later on Buddhist meditators. The series of studies by Benson and his colleagues revealed a set of physiological parameters that were effected in meditators.

Benson subsequently extended his approach to examine changing the way of thinking and acting by utilizing what he terms the “Maximum Mind”. In *The Maximum Mind*, he describes various techniques using the Response to increase one’s physical and mental capacities⁸⁸.

In the early nineties, Benson and his co-workers examined advanced meditation techniques among Tibetan Buddhist monks under scientifically controlled conditions. They found the metabolism could be changed at will by these meditators. Resting metabolism could be both raised and lowered at will, the decreases in metabolism being significant. They also observed marked asymmetry in EEG readings between the hemispheres, in relative alpha and beta activity, as well as overall increased beta wave activity⁸⁹.

In a further study of the control of the mind over the body, Benson and his colleagues describes how Tibetan monks high in the Himalayas control their body temperatures. Through a set of filmed, controlled examinations, he described some very interesting phenomena. The Tibetan monks could through their internal mental exercises, raise their body temperatures, to such a high degree as to dry wet clothes that they wore.

What Benson and his colleagues did was to take a phenomenon which was claimed by the meditation practitioners, to be experientially real and which was subject to internal manipulation and control by the practitioners, – in fact to experimentation – and submit them to study. They then obtained the external correlates of some of these mental activities. We should keep in mind this receptivity for non Western ideas in such an orthodox Western university as Harvard would not have been made without the previous century’s softening up through the flow of Buddhist and other Asian ideas to the West. The direct Sinhalese connection is seen in the case of Vipassana influenced psychology.

Mindfulness

Buddhism generally posits that in most people, there is a distortion of perception. This distorted perception, however, can be changed by techniques such as meditation. This also agrees with some approaches in

Western psychologies, which argue that we are much less aware of our own cognitive processes than we assume. Experimental observations have revealed a large set of unrecognized distortions in perception. Western research now reveals, contrary to belief in the past that a large part, if not the biggest part of our lives is carried out mindlessly. Several Western researchers have, now supported the claims of Asian psychologies that cognition can be enhanced by meditation⁹⁰. Mindfulness training is a cornerstone in such efforts⁹¹.

Mindful meditation belongs to all the broad Buddhist traditions, both Theravada and Mahayana including Zen. The purpose of mindfulness is to experience and observe what goes on inside one's mind. Through meditation, the constant wandering is tamed and the mind's restlessness brought under control. There are usually two stages of practice, calming and taming the mind (*Samatha* in Pali) and the development of insight (*Vipassana* in the Pali). These techniques instruct one to hold the mind and observe it. Many schools of Buddhism practice both *Samatha* and *Vipassana* together.

But these mindful exercises in the Buddhist psychological traditions are to be contrasted with the attempt in the 19th century by the psychologist Wilhelm Wundt for an 'introspective' approach as a laboratory for the study of the mind. The different 'laboratories', namely the different introspectors, that did these experiments disagreed with one another about their results. The psychologists of the Buddhist mindful approach would say that the introspection practitioners were only 'thinking about their thoughts', not studying the mind at all. The mindful approach cuts through this attitude of introspection. Buddhist practice in this sense becomes a tool of study, a bridge between human experience and cognitive science⁹².

The classical texts on the subject describe the outcomes of mindful meditation *anapāna sati* as also having strong effects on the body too. Thus "mindfulness of breathing, however is more than just tranquilization of emotions; it is a quieting down of all bodily activities" as the authoritative *Encyclopedia of Buddhism* puts it quoting orthodox texts⁹³.

Daniel Brown and his colleagues reading the classic literature on meditation noted that there were constant references in these texts to increase in perception following this type of meditation. They decided to see whether these descriptions could be examined using modern techniques. To study these, they used two conventional scientific methods, that of the Rorschach test and the tachistoscope⁹⁴. Significant changes were noticed

in information processing and perceptual sensitivity in mindful meditators.

Important changes were shown depending on the type of degree of meditators' experience as well as the type of meditation indulged in. In those only marginally exposed to meditation, the responses did not differ much from non-meditators⁹⁵. A second group who had some exposure to insight meditation and had developed some ability at concentration showed results unknown hitherto. These findings were in touch with the classical literature that stated that meditation helps one focus the mind, and reduce the intrusive associations, images and thoughts that arise.

A third group called the insight group was more experienced than the second. They had begun to develop the classical stages of "Vipassana", insight. These meditators showed results that were just the opposite of the second group. They showed a rich repertoire of associations. They were generally open to new associations, thus producing a rich collection of responses.

The fourth group was those who in the classical Theravada tradition are considered to have reached the first stage in the four steps in "awakening" ("enlightenment"). There were several differences in this group. Some of the group was able to view the images that were coming as merely emanations from their own minds. Interestingly, they could be aware on a moment-to-moment basis of the processes by which their stream of consciousness began to be organized as forms and images as they responded to the blots of ink.

The last group was those who had developed meditation techniques the most. In the Theravada tradition, they would be those in the final two steps to enlightenment. The results of these meditators were strikingly similar and strikingly different from normal results. In one unique feature, the meditators saw in an Roscharch ink blot both the images seen, as well as the ink blot itself, as projections of the mind. Non meditators on the other hand accept the physical reality of the ink blot without question, but some later recognize that they may be projecting images onto it.

In another unique response of these advanced meditators, there was no evidence of the psychological conflicts that are considered by others as the normal part of human existence. This finding again corroborates the Theravada literature that states that in the final stages of meditation psychological suffering can be eradicated. A third unique feature was that the advanced meditators could integrate perceptions better.

There were also tests on perceptual sensitivity using the tachiscope. The tachiscope flashes images on a screen for brief periods and used to measure respectively, perceptual sensitivity and processing speed, detection threshold and discrimination thresholds. The studies indicated that meditators differed from non meditators in these tests. Meditators had enduring improvements in visual sensitivity even though they were not currently engaged in meditation. Meditators also exhibited heightened discrimination ability when they were engaged in deep meditation, but not afterwards. Advanced meditators could describe the moment of rising of the first flash, its short duration, the instant it disappeared, the time between the two flashes, the arising of the next flash, its short duration and ultimately its vanishing. All these observations were made in the less than tenth of a second between the flashes. These studies indicate that advanced meditators can detect perceptual events that are below the threshold of non meditators. These findings also confirm descriptions given in the classical meditation literature ⁹⁶.

Researchers, Boals and Deikman have proffered a cognitive explanation to such general effects of meditation. The cognitive changes associated with meditators results in what Deikman calls “deautomatization” of consciousness. This deautomatization, brought specially by mindfulness meditation, results in a mode of perceptual organization that is radically different from the normal one. It results in what Deikman calls a process of “cutting away false cognitive certainties”. The new mode of perception is among other qualities, more animated, sensuous, and vivid and syncretic. It results in new experiences beyond the everyday ones and results in new perceptual activities hitherto blocked or ignored ⁹⁷.

Daniel Goleman – a household name in the US today and whose first book was on Theravada, published in Kandy– observes that meditation results in a flow experience. This is characterized by a merging of action and awareness. It also is accompanied by increased attention to a limited stimulus field blocking out others, a heightened awareness of body states and their function, and clarity as regards cues from the environment and how to respond to it. There is also consequently an optimal fit between the demands of the environment and one’s capacity to respond to it. Meditation leads, therefore, to a sharpening of perception and to selectively responding to the really important stimuli from the environment ⁹⁸.

Delmonte also observes the selectivity in access to awareness going across various layers of consciousness. Meditation he finds is useful in

augmenting and improving one's system of personal constructs, accessing unconscious material and bringing about altered states of consciousness⁹⁹. Other laboratory research on meditators has shown that they are easily aroused in the case of a perceived threat, but quickly returns to normal, once the threat is over. There was no residual anxiety, once the threat was over. Non meditators on the other hand, took longer to be aroused, and longer to return to normal. Clearly, the meditators had a physiologically healthier response¹⁰⁰.

Confirming the classical texts' views that meditation had effects on the body, a study done of monks meditating according to the Theravada Dhammakaya tradition, found that serum total protein levels had significantly increased, while serum cortisol levels, systolic pressure, diastolic pressure and pulse rate had reduced significantly in meditators. After meditation, vital capacity, maximal voluntary ventilation and tidal volume were also significantly lower than before¹⁰¹.

Behavior Change In General

In addition to these observed phenomena of Buddhist psychologies, there has recently been much discussion at a more theoretical level between the principles and practices of behavior modifications in the Western tradition and in Buddhism.

Mikulas has pointed out that there are many similarities. He has traced six commonalities between Buddhism and behavior modification. He believes that pursuing these commonalties should lead to broadening of the current principles of behavior and behavior modification. The commonalties that he has observed are a focus on the "here and now" and a derived "ahistorical" attitude; emphasis on the perception of reality as it is without distortion, interpretation or any metaphysical speculation; the concept of an individualized self being questioned, the person and his or her behavior being separately seen; accepting change as a central fact and the importance of learning; attachment to particular experiences, objects, people, beliefs and so on, as a reason for malady, and changing what is changeable and then training to let go of the rest. He finds Buddhist literature as a storehouse of information for psychology¹⁰². He argues for greater integration of Buddhist practices in behavior modification packages.

The psychological theories of Buddhism, it has been noted, discuss problems of basic drives that motivate behavior, perception and cognition, consciousness, meditation, personal development and behavior change¹⁰³.

There is a strong relationship between theory and practice in Buddhist psychology, especially in the use of meditative techniques and other techniques to change behavior. Modern psychology and Buddhist approaches could therefore interact fruitfully¹⁰⁴. De Silva has discussed the parallels between this tradition and modern behavioral techniques such as in thought stopping, modeling and in behavior modification for treatment of obesity and stimulus control¹⁰⁵. He finds resemblance between the Western and the Buddhist, in both concepts and practices¹⁰⁶.

Stress Treatment, Anxiety, Panic And Phobias

About sixty percent of outpatient visits to the doctor in the USA are concerned with stress or mind/body interactions, and further, one in five of primary care visits is related to “major depressive anxiety disorders”¹⁰⁷.

Jon Kabat-Zinn, the director of the Stress Reduction Clinic at the University of Massachusetts Medical Center has successfully used mindfulness meditation to help patients suffering stress related disorders, including chronic pain. To Kabatt-Zinn, meditation is an “intrapsychic technology” developed over the millennia by traditions that knew much about the mind/body connection. To him, it is an inner science that combines the subjective and the objective. He gets each of his patients to become “the scientist if his or her own body and mind”, getting to know themselves. On the basis of randomized trials, these techniques have yielded both physical and psychological symptom reduction that persist over time¹⁰⁸.

Jon Kabat-Zinn and his colleagues in an overview article in the *American Journal of Psychiatry* in 1992, notes that there are three major self-regulatory techniques used in the treatment of anxiety, namely meditation, relaxation and biofeedback. Research had indicated that all three play a role in reducing the physical and psychological aspects in anxiety. A study on the effectiveness of mindfulness meditation showed that such a program could effectively treat anxiety disorders¹⁰⁹.

Other stress related disorders like anxiety and panic attacks and phobias are also being treated successfully with meditation and imagery. A current text by Beck and Emery on dealing with generalized anxiety disorder and panic disorder (*Anxiety Disorders and Phobias: A Cognitive Perspective* Basic Books Inc. New York 1985) describes how cognitive changes are made use of in the treatment¹¹⁰. The techniques used include those from standard meditative practice and of modifying imagery¹¹¹.

Another means of coping with anxiety and phobias has been through modifying the affective component. Beck and Emery describe several techniques. Some are obvious derivatives of standard meditation techniques. These include observing the self non-judgementally and not getting caught in the internal travails and drama of anxiety. This awareness, the authors note, brings the patient back to the present. Self-awareness of this order results in patients realizing that they “have anxiety” as opposed to “I am anxious”. These techniques are taken directly off mindful practice in Theravada Buddhism. The authors also recommend breathing exercises, with the patient experiencing the details internally and consciously. These again are directly derived from standard meditation techniques¹¹².

Apart from the professional literature, popular self-help books on how to deal with panic attacks recommend adopting Asian derived techniques. In one, Redid Wilson, (*Don't Panic: taking Control of Anxiety Attacks* Harper and Row, New York) meditation finds an important place. The techniques recommended in this book are those that concentrate on a particular sound (like in TM meditation) or awareness techniques (of the Theravada tradition). These techniques have helped patients to face reality as it really is, the oft-stated goal of Buddhist meditation¹¹³. Another popular book on phobias *Phobias: The Crippling Fears* again gives a variety of techniques derived from Eastern approaches. These include breathing exercises, meditating on a word and visualization techniques¹¹⁴.

Asthma is another disease that is partially triggered by stress. Consequently again, popular self-care books on asthma, (for example Geri Harrington, *The Asthma Self-care Book: How to take control of your Asthma* Harper Perennial 1989 New York) have been advocating meditation and meditation type relaxation techniques for the treatment of asthma¹¹⁵.

Dr. Dean Ornish of Harvard University has developed the only system that has been scientifically proved to reverse heart disease and has been given high publicity. A significant part of the Ornish system is in the use of meditative type exercises. Here patients are encouraged to look into themselves and be aware of what goes on inside them. Physically and emotionally they are encouraged to increase their awareness of themselves, exercises straight out of standard Theravada practice¹¹⁶.

Legitimization Of Practice

By the mid nineties, sufficient scholarly data as well as clinical experience had been gathered to make some broad

statements about the inflow of Eastern methodology into Western psychological practice.

After a review in the early nineties of these research results, Bogart has concluded that meditation is a multidimensional phenomenon that would be useful in many ways in a clinical setting. Meditation brings about states of physiological relaxation that would be useful for a variety of physical symptoms including stress and anxiety. As importantly, meditation brings about cognitive shifts that can be used for observing and changing behavior and limiting destructive cognitive patterns. The altered states of consciousness which meditation brings about may help deeply reorient a variety of a person's attributes, including sense of well being, purpose in life, emotional attitudes and sense of identity¹¹⁷.

Greg Roberts writing in 1991 in the *American Journal of Psychotherapy* notes that there has been much and growing interest in the possible uses of meditation in psychotherapy. Recognizing this legitimacy of the exercise regular reviews of the current situation has appeared since the 1970s every eight years or so in the professional Western psychological literature¹¹⁸.

By the mid nineties, a process of legitimization that had begun in the 70's was nearing completion. The different intrapsychic technologies, associated with the different Asian psychologies had in the form of meditation techniques become legitimate and in some cases virtually common place. The variety of approaches in different Asian psychological disciplines were also being now realized. Western practitioners exposed to the various Eastern traditions of mind culture were also now combining them and making new amalgams in a manner unknown in the original traditions. Thus Theravada mindfulness has been combined with *yogic* practice.¹¹⁹

Spread And Popular Acceptance

Already by 1977, there had been over 400 articles and studies in the Western scientific literature on the psychophysical changes that accompany meditation¹²⁰. By the late eighties, millions of Americans had tried meditation. It had infiltrated the culture and had become incorporated in many lives. It had entered as an important tool in medicine, education, psychology and personal development. The ranks of practitioners by this time included businessmen, professionals and academics¹²¹. And, by the early nineties, many of the different techniques

of 'mind technology' had become in certain medical areas near mainstream, if not mainstream.

In the West today, therefore, meditation has found a regular home. According to surveys, there were more than six million Americans who have tried it. Scientific research on meditation began in the sixties, and now a large literature on the subject exists. In addition, there have been translations of the classic texts as well as theoretical debates on the topic. Hundreds of research findings on the topic have been published. Almost every week, one researcher has noted, one sees reports in this burgeoning new field¹²². This figure is many times more than those published on most psychotherapies. Only behavior modification and biofeedback probably has more studies. The published research cover a wide variety of topics and include physiological, psychological and chemical factors¹²³.

In a consensus report released in 1984, the National Institute of Health (NIH) of the US recommended meditation (together with changes in diet) above prescription drugs as a first treatment for low level hypertension. This official recognition was an important milestone in the mainstreaming of meditation. It has now become a well-established treatment. A British follow up study has shown that four years after the training ended, patients trained in these methods had lower blood pressure¹²⁴. It should be noted in parentheses that Freud, of whom Obeyasekera the inventor of "Protestant Buddhism" is a follower, is not given this official therapeutic position.

Comparisons Of Eastern And Western Psychologies

If Asian derived mental technologies have found acceptance and are intensifying their inroads, what about Asian mental science, its formal psychologies. One could well have acceptance of a cure, like say the medical cure found used by a forest dwelling group in the Amazon without accepting that particular group's explanatory system for the cure.

Roger Walsh in a review article in the *American Journal of Psychotherapy* notes that in striking contrast to other disciplines, American mental health professionals had tended to ignore and neglect psychology originating from abroad. Until very recently this had applied also to Asian psychologies¹²⁵.

Yet, in the Eastern classical literature, there are many texts on mental functioning with numerous discussions of a detailed nature. These are couched, Walsh notes in non religious, non philosophical, strictly

psychological terms and cover such topics as perception, motivation, thought, emotion, conditioning, identity, pathology and addiction. Without adopting the religious and philosophical baggage, one can assess these purely psychological factors¹²⁶.

Taking as an illustrative example, Buddhist psychology in the Abhidhamma of the Theravada tradition, Goleman notes, describes many psychological states. Here categories such as mind moments, objects of awareness and different mental factors amounting in all to 53, are used. The progression of different meditation states and the higher reaches of meditation are discussed in detail¹²⁷.

With the rising legitimacy of the field, there also has been over the last few decades, an increasing literature on comparisons and parallels between the Western and Eastern psychologies.

Encroaching The Mainstream

As summarised above, the results of the encroachments of Buddhist and other South Asian ideas of psychology into theory and practice of psychology and medicine have been recorded in hundreds of scientific papers and dozens of books. One of the earlier figures to ferry in Eastern ideas directly into post World War 2 psychotherapy was the British psychiatrist R.D.Laing, who imbibed directly the Sinhalese tradition especially through his interactions with the late Godwin Samararatne. In the late sixties, Laing influenced a significant number of his colleagues. He began as a Freudian, but through several stages, came to a mixture that combined Buddhism with existentialism¹²⁸.

I like to draw special attention to two books that directly relate South Asian texts to the contemporary Western psychosocial condition. The first book is *Human Minds: An Exploration* by Margaret Donaldson¹²⁹, a professor of Edinburgh University and directly uses Buddhism in its psychology. In the other, a book by Ellen Langer, a Professor of Social Psychology at Harvard whose title *Mindfulness* immediately evokes a Buddhist perspective on psychology, parallel ideas to Buddhism are used to describe the modern condition¹³⁰. Langer in a telling passage also evokes mindlessness as “the reverse of entropy, the gradual dissolution or breaking down of an entity or patterns of organization within a closed system”¹³¹. But such statements of everyday reality and the trend towards disorder, that is of entropy are the essence of Buddhist discourses. “All compounded things decay” is a central statement in Buddhist rituals. To counter this

inherent decay, in Buddhism, the mind culture of mindfulness is evoked, just like Langer advocates.

I have dwelt on three areas namely philosophy, physics and psychology where Buddhist influences coming initially from Sinhalese sources have played some part. I could have added emerging issues such as in the philosophy of the new technologies of biotechnology and information technology that have a strong Buddhist resonance (as in the work of Parfit¹³² and recent writings of Buddhist takes on bioethics).

Conclusion

Let me summarize and contextualize..

Anthropology went through a decolonizing phase immediately after decolonization and was attacked as a hand maiden of colonialism. It was felt that anthropology had distorted the interpretation of non-whites to indirectly fit into colonial power relations. Sri Lankan anthropologists had never participated in this debate and the phony theory of Protestant Buddhism continues in these colonial tracks.

Protestant Buddhism does not square up to the facts. Its central tenet of a Protestant influence on the local revival is shown to be false. The carriers of Protestant Buddhism Olcott and Blavatsky were irrational and subscribers to the occult. They came as literally supplicants for ideas in their anti Christian Crusade. The key Sinhalese reformers the forty odd scholar monks as well as Angarika Dharmapala were men of wide vision. They were well read in the local tradition as well as of the West. They interacted as equals with the external world. Especially was conversant with modern science and technology, admired industrial and scientific progress and wanted to emulate the technological success of the US and Japan. They contrasted with backward looking medievalists like Gandhi and Ananda Cumaraswamy.

The connections the local intelligentsia made with intellectual circles in the West led to translations and dissemination of Buddhist material. Journals like *The Open Court* and *The Monist* provided platforms for such East-West dialogs. It helped in inputs to western philosophical discussions on the self and on the act of observation. These had reverberation not only in Western philosophy but also in modern physics.

Decades later these Buddhist inputs occurred in the behavioral sciences, Buddhist "mind technology" having direct and indirect effects

on aspects of modern psychology and medicine. Close examination reveals that the effect of international Buddhism and thus indirectly of Dharmapala and the Sinhalese Buddhist renaissance which launched international Buddhism has now reached all the way back to the US.

Buddhism in America today has found many homes and many voices¹³³. Several writers have drawn attention to the effect of Buddhism on American culture, including for example on its recent poetry¹³⁴. The reform and protest movements associated with the 1950s Beat Generation and the 1960's counter culture had several threads that owe itself to Buddhism. This international flow of Buddhist ideas¹³⁵ has had many effects down to some subject matter in medical and psychology faculties in Western campuses. This would extend to the very existence of the jobs of neo-colonialist writers like Obeyasekera. These are ultimately due to the creation of a climate conducive to Buddhist studies through the inflow of Buddhism into the West, thus making it a legitimate area of interest and inquiry. This inflow is directly due to the activities of the founder of international Buddhism Anagarika Dharmapala and his cohorts, the *bete noir* of colonial anthropologists of the Obeyasekera kind. And even a key father figure of this subject Malinowski, who is admired by Obeyasekera had it is now known been influenced by Ernst Mach with his connections to Buddhist influenced circles¹³⁶.

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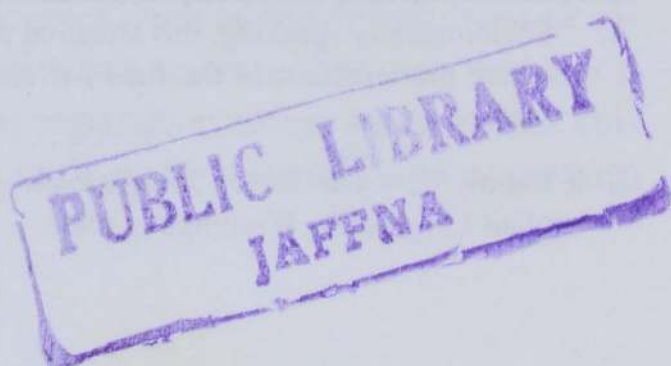
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THE VANNI AND THE WESTERN DIALECTS OF SINHALA*

Pushpakumara V. Premaratne

INTRODUCTION

Dialect differences in Sinhala are not so sharp as to create only a “twilight zone of mutual intelligibility”⁽¹⁾ between different codes. However, in keeping with the definition of McDavid, there are a few habitual variations of the Sinhala Language with a unique combination of language features in each of them.⁽²⁾ These variations are known as dialects. It is customary to measure the dialect differences along two dimensions: the horizontal (geographical) and the vertical (historical and social) variations of language.

The polarization of habitual speech differences through geographical space in Sinhala could be seen in some centres such as Anuradhapura, Colombo and Matara and we establish three tentative dialect areas with them as centres. The Vanni dialect (V) is the same as the Northern Dialect (N), and we selected the Vanni region for an intensive study here. And we propose to contrast the Vanni features with those of the Western Dialect (W) and take only some of their features for this essay.

Each speech community concretize their experience differently from another due to environment and such other factors, and the resultant forms of speech are called dialects and not different languages, because they are variations within the speech of the same linguistic group living within a certain geographical area.

* The Sinhala words are in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). Please see Annexe I

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The two dialects under study have the same grammatical categories such as number, gender and case etc. That is to say that it is not the total absence of one or more grammatical categories whereas it/they are found in the other, or vice versa. It is in the actual realization of these categories that the differences occur. For instance, a specific denotatum might take the singular form in one dialect whereas it takes the plural in another. Or a particular case relation might be expressed in one case in V, and by means of another in W.

These differences between the two dialects could be illustrated by means of a sentence I heard in one of the V schools.

V - me: $pæ:ij\Lambda_3$ $m\Lambda t\theta$ $pæ:re\eta_2$ $g\Lambda s\theta n\omega q:l\omega$.

'This boy says that he will hit (assault) me (while I am) on the road (on my way home).'

The W equivalent of it would be

W - me: $am\omega j\Lambda_3$ $m\Lambda t\theta$ $pæ:re\delta i_2$ $g\Lambda h\Lambda n\omega w\Lambda l\omega$.

'The subscripts mark the contrasts (₁ = phonological, =₂ grammatical and =₃ lexical.)

Accordingly there are two phonological contrasts in that sentence:

1. V /-sə -/ contrasts with W /-h\Lambda -/.
2. long vowel /-a:-/ is shortened in W.

The grammatical contrast is in the realization of the case relation. The genitive of place has the marker /-e\eta/ in V and /e\delta i/ in W. The suffix /-e\eta/ is used in W to denote the instrumental etc.

To denote 'boy', V uses / $pæ:ij\Lambda$ /, whereas the W lexis has $am\omega j\Lambda$ for that. / $pæ:tij\Lambda$ / in W denotes 'young animal'. Now this V sentence will signal 'This young one says that he will hit me on the road' in W, only if none of the disambiguating factors such as the context are not allowed to intervene.

As illustrated above, the corpus is analysed, and contrasts are looked for in five areas, namely phonology, Grammar, the Lexis, Suprasegmental Phonology and Social Factors in Dialect Variation.

PHONOLOGY

Phonological contracts are accounted for by means of six rules namely, unstressed vowel deletion, / h / deletion, aspiration split, /r/ deletion, diphtong levelling and prosodic harmony.

Unstressed Vowel Deletion (UVD)

The loss of medial vowel is found in many languages. Even in modern English, in the environmental framework of /t-r/, the medial vowel may be lost when the stress is placed in the syllable as in

interestiŋ / intresting/.

However, the retention or the deletion of the vowel may depend on the dialect, on matters of style, or on syntagmatic constraints inherent in the distributional system of the language.

UVD creates a contrast in the two dialects, since W retains the deleted in V. E.g.

<u>W</u>	<u>V</u>	
arəfəwə	arəfəwə	'hard part of wood'
ma:ɟupini	ma:ɟipini	'dishes'
ɟewənuwə	ɟewnuwə	'secondly'

/h/ Deletion (hD)

Irrespective of its origin, the Sinhala /h/ seems to follow 3 behaviour-patterns:

- (1) It gets deleted. E.g. skt./hʌsɔʃ/ Sin. ʌ tʃ/

<u>W</u>	<u>V</u>	
ʌhʌs	asɟ	'sky'
ɟissəraɦɦ	ɟissərə	'pont'
koɦe:	ko:	'where'

- (2) In modern Sinhala, there are instances where an intrusive /h/, just as its deletion, creates dialect contrast:

<u>W</u>	<u>V</u>	
mu:kəle:nə	m:ɦukəle:nə	'gungle'
lɟəɟɟə	lɟəɟɟəɦɦ	'shame'
ɟəpə:ɟu	ɟəpəɦɦəɟu	ampissions'

- (3) Alternation of /s/ and /h/ is a common feature in Sinhala: but in V even some colloquial words that have /s/ seem to take /h/:

<u>W</u> sijaluma sirita osarija	<u>V</u> hijaluma hirita oharija	'every' 'lastous' 'Kamdansaree'
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Aspiration Split

The split of an aspirated consonant by means of an anaptyctic vowel is meant by this term:

<u>W</u> sabha:wa praśha:na swabha:wa	<u>V</u> sabahawa praśahana suwabahawa	'arsewibly' 'principal' 'natire'
--	---	--

/r/ Deletion (RD)

Though optional, the tendency to delete /r/ is a common phenomenon in V¹. It is not peculiar to V:

<u>W</u> araha:ta ra:miris ko:rale	<u>V</u> aha:ta ra:miris ko:lle	'there' 'importid chitic' 'county'
---	--	--

Diphthong Levelling (DL)

When a vowel changes its quality, two elements within the same syllable are involved - the element with which the articulatory movement starts and that with which it ends. Dynamics of DL are concerned with this movement of voice sound from its first to the second element:

<u>W</u> i:wa	<u>V</u> i:wa	'cooked' 'a proper name' 'such'
go:taimbara	go:timbara	
ehu	ehu	

1. Sociologically speaking, this situation provides an interesting contrast with English, where the retention of the final /-r/ can denote a lower rung in the stratificational scale.

Vide Labov, W. - *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Centre for Applied Linguistics, Washington, 1966

Prosodic Harmony (PH)

Whereas W allows syllables containing different phonetic qualities, V tends to harmonize such syllables maintaining the homophonic character, by a number of processes such as Vowel Levelling, Cosonant Assimilation, Palatalization of Syllables, Vowel Rounding and Extension of Voice:

^W sambāhara	^V semabara	'some'
poḍant	peḍant	'a drop'
wāṅga	wāṅgi	'bends'
ḷi:ḷa	ḷi:ḷa	'printed cloth'
pusma	pusba	'fragrance'
niwenawa	nimenawa	'to get extinguished'
kara:bu	kara:mbu	'earrings'
wetḷa	wetḷi	'that which happened'
wetḷakama	wetḷakoma	'treatment'

GRAMMAR

Viewed as a whole, a sentence consists of two main constituents, Modality and Proposition, and each of these constituents is made up of a number of elements. Propositions is the expression of the relationship between the noun-like and the verb-like elements and their interdependencies. Modality is the setting of a sentence in temporal reference or negative/positive frame or statement/question form etc. Proposition's two major elements are verb and one or more cases which involve nouns.

Nouns

Man's desire and necessity to label objects, ideas and sentiments etc. is universal and the result in language is 'noun'. The application of modality to noun in Sinhala results in a few grammatical categories such as number and gender.

Several human cognitive processes such as the definiteness or indefiniteness of the percept, whether it is one or more than one, whether it is conceived as a collective whole or separate entities, whether it is animate or inanimate and whether it is male or female, if animate, seem to underlie a noun in Sinhala.

Just like written Sinhala, V makes a distinction between masculine and feminine forms of indefiniteness, while W has the same marker for both genders. E.g.

	W		V	
Masc.	kollek		kollek	'lad'
Fem.	kellek		kellLk	'lass'
Masc.	putek		putek	'son'
Fem.	ōuwek		ōuWLk	'daughter'

In V, there are some inanimate nouns that have taken animate case markers. Since the corresponding case markers in W are inanimate they contrast. E.g.

	W		V	
	ba: nēŋ		ba: nāgeŋ	'from the team of oxen'
	n̄wala		n̄walaŋe	'in hands'
	e: wŋjiŋ		e: wŋgeŋ	'from those'

Singular-plural differences in the noun are of no syntactic consequences in the dialects, whereas they do so in Written Sinhala. Hence, these differences in the dialects are matters of noun morphology.

For a number of W pluralizing devices, V uses the suffix /-o/. E.g.

	W		V	
	m̄d̄ala: lila		m̄d̄ala: lijo	'merchants'
	ali		alijo	'elephants'
	m̄h̄itturu		m̄h̄ittajo	'gentlemen'

This suffix /-o/ added to pluralize nouns is not entirely absent in W.

Another pluralizing contrast between the two dialects seems to be that V drops the word-final -vowel- as in:

	W		V	
	i: t̄ala		i: tal	'arrows'
	wŋgul̄i		wŋgal	'swamps'

Consonant-final plural forms such as /i: t̄al / 'eagle brooms' and /i: t̄al / ŋgal / 'dams' / are found in W. But they are instances of root pluralizations and not that of final vowel deletion as in V.

In W, nasal-final plurals such as Kotarŋ / 'logs' / and /ɛʃat / 'eagle brooms' could be found: but in V, a multitude of them could be found. E.g.

<u>W</u> mul	<u>V</u> mulag	'roots' ¹	
ʃorawal	ʃorŋ		'doors'
nʃgoba	nʃgoban		'biceps'

Also there is a pluralization contrast between the two dialects in the affixation of dative, instrumental and genitive postfixes to the nominal stems. This contrast results not so much by taking different pluralizing markers, but by different forms of the nominal stems to which the postfixes are added. E.g.

'elephant'
plural

Dat:	<u>W</u> nliŋta	<u>V</u> nliṭa
Instr:	nliŋgeŋ	nliḡeŋ
Gen:	nliŋge	nliḡe

Another number contrast found in the two dialects is that V tends to use the singular for corresponding W plural forms. They are of two types:

- i. Where plural countables in W are singular in V. E.g.

<u>W</u> ʃewijŋge	<u>V</u> ʃewija:ge	'of the gods'
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- ii. Mass nouns that are plural in W, are singular in V. E.g.

<u>W</u> pas	<u>V</u> pasə	'earth'
pan	panə	'rush plant'
kurakkŋ	kurakkə	'a kind of millet'

1. These /-ŋ/ending plural forms could be relics from Middle Indian,

mul	mu:le:ni	'roots'
	dwaspa:ni	'doors' etc.

As for gender differentiation, sometimes, the masculine is taken as the generic, and the periphrastic device of prefixing /gæ:nu/ 'female of' is used in V. E.g.

<u>W</u>		<u>V</u>	
<u>Masc.</u>	<u>Fem.</u>	<u>Masc.</u>	<u>Fem.</u>
harrak	'cattle'	gæ:nu harrak	'cows'
kollo	'lads'	gæ:nu kollo	'lasses'
saho:ðarajo	'brothers'	gæ:nu saho:ðarajo	'sisters'

This feature is not entirely new, because such expressions are found in the classics, too. E.g.

n̄mbun minissu 'wife-men' or female men', i.e. women.

Here one is tempted to compare it with the etymology of the English word 'woman' which has come from 'wife-man'.

The cause of pronominalization may be the need for forms not requiring the full semantic specification of nouns arise out of the human effort to achieve economy of expression. Hence it appears that pronouns have something to do in the general process of anaphora by which parts of a sentence may be deleted. Correferentiality between the two nominals seem to be the precondition of pronominalizing one of them. In pronominalization, the dialects contrast with Written Sinhala, but not with one another.

Case is one major element of the Proposition of a sentence. "Case is the most important of the inflectional categories of the noun,"¹ because it is that that maps the relationship between nouns in a proposition.

The contrasts in case in the two dialects are of two types:

1. Same case is expressed by an overt marker in one and by a zero (∅) marker in the other. E.g.

<u>W</u>		<u>V</u>	
ba:ðane:kiy	wahala	ba:ðanajak	wahala

'having covered with a utensil'

pa:ra	ðige:	pa:ra	ðige
'along the road'			

1. Lyons, J. - *Introduction to Theory of Linguistics*. Cambridge, 1968 : 289

2. The other type of contrast occurs when the same case relation is expressed by two different markers in the two dialects. E.g.,

<u>W</u>	<u>V</u>
kæle: hægguna: 'hid in the jungle'	kæle:ʔæ hægguna: 2

kuñburo kæley wæhik	kuñbura kæle: wæhik
'the field is covered with jungle'	

Such material in the Corpus confirms that case is a deep category in language, realized in the surface structure in various ways.

VERB

When man's desire and necessity to identify and label objects etc. is realized, his cognitive processes will make a comment on such a noun, and this manifests in language as VERB.

Two Tenses are discernible in all dialects of Sinhala and they are Past and the non-Past. Future sense is signalled by means of contextual or periphrastic devices. Both Past and Non-Past tenses take aspect.

Three types of contrasts in tense in the Indicative Mood are found:

1. Usually in Written Sinhala and W, such statements are made in the Non-Past tense: but in V, such statements are in the Past Tense. E.g.

<u>W</u>	<u>V</u>
minihata gæ:ni epa:unott gæ:ni arinawa, ðawa gæ:nijek gannaWA	minihata gæ:ni epa:unott gæ:ni arinawa, ðawa gæ:nijek gattta

'If the husband got fed up with the wife, the wife is sent (back) and another wife is taken.'

2. In W itself, there are instances of using the /- ʃʃ/ (Dative) ending for the accusative /-wa/ ending. E.g. bAlLa ma:wa kæ:wA and / balla m Atta kæ:wA/ 'The dog bit me.'

2. W, Non-Past sense is expressed with a past form in V. E.g.,

W
e: mokaḍḍa kijanawa naṅ

V
e: mokaḍḍa ki:wa naṅ

‘If I am to say why that is so...’

3. In W, whenever a verbal precedes the set/ *æti* / ‘enough’ and / *maḍi* / ‘not enough’ that verbal is a simple verb: but in V, sometimes an infinitive precedes them. E.g.

W

maḍa æs pe:naun maḍi ‘I do not see enough’ (My eye sight is poor)

V

ṭalapa iḍenda maḍi ‘the porridge is not cooked enough’

Contrast in Modal Constructions are of three types.

1. Conditional Phrases

W

V

kæ:wot

kæ:wotiṅ

‘if eaten’

ræ:wot

ræ:wotiṅ

‘if bathed’

gijot

gigo:tiṅ

‘if gone’

2. Conjunctive / *naṅ* / ‘if’

In W, when /*naṅ*/ is preceded by a verbal in the past tense, the implication is generally past contrary to facts: but in V, the use of the past verbal with/*naṅ*/ simply denotes conditionality. E.g.

W

mama a:waṅṅa o:ka wenne na:

‘Had I come, that would not have happened’

V

akwæsa wæssāṅṅa wāpuraṅṅa.

‘If (when) the first rain falls, we sow (paddy)’

3. *ðði* construction contrasts in the two dialects:

W	V	
kijʌʒʒi:	kijʌððiŋ	‘while saying’
kʌʃʌðði:	kʌʃʌððiŋ	‘while cutting’
inʒkʌðði:	inʒkʌððiŋ	‘while staying’

There are five types of contrasts in non-finite verbal forms:

1. The same past participle takes different adjuncts in the two dialects:

W	V	
kijʌʒʌ	kijʌ:ʒenə	‘having said’

2. To denote the continued aspect, V has the simple past and W uses the inflexion.

W	V	
bʌʌ:ʒenə	bʌʌ:	‘by looking at’

3. When W uses ‘after’ to conjoin one action with another, V uses ‘immediately after’.

W	V	
wʌʃʌruwʌtə ʃʌsse	wʌʃʌʒʌ ɛktʌmʌ	‘immediately after sowing’

4. The present sense is expressed by adding /kotə/ to the present participle in W and to the past participle in V:

W	V	
bʌʌnʌkʌʒʌ	bʌʌkʌʒʌ	‘when looking’

5. The last type of non-finite verbal contrasts also occur in the past temporal gerund. The contrast arises because /wʌhnʌmʌ) ‘immediately after’ is added to volitive past verbal form in W and to an involitive past form in V. E.g.

W	V	
ʒijʌhʌmʌ	ʒijʌhɛʃʃʌhʌmʌ	‘when gone’

In the direct imperative, W uses an adjunct such as /-ʃijʌ / or /-ʃʌʌʌ whereas V uses the verbal root E.g.

W	V	
ka: pi:ʒ̄	k̄a:	'eat'
ahpaŋ	ahh	'listen'
ʌxhɔpija	ʌnhu	'descend'

There is another type of contrast where V uses an extra syllable in the imperative form. E.g.

W	V	
iñḍəganiŋ	iñḍəganijaŋ	'sit'
gəḍəwejaŋ	gəḍəwenijaŋ	'get on to'
wa:diwejaŋ	wadiwenijaŋ	'sit down'

In verbal nominal forms, W uses the gerund whereas the root is used in V. E.g.

W	waḥḥəwə parakkui.
V	wəḥḥə parakkui.

'The delivery of the child is delayed'

There are a few contrasts in the use of particles in the two dialects. Of them, the use of / *ka:* is interesting. In W it means 'which?' or 'what?', and in V, it denotes 'where?'. E.g.

W *koi eka:ḍə*
'which one' $\left[\begin{array}{l} + \text{human} \\ - \end{array} \right] ?$

V *pi:he: koi ?*
'where is the knife?'

This, in fact, is an instance where the derivation of Written Sinhala /kōhi/ 'where' has become homophonous with the V participle (kōhi > koi). The W equivalent of the same is /ko:/. Hence /koi/ and /ko:/ could be taken as allomorphs of /kōhi/.

The contrast in the two dialects lies in the fact that W uses the two allomorphs /koi/ and /ko:/ in two senses, 'which' and 'where' respectively (that gives them the status of two separate morphemes), whereas V uses /koi/ for both. Another contrast is that /koi/ is used in W only attributively, whereas in V it is used both for attribution and interrogation. While V /koi/ still retains its locative sense, W /ko:/ has tended to lose that. Hence whenever location is to be indicated specifically in W, another form, /kohe:/ 'where' is used.

Constituent deletion is a common process in many languages. For example, the English command, "Put the kettle on" might have been 'Put the kettle on fire' in the pre-electric times and 'fire' would have been deleted when it was not needed to boil water.

V deletes some constituents that W would not, and thereby a contrast occurs. E.g.,

W iney pota *ḍa:na* osarija

V iney pota oharija

'The saree which has a fall from the waist'.

ḍa:na 'to put' which is in attributive relation to / osarija/ 'saree' is deleted in V. Though the relation of the two constituents is clear enough, they seem disjointed to a W listener.

There are instances where W would have used a constituent adverbially, ?V uses the same adjectivally. I call it permutation¹. E.g.

W waturu *ḍa:na* hitawanne ne:

V *ḍa:na* waturu hitawanne ne:

'Will not keep a lot of water (in the paddy field)'.

Ambiguity takes place when the grammar of a hearer is not equivalent to that of the speaker. Hence ambiguity is only for the hearer, unless a speaker intentionally utters nonsensical syllables. When a single surface feature is said to have more than one deep representation, the sentence is ambiguous. E.g.

V

kal
'times'

mal
'flowers'

ḍani:
'know'

'know the seasons by the flowers'

The ambiguity of this sentence is due to two reasons:

1. Lack of overt syntactical markers.
2. Lack of any positional (word order) rules.

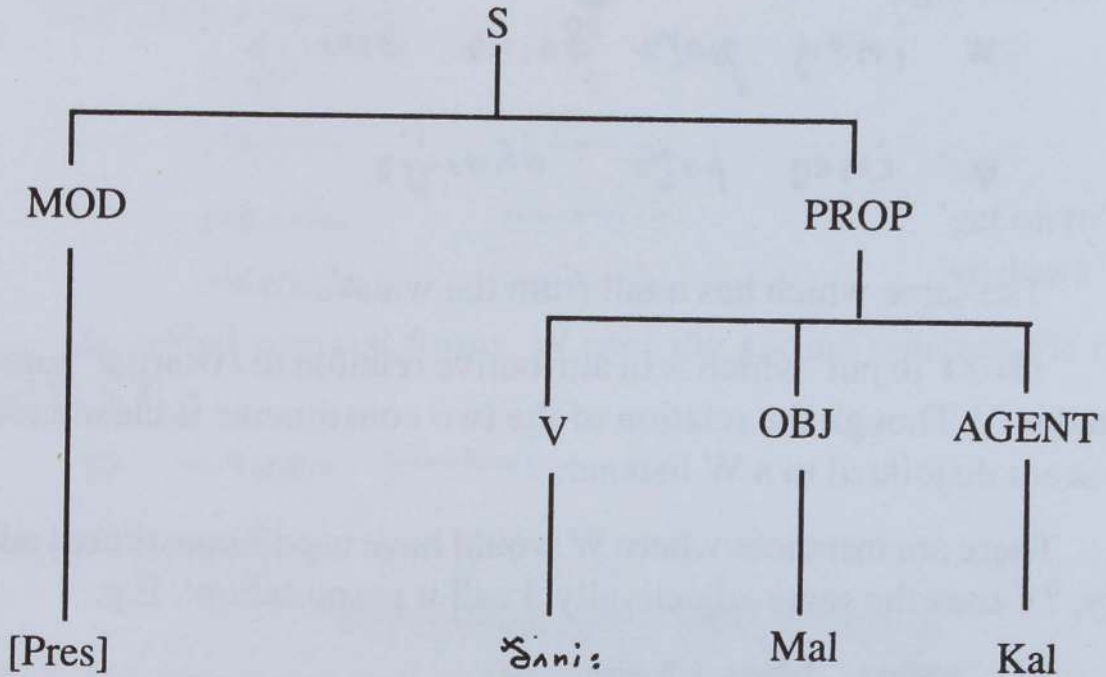
Hence the meaning of it could be interpreted in, at least, two ways:

1. Jespersen, O. - *The Philosophy of Grammar*. Allen and Unwin, London, 1924, p. 93ff

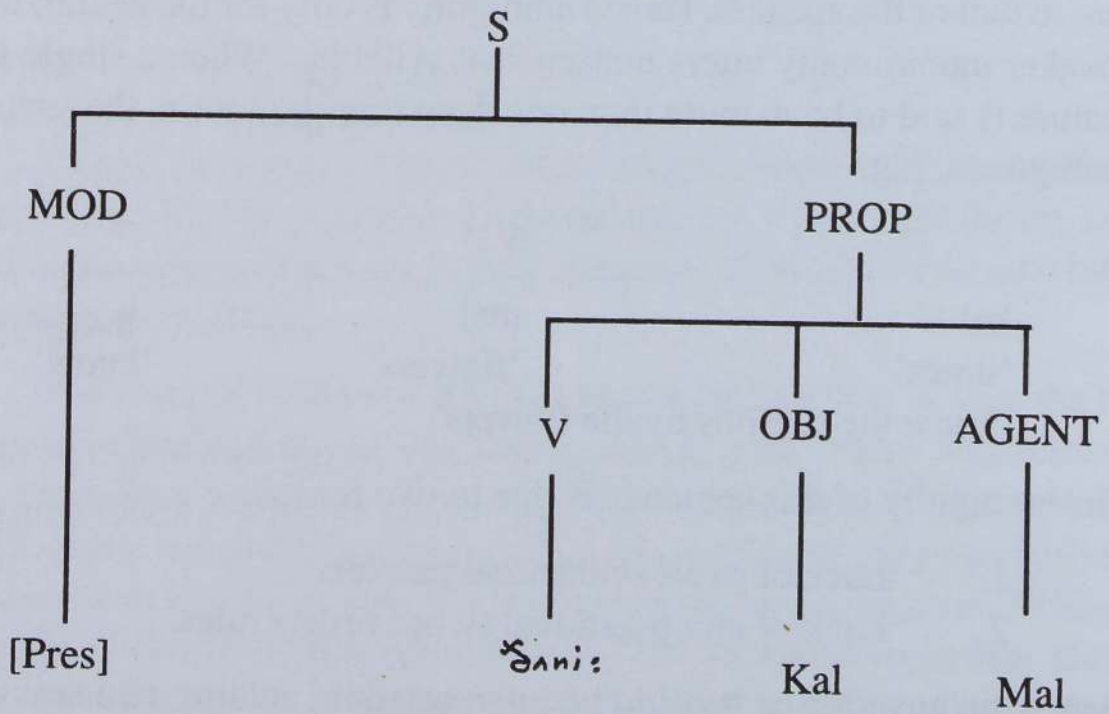
1. 'Times know the flowers'.
2. 'Flowers know the times.'

These two semantic readings are obtained from two separate deep structures:

1.



2.



The context does not disambiguate this sentence because it is a saying. Hence we go beyond the context to the speech situation where the utterance would have taken place. Here there are two concepts that are connected with each other and they are 'flowers' and 'times' (seasons). The relation between them is that certain flowers bloom in certain seasons in the primeval Vanni jungles, and the peasants are asked either to

(a) Know the seasons by the flowers

or to

(b) Know the flowers by the seasons.

Since this is an adage of those who practise traditional agriculture, the first meaning is more plausible.

THE LEXIS

Most of the early linguists followed the empiricist philosophy as expounded by Hume and Locke etc., and their interpretation of meaning was derived from that through behaviourist psychology.

The Transformational Generative School of Linguistics based its view of language on the rationalist theory of perception of Descartes, Leibniz and others¹. The Transformationalists postulate innate ideas in the mind and equalled them to language universals. These universals are the built-in grammar of the mind by which the deep structure of a sentence is justified, according to them.

While the Sinhala speakers maintain the same basic conceptualization of their experience by the use of the same language, there can be differences in this conceptualization process between various groups of speakers, and this gives rise to semantic contrasts in the dialects. The environment or experience is not merely registered in language, but broken up, analysed and classified in different ways in different dialects.

Semantic variation in the dialects could be accounted for in the light of the above view. Phonological and semantic components of a language have no connection with each other:

One is connected with the sounds of speech while the other is dealing with the meanings with which these sounds are impregnated. That is a

1. Descartes, R. - *Philosophical Works of Descartes*, Vol. II Dover, New York, 1955.

subjective process. In other words, the relation between the sound and the meaning is arbitrary.

Conceptual differences are realized by means of two devices in the dialects under study:

1. Creation of new lexical items,
2. Adding new meanings to existing lexical units or subtracting from them. The former is rare though not entirely absent. Even when a new item is found, it is doubtful whether the morphemes that go to make it are not found in Written Sinhala or the classics or some other dialect.

When new lexical items are created or new meanings are added to existing ones, several conceptual processes such as metaphorization and synecdoche come into play. Onomatopoeic words are rare in both dialects. Polysemy, synonymy and homonymy etc. are the results of these conceptual processes.

Regarding the contrasts in the existing units, two types are observed:

1. Same word, but different denotata in the two dialects
2. Adding new meanings to existing lexical units or subtracting from them. The former is rare though not entirely absent. Even when a new item is found, it is doubtful whether the morphemes that go to make it are not found in Written Sinhala or the classics or some other dialect.

Regarding the contrasts in the existing units, two types are observed:

1. Same word, but different denotata in the two dialects
2. Same denotatum, but different lexical items in the two dialects.

NEW LEXICAL ITEMS

I will take only those items that are found in V and not in W, but not vice versa. Their emergence is due to environmental, cultural and other differences.

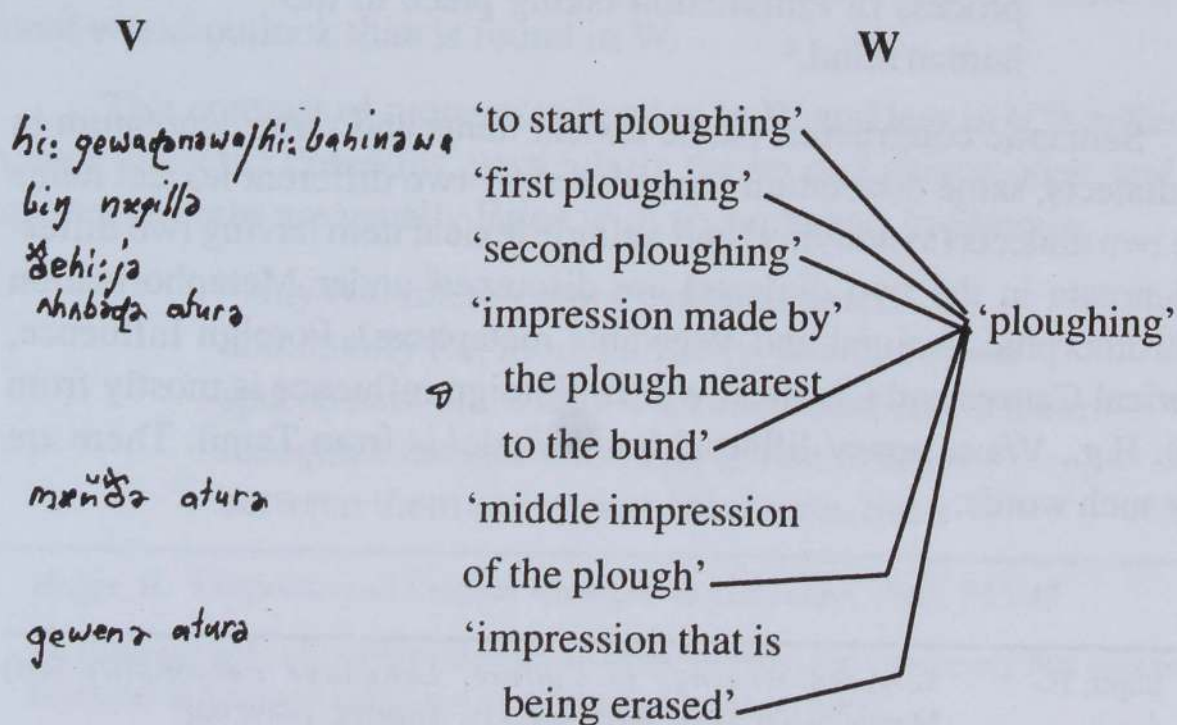
- i. Nature and Environment - E.g.

akwæssa	‘first rain in the Maha seasons (July-August)’
a: ñgiriga:nawa	‘fierce noise made by animals’

- ii. Occupation - E. g,
- pe:ruwntura* 'share of water from the reservoir'
 - ja:paḥuwa* 'delay in sowing'
 - pa:re* 'go in search of'. E.g. **ḥura pa:re* - 'in search of fire-wood'
- iii. Culture - E.g.,
- pittupa:ware* 'mixture of *pittu* (a kind of flour preparation) eaten communally in the Chena etc.
 - kaḍutu buḷaṭṭ* 'betel given at the gate at a wedding ceremony'

TYPE DIFFERENTIATION

Certain kinds of things, or acts, or events, or processes are differentiated in V, whereas they go undifferentiated in W and hence have more generic words to refer to them. These things present themselves before the cognitive processes of the V speakers so often and have become such a part of their daily lives, conceptual differentiation has become necessary. Some of these words have become technical words for the V speakers, without which they would find it difficult to manage their affairs. In W, a number of these types are subsumed under one word. E.g.,



Due to the same reasons discussed above, certain denotata have names for their parts in V, where as in W only the whole thing or one or two parts of it have separate names.

Regarding these new lexical items, two inter-connected questions arise:

1. Why is it that one dialect has such an abundance of words in certain spheres?
2. Why is it that the other has so few items in this spheres?

Our search for the answer or answers to these questions takes us to the very nature of language. Perhaps some words of Sapir are apt here:

“Language is a complex inventory of all the ideas, interests and occupations that take up the attention of the community.”¹

The W speakers have other things to be concerned about. Their economy is diversified and hence they are engaged in various types of occupations. They have been subject to various cultural influences. Due to all these and other reasons their perceptual structure is different from that of V speakers. This makes the W lexicon different from that of the V one.

The above is only a partial answer to our question. The other part of the answer lies in another principle of perception. It is the process of elimination taking place in the human mind.²

Semantic congruence (same lexical items and same denotatum in both dialects, same denotatum represented by two different lexical items in the two dialects (synonymy) and a single lexical item having two different denotata in the two dialects) are discussed under Metaphorization (Anthromorphic, Animal and Vegetable metaphors), Foreign Influence, Historical Causes and Classical words. Foreign influence is mostly from Tamil. E.g., V/a:ṣa ppwa/ ‘illness’ for W /lede/ is from Tamil. There are many such words.

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1. Sapir, E.- *Selected Writings in Culture, Language Personality* (ed) Mandelbaum, D.G., Berkeley, Los Angeles, 1949, 90f.
 2. Huxley, A. - *The Doors of Perception*. Harper and Row, New York, 1954:22-3

V using /oja/ for W/ gnṅga/ 'river' could be cited as a historical cause. It is the Indo-Aryans who colonized Sri Lanka, who introduced the word /gnṅga/ the name of a particular river in India, gnga: 'the Ganges') as the generic terms for rivers in Sri Lanka. The W uses that while V sticks on to the old term /ojə/.

In V, there are a lot of words coming in the classical Sinhala Literature and written Sinhala. This is another bit of evidence that goes to prove that the dialect is diachronically anterior to that of the W.

Suprasegmental contrasts such as the tonal ones are illustrated by means of sonograms.

SOCIAL FACTORS IN DIALECT VARIATION

"Linguistics, as the science of language, is not concerned alone with descriptions: this is only a necessary first step to setting up scientific generalizations or laws. To understand and generalize the linguistic change, we must set it as a part of the wider process of cultural change."¹

One factor that lends light to dialect variation is social stratification. In both communities, the society is stratified. But in W there are more social gradations arising from varying economic and cultural status of the members. In V, on the other hand, less social gradations are found because a great majority of its members are peasants and the degree of economic and social power they wield is more or less the same. Its almost total reliance on peasant-agriculture gives the community a more traditional world-outlook than is found in W.

This contrast of more stratification in W and less in V is reflected in their dialects.² Pronouns, particularly the second person ones, and the imperative verbs are usually laden with social values in Sinhala.

"Any two interlocutors within a speech community (or, more narrowly, within a given speech network within a speech community) must recognize the role relationship that exists between them at any particular time. Such

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1. Hoijer, H. 'Linguistic and Cultural Changes' in *Language*, 1948: 335-45
 2. "A language not only reflects the society of its speakers, but conversely that data per se is crucial if language usage and change are to be understood"

Weinreich, U. *Language in Contact*, Linguistic Circle of New York, 1962: 6-22

recognition is part of the communality of norms and behaviours upon which the existence of speech communities depends.”¹

Variations in 2P pronouns and imperative verbs seem to operate on three converging parameters of Social Distance (In-group or relatives, Outsiders and Respected outsiders), Age of the Addressee and the Age of the Speaker.

Semantic shifts caused by social factors could be seen in some lexical items which are no more than unemotional terms to refer to certain denotata in W, which have specific connotations in V. These connotations result from their being interwoven with the land tenure system and the kinship structure of the area. A few of such words are *ගාම* ‘village’, *ගොජ්ජා* ‘peasant’, */අපි/* ‘our’ and */මා:මා/* ‘uncle’

/ ගාම / originally meant ‘hereditary land’. It is this sense that expressions like

ගාම ගෙවැල් බලානා ජානා

‘Going to see the house and the land of the prospective bride groom’

කාකුනා:රු ගාම කොඬුදා?

‘What land for the festered-eared one?’

ගාම බා:රු

‘Official in charge of land (steward)’

විහාරා ජි:වාරා:රු ගාම

‘Land belonging to temples and devales’ etc. denote.

Although this original meaning is found in the V region, in W it has been extended to mean ‘village’, the land in which a whole community has settled down. Items like */ගොඳිගාම/* ‘cultivator caste’ and */බා:සරාමා/* ‘surname’ are reminiscent of that origin.

The origin of the V word */ඵලාහොඬුදා වෙනවා/* ‘to attain puberty’ could be attributed to the requirements of strengthening the ‘clan’. */හොඬුරු වෙනවා/* ‘to become better’ means that. The *වාරිගෙ* gets strengthened by the subsequent marriage of the girl to her male cousin. The equivalent W term is */ලොකු වෙනවා/* which simply means ‘to become big (girl)’.

1. Fishman, J.A. *Sociolinguistics*, Newbury House, Rowley, Mass. 1971: 44-5

V- $\lambda\beta\theta$ is an expression like / $\lambda\beta\theta$ kenek/ 'one of our people' is not the simple plural of $\lambda\beta\theta$ 'my'. It means that the person referred to is a member of our / $\lambda\beta\theta$ /.

Sinhala has only one word for both 'uncle' and 'father-in-law'. This is because in the / $\lambda\beta\theta$ / society that seems to have existed from the very early days, it is only the maternal uncle's daughter that a young man sought in marriage and hence the need for a separate word for the father-in-law did not arise.

CONCLUSIONS

To understand how land, caste and kinship are interwoven in the society of Sri Lanka, dialect studies help a lot.

One of the overall conclusions that we can come to after studying these two dialects is that diachronically speaking, V represents an anterior stage in the evolution of the Sinhala language. Then, quite naturally, it becomes nearer to classical Sinhala and Written Sinhala, than W is. A question arises here. If V represents an earlier stratum of Sinhala, was that stratum not found in W region also at some stage of the evolution of the language. Yes. Even in the W region this type of language had been there. Relics like / $\lambda\beta\theta$ / in Wanathamulla, the name of a place, is evidence for that.

There had been some homogeneity even in customs and beliefs etc. For instance, when a baby is born in the V region, all the occupants of the house have to wear washed clothes supplied by the washer man/woman for seven days. This is called / $\lambda\beta\theta$ /. Till about 4-5 decades ago, this custom, without that name survived in the W region, too: but now it has disappeared.

As to why W did not retain these forms, there can be several reasons. One of them, undoubtedly, is the Western influence to which the western region was exposed from the 15th century onwards. Foreign influence was so dominant in the western region that before the British captured the upcountry, the Kandyan provinces were known as the Sinhale:, 'the land of the Sinhalese', because the Sinhalese people lived mainly there, where the Sinhala language and the Sinhala culture was preserved.

A copy of the thesis, SOME ASPECTS OF THE VANNI DIALECT OF SINHALESE AS CONTRASTED WITH THE DIALECT OF THE WESTERN REGION OF SRI LANKA., York, 1974, on which this article is based is available at the University of Peradeniya Library, Peradeniya.

Annexe I

<i>Consonants</i>		IPA		IPA	
b	as in (băt)	b	ng	as in (sīng)	ŋ
ch	as in (chīn)	tʃ	ngg	as in (fī'ngger) =	
d	as in (dōg)	d		finger	ŋg
dh	as in (dhēn) = then	ð	p	as in (pēt)	p
f	as in (făt)	f	r	as in (răt)	r
g	(except after n) as in (gō)	g	s	as in (sīp)	s
h	(except after c, d, s, t, z) as in (hăt)	h	sh	as in (shīp)	ʃ
j	as in (jām)	dʒ	t	as in (tīp)	t
k	as in (kīt)	k	th	as in (thīn)	θ
l	as in (lōt)	l	v	as in (văn)	v
m	as in (măt)	m	w	as in (wīn)	w
n	as in (nēt)	n	y	as in (yēt)	j
ñ	(French nasalization) as in (gâr'sawn) = <i>garçon</i> etc.	(ã, õ, etc.)	z	as in (zīp)	z
			zh	as in (vī'zhon) = vision	ʒ
			χ	(Scots etc.) as in (lōχ) = loch	x
 <i>Vowels</i>					
ā	as in (fāt) = fate	eɪ	ō	as in (gōt) = goat	əu
ă	as in (făt)	æ	ö	as in (gōt)	o
a	as in (agō')	ə	o	as in (flă'gon)	ə
ah	as in (bah)	ɑ	oi	as in (boil)	ɔɪ
ār	as in (fār) = fare	eə(r)	ōō	as in (bōot)	u
âr	as in (fâr)	ɑ(r)	ōō	as in (bōok)	u
aw	as in (paw)	ɔ	oor	as in (poor)	uə(r)
ē	as in (mēt) = meet	i	ōr	as in (pōrt)	ɔ(r)
ĕ	as in (mĕt)	e	ow	as in (brow)	au
e	as in (tō'ken)	ə	owr	as in (sowr) = sour	auə(r)
ēr	as in (fēr) = fear	ɪə(r)	ū	as in (dū) = due	ju
ēr	as in (fēr) = fur	ʒ(r)	Û	as in (düg)	ʌ
er	as in (tā'ker)	ə(r)	u	as in (bō'nus)	ə
ī	as in (bīt) = bite	aɪ	ūr	as in (pūr) = pure	juə(r)
î	as in (bīt)	ɪ		See ñ (under 'Consonants' above) for French nasalized vowels.	
î	as in (bā'sin)	ə			
īr	as in (fīr) = fire	aɪə(r)			

FAMILY GENEALOGIES IN THE STUDY OF PRE-COLONIAL KANDYAN SOCIETY AND POLITY

by

Kapila Pathirana Vimaladharma

1. USES OF FAMILY GENEALOGIES

The usual purpose of genealogical charts or family trees is to serve as a charter of rights to inherited property or title of honour. In the past Kandyan society, authentic oral testimony sufficed to prove descent. The British colonial administration introduced the practice of substantiating claims to property on the basis of written documents one of which was the constructed family tree. The officers appointed to inquire and settle title to land under the Waste Lands Ordinance, followed by the Land Settlement Ordinance, began reducing oral evidence into written genealogies. The courts too admitted such charts as evidence. The files of the Land Settlement Department and the courts thus contain a mass of genealogical information.

Social anthropologists, for whom it is a key instrument in field studies into marriage patterns, kinship networks, devolution of property and inheritance of land and inter-family power relations, have made the most use of the family genealogical chart

A modern use of genealogical charts is to trace the persistence of pathologies. The technique of genogramming has been employed profitably in the field of family therapy to trace inter-generational transmission of certain diseases and also in family business consultation with particular focus on succession planning.¹

Some examples of well known books on family trees are those dealing with the UK royalty and aristocracy, family charts of the Punjab chiefs and of Mughal potentates. In Pakistan's Sindh Province, there is a printed record of the continuous descent of the families from the original Muslim "saints" in whose memory tombs have been erected. The requirement that at the funeral of a Hindu Brahmin, a 'kalveddu' or

1. Florence Kaslow: *Projective Programming*; Professional Resources Press, Sarasota, Florida, 1995.

statement detailing the life and relatives of the deceased giving his ancestry, be deposited at the temples, also provide a good source of an unbroken record of the family genealogy.

In Buddhist Sri Lanka, with the emphasis laid on the ephemeral sansaric cycle, there was no such imperative to record one's genealogy. The concept of the seven generations (*hatmutu paramparava*) is evident in folk speech and in certain literary works. It would be indeed surprising today if someone could recite from memory correctly beyond three ascending generations. Certain writers who were invited to compose a poem (e.g., *Kavmutuhara* in the 1840's), would trace the descent of the patron from five to seven ascending generations. Pattayame *lekam* in his *Kavminikondala*, has mentioned five generations of the Ilangakon family of Matara, going back to Sepala *Adhikaram* of Kotte period.

The *upasampada* (higher ordination) ceremony was an occasion when the ordinand monk recited his sacerdotal pupillary succession. Since the succession was often that of *gnati-sisya* (kin-pupil), especially in the temples which owned large estates granted by the king, the incumbency of which were held by members of key lay families, some genealogical information could have ensued. However, these sacerdotal successions records have rarely survived.

2. STUDY LOCALE, RATIONALE AND METHOD

The Kandyan kingdom has been selected for this study, for it represents a polity and society somewhat in an unaltered character until the British captured it in 1815 and transformed it quite substantially. Whilst the low country and parts of the maritime areas had become subjugated by foreign powers for well over 300 years by then, first by the Portuguese, then by the Dutch and lastly by the British, the mountainous regions and some parts of the northern, north-western and north-eastern parts forming the Kandyan kingdom held out for much longer.

From its establishment in 1594 as an independent entity to its collapse in 1815, the Kandyan kingdom went through the following broad phases.

Founding Stage	- King Vimaladharmasuriya I	(1594-1604)
Consolidation Stage	- King Senerath	(1604-1635)
	- King Rajasinha II	(1635-1687)

Efflorescent Stage	- King Vimaladharmasuriya II	(1687-1707)
	- King Narendrasinha	(1707-1737)
	- Srivijaya Rajasinha	(1737-1747)
	- King Kirtisri Rajasinha	(1747-1781)
	- King Rajadhi Rajasinha	(1781-1798)
Disintegration Stage	- King Srivikrema Rajasinha	(1798-1815)

Historians claim that it was at the time that the Vaduga dynasty was enthroned, that the rivalries amongst the leading aristocrats surfaced and took a conspiratorial tone. The reasons seem to be more deep-seated than that and emanate from the social background of the families of these potentates. One way of revealing the background, even in a limited way, is through a study of the family genealogies, which task is attempted here.

The principal aim of this study is to explore the role of the families of key personalities in the affairs of the pre-colonial Kandyan state. We do so by presenting the genealogical charts of selected families to illustrate the inter-family connections and growth of nuclei of power, wealth and status, and how these factors influenced the society and politics of the Kandyan kingdom. Certain key family clusters and their origin and growth of power and position will be illustrated through Position Tables that are presented. (see Annex A).

The method adopted in this study was, first to prepare an inventory of the hierarchy of posts and their incumbents from 1594 to 1815, giving the year, the post, name of holder, and the source.² In addition to the usual sources consulted by the historians, the certified copies of *Sannasas* and Old Documents, prepared under H. C. P. Bell's supervision, that were with the Land Settlement Department, now transferred to the National Archives, proved a valuable source to ascertain the year, post and name of the officer. Next, the genealogical charts of their descendants were prepared, based on published and unpublished sources, private family records and interviews with present day descendants to record the oral tradition.

However, it must be emphasized that for the early years, i.e. reigns of the first 3 rulers of Kandy, there is not much authentic recorded genealogical evidence available. From the *kadaimpot* (boundary books)

2. These details have been assembled in the author's *Postholders of the Kandyan Kingdom* (forthcoming)

and *lekam miti* (land rolls) some information on post holders could be gathered but not genealogical data. Land transfer deeds have yielded more information. Foreigners who lived in the Kandyan territory (e.g., Knox, Hubbard) and the Dutch visitors and Governors have left behind some information. A few families have kept records of a genealogical nature but mostly to do with claims to land. Wherever available these records have been utilized in the preparation of the genealogical charts presented here.

The selection of families for detailed study was guided by four considerations, viz:

- a) Generational span: a family should have held office for more than 3 generations,
- b) Continuity of service: should have served more than two kings,
- c) Kin network: kin relations with more than two other prominent families,
- d) Influence factor: relations with the king, through *yakadadolis* harem ladies and/or producing prominent monks from within family circles.

On the above basis, three clusters of families have been selected for study. They are the Pilimatalauves of Udunuvara-Yatinuvara (Denuvara), Ehelepolas of Matale and Meegastenne-Amunugamas and Rambukwelles of Dumbara. The Galagoda (Hevaheta) Angamma (Uda Palatha) and Dodanvala (Yatinuvara) families also qualify on most of the above criteria. However, the paucity of information influenced us to exclude them from the present study.

Elitist historiographies dealing with the Kandyan kingdom have placed emphasis exclusively on the role of the aristocratic *radala* families as exercising a substantial influence on the ultimate fall of the kingdom. In them, the aristocracy has been treated as a homogenous entity. Our studies attempt to demonstrate the heterogeneity of the Kandyan elitist class having divergent interests, on the one hand, and to posit that the subaltern class of the lower rung officials too had a progressive interest in the affairs of the Kandyan State.

3. Five Chief Ministers of the Great Gate are mentioned. of Rakkhanga Sannas Curnikava (p.26), ed: N. Mudiyanse: Sastriya Lipi Sangrahaya, M. D. Gunasena & Co, Colombo, 1971.

3. LAYERS OF THE ARISTOCRACY

The holders of the key positions in the state apparatus were referred to as the *Mahavasala Pradhana Radalavarun* (Principal Aristocrats of the Palace)³. Which of the key posts were designated as the Five Principal ministries is not clear, though however the 2 *Adhikarams* (Prime Ministers) must have been invariably included. During the foundation stage, these positions were held by the captains of foreign mercenaries who supported the King, as well as by the King's near relatives. In time, non-royal members of the aristocracy held the posts.

The *radala-peruva* (bureaucracy) was a generic term applied to families who held posts in the higher rungs of the state apparatus, which signified an ascribed status, whilst the *bandaravaliya* (lineage) denoted a person's parentage and origin, irrespective of the official position of the progenitor, and hence was acquired status. The ruler could alter an the ascribed status through the instrument of appointments to posts, and by rewards of land grants. By convention his choice was limited to persons of high caste status. The few exceptions in the early years of the kingdom, were those of Portuguese appointed as *Adhikaram* (Emmanuel Dias, Gascoigne/Daskon) or *Mohottala* (Lanerolle) *Gabada Nilame* (Alvaringho) and of Kuruvita *Rala* (?Antonio Baretto) as *Uva Disava*. In later years Nayakkar relations of the king were also appointed to posts that had usually belonged to the indigenous persons of the bandara class. There were limitations on his intervention to alter the *bandaravaliya*, once again emanating from conventions of caste. The rulers could create new *bandaravaliyas* by taking as *yakadadolis* from families that were outside of the *bandaravaliya*, as was the case with Alutgama Chandra Rekavo *Dugganna Unnanse* who was a daughter of an *aracci* (a minor headman). King's relatives too had their wives from Sinhala families, whose progeny entered the *bandaravaliya*. The ruler could alter the composition of both the *radala-peruva* and *bandaravaliya*, when occasions arose for meting out punishments for conspiracy against the king, cowardice in war, for raising insurrection or for violation of caste taboos, by resorting to purges, decapitation and degradation.

The ruler's own scions from commoner concubines or wives, called *yakadadoli* distinct from *randoli* (anointed queen) and other queens

-
4. *ran* was gold, *ridi* was silver and *yakada* was iron; so was treated the difference between the royal and the commoner wives of the king.
 5. *Sinduruvana Bandaravaliya* mentions *bandaras*, *kumara bandaras* and *brahmana bandaras*, thus making a distinction in the categories.

(*rididoli*),⁴ were distinguished as *Vahala Bandaras*. The offspring of the king's brothers and cousins were also called *bandaras*. Most Kandyan *bandaras* in the early stages had connections with the remnants of the Gampola royalty⁵. In the later stages, one comes across Muslim and even non-*goigama bandararas*. The *Matale Hamudave Lekam Mitiya* of (Army Land Rolls) of 1765 refers to several such Muslim *bandaras* of Ukuvela and non-*goigama bandararas* in the southern areas of Matale. In general, the highest layer of aristocrats (*radala peruva*) had two sub-strata, viz. *vahala* (palace) *bandara* and commoner *bandara* families of the *bandara-valiya*.

The next layer was that of the *Mudiyanses* (*mudali-peruva*), comprising of the *goigama* caste persons who enjoyed the privileges of the middle positions in the official hierarchy. They were addressed as *Ralas* or *Appuhamis*, and when appointed to key posts were promoted as *Ralahamis*. The general body of the yeomanry (*rate etto*) also of the *goigama* sub-caste was that of the small landowners and peasants. They held local headmen's posts especially in the Atapattu and Nayakkara militia, almost exclusively, and enjoyed the tax-free *gamvasam* lands of those companies. The other social formation comprised of the service providers (*nilakarayo*), soldiers, guards, herdsman, graziers, artificers, astrologers, dancers & musicians and ritual specialists etc. and were non-*goigama* in caste, but had their own headmen such as the *Muhandiram*, *Vidane*, *Maha Duraya*, *Gammehe* and *Araccila*. The majority of them owned or tilled the service and/or private land, and thus were cultivators, for most times of the year, no different in production relations from the *goigama* cultivators.

It was from the *radala-peruva* that the palace officials, especially those in charge of the monarch's personal security were chosen. Such was the case when King Senerath appointed Weerasuriya, his brother-in-law as *Adhikaram*. Amunugama (1683) and Pilimatalauve (1750) were appointed *Saluvadana Nilames* (Royal Chamberlains) and Amunugama (1683) and Aludeniya (under Vimaladharmasuriya I) were *Batvadana Nilames* (Royal Butlers). The siblings and close relatives obtained state appointments, and thus entered the *radala peruve*. The Rambukwelle family provides good examples.

A simple typology of the families could be constructed on the basis of their origin and the spheres of authority in which they operated. Origin as usually claimed, is reckoned from three sources: (a) the indigenous

origin from the *ksatriya* royalty of the founders of the kingdom and their kinfolk; (b) migrant *Brahmins* who attained positions of prominence in the Kandyan society; and (c) *Vahala Bandaras* who descended from a mix of royalty and indigenous gentry through the *yakadadolis*. The spheres of influence are coterminous with the several fields and levels of administration. These positions were in the spheres of (a) Prime Minister (*adhikaram*), (b) palace service, (c) regional and revenue administration, military establishment, and (d) temporalities management.

The posts that represent the hierarchy are indicated in the Annex-A; Table A-1). caution needs to be added that it represents only a very approximate reckoning of the gradation and functions of the Kandyan administrative hierarchy, and that it does not delineate the finer distinctions that would have been observed in the actual functioning of the system. For example, it seems incongruous today that a Prime Minister (*Adhikaram*) should also function as the supervisor of the Royal kitchen staff or the supervisor of the drummers.

Thus, the following matrix emerges from a study of the post-holders and their social statuses:

SPHERE	TOP	MIDDLE	LOWER
Palace	Radala	Radala Mudali	Mudali Commoner
Prime Minister	Radala	-	-
Region/ Revenue/ Military	Radala	Radala Mudali	Mudali Commoner
Temporalities	Radala	Mudali	Commoner

The pattern is clear at the extremes of the scale, in that the principal posts, such as those of *Adhikaram* and *Maha Disava* were always held by the *radala* group, whilst the lowest positions went, invariably, to the commoners. The middle level posts were available to the *radala* as well as the *mudali* sub-strata. There was no rigid exclusivity. For example, in a *Radala* family, the father may hold a top post but his son or brother may hold middle positions.

The appropriation of posts by contending families is an important feature that explains factionalism in Kandyan society. Positions carried

with them the right to revenue from *rajakariya* (service) lands, annual *dekum* (presents) from subordinates and the fees from appointments that a key post holder was entitled to make. In addition, there were favours from the king such as rich presents and grants of agricultural lands for themselves and their descendents. There are instances when unscrupulous chiefs had enriched themselves by exacting unauthorized levies from the people and also misappropriation of state funds. Property and wealth boosted up the social status of a family which entitled them to certain other advantages such as forms of address, distinctive dress and headgear, and house type (*valauva*).

The principal family living in a geographical division such as a *disavani* or *rata* seemed to have monopolized the top positions, in what was conceded as their home areas. By this means, the chiefs could build up over the years, political authority and substantial support from the inhabitants who depended on the chiefs for patronage and protection. For example, the Pilimatalauve group acquired the key positions of Udunuvara and Yatinuvara; Amunugama, Meegastenne families dominated in Dumbara, whilst Matale was generally under the Ehelepolas and Keppitipolas. In the distant *disavani*s of Sabaragomuva, Seven Korales, Uva and Nuvara Kalaviya, the position of *Disava* was given not to a native chief, but always to an "outsider". This pattern is noticeable from the time of Rajasinha, who seemed to have shuffled the governors often, which strategy was very much resorted to by Srivikrema to introduce some balance in power between the centre and periphery and within the peripheries, to keep the chiefs in check.

4. NUCLEI OF POWER

The prominent families exercising power during each of the above stages were :

Founding Stage: Foreigners who took up service under Kandyan Kings, e.g., Emmanuel Dias *Adhikaram* and Migamuve *Rala*,⁶ who seem to have become indigenized soon after and the king's near relatives such as Weerasuriya *Adhikaram* Senerath's brother-in-law. Another *Adhikaram* named Yalegoda is also said to be a relative of the king.

Consolidation Stage: King Rajasinha enjoyed a long spell on the throne. On the deathbed of King Senerat, the Kandyan kingdom was divided amongst the three brothers, Kumarasinha (Uva), Wijayapala (Matale)

6. He is said to be the same as Kuruvita Rala.

and Rajasinha (Senkadagala). The ambitious Rajasinha annexed the other parts as well after waging war against his brothers. Rajasinha's rule was not an uniformly peaceful one. The armies of the Portuguese and the Dutch challenged him successively whom he defeated in battles. He also faced insurrections raised by rebellious local chieftains, which he crushed mercilessly. These successes have become transformed into the legendary and heroic in the literary works and in the imagination of the Sinhala people. Rajasinha's *Adhikarams* are not mentioned in a prominent way, all the glory reserved to the monarch in the panegyric-like literature. Hindagala and Aswolle and the domiciled foreigner Gascoigne (Daskon) are given as the *Adhikarams*. Rajasinha introduced a second post of *Adhikaram*,⁷ aimed to keep the chiefs in check by deconcentrating and fragmenting power among them. Another reason, was to keep a senior official in the capital of Kandy to attend to state matters, when the king was absent, often for protracted periods as in Rajasinha's case, on military campaigns against invaders and on suppressing disturbances and rebellions. Srivikrema added a third post of *Adhikaram* called *Siyapattuve Adhikaram*.

The occasions when the composition of the hierarchy changed, were associated with a change in regime and times of conspiracy and rebellions. Upon succession to the throne, a new monarch usually brought in new faces, which was a means of mobility for some families. However, certain individuals whose loyalty was unquestioned were continued in service. This was apparent where two brothers of the same family held the topmost post of *Adhikaram*, as for example the Rammolakas, Galagodas, Dodanvalas in the early periods. Conspiracies and rebellions resulting in general purges also led to a shift in power of the key families, and also provided opportunities to those lower in the scale to surface.

Particularly, in the latter day Kandyan politics, one could discern 3 family clusters who exercised considerable power. These are; (see Annex-B for genealogies)

- (a) Denuvara cluster dominated by the Pilimatalauves; (Chart -1)
- (b) Matale cluster dominated by the Ehelepolas (Chart -2)
- (c) Dumbara cluster of Amunugama and the Rambukwelles (Chart -3)

7. The senior was called the Pallegampahe *Adhikaram* and the junior was Udagampahe *Adhikaram*. The *Disavas* and *Ratas* to the right of the king seated on the throne facing the Dalada Maligava, were called Pallegampahe and those to the left were of the Udagampahe.

The origin of the Pilimatalauve family is traced to a Pilimatalauve *Nilame* who is noticed in 1561, which takes the origin back to the Gampola period. The exodus from Kotte, of royal personages and their kinsmen, both priests and laymen, resulting particularly from Rajasinha's persecution of the Buddhist priests, found a haven in the Kandyan country⁸. One such group headed by a priest, said to be a cousin of the King of Kotte, settled in Urulewatta in Udunuvara. Pilimatalauve was one of these prominent persons. The (Urulewatte) *Adhikaram* who was executed in 1811, sometimes signed as *Arave Maha Nilame*, thus giving credence to the tradition repeated in *Dunuwila Hatana*, that he is said to descend from an offspring of King Narendrasinha from a Moneruvila *Dugganna Unnanse*. The Mampitiyes backed the Pilimatalauves.

The *brahmin* origin of Ehelepola's is vouchsafed by the Medabedda land grant given to the first Ehelepola who gained office. Pieris (1983:172) provides further information. The beginning of the Ehelepola line is traced on the male side to a *Brahmin* and on the female side to a prominent low country family. The latter was Don Cosmos of Peliyagoda, a Christian, who was amongst four commanders of Sinhala forces serving the Portuguese. He defected to the Sinhala side on the eve of the Randeniya battle in 1630. King Senerat granted a *sannasa* grant for the village of Katugaha in Uva, and also conferred the title Vikramasinha. Don Cosmos's daughter married Warademune Wijayasundera Mudiyanse, who settled down in Warademune, Matale and his brother at Medabedda village in the same district. (Dewaraja 1972: 226-7). It is from these persons that the Ehelepolas are descended. There were two other *Adhikarams* who preceded Srivikrema's *Adhikaram*. Ehelepolas were linked by marriage to the Kossinna family of Kegalle and the Keppitipolas who also hailed from the same district.

Ehelepola *Adhikaram* III married a sister of Moneruvila Keppetipola *Disava*, and after she was killed by drowning, married the widow of Meegastenne *Adhikaram*, who was a daughter of Pilimatalauve (Urulewatte) *Adhikaram*, long after Pilimatalauve *Adhikaram*'s execution, thus establishing a new link. His mother was a daughter of Kossinna *Rala* of Kegalle. His brother was married from Kurunegala, and sister given in marriage to Golahela *Saluvadana Nilame* of Kegalle. Thus Ehelepola

8. Eighteen *Bandaras* are said to have settled down in the area according to *Sinduruvana Bandaravaliya*, and such was Urulevatu Gampaha Wijesundera Bandara and Mampitiye Abhayasinha Bandara. See *Gampola Itihasaya* by Gunalankara Varasambodhi Maha Sthavira, 1948 (p.152).

represented a Matale-Kegalle grouping of chiefs. Largely because Ehelepolas were not of the *Vahala Bandara strata*, no other Kandyan *radala* would support his claim to rulership, nor even to call him Utum Kumaru (Grand Prince), a lesser title he preferred in the alternative, under the aegis and backing of the British rulers. Finding his close kinsmen of Kegalle District decimated on a large scale, and being cold-shouldered by the key families of Matale such as Dullewe, Aluvihare and Ellepola, he turned to the Denuvara faction for support. The Denuvara chiefs were by then under suspicion and of little help, whilst Molligoda, his rival, kept on setting up the king against him.

An account of the founding of the Matale disavani in the 17th century, has drawn heavily from the settlement traditions current at the time and are incorporated in the historical document called the *Matale Kada-im Pota*. It provides evidence that Indian *Brahmins* and others, were the ancestors of certain prominent families in the district. However, the *Kadaim-pota* attempts to give a very ancient vintage by tracing the event to the bringing of the holy bo-tree sapling from India to Anuradhapura and those who accompanied it. The text tried obviously, to explain away the order of caste and status hierarchy of the later times. The founder *Brahmana Ralas* were Somadhantha at Negapattalama, Sri Vishnu at Aluvihare, Srirama at Ratwatte, Solangi at Hulangomuva, Kotudeiya at Kotuvegedera, Sridantha at Moneruvila and Wedanda at Wegodapola.⁹

The Keppitipola's origin is also traced to a *Brahmin* who settled down in Navagomuva village near Rambukkana, Kegalle District.¹⁰ By marriage to the ancient family of the Moneruvila of Matale they established links with the Kandyan aristocracy and the progeny went as Moneruvila-Keppitipola.

The Kegalle *Mudalis* such as the Kossina and Golahela families supported Ehelepolas.¹¹ The Kegalle chieftains, the Edanduvave and Tudugala *Dissavas* who were of *Brahmin* origin but had royal connections and had entered the *bandara* class, were decimated earlier. Srivikrema

9. See H. A. P. Abeyawardhana: *Boundary Divisions of Medieval Sri Lanka – Based on a study of the Boundary Books*, (translation of *Kadaimpot Vimarshanaya*); Academy of Sri Lankan Culture, Colombo, 1999. (p.212-216)

10. In a footnote, Ralph Pieris (1956:3) quoting Ievers's Official Diary, notes that the Keppitipolas were of Malabar Tamil origin, who migrated to Sri Lanka, perhaps after 1739.

11. Golahela Kuruppu Mudiyanse's ancestor is said to have come from India (?Kerala).

executed Leuke *Dissava*, who also was of *brahmin* origin and a favourite of the earlier monarchs. The loyalty of the two Molligoda *Adhikaram* brothers who by marriage were connected to the families of Mampitiye *Vahala Bandaras* and Leuke *Dissavas*, wavered from one group to the other, until they were able to reap the fruits of the fallout from these family contestations. The Molligodas could lay no claim to high aristocratic origin and indeed were inconspicuous before the two brothers acquired positions of prestige.

The Dumbara cluster included the two Meegastenne *Adikaram* brothers, and Amunugamas whose sympathy was with the king as was that of the Rambukwelles¹². The largest number of *yakadadolis* have come from Dumbara families. Some families were closely linked to the founding monarchs, who were scions of families claiming legitimate rights to the Kandyan throne, and hence were considered as *ksatriyas* themselves.¹³

There is no evidence that any of the Dumbara *radala* were executed earlier, though in 1709 some members of the *mudali peruva* were put to death, for raising a rebellion against Narendrasinha.

Cross-linkages through marriage alliances between different clusters did take place, but there is little evidence of firm inter-locking of family interests. Each family pursued its own individual political interest and economic advancement, sometimes at the expense of the other. For example, when Pilimatalauvve *Disava* was banished to Mauritius for his involvement in the 1818, nprising the wife experienced hardship and appealed to the Governor for the restoration of the confiscated property. Members of the Pilimatalauve clan had not come to her succour. Ellepola Siyapattuve *Adhikaram* was executed in 1818 for his part in the Rebellion. His wife Ihagama Kumarihami, died a pauper and when her half-naked body was found in the streets of Kandy, the body was not claimed by any of the relations. The English authorities paid for the burial expenses.

The Position Tables presented here illustrate the interplay and rivalry between key families for important posts in the state hierarchy. Position Table-

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12. King Srivikrema is said to have addressed Meegastenne *Adhikaram* I as "uncle" whilst persuading the sick *Adhikaram* to take medicines from his royal hand. (P.Dolapihilla : In the Days of Sri Wickramarajasingha, last king of Kandy; Saman Press, Maharagama, 1959 (p.213). It might be more than polite and endearing speech, when one remembers that Dumbara *radala* families were in the past related to Kandyan royalty.
13. See A.B.A E. Mediwake: *Senkadagala Samaya*; S.E.Wijyasekera & Co, Maradana, 1947.

2 gives all those who held the position of 1st or 2nd *Adhikaram* (Prime Minister). Angammanas and Rammolakas, held this post longer than others, in the early years of the Kingdom. Thereafter Ehelepolas, Pilimatalauves and Dumbara (Meegastennes) have held the post consecutively. None of these *Adhikarams* left behind progeny who could trace their origin in the male line to the *Adhikarams*, except through daughters.

Annex B contains the genealogies of the selected families, in which the principal marriage alliances are also noted. Annex A gives the holders of the posts held by various members of the selected families. Table-2 lists those who held the key posts of *Adhikaram*. Position Table 2 shows the performance by members of the Pilimatalauve family. Denuvara (Udunuvara and Yatinuvara) had always remained with them. Wellassa, Nuvarakalaviya, Matale and Sabaragamuva in the early years had been held by the Pilimatalauves, who moved to Three Korales, Four Korales, Seven Korales, Puttalam, Matale and Sabaragamuva in later years, whilst holding posts in *Maha Aramudala*, (State Treasury), *Kottalbadda*. (Artificers Department) and *Mahagabadava* (Principal Stores). Ehelepolas (Table-4) controlled the Three and Four Korales, Uva, Wellassa, Matale and later Sabaragamuva and posts in security and revenue administration. Dumbara-Amunugama families (Table 5) administered Dumbara, eastern counties, and Matale areas. It is evident that from Narendrasinha's time the Pilimatalauve family had been on the ascendant, and the Ehelepolas were trailing behind. The Dumbara group remained somewhat constant.

The concentration of power in a family, and indeed in one individual, is best illustrated from the fact that Pilimatalauve *Adhikaram* (III) was simultaneously holding several key and remunerative positions. The Kurudeniye *talpatha* of 1798, issued by the *Adhikaram* lists the following posts held by him: (1) *Maha Adhikaram Nilame* of Kandy and Commander-in-Chief of the Military (2) Dissave of Seven Korales; (3) *Dissava* of Three Korales; (4) *Disava* of Puttalama and of Anavulundeva & Munnessarama; (5) Chief of 29 royal villages (*gabadagam*) of the 7 Korales and of the 6 divisions (*sabage*) of Kurunegala; (6) Chief of the *Kuruve* of Pussella, (7) Chief of the Madige of Seven Korales; (8) Chief of the Madige of Hulanbadda; (9) Chief of the Udunuvara Devala Villages; (10) *Atapattuva* of Denuvara; (11) *Saluvadana Nilame*; (12) *Muhandiram* of the Royal Kitchen; (13) *Vannaku Nilame* of the Treasury; (14) *Muhandiram* of the Gate (Vahalkada); (15) *Diyavadana Nilame* of the Dalada Maligava; (16) *Basnayaka Nilame* of Maha Devale; (17) *Lekam* of the *Vahala Maduva* (Palace Guardroom); (18) *Muhandiram* of the Tom-Tom (*Tamboru*

Purampetty) Dept (19) *Muhandiram* of the *Aspantiya* (Royal Stables) (LG:495). Thus he was holding 4 out of the 17 key posts in regional administration; 2 of the 7 revenue posts; 6 of the 13 key palace posts, 2 of the 5 key temporalities positions in the capital.

Position Table-4 on the performance of the Ehelepola family shows that, in addition to producing *Adhikarams*, the members were strong in the field of regional administration and less so in the other spheres. Table 4 on the Dumbara families shows that they were on the ascendant after Narendrasinha's reign and were strong in regional administration and somewhat well placed in the sphere of palace service, royal security and the army. Table 6 shows that the Rambukwelles were strong in the reigns of the first two monarchs and continued to have a say in regional government, revenue administration and the army but were particularly close in to the principal Buddhist clergy. Table 6 also gives some comparative data on the Dodanvala family, though not one of our sample clusters. Dodanvalas descended from Dodanvala Epa, a royal personage during the Gampola period, but seem to have been neglected by the early Kandyan monarchs.

5. PURGES AND PLEBEIANIZATION

Somewhat large-scale purges of key officials followed by their execution and the reduction of their families in social status, confiscation of property and punishment of the community from where they came, are reported throughout Kandyan history.

Rajasinha II :

In the year 1640, fifteen *Mudali* were arrested of whom 10 were executed in between 1678-80. They were : Tudugala *Appuhami* Gajanayaka *Nilame*, Udagampahe *Haluvadana Rala*, *Batvadana Rala*, Uduvela *Appuhami Uva Dissava*, Uduagama *Appuhami Matale Dissava*, *Paiyagala Rala*, Seven *Korales Dissava*, *Endanduvave Rala* (? Four *Korales Dissava*), *Udunuvara Rala*, *Wellassa Dissava*, *Kottalbadde Rala*, *Hegama Rala*, *Galamunne* (?*Galagama*) *Rala*, *Keeravala Appuhami*, *Ettakanda Rala*, *Tudugala Rala* (Paulusz 1989:151,170). *Alvaringho*, a Portuguese, who was *Rajasinha's Gabada Nilame* was also executed.

Vimaladharmasuriya II was a very religious person and did not impose capital punishment except on 2 or 3 convicts. His was a peaceful reign. His *Disavas*, (*Galagoda Rala* of *Matale*, *Edanduvave Rala* of Four *Korales* and others) "these with other court chiefs in Kandy govern the

kingdom and give the King no more than they desire” according to Hubbard, a contemporary observer.¹⁴

Narendrasinha: After suppressing the rebellion in 1709, the following were executed: *Pattiye Bandara*, said to be a son of Vimaladharmasuriya ii, Herat *Dissava* alias *Yalegoda Adikaram*, *Karaliyadde Lekam Muhandiram*, *Pattapola Lekam Muhandiram*, *Randeniye Lekam Muhandiram*, *Dunuvila Muhandiram*, *Degaldoruve Rate Mahattaya* of *Dumbara Udasiyapattu*, *Meemure Nilame Ratemahattaya* of *Dumbara*, *Eramuduliyadde Ralahami* of *Tumpane*, *Molagoda Haluvadana Nilame*, *Hendeniye Muhandiram*, *Edanduvave Dissava* (Abeysinha et al 1977:66; *Udarata Vitti*). *Bogomuve Dissava*, *Kirivaule Dissava* and *Daskon Adhikaram* are also said to be executed in 1709. According to the *Rajavaliya*, others executed were: *Ketakumbure Rala*, *Dehigama Rala*, *Bammane* (?*Barammane*) *Rala*, *Danture Rala*, and *Udubaddave Rala*.

Kirtisri : In 1760 after the failed conspiracy to assassinate the king, *Tibbatuvave Hanumatkodi* (*Samarakkodi*) *Adikaram*, *Moladande Batvadana Nilame*, *Matale Metihampola Rate Adhikaram* and two others were executed. *Balagolle Appuhami*, of *Matale* (the *Diyavadana Nilame* of the *Dalada Maligava*) was executed in 1765. *Hulangamuve Buddharakkhita Thera* of *Malvatte Maha Vihara* disclosed the conspiracy, in which the *Sangharaja Welivita Saranankara Unnanse* was also implicated. *Hulangamuve Thera*’s brother was rewarded with a grant of lands and appointment as *Dissava*.¹⁵

Rajadhirajasinha’s reign was also a peaceful one in which religion and literary activity flourished in a climate of economic prosperity. There were no battles to defend the country, no reported rebellions, the links with the Buddhist clergy and the patriarchs of *Malavatta* and *Asgiriya Chapters* in *Kandy* and even with those in the low-country, were very strong. The king sought his *yakadadolis* from the regular sources and the chieftains, drawn from the usual families, were left to themselves to govern the districts, without undue interference by the king.

14. Hubbard’s report to the Dutch Governor in Colombo, reproduced in S. Arasaratnam: *William Hubbard, fellow prisoner of Knox in Kandy, 1660-1703; University of Ceylon Review, Vol.xix, No.1 (1962), p.37.*

15. *Sannas of 1760 to Hulangomuve Buddharakkhita Unnanse in Naulle Dhammananda Thera: Uve Itihasaya, pp.132-33;*

Srivikrema: In 1798 Erewwawala *Adhikaram* and his son-in-law Denagamuve *Dissava* were executed, presumably at the instigation of Pilimatalauve *Adhikaram* to eliminate possible rivals. In 1803 when the British first made incursion into Kandyan territory, Halangoda *Mohottala* (Lawrie, p.366) and Aluvihare Rate *Adhikaram*, Palipana and Leuke *Dissava* were executed for failure to stop the invaders. For their part in the conspiracy of 1811, Pilimatalauve *Adhikaram* and Mampitiye *Wahala Bandara* and his son-in-law Ratwatte Devamedda *Dissava* were executed. After Ehelepola *Adikaram* decamped in 1814, his wife and 3 children and in-laws were put to death, including Puswelle *Gabada Nilame*.

Because of the repeated conspiracies engineered by the foremost officers of state, viz, Pilimatalauve and his successor Ehelepola, a nervous king, put to death a large number of *Mohottalas* and minor headmen especially from Denuvara, Sabaragamuva and Seven Korales. The number of victims loom large as against the numbers in the previous regimes, because accounts of the killings have survived, thanks to the records kept by the English spies. The English recorded both fact and rumour as it served their interest best, to paint Srivikrema in the blackest terms possible, so as to justify their own designs to supplant him and to subjugate the kingdom. A good example is the Diary kept by Doyly, just before and after the capture of the Kandyan kingdom.

The revolts and uprisings for which there is recorded evidence, would give the impression that they were supported if not initiated by the *mudali peruva*. The nominal leadership to the movement would have come from the *radala* but the actual operations were in the hands of the *mudali* who being closest to the people could muster popular support. The revolt against Rajasinha was fomented and launched by Ambanvela Rala, ostensibly to correct the lifestyle of a wayward monarch, for it was rumoured that Rajasinha was keeping his sister as wife, which outraged the people. Ambanvela *Rala* was banished. The other leaders killed were of the *mudali-peruva*. The revolt against Narendrasinha was led by Yalegoda Herat, ex-*Adhikaram*, but supported by the *mudali-muhandiram* group who were all executed. So was the plot hatched by Hanumatkodi *Adigar* supported by the *mudali* class and also by a few key members of the *sangha* (clergy) who themselves were of the *mudali* rank¹⁶.

16. Tibbatuvave Sri Siddhartha Buddharakkhita Thera, Mahanayaka of Malvatta Chapter, 1753-1773, was a brother or cousin of the *Adhikaram*. The *Adhikaram*'s son fled to the Dutch territory and later he or his son, was known as Paulis de Fonseka Wijayawickrema Tilakaratna Samarakkody, who held the appointment of *Muhandiram* in the Hevagam Korale, Colombo District.

The earlier purges did not leave behind a sufficient number of persons of high aristocratic extraction. Therefore recruitment had to be from the next lower strata, who would have had no kinsmen amongst the older aristocracy. The rejected sought succour from the succeeding king or else as it happened later, sought favour of the British.

As punishment for serious offences against the state and society, whole villages were reduced in caste and they became *gettaru* (degraded; excommunicated). This meant that high castes were reduced in social status. But whether they were equated with the lower castes is not known; perhaps they formed a separate sub-caste. The family members of the offender, both of the nuclear and extended families, agnates and affinals, living in the village were socially ostracised and stripped of the hitherto held caste status, official position and privileges. Their inherited (*paraveni*) property do not seem to have been sequestered or forfeited to the state, thus assuring them of continued subsistence. Another instance of denigration of caste status is when caste taboos on marriage and sexual relations have been violated by the high caste women. The punishment was 'social death' by being sent as mate to the outcaste *rodiya* chief of the Gampola royal village. The social stigma visited all the relations of the culprit woman.¹⁷

Aludeniya village in Tumpane was declared a *gettaru* village by Rajasinha, because the villagers joined the Portuguese and showed cowardice in war. Lawrie has listed the following *gettaru* villages: Karamada and Dehipagoda in Udunuvara; Rambukevala, Weligalla, Walagadeniya and Penahetipola in Harispattu; Alutgama, Paranagama, Nepana, Bamunampola¹⁸ and Nattarampotha in Lower Dumbara; Dehipadena in Upper Dumbara; Hiyadala, Walpola, Minigamuva, Weligodapola, Dunkumbura, Aludeniya and Polwatta in Tumpane; Antanagala and Gonagamuva in Lower Hevaheta; Embitiyava, Hunuketavala and Wevagedera in Matale. (Lawrie 17,297), and Karalliyadda in Uda Hevaheta (Lawrie:42). Kotagepitiya in Kotmale was made a *gettaru* village, because, it is said, that the village headmen harboured a contender to the throne.¹⁹ By entering the priesthood one

17. "...it was the custom in this country when a woman of superior caste was known to have prostituted herself to a man of lower caste, for the family of the woman to put her to death, but if they failed to do so, the whole family would be degraded to such a degree to exclude them from all future social intercourse with the people of their caste..." (Sawers, quoted in PEP:/50:457.)

18. Bamunampola Rala, was the Palihana Rala in 1724 (CP:538) and also in 1779 (LG:298). His execution for some serious offence would have occasioned the degradation of Bamunampola village to *gettaru* status.

19. *Kavsangarava*, Ratnakara Press, 1947 (verse. 1578, p.287)

could escape from the degraded caste status. The act of shaving of head and donning of yellow robes was symbolic of the renunciation of the householders life, responsibilities and privileges and withdrawal from society, and in a way was equivalent to 'social death.'

In addition to community punishment there was also punishment of "degrading" of individuals for transgression of caste rules or service conditions. For example, tenants holding lands for the service of furnishing flowers at the Dalada Maligava or services at the royal bath (*ulpenge*) were required to refrain from contact with the corpses, for it was treated as polluting. When the facts of such contact were discovered, the tenancy had been cancelled, lands confiscated and the offending person reduced to *gettaru* status (Lawrie pp.526,536).

The effects of the purges and *gettaru*-fication were that the *radala* families owning *nindagam* lands when punished had their lands too confiscated and conferred on the successor or even distributed amongst the common people. On the other hand, the service holders (*nilakarayo*) lands continued in the same family from generation to generation, as long as the landholder performed the *rajakariya* attached to the land. In fact, some time after a lapse of few generations, the lands were reckoned as *paraveni* (private) hereditary lands exempted from dues to the state. There was thus a certain upward mobility available to those at the lower end of the social and official hierarchy, as well as a downward push for those in the upper echelons.

6. QUEENS AND CONCUBINES

Kings of the Kandyan Kingdom, following ancient practice, sought brides as queens from South India. But the kinsfolk and retinue of these imported brides occupied no superior position in the society or polity in Sri Lanka. This practice of seeking *ksatriya* (royal) queens from South India had a significant effect on the Kandyan polity and society.²⁰ Of course, in addition the kings had kept a harem of maidens from Sinhala families, the number of whom was not fixed. These ladies were accorded a high status in society. A concubine was addressed as *dugganna unnanse*²¹.

20. Doubts have been raised as to whether the Nayakkars were really of the *ksatriya* clan. cf. W. M. K. Wijetunga: The Background of the Nayakkars of Kandy, *University of Ceylon Review*, Vol.xvi, Nos.3 & 4.

21. A monk too was addressed as *unnanse*, as a mark of veneration. The wife of an *Adhikaram* was addressed respectfully as a *walauve unnanse*. Nayakkar relatives of the King were also addressed as *unnanses*.

Whilst the queens lived in the *Palle Vahala* (lower palace) and *Meda Vahala* (middle palace), the concubines lived in their own villages, and were visited by the king. These royal visits to the interior brought the kinsfolk of the concubines closer to the king. The favoured amongst them found employment in the palace service and were often confidantes of the king. With a few exceptions, the *yakadadolis* were drawn from select families that had from the past, already enjoyed high socio-economic and aristocratic (*radala*) status. Through women who served the king, the menfolk entered the *bandaravaliya* (*bandara* class).

The Kandyan kings from Vimaladharmasurya I to Narendrasinha had Sinhalese concubines and their kinsmen were appointed to the higher positions in the aristocracy and the bureaucracy.

The *yakadadolis* of the Kandyan kings were from:

- ✦ Rambukwelle and Alutgama families in Uda Dumbara;
- ✦ Amunugama and Halyale families in Patha Dumbara;
- ✦ Aludeniye, Mampitiye and Daulagala families in Udunuvara;
- ✦ Attaragama and Dunuvila families in Harispattuva;
- ✦ Moneruvila family in Matale;
- ✦ Unambuve family from Udapalatha

Certain key positions such as those of *Adhikaram*, and *Dissave*, *Maha Lekam*, *Etulkattale Nilame*, tended to remain within the same family, often passing from father to son. Several officials were related to each other through marriage or kinship. This situation favoured the growth of clusters of power around key senior family patriarchs.

The favourite *yakadadolis* amassed considerable wealth through the land grants and other gifts from the king²². They in turn gifted lands to temples and also constructed new temples. There is on record that Kondadeniye *Mahatmayo*, daughter of Ellepola *Disava* of Dumbara as well as Chandra Rekhavo *Dugganna Unnanse*, daughter of Rambukwelle Welawatte *Araccila*, had built and endowed the Weragoda and Kotugodella temples respectively. (CP:144; LG:25). Mampitiye *Dugganna Unnanse* gifted lands in Talgaspitiya to Beminiwatte *Devarakkhita Thera* in 1762. (CP:1663). Nugavela *Dugganna Mahatmayo* donated lands to Kobbavala

22. Chandra Rekhavo, who was banished to Colombo after the English acquisition, at her death left a considerable estate, valued at 4,322 rix dollars. (S. B. de Silva : The political economy of underdevelopment, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1982.(p.226).

Dhammapala Thera of Moneragal Vihara.²³ These acts of merit making brought them close to the prelates of the Buddhist clergy.

The *yakadadolis* exercised some influence, as shown by a few recorded instances where they interfered in matters of state. By customary law, an offender seeking sanctuary in a house of a *yakadadoli* was given exemption from arrest by the king's law enforcers. Mampitiye *Dugganna Unnanse* had seized the lands of the Rankotdivela family and the latter would not complain due to fear of the influence of the Mampitiye *yakadadoli* (Pieris 1950:122). Dangalle *Dugganna Unnanse* had got the appointment of a person in the *Vedikkara Lekama* altered to that of service as an attendant-in-waiting to her, for a consideration of a payment of 100 ridis (Pieris 1950:522).

It is possible that the Sinhala Kings of Kandy had many more Sinhala *yakadadolis* and that too from beyond the five countries (*Kanda-uda-pas-rata*), the core constituents of the Kingdom. This would have spread the geographical net farther²⁴. A number of the *yakadadolis* would have been drawn from families of the lesser nobility, thus expanding the social base. Narendrasinha is called the *Sellam Lama* (playful dandy) perhaps because he had many mistresses from all over. The *Bandara* persons of the Muslim families in Ukuvela would indicate offsprings of the king's brothers and cousins.

The Nayakkara kings and their brothers had kept a lesser number of the Sinhala *yakadadolis*. This would deny the *radala* families of gaining higher positions through the connection of their kinswoman, *yakadadoli* to the monarch. A restriction on their social/political mobility seems thus to have been placed by the Nayakkara kings, which must have been resisted by the *radala* chiefs.

7. FAMILY RIVALRIES

With the death of Vimaladharmasuriya II in 1707, the families (such as Yalegoda who were related to royalty and Rammolakas whose genealogical succession terminated due to absence of issues), who held influential positions seem to have lost ground, to new emergent families such as Ehelepolas. *Pattiye Bandara* alias Punchi Bandara was a son of

23. See the Gadaladeniya Manuscript copies in Bells Collection.

24. Tanveli Kirinde Seelavamsa Thero (Rajakumara Hamuduruvo) of the Weurukannala Temple, near Dikvella, is said to be an offspring of King Rajadhirajasinha from Madakumbure Vasaladevi, a concubine. (Seenigama Mahanama Mangalasiri: *Ruhunu Pudabim*, Hikkaduva, 1996, p :461). This Madakumbura village is more likely to be the one in Kotmale rather than in the Bentara Walallavita area.

King Vimaladharmasuriya II, from a *yakadadoli* said to be Wattegama Mutukude Walauve *Dugganna Unnanse* of Dumbara. He was executed along with other conspirators in 1709 by Narendrasinha.

When Narendrasinha died, leaving no issue from his consecrated queens, the courtiers seem to have been divided as to the selection of the successor from amongst the issues from Narendrasinha's *yakadadolis*. Of the Vahala Bandara progenies, the most notable was Unambuve Bandara, who was at the time said to be blinded on the last King's orders, perhaps instigated by a rival *vahala bandara*. The claim of Dumbara *ksatriyas* is said to have been opposed by the jealous chieftains of other areas. The death of a monarch was thus, another occasion when sharp rivalries between contending families emerged, and the power contest ended with the defeated faction losing position, property and even life of the key players.

Because the Sinhala chieftains could not agree and were reluctant to nominate any of the sons by the Sinhala *yakadadolis*, they preferred the uterine brother of Narendrasinha's Vaduga queen, who ascended the throne as Sri Vijaya Rajasinha. A line of Vaduga monarchs, Kirtisri Rajasinha and Rajadhi Rajasinha followed him. On the demise of Rajadhi, the prevarications amongst the Sinhala chieftains, surfaced once again, with disastrous effects to follow.

Pilimatalauve *Adhikaram*, who had by then acquired a great deal of power holding many key positions simultaneously opposed a son from the Sinhala *yakadadoli*, viz, Daulagala *Vahala Bandara*, to succeed to the throne. There was also Mampitiye *Vahala Bandara*, son of Kirtisri, who was also overlooked. Both Daulagala and Mampitiye *Vahala Bandaras* were from Udunuvara which abutted Yatinuvara, the fiefdom of Pilimatalauve, which would certainly cause worry to Pilimatalauve. Pilimatalauve himself was said to be a royal issue, being descended from Arave *Yakadadoli* of Narendrasinha (according to *Dunuville Hatana*). After Narendrasinha's death the *yakadadoli* was married to Pilimatalauve RM of Yatinuvara whose grandson was Pilimatalauve (Urulevatte) *Adhikaram*. In any case his ancestor on the male side, was one Urulevatte *Vahala Bandara*.

Srivikrema had no *yakadadoli* from Matale-Kegalle group or from Denuvara group. He looked to Dumbara for his *yakadadoli* (Alutgama Chandrarekhava, concubine of his predecessor as well) and Dunuville (Harispattu) and Unambuve (Udapalatha) families. In later years, Dumbara

chiefs were not in topmost positions, but held positions within palace precincts and hence close to the person of the king. Royal flower gardens, coconut plantations, cattle yards, elephant stalls were served by Dumbara people. Most palace servitors lived in Dumbara villages of Watapuluva, Wattedagama, Kengalle etc, in close proximity to the palace. Hence the ordinary people of Dumbara saw more of the king than persons living in far off places. They were the lower functionaries and ordinary people of Dumbara who protected and sustained the fleeing king and his queens before they were captured by a Sinhala force from Sabaragamuva led by Eknelligoda *Mohottala*. The hiding place of the king was disclosed by a youth frightened by intimidation and torture.

Sabaragamuva had no *Dissava* appointed from within the borders of that District. The native chiefs who were *Mohottalas*, nevertheless exercised considerable authority. Though related to each other the Sabaragamuva families were on unfriendly terms. Even under the British government, they continued to resent controls and interventions by the authorities, and several cases of their oppressive rule have been recorded. There were cases against Mahavalatenna *Mohottala* and Eknelligoda *Mohottala*, which went up to the *mahanaduva* (supreme court). Perhaps they bided their time to get even with the king. Katugaha *Nilame* of Badulla, whose relations with Keppitipola Uva *Disava* had soured, had embezzled the grain tax collections and wrongly confiscated peasant properties, sought the protection of the British and assisted them to realize their designs over the Kandyan kingdom.²⁵

8. TENTATIVE CONCLUSIONS

The aim of this paper was to demonstrate the use of family genealogies as source material for a study of the socio-political changes in the Kandyan kingdom. From the material available, three family clusters were identified, viz, Pilimatalauves of Devinuvara, Ehelepolas of Matale-Kegalle and Amunugama-Rambukwelles of Dumbara. They were subjected to detailed study in order to understand the patterns of alliances, articulation of interests, the socio-political environment in which they operated and the political fall out of the contestations. An exploration of the layers of the *radala* (aristocracy) and an examination of the role of the middle and lower social classes also was required.

25. For misappropriations of Katugaha, see. S. B de Silva *ibid*; 223. Keppitipola had objected to Katugaha calling himself *Nilame*. *Nilames* were appointed by the King whilst the *Disava s'* appointees were termed *vidhanes* or *mohottalas*. (Pieris ; 1950:180)

However, it became evident that the genealogical materials alone were not sufficient. They had to be related to the hierarchy of official positions in the state apparatus and to the system of rewards and penalties. Even in the construction of genealogical charts, it became clear that, due to recurrent purges of courtiers and headmen, continuity of family status and power was often disrupted²⁶. The usual occasions for change were the accession of a new monarch and the discovery of disaffection and conspiracy. In contrast, in the low country under the foreign rulers, one could discern an unbroken chain of family dominance in the native official hierarchy²⁷. Admittedly, family genealogies of a few samples of middle and lower level families could have enriched our study, but unfortunately such genealogies, even if available, do not possess that desirable depth in time. Thus, the conclusions drawn here have to be of necessity tentative and in need of further research.

In Kandyan historiography, far more emphasis is usually placed on the rivalry between key aristocratic families. We have noted that the *vahala bandar*s and chieftains of *brahmin* origin were self seekers and competing with each other only to capture the prize for themselves. The enmity between key families, for example the Meegastennes versus Pilimatalauves, Ehelepolas versus Molligodas, in the reign of Srivikrema is well known. Instigations against rival family members, was rampant; even within a single family, factionalism was evident. When Pilimatalauve *Adhikaram* III's son the *Dissava* was banished to Mauritius, for his complicity in the 1818 rebellion, the other lineal members of the family had not cared for the widow and child. She had to petition the Governor to restore some lands for their upkeep. There was one issue on which the rival families agreed. That was to show resentment against what they deemed was interference by the ruler on land disputes between chieftains and the commoners.

The common people exercised their right to petition the king against harassment by the chiefs. This was an instrument of popular control. Unfortunately, only a few such petitions and statements of claims (*arovitti*) have survived. But the few that exist, leave no doubt about the

26. Erewawala family is reported to have had 44 *Adhikarams* and 85 *Dissavas* in the family. (PEP:/50:440). Except for the Erewawala *Adhikaram* executed in 1798, no further information was available on the other *Adhikarams* in that family.

27. Except for one instance in mid 18th century where leading *Mudaliyars* of Matara District were suspected of supporting the Kandyan king, and deported to South Africa, but later restored, no serious dislocation occurred.

impartiality of the king in deciding against his key officials who had usurped lands belonging to the common people. It was thus understandable, why the Kandyan chiefs characterized Srivikrema as a drunken and wicked ruler who destroyed custom and religion and violated human rights, which allegedly justified a change of ruler, even if it be the English in place of the Malabar.

The confiscation of land as a punishment, had differential effects on individual families of the *radala* and on the common people. A *Nindagam* which was a perquisite of an office, passed on to the successor in office. It did not affect the *nilakarayas* (service providers) and, peasants of the *nindagam*, who continued to cultivate them, under the new *nindagam* grantee. On the other hand, the *paraveni* (private) lands, which were usually of modest extents, whether of the *radala* or commoner, continued in the same family. *Nila pangus* (service portions) often became hereditary so long as the due *rajakariya* was performed uninterruptedly by a member of the *pangukaraya*'s family. The tendency for such *nilapangus* to become reckoned as *paraveni* (private) after the lapse of a generation or two, has been noted (Pieris 1956:63).

The role of the *yakadadolis* in the affairs of the state also must have been considerable, though indirect. Their voice carried weight in making appointments in the bureaucracy. They could bestow immunity from arrest by the king's officers, to an innocuous offender. The *Dugganna Unnanses* spent the considerable wealth they acquired in building and endowing temples and monasteries, which was the only avenue available for an affluent person, to demonstrate munificence and "conspicuous consumption". They produced the future *vahala bandararas*, and thus assured the family of high status and key positions, at least in temporalities management and palace service.

The *mudali-muhandiram* class also played an important role, particularly in the protests and attempts to change the harsh conditions of their times, for which they were supported by the common people. The leaders paid with their lives for their destined failures. On the other hand, the *radala* leaders desired to change the monarchs only, in which conspiracies the foreign powers from the low country, amply aided and abetted them. The failed conspiracies resulted in equal punishment to the *radala* and the commoner. In the last days of the Kandyan Kingdom, minor officials such as *araccis* (headmen) and *kankanamas* (supervisors) and the ordinary citizens of Dumbara, gave shelter to King Srivikrema who

fled the capital in 1815. The behaviour of the lower rungs and of the common people indicate that the interests of the elite and of the subalterns were not always congruent. For example, in the twilight of the kingdom, there was no widespread national consciousness to rid the country of an alien monarch, only the propaganda which the local elites in cohort with the invasive foreigners sought to broadcast.

The interest shown by those concerned with subaltern studies, in the social groups not dealt with at length by elitist historiographers, could well unearth more information gathered from local traditions, vernacular literature and family genealogical charts, family histories and similar sources to provide a more balanced view of the history of the Kandyan Kingdom.

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CP: Central Province;
SAB: Sabaragamuva Province

ANNEX - A : POSITION TABLES

Table : 1 : SPHERES OF ACTIVITY AND LEVELS OF AUTHORITY
IN THE KANDYAN KINGDOM ¹.

SPHERE	TOP POSTS	MIDDLE POSTS	LOWER POSTS
PALACE	Comdr of Palce Guards Comdr.of Palace Gates Comdr.of HM Bed Chamber Chief of HM Armoury Chief of Royal Bath Ch/ HM Elephant Stables Ch/HM Equestrian Dept	Chief/HM Bed Chamber Treasury Chief/HMBath Treasury Royal Chamberlain Chief/HM Cuisines Chief/HM Dept.off Entertainments Ch/HM Equestrian Ch/HM Palanquins Chief Heralds	Royal Shield Bearer Royal Umbrella Brr Ch/HM Confectionary Ch/HM Falconry Ch/Royal Drummers Ch/Buildngs Repairs Ch/HM Minstrels INFERIOR POSTS Madappuli/Piha Rala Sattambi Rala Multe.Mahat/.Wet Nurses Ch/HM Cattle Farms HM Betge Physicians
PRIME MINISTER	1 st Pallegampahe Adhik. 2 nd Udugampahe Adhik. 3 rd Siyapattu Adhikaram		
REGIONION ADMIN	Maha Disavas of Uva, 4 Ks Sabaragomuva, Matale, & Ks	Disavas/Rate Mahatma Yas/Ralas/Adhikarams	Mohottala (Secretary Korala (Div.Chief) Muhandiram
REVENUE ADMIN	Ch/General Treasury Ch/Govt.Stores Ch/Artificers Dept Ch/Elephant Capture Dept Ch/Oxen Transport Dept	Ch/Govt.Stores Ch/ Potters, Washers, Paddy Tax, Weavers, Lime-Makers, Salt Suppliers Depts	Suptd of Stores Secretaries/Stores Badde Rala (Tax Collectors; Undiya Rala (Fiscals)
MILITARY	Comdr-in-Chief (Adhikaram Maha Lekam (Ch.Secy/ of Militia Records) Ch/Atapattu Troops	Ch/Disava Atapattu; Ch/Atap/Gd. Room Ch/Nanayakkara Trp Ch/Padikara Troops Ch/Vadanatuvakku Ch/Vedikkara Trps Ch/Kodituvakku Ch/Archers & crobats Dept	Muhandiram (Capt) Aracci (Squad Cmd)
TEMPORA-LITIES	Chief/Dalada Mandirec Chief Of Other Vihar Tempor.	Basnayaka Nilames of Devalas	Kariyakarana Ralas Wattoru Ralas Alatti Amma

¹ cf. authors Post-holders of the Kandyan Kingdom (forthcoming)

ANNEX-A

Table 2 : ADHIKARAMS (1st & 2nd) UNDER KANDYAN KINGS

Adhikaram	Vimala-1 1594-1604	Senerat 1604-1635	Rajasinha 1635-1687	Vimala-2 1687-1707	Narendra 1707-1737
Emman. Dias	1594-1602				
Weerasuriya & Yalegoda Peddigue Beminiwatte		1602-1635		Yalegoda 1693-96 -1697 1702	
Hindagala & Arave Aswolle & Divakara			1638-1650 1687		
Daskon			(i) 1638-70		ii) 1709-16
Angammana			(i) 1650-80		ii) 1734-37
Rammolaka			i) 1681-1707	ii) 1707-34	
Adhikaram	Srivijaya 1737-1747	Kirtisri 1747-1781	Rajadhi 1781-1798	Srivikrama 1798-1815	Under the British
2nd Adhikaram	Mampitiye Hulangomuv (1723-32)	Ellepola Samarakodi (1752-k.60)			
Ehelepola	i) 1706-19	ii) 1734-59		iii) 1802-14	1815-1818
Angammana	ii) 1734-39	ii) 1766-77	iii) 1782-90		
Pilimatalave	i) 1742-66	ii) 1776-81	iii) 1790-98	iii) 1798-1811 iv) 1805-1808 1813-1815	1815-1818
Erewwawala			1783-k.1798		
Dodanvala			1782-1790		
Galagoda (Munvatte)		1760-77			
Meegastenne (Dumbara)			i) 1786-89	ii) 1798-1806	
Molligoda I Molligoda ii				i) 1814-1815 ii) 1814-15	i) 1815- ii) 1815

Note : i), ii), iii) denote the generations of the persons of the same family and should be read as, e.g; Angammana i, Angammana ii etc; k= executed

ANNEX-A

Table - 3 : APPOINTMENTS HELD BY KEY FAMILY MEMBERS : PILIMATALAUVE

	Vim'dharma, Senerath, Rajasinha 1594-1687	Vim'dharma II & Narendra 1687 - 1737	Srivijaya, Kirtisri, Rajadhi 1737 - 1798	Srivikrema 1798 - 1815
Adhikaram			Adhikaram 1742-66 1776-81 1790-98	Adhikaram 1798-1811
Dissava/ Rate Mahattaya		-D/Wel, 1708 -RM/YN, 1712 -D/NK, TK & Put talam, 1728 - D/3 Ks, 1728 -RM/PBG, 1728 -D/Mat, 1728 -D/Sab, 1728	-RM/YN, 1750 -D/Mat, 1762, 90 -D/3 Ks, 1765-8 -D/3Ks, 1782, 85 -D/3Ks, 1792-5 -D/NK, 1793-95 -RM/YN, 1793-8 -D/7 Ks, 1743 -D/7 Ks, 1778 - D/TKs, 1790 -D/4Ks, 1766, 88 -D/4Ks, 1792-95 -RM/PBG, 1792-5 -D/Put, 1793-96 -D/Bin, 1797 -D/Sab, 1761, -D/Sab, 1764-67 -D. Sab, 1789-90 --D/Sab, 1794	-D/7Ks, 1793-1801, 1805 -D/3Ks, 1798; 1806 -D/4Ks, 1798-1801 -D/7Ks, - 1810 -D/4Ks, 1805-06; 1810-11 -D/TK, 1806 -D/Put, 1798-1801 -D/Well, 1810 -RM/PBG, 1806 -D/Mat, 1798-1800 -D/Mat, 1805-06, 1809 -D/Sab, 1804-09, -D/Sab, 1812-14, 1815
Revenue Admin.s	- MAVN, 1660 - MGN, 1660 - PRKB, 1660	-MGN, 1723 - MAMVN, 1723	-MAMVN, 1765-6 -MAMVN, 1782 -MAMVN, 1792-6 -PRKBN, 1778 -PRKNN, 1793-6 -MGN, 1795 -KuruN, 1793	-KuruveN, 1798, 1810 -UKBN, 1806 -PRKBN, 1810 -MadB/HulB, 1798 -MadBN, 1810 -URRBN, 1798 -WeeBN, 1799 -HulBN, 1806 -MAMVN, 1798, 1801-6
Royal Security/Ar my		PadikL, 1710	- VML, 1796 -MHetGM, 1766 -MHetGM, 1782 -MHetGM, 1796-8 -RAML, 1766	-RatAtL, 1798 -MahaL, 1799 -AtMurL, 1806 -PadikL, 1806 -VKM, 1796-8, 1806-8 -RAML, 1806

	Vim'dharma, Senerath, Rajasinha 1594-1687	Vim'dharma II & Narendra 1687 - 1737	Srivijaya, Kirtisri, Rajadhi 1737 - 1798	Srivikrema 1798 - 1815
Palace Adminis.	-SaluN, 1660	-Mutukude Rala, -1709	-DN, 1766 -DN, 1788 -SaluN, 1750 -SaluN, 1765-6 -SaluN, 1779 -SaluN, 1792-3 -VahIM, 1761 -AspM, 1761, -AspM, 1796-98 -TambM, 1788-96	-DN, 1798-1801 -DN, 1804-06 -DN, 1812-15 -SaluN, 1798-9, 1810 -BatN, 1798 -VahIM, 1810 -GajN, 1806 -MaruMuh, 1801, 1810
Temple Admins.			-BN/Pattini D 1761	

Abbreviations :

Adik= Adikaram; DugUn = Dugganna Unnanse (royal concubine)
D/ = Dissava; Sab= Sabaragomuva; Ks= Korales; RM/=Rate Mahatmaya; Wal = Walapone
Mat = Matale; Wel = Wellassa; Put = Puttalam; Tam = Tamankadu; NK =Nuvara Kalaviya
UdP = Uda Palatha; Bin = Bintenna; Mad = Madakalapuva; YN = Yatinivara; UN = Uduuvvara;
PBG = Patha Bulatgama; BN/ = Basnayaka Nilame; D = Devala; Muh = Muhandiram; Lek = Lekam
VahIM = Vahala Ilangame Muhandiram; AspM = Aspantiye Muhandiram; GajN = Gajanayaka Nilame
SaluN = Saluvadana Nilame; DN = Diyavadana Nilame; BatN = Batvadana Nilame
MaruM = Maruvaliye Muhandiram; MHetGM = Maha Hetapenage Muhandiram;
MAMVN = Maha Aramudale Vannaku Nilame; MGN = Maha Gabada Nilame; MadB = Madige Badda
WeeB = Wee Badda; URBN = Uda Rata Rahu Badde Nilame; URRBN = Udarata Rada Badde Nilame;
HulBN = Hulanbadde Nilame; KuruN = Kuruve Nilame; KumbBN = Kumbal Badde Nilame;
UBadBN = Udarata Badahal Badde Nilame; PRKBN = Patha Rata Kottal Badde Nilame;
HulBN = Hulanbadde Nilame; URKBN = Udarata Kottal Badde Nilame;
RAML = Rana Ayudha Mandape Lekam; PalihaR = Palihana Rala; DugR = Dugganna Rala/Nilame;
MahaL = Maha Lekam; VahML = Vahala Maduve Lekam; VadTL= Vadana Tuvakku Lekam;
AtpL = Atapattu Lekam; RatAtL = Rata Atapattuve Lekam; AtMurL = Atapattu Murapola Lekam;
PadikN = Padikara Nilame/Lekam; TambM = Tamboru Purampettu Muhandiram;

ANNEX-A

Table - 4 : APPOINTMENTS HELD BY KEY FAMILY MEMBERS: EHELEPOLA

	Vim'dharma, Senerath, Rajasinha 1594 - 1687	Vim'dharma II & Narendra 1687 - 1737	Srivijaya, Kirtisri, Rajadhi 1737 - 1798	Srivikrema 1798 - 1815
Adhikar ms		-Ehelepola I 1706-d.1717	-Ehelepola II 1734-59	-Ehelepola III 1802; 1811-14
Dissava/ Rate Mahattaya	- D/TKs, 1680	-D/Mat, 1711-21 -D/Uva, -1717 -D/4Ks, -1717 -D/Mad, 1711-17 -D/UdaP, 1717 -D/TKs, 1737	-D/4Ks, 1737-40 -D/4Ks, 1745-48 -D/7Ks, 1745-48 -D/Tam, 1745-48 -D/Mad, 1745-48 -D/&Ks, 1752-53 -D/NK, 1752	-D/NK, 1801; 1804-5 -D/NK&7Ks, 1808-d.1812 -D/Wel, 1802; Uva, 1803 -D/Wal, & Viyaluva, 1802 -D/Put, 1803; 7Ks, 1803 -D/Taman, 1804-05 -D/Uva, 1804-d.1807 -D/Mat, 1807-10; 1812-3 -D.Sab, 1807; 1809-14
Revenue Admin		-Gab.N, 1709		-PRKBN, 1803 -UDKBN, 1805-13 -KumbalBN, 1805 -HulanBN, 1813
Royal Security & Army				-RAML, 1810-11 -Padikara L, 1802 -Sudaliye Muh, 1809-10 -Muh.Kavisikara, 1802
Palace Admins.			-Paindakarana Nilame, 1765	-Magulmaduve Muh. 1809
Temple Admins		- BN/MahaD, 1711 - BN/MahaD, 1717	-BN/Maha D, 1745-48	
Rural Adminis				

**Table-5: APPOINTMENTS HELD BY KEY FAMILY MEMBERS:
DUMBARA/AMUNUGAMA CLUSTER**

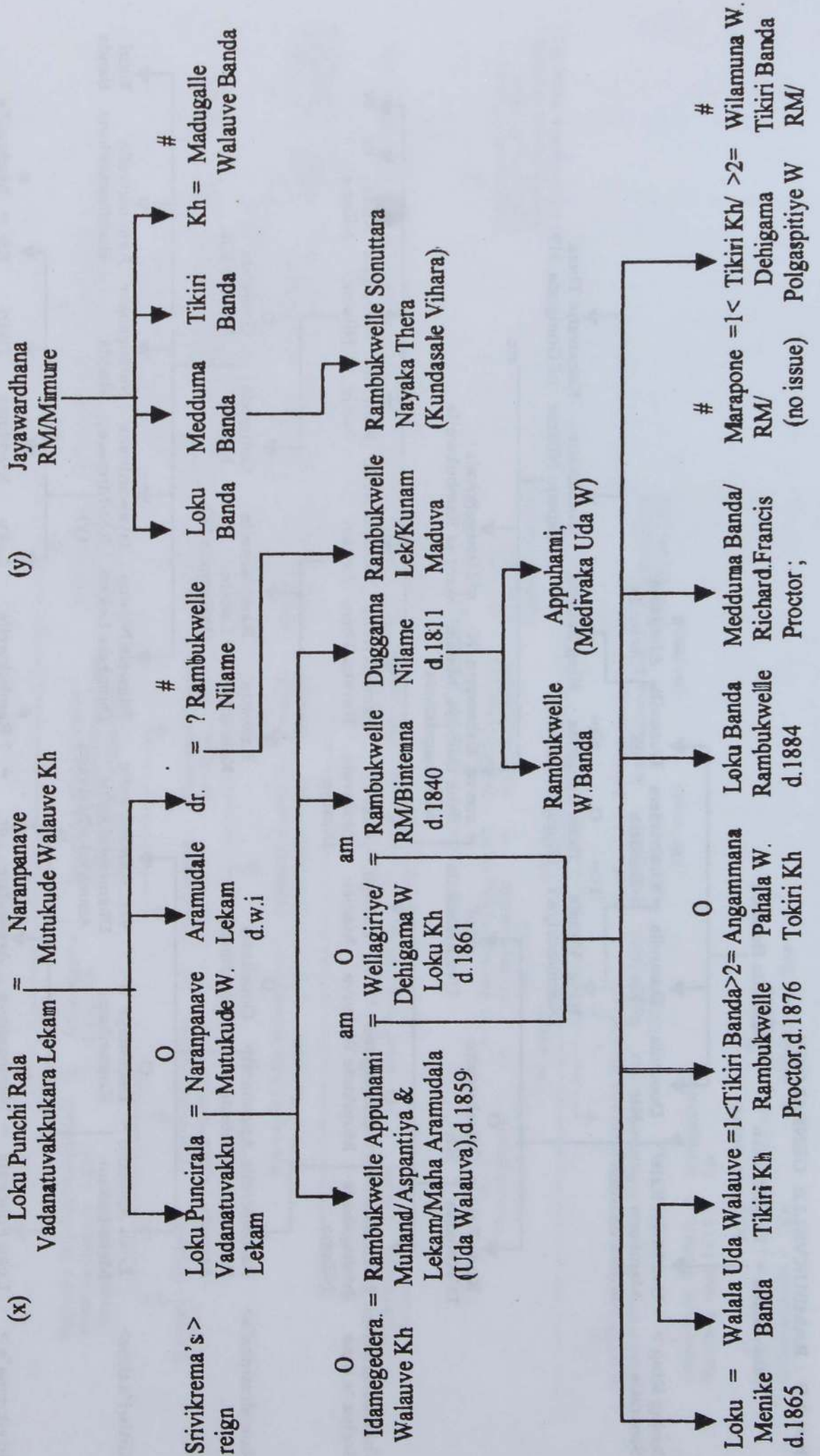
	Vim'dharma, Senerath, Rajasinha 1594 - 1687	Vim'dharma II & Narendra 1687 - 1737	Srivijaya, Kirtisri, Rajadhi 1737 - 1798	Srivikrema 1798 - 1815
Adhikar ms 1st & 2nd			Meegastenne/ Dumbara I 1786 - d.1789	Meegastenne/ Dumbara II 1800 - d.1806
Dissava/ Rate Mahat taya	-D/NK, 1682	D/4Ks, Uva, 1699 D/NK, 1721 D/NK, 1727-28 -D/4Ks, 1731-34	-D/Madak, 1734 -D/3Ks, 1752-62 -D/Bin, 1753 -D/4Ks, 1755 D/Sab, 1755 -D/Mat, 1759 -D/7Ks, 1760-62 D/4Ks, 7Ks, 1765 -D/7Ks, 1769-70 D/7Ks, 1775-86 -D/Mat, 1766 -D/Tam, NK, 1766 -D/Put, 1769-70 -D/Put, 1791 -D/3Ks, 4Ks, 1783 -D/Mat, NK, 1785 -D/Sab, 1786-88 -D/Sab, 1795-98 -D/7Ks, 1791 -D/Uva, 1788-89	-D/Sab, 1798-1802 -D/NK, 1798-99 D/3Ks, 1802-04 D/Put, 1804 D/4Ks, 1804 D/Uva, 1802-d.1806 D/7Ks, 1804-d.1806
Revenue Admin				
Royal Security & Army				-VahalkadaN, 1800 - MahaHetapenN, 1803 -RAML, 1798-1802 -RAML, 1804
Palace Admins.	-DN, Salu N & BatN, 1683		-KunamL, 1755 -PalihaR, 1756	-MutukL, 1802 -KutahaL, 1811 -BatN, 1812 -Paindakarana N

ANNEX-B

Table 6 : POSITIONS HELD BY KEY FAMILY MEMBERS OF RAMBUKWELLE & DODANVALA FAMILIES

	Vimala-1 1594-1604	Senerat 1604-1635	Rajasinha 1635-1687	Vimala-2 1687-1707	Narendra 1707-1737
RAMBUKWELLE (Dumbara)	D/Uva was Vimala-1 Senerat's uncle	-D/Uva -D/Wellassa -Kahavatte Atapat.Lek		-MahaGabN -Bokalavela Dissava	-PalleGabN -Atapat.Lek
DODANVELA (Yatinuvara)		-			-2Adhikaram -BatvadanaN -Diyavadana -SaluN -BN/NathaD -D/Sab & URKBN,PRKB, -WeeBN -RM/YN & RatAtP -D/Mat
	Srivijaya 1737-1747	Kirtisri 1747-1781	Rajadhi 1781-1798	Srivikrama 1798-1815	Under the British
RAMBUKWELLE		-Maha Lek -Anunayaka Malvatu V	-Maha Lek -Anunayaka Malvatu V	-VadTuvLek -AspMuh -MAMLek- RM/Bintenna -Dugganna N	
DODANVELA	2Adhik; DN, MAVMN -D/Uva, Mat URRBN,PR KB;-D/UdaP, D/MadK, Ta man. Tambal -RM/YN, SaluN, MadB NavaBN BN/PattiniD DodanvalaD	-2Adhikaram & SaluN, -D/Sab -RM/YN, -MANVN	-2Adhikaram & SaluN, D/Sa baragamu- RM/YN, MA MVN -DN/Viharas -BN/Natha & Dodanvala Devalsas	-RM/Hevah. & HetAML -MAMVN, -Atapat. Lek	

Chart 3-B (Continued) - RAMBUKWELLE GENEALOGY



CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF SINHALA FOLK SONG

by
Jayantha Aravinda

Sri Lanka has not developed a classical tradition of music of its own, either in its vocal or instrumental aspects. Today Sri Lankan indigenous music stands as a kind of folk and traditional music, with emphasis on singing and drumming aspects. The following is a brief discussion of the characteristics of the Sinhala folk song.

There is a vast and diverse collection of folk songs, rather folk verses, sung by the village folk and associated with their daily routine work, rituals, crafts, occupations, and so on.

Agriculture being the chief occupation of the Sinhalese, most of their folk songs are naturally woven round aspects of cultivation. The reaping song is very characteristic of Sinhala folk music. The following is a 'Nelum ose', a reaping song, 'ose' meaning a small variation of pitch at the end of each line of the verse.

ධනි ස ස - / සරි සරිග- ග ගරි / රිරි ගරි සරි ගරි / සස සරි සරි ගරි
 සරි සරිග- රිස රිස / ස - සස රිරි / ග සරි රි-ගරි රිසස- / ස - ස -
 න මෝ - න / න - ම ස / කා - - - / ර යි ඉ රු
 දෙ වි ය න් / ට - - - / - - - - / - - - - /

(The same tune proceeds)-

නමෝ නමස්කාරයි සඳ දෙවියන්	ට
නමෝ නමස්කාරයි ගණ දෙවියන්	ට
නමෝ නමස්කාරයි මිහිකන් දෙවි	ට

Indisputably, most of these melodies are of local origin, and the songs share a common repertoire of simple melodies with no fixation between melody and verse. The same song of verse could be heard in different tunes, from different persons and at different times. The other way is also possible. The same tune could be heard through different songs or verses, sometimes with a little adjustment to suit the words and rhythm of the particular song or verse. This is an essential characteristic of Sinhala folk poetic recitation, borrowed, most likely, from erudite poetry ('se' kavi).

Major varieties coming under the repertoire of Sinhala folk song are, lullabies, reaping songs, weeding songs, carter's songs, miner's songs, farmer's songs, fisherman's songs, boatman's songs, swing songs etc. A mother would sing as a part of her daily routine work, a lullaby with a nice tune, caressing the infant.

Sinhala lullaby

ස ම ම ම / ම - - - / ම ධ ප ම / ග - - - /
 රී ග ස රී / ග - - - / රී ම ග රී / ස - - - /
 ස ප ප ධ / ම - - - / ම ධ ප ම / ග - - - /
 රී ග ස රී / ග - - - / ර ම ග රී / ස - - - /
 දො යි දො යි / දො යි - - / දො යි ය බ / බා - - - /
 බ යි බ යි / බ යි - - / බ යි ය බ / බා - - - /
 නු ශේ අ මී / මා - - - / කී ර ට ගි / යා - - - /
 කී රී දො ච / ගෙ න - - / එ න් ට ගි / යා - - - /

(The rest of the song continues with the same tune)

It is interesting to note that till the middle of the 20th century, the Sinhalese considered this folk literary repertoire, with the melodies, to be their folk poetry, *Jana kavi* or *Gemi kavi*, and not folk song, *Jana gi* or, *Gemi gi*. *Kavi kiyanava*, and not *gi gayanava* was the common usage among our grand parents.

This leads us to believe that the Sinhalese were not aware of, or, at least familiar with the concept of a folk song or folk music as such, within their rural surroundings. They perhaps rightly believed 'the song' - *Gitaya*, to have a wide range of pitch and musical accompaniment, and even to be rendered by a 'typical' musician, characteristics which were absent in their folk poetry.

With respect to melodic structure, the main characteristic of the Sinhala folk song is its verse-like (four-lined, *sīpada*) texture, as opposed to the song-texture, where the melody spreads over a wide range of pitch, resulting in a somewhat more complex tune. The following is an Indian folk tune from Bengal, which clearly depicts the song-like texture.

Bengal folk tune - 'Bavul' song

ධ ස - ස / ස - ස රී / ග ප ප ධ / ප - ම ම
 ස ග - - / - - - - / ග - - ම / ප - - ධ
 ම - - ප / ග රී ස රී / ග - ග ම / ග රී රී ග
 රී ස - - / - - - - //

conventional metrical requirements of the classical poetry showing most probably its influence on Sinhala folk poetry. ‘*Samudraghosa*’ metre, most prominent among erudite verses, (*Se gī*) is perhaps the most prominent among Sinhala folk verses too. Example:

ඉර පායා ඉර මුදුනට එන්ට	එ පා
සඳ පායා සඳ මුදුනට එන්ට	එ පා
පෑදි දියට බොර දිය එක් වන්ට	එ පා
අම්මා නැති අපට බඩ ගිනි වෙන්ට	එ පා

While the poetic and lyrical values are high in Sinhala folk song, the melodies are simple and confined to a few adjacent notes, coming somewhat closer to the spoken idiom. In other words Sinhala poetry borders on recitation and chanting and rarely amounts to singing, which presupposes a wide expanse of tone and a complicated tonal structure.

The majority of the Sinhala folk songs are also non-rhythmical. E.g. *pel gī*, *gel gī*, *paru gī*, *patal gī* etc.

Pāru gī

තණ්ඩලේ දෙනන දෙපොලේ දක්ක	නවා
කටුකැලේ ගාල නො ලිහා වද දෙ	නවා
හපුතලේ කන්ද දැකලා බඩ ද	නවා
පව් කළ ගොනෝ ඇද පන් හපුතලේ ය	නවා

The verse-like nature of the Sinhala folk song can be attributed to a number of reasons, the most important being,

- i. influence of *gāthā*, *pirit* and so on
- ii. absence of pitched musical accompaniment
- iii. absence of any influence from a classical system of music
- iv. absence of any noteworthy melodic instrumental music.

Probably, as an attempt to fill the apparent gap created by the absence of a Sinhala folk song, some musicians within the last few decades began to recognize this same poetic collection as their ‘folk song’ repertoire. Devar Suriyasena used the coinages ‘*pel gī*’, ‘*gel gī*’, ‘*gemi gī*’, ‘*raban gī*’, ‘*paru gī*’ and propagated them within European countries. Makulouwa perhaps introduced the term into the school curriculum.

Hence, it is more or less one body of compositions representing two fields: poetry and music. What is more conspicuous is, of course, the poetic aspect, rising at times to the level of classical poetry!

It is also interesting to note that the villager even up to the present day recited a 'pel kavi' and accepted it to be the same, while the present day musician repeating the same performance, often with musical accompaniment, calls it 'pel gi'. The verse turns to be a song in the hands of the musician! Doubtless, the musician with his musical training, will give it a more melodious and rhythmical rendering.

Thus, Sinhala 'folk song' with its dual role of literary and musical has evolved within the last few decades to be a fairly comprehensive and vague term, including in its wider connotation a large variety of vocal renderings such as, *gathā*, *pirit*, *ashtaka*, poetic recitation, and even prose recitation.

Chanting of a *gatha*

බාහුං / ස න ස් ස / ම හි නි මි මි ත/
 ස-ස- / රි ග - ග ම ග ම - ග ම
 සා යු ධ . ත .
 ප - ම ග - ම -
 හි රි මේ බ ල . / උ දි ත / සෝ ර
 ග ම ප - ම ග - / ම ග රි / ස - ස -
 ස සේ ත / මා රං
 ස රි ග ග / ම - ග -

(The same tune proceeds)

The tonal sequence of the *gātha* is notable. The notes are adjacent to one another. The tonal compass is just five notes, i.e. ස, රි, ග, ම, ප.

A prose recitation

යටගිය දවස / කපීරට / බරණැස් නුවර / බ්‍රහ්මදත්ත නම් / රජ්ජුරු
 කෙනෙකුන් / රාජ්‍යය කරන කල්හි / අප මහ බෝසතාණෝ / - - - -
 ස ග රි ග ස රි ස / නි නි - නි නි / ස ස ස - ස ස ස / ම - ම ම -
 ම ම - / ග - රි ග ස රි ස - / ම - - ග ග රි රි රි - රි / ම ම ග -
 / රි - රි ස - ස -

(Here, the scale has changed over to a minor, but the consecutive nature of the notes is unchanged).

The Vedda song (*Vedi kavi, Vedi gī*) though strictly coming under the tribal and primitive category, is included in the folk song repertoire and represents the simplest form of melodic structure, limiting itself to two consecutive notes, e.g.

Vedi gī

හා - බො ල / කෙ දී න . / කෙ දී නා - - / නේ - - - /
ධ - ප ප / ප ප ප - / ධ - ප - / ප - - - /

(The same tune proceeds)

පැට්ටි මොක්කිට ආඩන්නේ බොල
කවුචල බොක්කිට ආඩන්නේ බොල

ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය

ඒ. පී. එස්. ගලපාත

සමුපකාරය වනාහි සමාජය ආරම්භයේදී ම ස්ථාපිත මූලික සමාජ සංස්ථාවකි. එය ස්වභාව ධර්මයා සමගම වර්ධනය වුවකි. ස්වභාව ධර්මයාද විවිධ කොටස් සංකලනය වී වර්ධනය වන, ආරම්භය හෝ අවසානය නිශ්චය නොවන, සත්‍යතාවකි. සමුපකාරයද, විවිධ සමාජයීය කොටස් ඒකරාහී වූ, සමාජ ප්‍රගතිය අරමුණු කරගත් ජීවන ක්‍රමයකි.

ලංකාවේ වැඩිවසම් යුගය තුළ ද, ඊට පෙර තිබුණු මූලික ජනාවාස තුළ ද මේ සහයෝගිතාව දක්නට ලැබිණ. ජනාවාස ඉදිවූයේ මෙම මූලික සහයෝගිතාව මත වන අතර කුඩාම සමාජ ඒකකය වූ පවුලේ සහයෝගිතා පදනම මත පවති.

ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ආර්ථික ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයට ඇතුළුවූයේ විසිවන සියවසේ මුල් භාගයේ බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය පාලන ක්‍රමය තුළය. 1911 සමුපකාර ණය දෙන සමිති ආඥා පණත ලියාපදිංචිවීම සමඟ, ගොවිතැන ආශ්‍රිතව, සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ උපත සටහන් කළ හැක. ගොවිතැන දියුණු කිරීම සඳහා 1904 දී ලංකා කෘෂිකාර්මික සංගමය පිහිටුවන ලදී. යම් ග්‍රාමීය ණය ක්‍රමයක් ඇති කළ යුතු බවට මෙම සමිතිය යෝජනා කළේය. කෘෂිකර්ම සංගමයේ දුම්බර ශාඛාව මගින් යම් ක්‍රමයක ණය දෙන සමිතියක් තෙල්දෙණියේ ආරම්භ කරන ලදී. ඉන්දියාවේ, ග්‍රාමීය දිළිඳුබව සමහන් කිරීමට ගත් පියවර මෙන් මෙහිද ක්‍රියාත්මක කළ යුතු බවට යෝජනා විය. ඉන්දියාවේ 1904 සමුපකාර සමිති ආඥා පණත අනුව, ලංකාවේද එවැන්නක් පැනවීමට තීරණය විය. එහි අරමුණ වූයේ සකසුරුවම්කම, ස්වෝත්සාහය, සහයෝගිතාව, සීමිත ආදායම් මාර්ග ඇති පුද්ගලයින් වූ කම්කරුවන් හා ගොවීන් අතර ස්ථාපිත කිරීමටය.

ලොව පිළිගත් සමුපකාර ප්‍රතිපත්ති වනාහි, විවෘත සාමාජිකත්වය, ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී පාලනය, සහභාගිත්වය අනුව ප්‍රතිලාභ, අරමුදල් සඳහා සීමිත ලාබ, අරමුදල් සඳහා සීමිත ලාබ, ආගමික හා දේශපාලන නිදහස් බව හා අධ්‍යාපනය නංවාලීම වේ. ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ පුරෝගාමියා හැටියට කෘෂිකර්ම දෙපාර්තමේන්තු උපදේශකවරයෙකු වූ මුදලි ඇත්. වික්‍රමරත්න මහතාගේ නම සඳහන් කළ හැක. 1912 නොවැම්බර් මස ලංකාවේ ප්‍රථම සමුපකාර සමිතිය එවකට සිටි රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර් ජනරාල් වූ සර් පොන්නම්බලම් අරුණාවලම් විසින් ලියාපදිංචි කරන ලදී.

සමුපකාරය ආරම්භ කිරීම කෘෂිකර්ම දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවට පැවරිණ. මෙවකට ගමේ ප්‍රධානියා වූ ගම්මුලාදැනියාගේ සහාය සමුපකාර සමිති

සංවිධානය කිරීමට උපකාරී විය. ගම්මුලාදැනි කොට්ඨාස කීපයකට නායකයා වූ ප්‍රධාන ගම්මුලාදැනියාගේ බල ප්‍රදේශය සඳහා එක් එක් ණය දෙන සමිතිය බැගින් ආරම්භ කළ ද, පසුව ඒවා ක්‍රමයෙන් ව්‍යාප්ත විය. කුඩා ප්‍රදේශවල සීමාරහිත ණය දෙන සමිති වඩා සාර්ථක වන බව පිළිගැනිණි. 1916 පිහිටවූ ප්‍රාදේශීය ණය හා සංවර්ධනය අරමුදල මගින් සමිතිවලට ණය මුදල් සැපයිණ. 1926 දී ඩබ්. එච්. කේ. කැම්බල් මහතා සම රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර් ධුරයට පත්වී සමිතිවලට ණය මුදල් නිර්දේශ කිරීම භාරගත්තේය.

සී. ඩී. බ්රෙන් නමැති මඩකලපුවේ දිසාපති විසින් 1920 දී රුපියල් 80,000/- මූලික අරමුදලකින් ගොවීන්ට ආධාර සඳහා සංචිතයක් පිහිටුවන ලදී. මඩකලපු දිස්ත්‍රික්කයෙන් පිටකරන සෑම වී බුසලකටම ගත 25/- ක බද්දක් අයකර මෙම සංචිතය තර කරන ලදී. මඩකලපුවේ ආරම්භ වූ මෙම වී බැංකුව පිහිටුවීම කෘෂි ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයේ ඓතිහාසික පියවරක් වුවද එය දිගු කලක් නොපැවතිණි.

මුලින් ආරම්භ වූ ණය දෙන සමිති මගින් නිෂ්පාදන අවශ්‍යතා සැපයීමද ආරම්භ විය. 1921 දී ද්විතීය සමිති ලියාපදිංචි කිරීමට හැකිවන පරිදි සමුපකාර ආඥා පණත සංශෝධනය කරන ලදී. 1924 දී කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික් සමුපකාර සමිති සංගමය ලියා පදිංචි විය.

1911 සිට 1926 දක්වා වූ කාලය තුළ සිදුවූ සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ ප්‍රගතිය සතුටුදායක විය. සමිති 315 න් 290 ක් ම කෘෂිකාර්මික සමිති වීමද වැදගත් ලක්‍ෂණයකි. 1925 කෘෂිකර්ම අධ්‍යක්‍ෂගේ පාලන වාර්තාවේ සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන නිරීක්‍ෂණය වූයේ සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරීන්ගේ පාලනය මත පැවතිය යුතු නැති බවය. "යහපත් මාර්ග ඔස්සේ සෙමින් ඉදිරියට යාම හා අස්ථාවර අත්තිවාරම් මත වූ සංවිධානයකට වඩා මෙය සාර්ථක බව මට අවබෝධ වී ඇත." දැනට වසර 74 කට පෙර කරන ලද එම නිරීක්‍ෂණය අද ද වලංගු බව අපි දකිමු. 1926 දී ඩබ්. එච්. කැම්බල් මහතා සම රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර් වශයෙන් පත්වීමෙන් පසු සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය වඩාත් ස්ථාවර විය.

විශාල ප්‍රදේශ සහිත සමිති ඔහු කුඩා කළේය. ඔහු පෙනුටුයේ, සාමාජිකත්වය තුළ හොඳ වර්තවත් බව හා කාර්යශූර බව නොමැතිව සම්පත්වල හිමිකම් පමණක් සුදුසුකම් නොවිය යුතු බවය. (SP 24 - 1926) 1930 ඔක්තෝම්බර් 1 දින සමුපකාර දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව පිහිටුවා, ප්‍රදේශ තුනකට කාර්යයන් වෙන් කරන ලදී. සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය රජයට කෙළින්ම සම්බන්ධ නැති නිදහස් ව්‍යාපාරයක් ලෙස 1926 දී පැවතීම පූර්වාදර්ශයකි. කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික් සමුපකාර සංගමය ගරු පරීක්‍ෂකවරුන් හය දෙනෙකු පත් කළේය. කැම්බල් මහතා තවත් ඉදිරියට ගොස් අධීක්‍ෂණ සංගම් පිහිටුවීමද යෝජනා කළේය. අධීක්‍ෂණ සංගම් හැටියට 1929 දී ලියාපදිංචි වූ ප්‍රථම සමිතිය තෝල්පුරම්මුලායි අධීක්‍ෂණ සංගමය විය. 1948 වන විට ලංකාව

පුරාම අධීක්ෂණ සංගම් 59 ක් පැවතිණ. ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ අත්තිවාරම ඉතා ස්ථාවර, රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරීන්ගේ ඇහිලි ගැසීම් වලින් තෙර, ව්‍යාපාරයක් වීම එවකට සිටි ලාංකිකයින්ගේ දක්ෂතාව හා කැපවීම විදහා පාත්තකි.

1929 අප්‍රේල් මස යාපන සමුපකාර මධ්‍යම බැංකුව පිහිටුවීම ඓතිහාසික පියවරකි. 1931 දී මහනුවර සමුපකාර බැංකුව පිහිටුවීය. 1939 වන විට තවත් බැංකු සංගම් බිහිවීය. ඒවා කටුගම්පල, හත්පත්තු, ගාලු කඩඉම් (ගුවටිස්) හා ගඟබඩ පත්තු ප්‍රදේශවල වූහ. 1973 සිට උතුරු පළාතේ සමුපකාර මහා සංගමය යටතේ සමුපකාර උප පරීක්ෂකවරුන් පත් කිරීමද, තමන්ගේම අරමුදල් ආරම්භ කිරීමද, වැදගත් පියවර විය. 1929 දී විවිධ පළාත්වල සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය මෙහෙයවීම අරභයා රාජ්‍ය නොවන සමුපකාරකයෝ ගරු අධීක්ෂණ නිලධාරීන් හැටියට පත්කිරීමද ඉතා වැදගත් පියවරක් විය.

විශේෂ සමිති

ආරම්භක වකවානුව තුළ ණය දෙන සමිති ව්‍යාපාරයට අමතරව විශේෂ විෂයයන් වෙනුවෙන් පිහිටවූ සමිති වැදගත් තැනක් ගත්තේය. එයින් කිහිපයක් නම්,

- 1. යාපන මලයාලම් දුම්කොල සමිතිය
- 2. මින්නේරිය වී වෙළඳ සමිතිය
- 3. මුලායි සමුපකාර රෝහල් සමිතිය

ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ විශේෂ ලක්ෂණයක් වන ක්ෂේත්‍රයන් ගණනාවකට ව්‍යාප්ත වීම, වෙනත් රටවල්වල ප්‍රචලිත නොවූ ලක්ෂණයකි. වර්තමානයේද සමුපකාර ක්ෂේත්‍රය බොහෝ සේ පුළුල් වීමේ මූලික අවස්ථාව හැටියට මෙම පුරෝගාමී සමිති හැඳින්විය හැක.

1935 - 36 ප්‍රගතිය

ඩබ්. එච්. කේ. කැම්බල් මහතාගෙන් පසුව රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර් තනතුරෙහි රාජකාරී බාරගත් එච්. කැල්වට් මහතාගේ නමද ව්‍යාපාරයේ වැදගත් තැනක් ගනී. "සමුපකාර නීතිය හා ප්‍රතිපත්ති" නමින් ග්‍රන්ථයක්ද ඔහු ලියූ අතර, ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ශක්තිමත් අඩිතාලමක පිහිටුවීමට මාහැහි සේවයක් ඉටු කළේය. සීමාරහිත සමිතිවල දුර්වලකම් සමහරක් කැල්වට්ටාගේ ඇසට යොමු විය. එනම්,

- 1. කොටස් මුදල් අයිතියේ ප්‍රමාණය අඩුවැඩි වීම.
- 2. අඩු පොළියට තැන්පත් කර වැඩි පොළියට ණයට දීම.
- 3. 12% පොළියක් අයකිරීම නිසා දිළිඳු සාමාජිකයන් මුහුණ දුන් අපහසුකම්.

- දිළිඳු වූ එහෙත් අවංක සාමාජිකයින්ට සමිතිවල දොර පහසුවෙන් විවෘත නොවීම.

මෙම දුර්වලකම් එදා පැවතුණාක් මෙන්ම අද වැනි දියුණු සමාජය තුළද පවතින බව අපි දකිමු. එහෙත් පොදුවේ ඇගයීමක් කළහොත් එවැනි දුර්වලකම් මත වුවද ණය දෙන සමිති ව්‍යාපාරය විශාල සේවයක් ජනතාවට ඉටුකරන බව නිගමනය කළ හැක.

කඩ සමිති ව්‍යාපාරය

ජනතාවට අත්‍යවශ්‍ය ද්‍රව්‍ය සැපයීම සඳහා රජයේ වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් හැටියට ආරම්භ කළ කඩ සමිති ව්‍යාපාරය ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ ඉතා වැදගත් යුගයක් සටහන් කරයි. 1939 දී ආරම්භ වූ දෙවන ලෝක සංග්‍රාමය, 1942 වන විට අප දේශය වටාද භානිකර ලෙස ගිගුරුම් දෙමින් පැවතිණ. පැසිපිච් වාදය පරාජය කිරීමේ ප්‍රධාන කාර්යය සමගම යටත් විජිතයන්හි පුරවැසියන්ගේ ආහාරපාන ආදී මූලික අවශ්‍යතා සපුරාලීම බ්‍රිතාන්‍ය රජයට වගකීමක් ලෙස පැවරුණි. එම අරමුණ සපුරාලීම වස් රජය විසින් "සැලසුම් සහගත කඩිනම් හා දැඩි මෙහෙයුමක්" රට පුරාම ඇරඹීමට රජය ඉදිරිපත් විය.

වර්ෂය	සමිති ගණන	සාමාජික සංඛ්‍යාව
1941-42	38	17500
1942-43	845	2392313
1943-44	3627	826814
1944-45	4004	1010575

1943 දී සී. ඩබ්. ඊ. නොහොත් සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳ ආයතනය ආරම්භ කළේ සමුපකාර සමිතිවලට අවශ්‍ය වෙළඳ ද්‍රව්‍ය තොග වශයෙන් සැපයීමේ වැඩපිළිවෙළක් හැටියටය. 1945 වන විට සමුපකාර තොග වෙළඳ සංස්ථාවේ කාර්යයන්ට සමගාමීව සමුපකාර තොග සංගමිද පිහිටුවා තිබිණ.

වර්ෂය	කඩසමිති	තොග සංගම්	
		වර්ෂය	සංඛ්‍යාව
1945	4024	1947	98
1950	3523	1951	106
1955	2720	1957	146
1957	2569		

කෘෂිකාර්මික සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය

1942 වන විට කෘෂි නිෂ්පාදන හා අලෙවි සමුපකාර සමිති 11 ක් රට තුළ පිහිටුවා තිබිණ. එයින් ඉතාම කාර්යක්ෂම සමිති වූයේ යාපන මලයාලම්

දුම්කොළ සමිතිය හා මින්නේරිය වී අලෙවි සමිතිය ය. යාපන ප්‍රදේශයේ තවත් සමිති පහක් ක්‍රියාත්මක වී තිබිණ. ඒවා ලුණු හා මිරිස් ආදී නිෂ්පාදන අලෙවිය අරමුණු කරගෙන පිහිටුවන ලද සමිති විය. 1941 දී ස්ථාපිත වූ අභ්‍යන්තර මිලට ගැනීම් ද අත්‍යවශ්‍ය ද්‍රව්‍ය සලාක ක්‍රමයට බෙදාහැරීම පිළිබඳවද සමුපකාර සමිති සම්බන්ධ වී මාහැඟි සේවයක් ඉටු කළේය.

ඌව පළාතේ පාලුගම, කැප්පෙට්පොළ, එළවළු අලෙවින සමිතිය 1942 දී ආරම්භ විය. සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයට විශේෂ නමක් ගෙනදුන් ඒකාබද්ධ ක්‍රමය (Link-up Scheme) පාලුගමදී ආරම්භ විය. පසු කලෙක එනම් 1957 දී දීපව්‍යාප්තව ආරම්භ වූ විවිධ සේවා සමුපකාර සමිතිවල බීජය මෙම ඒකාබද්ධ ක්‍රමය යැයි සඳහන් කළ හැක. ආරම්භක වශයෙන් පාලුගමදී පිහිටවූ ක්‍රමය තුළ එක් එක් වර්ගයේ සමිති වෙනම ක්‍රියාත්මක වෙමින් සම්බන්ධීකරණ කටයුතු පමණක් සාමාජිකයින් වෙනුවෙන් කරන ලද බවන සඳහන් කළ හැක. පසුකල රජයේ පුරෝගාමිත්වයෙන් ආරම්භ කළ විවිධ සේවා සමිති කාර්යයන් එකම පාලක මණ්ඩලයක් මගින් මෙහෙවීම විශේෂත්වය විය. සමුපකාර ඉතිහාසයේ වසර 90 ක කාල පරිච්ඡේදය විමර්ශණයට භාජනය කරන විට කැපී පෙනෙන ප්‍රධාන කරුණක් නම් තනි සේවාවක් ඉටුකිරීමේදී සාමාජිකයින්ට වඩා යහපත් සේවයක් සැලසීම, සාමාජික උනන්දුව, වගකීම් භාරගැනීමට සාමාජිකයින් වැඩි සංඛ්‍යාවක් ඉදිරිපත් වීම, නායකත්වය සඳහා වැඩි සංඛ්‍යාවක් ඉදිරිපත් වීම ආදිය තනි සේවා සමිති තුළින් ලැබුණ ප්‍රතිලාභයන් හැටියට සැලකිය හැකිය.

ගොවි ද්‍රව්‍ය නිපදවීමේ හා අලෙවි කිරීමේ සමිති

ධ්‍යාත්‍යවලට සහතික මිලක් ගෙවීමට දෙවන ලෝක සංග්‍රාම අවදියේදී රජය තීරණය කළේ ආහාර අතින් ස්ථාවර කිරීම සමග ගොවි ජනතාවට සෙත සැලසීමේ වැඩපිළිවෙළක් ද ලෙසය. වී, තල, කුරක්කන්, ඉරිඟු, මිරිස්, ලුණු, ගම්මිරිස්, කෝපි, මුං ඇට, හා කහ මෙම වැඩපිළිවෙළට අයත් විය. මෙම තත්වය මත ගොවි ද්‍රව්‍ය නිපදවීමේ හා අලෙවිකිරීමේ සමිති පිහිටුවීම ලංකා ආර්ථික ඉතිහාසයේ වැදගත් තැනක් උසුලයි. විශේෂයෙන්ම තේ, රබර්, ආදී වූ අපනයන වැවිලි මත රැදීම වෙනුවට අතීතයේන සිට අපේ ආර්ථිකය පදනම් වූ ආහාර ද්‍රව්‍ය ගැනද අවධානය යොමුකිරීම සැලකිය යුතු පියවරක් විය.

1948 සිට 1957 දක්වා ගොවි සමිති ප්‍රගතිය

වර්ෂය	සමිති සංඛ්‍යාව	සාමාජික සංඛ්‍යාව
1948	47	13525
1953	709	169074
1957	955	246776

පොල් නිෂ්පාදන අංශයට ද සමුපකාර සමිති ව්‍යාප්ත විය. මෙවැනි සමූහ 30 ක් පිහිටුවා තිබිණ.

ධීවර සමිති

වර්ෂය	සමිති ගණන	සාමාජික ගණන
1947	43	1855
1952	111	4405
1957	100	3914
1962	237	5405
1967	271	7480
1968	279	7424

රෙදි වියන්නන්ගේ සමිති

වර්ෂය	සමිති ගණන	සාමාජික ගණන
1955	255	7169
1959	511	21260
1965	543	40509
1968	551	6928

වෙනත් කර්මාන්ත සමිති

වර්ෂය	සමිති ගණන	සාමාජික ගණන
1955	313	12284
1959	415	14748
1965	558	12221
1968	652	21273

දිසා සංගම්

සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ කටයුතු වැඩි දියුණු කිරීම හා විවිධ ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයන් සම්බන්ධීකරණය සඳහා දිසා සංගම් පිහිටුවන ලදී. මෙම දිසා සංගම් අතුරින් උතුරේ දිසා සංගමය ඉතා කාර්යක්‍ෂම විය. මෙම සංගමය සති දෙකකට වරක් පුවත්පතක් පළකිරීමට තරම් නිර්මාණශීලී විය. ද්‍රවිඩ භාෂාවෙන් පුහුණුවීම සඳහා පාඨමාලා පැවැත්වීමද මෙම සංගමයේ විශේෂත්වයක් විය.

මෙහි දැක්වෙන වක්‍රයෙන් පැහැදිලි කෙරෙන්නේ කුඩා සමිති වශයෙන් පැවැති ඒවා වර්ෂානුකූලව විවිධ සේවා සමිති වලට පරිවර්තනය වූ ආකාරයය.

විවිධ සේවා සමිතිවලට පරිවර්තනය වීම

	1957	1958	1959	1960	1961	1962	1963	1964	1965
විවිධ	68	3897	4631	4741	4824	4889	4950	5101	5053
කඩ	2569	1260	1043	964	918	889	838	786	756
ගොවිද්‍රව්‍ය	2126	1667	1702	474	486	593	603	585	589

මෙම වකවානුව තුළ කඩ සමිති හා ගොවි ද්‍රව්‍ය නිපදවීමේ හා අලෙවි කිරීමේ සමිති 2216 ක් විවිධ සේවා සමුපකාර සමිති බවට පරිවර්තනය කරන ලදී. වැඩි වශයෙන්ම මෙම පරිවර්තනය නාමික වශයෙන් වෙනස්වීමක් පමණි. මෙම පරිවර්තනයේ අංගයක් හැටියට රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර්වරයාට වැඩි බලතල පැවරී තිබිණ. විවිධ සේවා සමිතිවල කළමනාකරු/ලේකම් පත්කිරීම හා අස්කිරීමට සඳහා රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර්වරයාගේ පූර්ව අනුමැතිය ලැබියන යුතු විය. වසර හටකින් පසු සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය රජයේ මෙහෙයවීමට විවෘත විය.

1970 - 71 වර්ෂවල සංශෝධනයන් රටතුළ මෙම වකවානුවේ ප්‍රචලිත වූ පරිපාලනමය ආකල්පයන් බලපෑ බව සඳහන් කළ හැක. 1948 නිදහස ලැබීමෙන් පසු වර්ධනය වූ සිංහල භාෂාව හා ජාතික හැඟීම් පිලිබඳ විත්තන රටාව හේතුවෙන් 1956 දී දේශපාලන බිමේ නවයුගයක් උදාවිය. එහි ප්‍රධාන ලක්ෂණයන් වූයේ රාජ්‍ය සේවය සිංහල භාෂාවෙන් ක්‍රියාත්මකවීමද, ශීඝ්‍ර ආර්ථික වර්ධනයක් අපේක්ෂාවෙන් කලින් පැවති දෙපාර්තමේන්තු මගින් සිදුවූ පාලනය වෙනුවට පොදු ජන යහපත වෙනුවෙන් රාජ්‍ය සංස්ථා පිහිටුවීම ද වේ. රාජ්‍ය සංස්ථාවකින් අපේක්ෂා කළේ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවක ඇති රාජ්‍ය බලය හා පෞද්ගලික අංශයේ ඇති කඩිනම් ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය සමඟ නම්‍යශීලී බවද සංකලනය වූ සංවර්ධන සැලැස්ම ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමය. මෙම විත්තනය යටතේ ප්‍රථම කාර්යය වූයේ ලංකා ගමනාගමන මණ්ඩලය පිහිටුවීමය. සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය තුළටද මෙම කඩිනම් සංවර්ධනය ඇතුළත් කිරීමට යුහුසුළු විය. විවිධ සේවා සමිති පිහිටුවීම එහි ප්‍රතිඵලයයි. 1969 පමණ වන විට සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන රජයේ උනන්දුව තව තවත් වර්ධනය වී එය ප්‍රති සංවිධානය කිරීම සඳහා තොරතුරු සොයා බලා නිර්දේශයන් කිරීමට ලේඩ් ලෝ නමැති විදේශික නිලධාරියෙකුගේ ප්‍රධානත්වයෙන් රාජකීය කොමිෂන් සභාවක් පත්කරන ලදී. එම කොමිසමේ වාර්තාව 1970 දී ප්‍රකාශයට පත්කරන ලදුව 1971 සිට එහි නිර්දේශයන් නීති මගින් ක්‍රියාත්මක විය.

ලේඩ්ලෝ කොමිසම පෙන්වා දීමට තැත් කළේ ග්‍රාමීය කමිටු මගින් පාලනය වූ සමිති දුර්වල බවත් වෙනත් රටවල මෙන් කළමනාකරණ වෘත්තීයක් ව්‍යාපාරය තුළ නැති නිසා ව්‍යාපාරය දුර්වල වූ බවත්ය. ඊළඟ වසර 30 දී සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ගමන්ගත් මඟ සමාලෝචනය කරන විට මෙම නිගමනය යථාර්ථය නොවන බව වැටහී ගොස් ඇත. රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරීන්ගේ අතගැසීම්

වර්දනය වූ වාතාවරණයක් තුළ පැරණි ග්‍රාමීය ස්වයං පාලන ක්‍රම හෙලාදැකීමට හා නව පරිපාලන ක්‍රම වර්ධනය කිරීමට ගත් උත්සාහයක් හැටියටද පෙනී යයි. එතෙක් ඉතා සාර්ථකව පවත්වාගෙන ගිය වසර හැටක නොකැළැල්ලේ ඉතිහාසයක් තිබූ සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ග්‍රාමීය සිතූම් පැතුම් හා ජීවන රටාවක් ගැන අවබෝධයක් හෝ අනුකූලතාවක් නොදක්වන නිලධාරී පන්තියක ග්‍රහණයට හසුවීම රටේ අවාසනාව විය.

මෙම නව ක්‍රියාවලිය යටතේ පිහිටුවන ලද කළමණාකරණ ආයතන සංඛ්‍යාව ශීඝ්‍රයෙන් වර්ධනය වී ඇතිමුත් දැනට ක්‍රියාත්මක විවිධ සේවා සමිති 311 කින් සමිති 268 ක් ම පාඩු ලබන තත්වයක පැවතීම කළමණාකරණ හැකියාවලින් අපේක්ෂිත ප්‍රතිලාභ ලැබී නැති බවද නිගමනය කළ හැක.

1959 දක්වා කාලය තුළ සාමාජිකයින්ටද පොදුවේ රටටද ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදය ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ ආයතනයක් හැටියටද කරන ලද සේවය ලේඛලෝ කොමිසම මගින් අවතක්සේරු කර ඇත. පොත පතේ උගත්කම නොතිබුණද ගම්වලින් ඉදිරියට පැමිණි නායකයෝ ගමේ සියළු ආර්ථික හා සමාජීය මෙහෙවර වැටුප් ලැබීමකින් තොරව සිදු කළහ. එහෙත් 1971 න් පසු සමූපකාර සමිතිවල පාලනයට වැටුප් හා වෙනත් ලැබීම් මත ඇරඹුණු නායකත්වය රටට ලැබීණි ද යන්න සැක සහිතය.

ලේඛලෝ කොමිසම කළ ප්‍රධාන නිර්දේශයක් වූ කුඩා සමිති වෙනුවට විශාල සමිති පිහිටුවීමද සාවද්‍ය නිගමනයක් බව අද ඔප්පු වී තිබේ. එම කොමිසම ඉස්මතු කළ කුඩා ඒකක ව්‍යාපාරික වශයෙන් ලාභදායී නොවන බවය. ව්‍යාපාරයක් ප්‍රමාණයෙන් විශාලවීම ලාභදායීවීමේ වැදගත් අංගයක් නොවේ. කුඩා වුවත් මනා නායකත්වයෙන් පාලනය කරන්නේ නම් ආර්ථික ලාභ මෙන්ම සමාජීය ප්‍රතිලාභ ද ලැබිය හැක. ලොව පිළිගත් සමූපකාර ප්‍රතිපත්තිවල ලාභ ලැබීම වෙනුවට ඉස්මතුවන්නේ වියදම් කැපීමේ ක්‍රියාවලියකි. සාමාජිකයින් ලබන ලාභය නම් ඔවුන්ගේ අත්‍යවශ්‍ය සේවාවන් පහසුවෙන් සපයාගැනීමට ඒකරාහී වී වියදම් අවම කර අතිරික්තයක් වේ නම් එයද සාමාජිකයන් අතර බෙදීමේ පදනම මත යෙදවීමය.

සාමාජිකයින්ට ලාභ ලැබීමට වඩා ගමේ ව්‍යාපාරයන් තමන්ම පාලනය කිරීමෙන් ලැබෙන අත්දැකීම් වල කල නොහැක. එම ප්‍රායෝගික අත්දැකීම් කළමණාකර ආයතන තුළින් ලැබේ ද යන්නද සැක සහිතය.

සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය වේගයෙන් "ඉදිකිරීම" හේතුවෙන්ද, විශාල ව්‍යාපාරයක් ඉසිලීමට තරම් සුදුසු මුහුකුරා ගිය පාලන ශක්තියක් නොමැතිවීමෙන්ද ව්‍යාපාරය දුර්වල වූ බව කිව හැක. එය සනාථ වනුයේ එතෙක් ගමේ සාමාජිකයින්ට අත්‍යවශ්‍ය වූ කෘෂිභෝග වලට අදාළ ක්‍ෂත්‍රයන්හි ලැබුණු දීර්ඝකාලීන අත්දැකීම් හැරදමා නාගරික ව්‍යාපාරයන් වෙත, නව කළමණාකරුවන්ද, රජයේ නිලධාරීන්ද ව්‍යාපාරය ඇදගෙනයාම හේතුවෙනි.

සමිති සංඛ්‍යාව අඩුකර නාගරික සමිතිවලට පාලනය නාගරික නිලධාරී මඩුළුවලට පැවරීම ව්‍යාපාරයේ අවනතියට හේතුවිය. කලින් ගමේ ප්‍රභූවරුන් දැරූ සමුපකාර සමිතිවල නිලතල විවිධ දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවල නිලධාරීන් අතට රජය මගින් පත්කරන ලදී. ඇතැම්විට රජයේ වැදගත් නිලතල දරණ අය ප්‍රදේශයේ සමුපකාර සමිති සභාපති හැටියටද පත්වූහ. වගකිවයුතු දෙපාර්තමේන්තු නිලයක් දරණ අයෙකුට දැවැන්ත විවිධ සේවා සමිතියක මනා කළමනාකාරිත්වයට සහායක් දීමට කාලය මිඩංගු කළ හැකිදැයි යන්න සැක සහිතය. රාජකාරීකීපයක් එක පුද්ගලයෙකු විසින් භාරගැනීමේ දුර්වල ප්‍රවණතාව අපරට තුළ ප්‍රචලිත වී ඇත.

1959 ට පෙර ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය විසින් ආර්ථිකයට ගෙනදුන් දායකත්ව ප්‍රතිශතයන් මෙසේය.

කෘෂිකාර්මික ණය	30%
පාරිභෝගික සේවාව	65%
වී අලෙවිය	25%

2000 වර්ෂය තුළ මෙම ප්‍රතිශතයන් විස්මයජනක ලෙස පහත වැටී ඇති බව පෙනේ. එයට හේතු වශයෙන් ඇතැමුන් ප්‍රකාශ කරනුයේ විවෘත ආර්ථික රටාව මත බාධක ඉදිරිපත් වූ බවය. මනා කළමනාකාරිත්වයක් හා මනා නායකත්වයක් මත ඕනෑම අවදානමකට කලින් සූදානම් වී නිවැරදි පියවර ගත හැක. මනා කළමනාකාරිත්වයක ලක්ෂණ නම් අවදානම් වලට මුහුණ දීම හා අවදානම් වැළැක්වීමය. සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය පිළිබඳව 1931 රෙජිස්ට්‍රාර්වරයා විසින් පළකරන ලද වාර්තාවේ සඳහන් කර ඇත්තේ, අවංකකම, අතුරු ව්‍යවස්ථා ගැන අවබෝධය හා ඒවා පිළිපැදීම ආදර්ශවත් බවය. මහා සභා රැස්වීමකදී නමගිය පාසැල්වල අධ්‍යාපනය ලැබූ අය පවා පුදුමයට පත්වන පරිදි සාමාජිකයින් ඔවුන්ගේ හැකියාවන් ප්‍රදර්ශනය කරන බවත් අතුරු ව්‍යවස්ථා පිළිබඳව සාමාජික දැනීම ගැන අභියෝග කළ නොහැකි බවත්ය.

ලෝකයේ ව්‍යාපාර ඉතිහාසය ගැන බලනවිට දැවැන්ත ව්‍යාපාර ඉදිවී ඇත. ඇමෙරිකාවේ ජෙනරල් මෝටර්ස් ආයතනය හෝ ලිවර් බ්‍රදර්ස් ආයතනය වැනි ලෝ ප්‍රකට ආයතන සාර්ථකව ඉදිකර පවත්වාගෙන යයි. මේ ව්‍යාපාරවල සාර්ථකත්වය විශාලකම නිසාම සිදුවූ නබව නිගමනය කළ නොහැක. තමන්ගේ දේශයට, පරිසරයට හෝ දක්ෂතාවන්ට සරිලන පරිදි ව්‍යාපාරයන් ගොඩනැගීම සඳහා අවශ්‍ය වනුයේ මනා නායකත්වයකි. ජෙනරල් මෝටර්ස් සමාගමේ සාර්ථකත්වයට හේතුවූ ප්‍රධාන සාධකය නම් එහි නායකයා වූ ඇල්ෆ්‍රඩ් පී. ස්ලෝන් නැමැත්තාගේ කළමනාකරණ දක්ෂතාව යයි කිව යුතුය.

1959 න් පසු ලංකා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය අධික අපේක්ෂාවෙන් කෙටි කලෙකින් සපුරාගැනීමට උත්සාහ කර අනතුරට භාජනය වූ බව කිව හැක.

සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය සෙමින් හා ස්වභාවික වර්ධනය වීමට ඉඩ හැරීම වෙනුවට වෘත්තීය කලමණාකරණය කඩිනමින් ඇතුළත් කිරීමෙන් අසාර්ථක ප්‍රතිඵල අත්විය.

විවිධ සේවා සමිති ආරම්භ කිරීමේ අපේක්‍ෂාවන් ප්‍රසංශනීය වෙයි. එහෙත් ප්‍රදේශයට යෝග්‍ය වූ ව්‍යාපාරයන් තෝරාගැනීමත්, මනා පාලනයකට අවශ්‍ය කැපවීමත්, වැදගත් වෙයි. සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය මෙන්ම අප රටේ ව්‍යාපාර බොහොමයක් ආරම්භ කරනුයේ අනුකරණයන් ලෙසය. සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයද මෙම අනුකරණ ක්‍රියාවලියට ලක්විය.

ලංකාවේ එතෙක් පැවති කුඩා ප්‍රමාණයේ ඒක සේවා සමිති පරිවර්තනය කරන ලද්දේ, ජපානයේ සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයන් 1961 දී ප්‍රතිසංවිදානය කරන ලද වැඩපිළිවෙල අනුකරණය කරමිනි. එහෙත් ජපානයේ ආර්ථික හා සමාජීය තත්වයන් මෙහි තත්වයන්ට කිසිසේත් සමාන නොවීය. ලංකාවේ සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය 1971 දී ප්‍රතිසංවිධානය කරන විට ජපානය දියුණු මට්ටමක තිබුණද අප රටේ තත්වයන් ඊට පහළ මට්ටමක පැවැතිණ. ආර්ථික කලමණාකරණය පිළිබඳ අප රටේ හැකියාවන්ද, කැපවීමද, අඩු මට්ටමක විය. මෙම පසුබිම මත 1959 දී හා 1971 දී මෙහි සිදුකළ ප්‍රතිශෝධන අවස්තාවට නොගැලපුණ බව කිව හැක.

1959 දක්වා පැවති ව්‍යාපාරයේ අඩුපාඩු පැවතුන බවන පිළිගත හැකි මුත් සමස්ථයක් වශයෙන් ගත්කල එම සමිති අප රටේ සමාජයට හා වාතාවරණයට ගැලපෙන ආයතන වෙමින් මාහැඟි සේවයක් රටට සිදුකළ බව සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛන ඔප්පු කරයි.

වර්තමාන යුගය

1954 සමස්ථ ඉන්දියානු ග්‍රාමීය ණය සමීක්‍ෂණ වාර්තාවේ සඳහන් වී ඇත්තේ "සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය අසාර්ථක වී ඇත. එය සාර්ථක විය යුතුය" යන්නය. මෙම කියමන අපගේ පැරණි ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන යෙදිය නොහැකි මුත් වර්තමාන ව්‍යාපාරය ගැන යෙදිය හැකිය. ඉන්දියාව හා ලංකාව සමාන ශිෂ්ටාචාරයක හා දේශපාලන වශයෙන් එක මාර්ගයක ගමන්ගත් රටවල් දෙකකි. රටවල් දෙකටම නිදහස ලැබී පාලනය දේශීය නායකයින් අතට පත්විය. ඉන්දියානු නායකයෝ නිදහස ලැබීමෙන් පසු දේශීය ආහාර නිෂ්පාදනය සඳහා දැවැන්ත වැඩපිළිවෙලට ආරම්භ කළහ. අප රටේද කෘෂිකාර්මික සංවර්ධනය සඳහා වැඩපිළිවෙලට අරඹුණද ඒවායේ සාර්ථකත්වය ඉන්දියානුවන් ලැබූ සාර්ථකත්වයට සමාන කල නොහැක. කෘෂිකාර්මික හෝ කාර්මික නිෂ්පාදනයන් දියුණු කිරීමට වෙළඳපොල ගැන ද දැඩි අවධානයක් යොමුකළ යුතුය. ඉන්දියානුවෝ තම නිලධාරී තත්ත්වය මගින් මෙම අංශ දෙකම සමාන වේගයකින් ඉදිරියට ගෙන ගියෝය. අලෙවිය දියුණුකිරීමට ඉන්දියානුවෝ සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය බෙහෙවින්ම යොදා ගත්හ. එහෙත් ලංකාවේ අලෙවි සංවර්ධන කටයුතු පසුබෑමකට ලක්විය. මෙම හේතුවෙන් කෘෂිකෙ‍ෂත්‍රයේ නියැලී

සිටින 50% ක් පමණ වූග්‍රම්කයින්ගේ ජීවන තත්වය වර්ධනය වීමට ලැබුණු සම්මාදම ප්‍රමාණවත් නොවන බව සඳහන් කළ හැක.

ලංකාවේ නිදහසින් පසු පටන්ගත් රාජ්‍ය ආයතන ව්‍යුහය තුළ ගොවි ද්‍රව්‍ය අලෙවි කිරීම මෙන්ම සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයට ද වැදගත් ස්ථානයක් හිමිවිය. 1971 දී වී අලෙවි කිරීම සඳහා විශේෂිත වූ ධාන්‍ය අලෙවි කිරීමේ ආයතනය හැටියට වී අලෙවි මණ්ඩලය පිහිටුවන ලදී. 1977 වන විට විවිධ කාර්යයන් සඳහා රාජ්‍ය සංස්ථා හෝ මණ්ඩල 160 ක් පමණ ක්‍රියාත්මක ව තිබිණ. 1971 දී වැදගත් අපේක්ෂාවන් ඇතිව කරන ලද සංශෝධනයන් වූ සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ප්‍රති සංවිධානය කිරීමද වී අලෙවි මණ්ඩලය පිහිටුවීමද එකවරම රටට අයහපත් ප්‍රතිඵල ගෙන දුන් බව පෙනේ. මෙම අයහපත් ප්‍රතිඵල ලැබීමට ප්‍රධාන හේතුවක් වූයේ රාජ්‍ය ආයතනවල පාලනය අතට ගත් නිලධාරීන්ගේ කළමණාකරණ දුර්වලකම් බව පෙනේ. වී අලෙවි මණ්ඩලය එතෙක් සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය අත තිබූ ධාන්‍ය වර්ග අලෙවිය සම්පූර්ණයෙන්ම බාරගෙන වෙනමම අලෙවි වැඩ සටහන් ක්‍රියාත්මක කළේය. එහෙත් අපේක්ෂිත යහපත් ප්‍රතිඵල වෙනුවට කෘෂි ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයට හෝ සමුපකාරව්‍යාපාරයට යහපත් පතිඵල නොලැබිණි.

සහතික මිල යෝජනා ක්‍රම යටතේ ධාන්‍ය සඳහා වූ මිල නිශ්චය කිරීම එතෙක් සිදුකළේ ගොවිජන සේවාන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුව හා සමුපකාර සමිති අතර පැවතුන මනා ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ සහයෝගිතා වැඩ පිළිවෙලක් මතය. 1971 සිදුකළ නීතිගත ප්‍රතිනශෝධන මගින් මෙම ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ සම්බන්ධීකරණය හා සහයෝගිතාව අහෝසි වී සමිතිය හා වී ගබඩාව අතර එතෙක් පැවති සුහදකාවය හීන වී යාමට ද හේතුවිය. නෛතික වශයෙන් ගොවීන්ගේ කටයුතු නිලධාරී රැස්වීම් වලදී සාකච්ඡා වුවද, ගම් මට්ටමේ වාතාවරණය වූයේ ඒ ඒ ආයතනවල නිලධාරීන් කොළඹින් උපදෙස් ගෙන තම ආයතනයේ ලාභය සඳහා පමණක් කටයුතු කිරීමය. මෙම අවාසනාවන්ත තත්වය ලංකාවේ රාජ්‍ය සේවයේ හැම අංශයකටම බල පැවැත්වූ කරුණක් විය.

වී අලෙවි මණ්ඩලයට තුළ ගොවි ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයේ කටයුතු සම්බන්ධීකරණය සඳහා අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩලයට සාමාජිකයින් වශයෙන් සමුපකාර කොමසාරිස්වරයාද, ගොවිජන සේවා කොමසාරිස්වරයාද පත්කරන ලදී. එහෙත් මෙම සම්බන්ධීකරණය මාසිකව කොළඹ අධ්‍යක්ෂ මණ්ඩල රැස්වීමකදී පැයක පමණ කාලයක සුහද සාකච්ඡාවක් මිස ඇත පිටිසර ගොවීන්ගේ ගැටලු වලට විසඳුම් ලබාදුන් හමුවක් නොවූයේය. ගම් මට්ටමේව ආයතනවල කටයුතු වෙන වෙනමන සිදුවිය. වී අලෙවි මණ්ඩලය වසර 27 කට පසු අක්‍රිය වී යාමද මෙම අයහපත් තත්වයේ ප්‍රතිඵලයකි. ජනතාවට ඉතා සංවේදී වූ ආයතනයක් මෙහෙයවීමටද බහුලව වී නිෂ්පාදනය වන පළාත්වල වැඩ කටයුතු මෙහෙයවීමටද තෝරාගන්නා ලද නිලධාරීන්ගේ අකාර්යක්ෂමතාවය නිසා සිදු විය. ගොවි ජනතාවගේ සිතූම් පැතුම්ද ඔවුන්ගේ ඕනෑ එපාකම්

සපුරාලීමට නැති කුසලතා හා කැපවීමද මත ඉහළ තනතුරු වලට නිලධාරීන් තෝරාගැනීම වෙනුවට වෙනස් ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයන්හි හෝ පොතේ දැනීම පමණක් තිබුණු නිලධාරීන් පත්කිරීම ද සිදුවිය. සාමූහික ප්‍රතිඵලය වූයේ එතෙක් පැවති ගම් මට්ටමේ පාලන ක්‍රමය දියවී යාමය.

සමූපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය මගින් අද වෙළඳපලට ලැබෙනුයේ අලෙවිකරුනු ලබන වී ප්‍රමාණයෙන් ඉතා සුළු ප්‍රතිශතයකි.

ගමේ ප්‍රජාතන්ත්‍රවාදී ක්‍රම ඉවත් කිරීම

සිංහල රජවරුන්ගේ පාලන සමයේ සිටම මෙරට වැසියෝ ස්වයං පාලන ක්‍රමවලට පුරුදුව සිටියහ. යටත් විජිත යුගය තුළද බොහෝ දුරට ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ පාලන ක්‍රම එලෙසම පවත්වාගෙන යාමට විදේශිකයෝද සැලකිලිමත් වූහ. නිදහස ලැබීමෙන් පසු සිදුවිය යුතුව තිබුණේ එතෙක් පැවති ග්‍රාමීය මට්ටමේ පාලන බලතල වඩාත් පුළුල් වී ශක්තිමත් වීමය. නමුත් සිදුවූයේ ගමේ පැවති පාලන බලතල නගරය කරා ගමන් කිරීමය.

ගමේ සමූපකාරය මධ්‍යස්ථානය වී විවිධ ක්‍ෂේත්‍රයන් නියෝජනය කරමින් ගම තුළින් බිහිකළ නායකත්වය වර්තමානයේ බිහිවීමට ඇති අවස්ථාවන් ඇතිරී ගියේය.

1999 සමූපකාර කොමසාරිස් වාර්තාවේ නිරීක්ෂණ කීපයක්

"සාමාජිකයින්ට ප්‍රතිලාභ හා සේවාවන් අත්කර දෙන සමූපකාර පදනම මත ක්‍රියාත්මක වන විවිධ සේවා සමූපකාර සමිති 10% ක් වත් නොමැති බව කණගාටුවට කරුණකි."

"වත්මන් ව්‍යාපාර පරිසරයට අනුගතවීමට නොහැකිව සමූපකාර සමිති වෙළඳපලින් ඉවත්වෙයි."

ප්‍රථම නිරීක්ෂණය, ඉදිරිපත් වී ඇති සංඛ්‍යා ලේඛණ අනුව සත්‍යයකි. එහෙත් දෙවැනි නිරීක්ෂණය විවාදයට තුඩුදිය හැකි කරුණකි. ව්‍යාපාර පරිසරයට අනුගත වීමට නොහැකිවන්නේ පරිසරය වෙනස්වීම නිසා නොව කළමණාකරණ දුර්වලතා මතය. සියලු දේ වෙනස් වන වාතාවරණයක ව්‍යාපාර පරිසරය ස්ථාවර වේ යයි යන නිගමනය මත කටයුතු කිරීම හෝ නීති රීති මත රැඳී සිටීම කළ නොහැක්කකි.

"සමිතිවල පවත්නා දුර්වල කළමණාකාරීත්වය සමිති බිඳවැටීමේ ප්‍රධාන සාධකය බව පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය. මීට අමතරව දුර්වල නායකත්වය, මූල්‍ය දුෂ්කරතා, කාර්ය මණ්ඩල ගැටුම් හා බාහිර බලපෑම් වැඩි වශයෙන් බලපා ඇත."

බාහිර බලපෑම් හැටියට සඳහන් වනුයේ රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරීන් හා දේශපාලන බලවතුන්ගේ යම් බලපෑම් විය හැක. මේ අයහපත් තත්වයට මග පෑදුණේ ව්‍යාපාරය රාජ්‍ය තන්ත්‍රය තුළට 1957 දී ද, 1971 දී ද, ඇතුල්වීම නිසා විය හැක.

"සාමාජික අවශ්‍යතා හඳුනා නොගැනීම, සාමාජිකයා අයිතිකරු ලෙස නොසැලකීම, පාලනයට හවුල්කර නොගැනීම, යන කරුණු මත සාමාජිකයින් සම්බන්ධව ඇත්වීම මීට බොහෝ කලකට පෙර සිදුවිය."

"මහජන ආයතන ලෙස සාමාජික අපේක්ෂාවන් මුදුන්පත් කිරීම යුගයේ අවශ්‍යතාව වෙයි."

ඉහත නිරීක්ෂණ වාර්තා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරයේ වර්තමාන තත්වය පිළිබිඹු කරයි. නායකත්වය හා කළමණාකරණය ගැන අප වෙන් වශයෙන් සැලකිය යුත්තේ 1971 න් පසු කළමණාකරණය වෘත්තීය කළමණාකරුවන්ට පැවරුණ බැවින්ය. නායකත්වය වනාහී කළමණාකරණය අභිබවා යන දක්ෂතාවකි. හැම කළමණාකරුවෙක්ම හොඳ නායකයෙකු නොවීමට පුළුවන. එහෙත් හැම නායකයෙක්ම හොඳ කළමණාකරුවෙකි.

රටේ නායකයින් බිහිවීමේදී අප සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය සිදුකළ සේවය ඉතිහාසයේ ලියවී ඇත. ගමේ ණය දෙන සමිතිය, කඩ සමිතිය, ගොවි ද්‍රව්‍ය නිපදවීමේ හා අලෙවිකිරීමේ සමිතිය හා වෙනත් කාර්යයන් සඳහා වූ සමිති මගින් එකවර නායකයින් බොහෝ දෙනෙකු රටට දායාද කර දුන්නේය. 1971 න් පසු මෙම නායක උල්පත සිදී ගියේය. එකල සමුපකාර දෙපාර්තමේන්තු නිලධාරීන් හා ගමේ සමිතිවල නිලධාරීන් අතර තිබුණු අන්‍යෝන්‍ය සුහදතාව නිසා "නිලධාරීවාදයක්" ජනිත නොවුනි. මෙම තත්වයන් අන් දෙපාර්තමේන්තු නිලධාරීන් අතරද එකල පොදු ලක්ෂණයක් විය. ගමේ රාජකාරී කළ නිලධාරීන්ගෙන් 95% ක්ම ගැමි ජනතාවගේ මිතුරන් හැටියට හැසුරුණු අය වූහ. මෙම පසුබිමේ හොඳම උදාහරණය හැටියට සඳහන් කළ හැක්කේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ තුන්වන ජනාධිපති වූ. ඩී. බී. විජේතුංග මහතාගේ නමය. එතුමා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය තුළින් බිහිවූ නායකයෙකි.

සමුපකාරය පිළිබඳ ජනාධිපති කොමිෂන් සභාව 2000

මෙම කොමිෂන් සභාව 2000 වර්ෂයේ පත්කරන ලදී. ජාත්‍යන්තරව පිළිගත් සමුපකාර අන්‍යෝන්‍යතාව ගැන එම කොමිසම පත්කිරීමේදී සඳහන් කර තිබේ. ගැඹුරින් විග්‍රහ කරන විට වර්තමාන ලෝකයේ බොහෝ ගැටළු ජනිත වනුයේ මෙම "අන්‍යෝන්‍යතාව" තහවුරු කරගැනීමට යම් යම් කොටස්ගන්නා උත්සාහයන් අයහපත් ගැටුම්, විරෝධතා, විෂමතා ජනිත කිරීමෙන්ය. ගෝලීයකරණයේ සැබෑ අරුත විය යුත්තේ පරම සත්‍යයක් වන එකිනෙකා අතර සම්බන්ධතාව තහවුරු කරමින් සාමූහික ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වයක් තුළින්ය. අන්‍යෝන්‍යතාවක් ගොඩනැගීම බොහෝ දුරට කණ්ඩායම් හෝ ගැටුම් වාතාවරණයක්

ඇති කරන බව ඉතිහාසය සනාථ කරයි. සමුපකාරයද ස්වභාව ධර්මයාගේ ම ලක්ෂණයක් යැයි කිව හැකිය. ප්‍රතිපත්තිමය වෙනස්කම් සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය තුළට ඇතුළත් කිරීම ඵලදායී විය හැකිද යන්නද ගැන අපි සැලකිලිමත් විය යුත්තෙමු. සමුපකාර ප්‍රතිපත්ති වෙනස්විය නොහැක. යුක්තිය, සාදාරණත්වය, සමානාත්මතාව ආදිය මුදල්වලට නැඹුරුව යොමුවීම මගින් වෙනස් කළ නොහැකිය. ප්‍රතිපත්ති සියල්ලම පොදු ධර්මතාවන් ලෙස සලකා ඒවා රැකීම සඳහා ක්‍රියාමාර්ගයන් පමණක් වෙනස් කිරීමේ මග පමණක් අපි අනුමත කරමු.

අනාගතය

සීඝ්‍රයෙන් වෙනස් වන සමාජයීය, ආර්ථික හා තාක්ෂණික ලෝකයක අනාගතය ගැන නිරීක්ෂණය කිරීම අපහසු කාර්යයකි. එහෙත් ඉතිහාසය අනුවද අත්දැකීම් අනුවද වර්තමාන ප්‍රවණතාවන් අනුවද, ජනතාවගේ පොදු යහපත අරබයා සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය ඉතා වටිනා වැඩ පිළිවෙළක් හැටියට මෙහෙයවිය හැක. සමුපකාර ව්‍යාපාරය යොමුවිය යුතු ගමන් මගේ වැදගත් අරමුණු කීපයක් ගැන සඳහන් කිරීම යෝග්‍යය.

1. ගම් මට්ටමේ නිදහස් සමිති වර්ධනය වීමට ඉඩ සලසා රාජ්‍ය නිලධාරී කටයුතු සීමා කිරීම.
2. ලාභ ඉපයීම හා බැංකු කටයුතු වර්ධනය ඒකායන අරමුණු හැටියට දැනට පවතින ආකල්පයන් සමාලෝචනය කර සාමාජික යහපත ඒකායන අරමුණු හැටියට තබාගැනීම.
3. වෘත්තික කළමණාකරණයන කෙතරම් දුරට සාර්ථක වී ඇත්ද යන්නද ඒ වෙනුවට සාමාජිකයින් තුළින්ම කළමණාකරණ වර්ධනය කිරීම වෙත යොමුවීම.
4. ද්විතීය සමිතිවල ක්‍රියාකාරීත්වය හා ඵලදායීතාව ගැන නිබඳවම සැලකිලිමත් වීම.

ද්විතීය හා ඉහළ මට්ටම් සමිති 1999

ද්විතීය	දිස්ත්‍රික් සමුපකාර මණ්ඩල	27
	ණය දෙන සමිති සංගම්	42
	කිරි නිෂ්පාදන	5
	පාරිභෝගික සංගම්	7
	ග්‍රාමීය බැංකු සංගම්	16
	ධීවර සංගම්	19
	වෙනත්	7

සාමාජික සමිති

ජාතික මට්ටම	ජාතික සමුපකාර මහා මණ්ඩලය	30
	මාක්ෂේඩ්	312
	පාර්භෝගික	221
	රෙදි සංගමය	29
	කාර්මික සංගමය	185
	පොල් නිපදවන්නන්ගේ සංගමය	8
	ධීවර	182
	තරුණ සේවා	25
	ග්‍රාමීය බැංකු	8
	ණය හා සකසුරුවම්	34
	සත්ව ගොවිපල කුකුල්	21
	රබර්	77
	කිරි නිෂ්පාදන	7

දීප ව්‍යාප්ත සමුපකාර සමිති සංයුතිය

විවිධ අවශ්‍යතා සපුරාගැනීමේ අපේක්‍ෂාවෙන් සමුපකාර ක්‍රමය තුළ දිවයින පුරා විහිදී යන ආකාරයට දීපව්‍යාප්ත සමුපකාර සමිති ආරම්භ කර සමුපකාර සංවර්ධන දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවෙන් අධීක්‍ෂණය යටතේ පවත්වාගෙන යනු ලැබේ. ඒවායේ සංයුතිය මෙසේය:

1. ආයතනික සණස සමිති 21
2. මුද්‍රණය ශිල්පීන්ගේ සමුපකාර සමිතිය
3. වානේ කර්මාන්ත සමිතිය
4. ලක්මල් සල (සමුපකාර විචිත්‍ර මල් හා උඩවැඩියා නිපදවන්නන්ගේ සමිතිය)
5. අත්කම් කරුවන්ගේ සමුපකාර සමිතිය
6. කාන්තා සමුපකාර බැංකු සමිතිය
7. අභ්‍යාස පොත් නාපදවන්නන්ගේ සමුපකාර සමිතිය
8. මාදැල් හිමියන්ගේ සමුපකාර සමිතිය
9. ලේඛකයින්ගේ සමුපකාර සමිතිය

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වර්ෂය	1921	1933	1942	1947	1957	1958	1963	1972	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999
සීමාරහිත ණයදෙන	137	680	1519	1782	3581	3680	3783	2835	109	117	166	166	176
සීමාසහිත ණයදෙන	17	23	103	120	162	163	198	298	265	265	188	190	187
ඉතිරිකිරීම්		29	164	215	404	411	403	290	37	31	42	42	93
පාරිභෝගික		9	52	3961	2569	1260	838	130	218	252	197	224	97
ගොවිදව්‍ය ස. හා අලෙවි			11	26	995	424	175	477	25	34	34	34	31
ගෘහ කර්මාන්ත			18	30	801	868	1037	1110	241	249	141	143	176
වෙනත් නිෂ්පාදන		3	40	115	330	375	667		5	5	5	5	12
විවිධ සේවා					68	3897	4950	396	23	20	49	51	51
පාසැල්		2	32	56	1472	1618	1944	2038	300	300	301	308	311
වෙනත් පාරම්පරික		4	29	33	157	156	371	210	1345	1047	1121	1051	993
සමුපකාර බැංකු		3	7	10	12	12	7						
වෙනත් ද්විතීයික		26	63	162	261	271	275						
තේ, රබර්, පොල්													
තිරි නිෂ්පාදන													
සත්ව පාලන													
කෘෂි හා ඵලදායී ගම්මාන													
ජෛෂ කර්මාන්ත													
සුළු හා මධ්‍ය පර්මාණ													
ආරෝග්‍යශාලා													
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A REPLY TO BRUCE D. CAIN
 with reference to 'Comments on V. Vitharana's
 'Sri Lankan-Maldivian Cultural Affinities' :
 JRASSL., NS. VOL. XLIII

by
V. Vitharana

Abbreviations:

CEVDL.	A Concise Etymological Vocabulary of Dhivehi Language - by H. A. Maniku, RASSL., Colombo, 2000.		
IC.	Inscriptions of Ceylon I - S. Paranavitana, Colombo, 1970		
J.	Journal of the RAS. of Sri Lanka, N. S. Vol. XLIII, 2000		
PMI.	People of the Maldive Islands - C. Maloney, Madras, 1980		
SLMCA.	Sri Lankan-Maldivian Cultural Affinities - V. Vitharana, Polgasovita, 1977		
c. : century	Ch. : Chapter	Div. : Divehi	<i>ibid.</i> : <i>ibidem</i>
pg/s. : page/s	Pl. : Pali	Sin. : Sinhala	Skt. : Sanskrit
Tam. : Tamil			

My first reaction on having read the above article was a wish to invite the learned critic for a lecture at an early date at one of our local learned Associations devoted to investigations on allied matters, as I came to know that he was in our country at the time. Unfortunately, he had left these shores a few days previously.

Even though that attempt was successful, the demand for a written response to his very long assessment of my work in the same journal remained. Future readers would thereby be acquainted with the reasons that led me to write what I wrote, and that would contribute even in a small measure, I thought, to the furtherance of the knowledge of the region concerned.

The devotion that the learned critic has evinced to the task of reading my modest work with such meticulous care – leaving no stone unturned as it were, of examining at times, almost every detail thoroughly on the basis of the latest data available and of passing judgement even on my deductive

methods is so intense and far-reaching that I feel highly honoured by being the subject of such regard. I even suppose that his essay is the longest critique of a research work (20 pgs.) ever published in a Number of the JRASSL for its long history of over one and half centuries, providing me the opportunity, in the mean-while, to bathe in the rays of an extremely dubious reputation!

For all this and more, I express my gratitude and thanks to the learned critic - Bruce Cain of the Cornell University, and wish that the deep critical interest that he has demonstrated in that exercise be made exemplary by all of his persuasion.

May I, however, admit that my present response is far too late owing to various reasons, and express hereby my apologies to the readers of the Journal.

I am fortunate that the learned critic sees in my work 'a multiplicity of errors stemming from a lack of knowledge of the Maldives and the Maldivian language, by a very selective presentation of material and by a failure to provide a broad enough regional context for the current study' (J. 13). They are all more true than not. I have no standing to boast of a knowledge of the geography, history and language of the Islands and the surrounding region comparable to what an expert on each of these disciplines would possess.

Nevertheless, may I admit with all modesty, that my research was some-what multi-disciplinary, and that the level of my awareness in each of these disciplines was sufficient for my purpose - that of the research into the cultural affinities that exist between the Sinhala people and the Maldivian people, without delving into the finer details as may be possessed by experts in each of them. If I waited long enough to have obtained such a mastery, I would not have even started on my research for many years yet to come!

Even in such an endeavour, there are certain errors that I myself discovered in my modest work, and the learned critic has demonstrated more of such instances for which I am once again thankful.

However, in the learned critic's assessment which, indeed, is a product of serious commitment, I have picked up a few areas where my own comments may be found useful for future scholars who may probe deeper into these and further aspects of Maldivian culture with the aid also of more and more material that may be available as time goes by.

Almost at the commencement of his essay, the learned critic states that 'Vitharana wishes to show that the Maldivian cultural roots are entirely and solely of Sinhala origin'. In fact, it was not my 'wish': I have only demonstrated (as stated above) the cultural affinities that may be observed between the two peoples, as far as I could, by an examination of the available evidence particularly of their past. It may perhaps be that I have supplied a number that is large enough to induce one to suspect my intentions in that manner.

A page later (J. 14), he points to my having made much of Geiger's hypothesis that Divehi (Div.) the language of the Maldives, came from Sinhala (Sin.) as late as the 10th century.

No. To make my 'hypothesis' clear (whether it conforms to Geiger's or not), may I say, in sum, that:

- i. Sin. immigrants settled down in the Maldives from times earlier than the 10th c., with Fa Hsien who dwelt in Anurādhapura during the 5th c., having somehow come to know of the Islands (SLMCA. 150 etc.), and with Buddhist artifacts pertaining to the 6th c. discovered in Nilandū (*ibid.* 142)
- ii. the earliest of their writings as found available to us now pertains to the 12th c., and they correspond to an appreciable degree in one or more linguistic aspects (palaeography, grammar, semantics and idiom) with the Sin. of the 10th c. and even earlier (SLMCA. Ch. II pgs. 19, 107-09).

The learned critic also says 'So Vitharana says that Div. was not a separate language until around the time of their conversion to Islam in the 12th c.'

Yes, I say so.

May I explain.

- i. No evidence to the palaeography of the Islands pertaining to any earlier period of time came to my hands, unfortunately. The inscriptions on the demon carvings (likely pre-1153 AD.) and the Loamāfānus (late 12th c.) were the only local sources that I had to depend on
- ii. The linguistic features evident in these tallied remarkably with those of the abundant Sri Lankan (i.e., Sin.) sources ranging from the verses of the Sīgiri Graffiti (*circa* 8th c.-) :



palaeography, meanings of words and phrases, surnames and other proper name forms

- iii. No evidence to the presence in the Islands of any other language was available to me (SLMCA. 50-51, 107-09, 134-35).

The learned critic proceeds to say, 'Yet, he fails to offer any proof of this and merely catalogues a number of similarities between the two languages' (J. 15).

The 'proof' is elaborated in my longest Chapter (SLMCA. 14-96) of 82 pages, dealing with affinities in the linguistic features mentioned above with the aid of thirteen categorised Glossaries containing around eight hundred words and expressions. What more may a person who undertakes such a task, do? Should he hope for far more tangible bits of evidence to surface in the indefinite future? Or, is he not justified if he arrives at a rational conclusion on the basis of the only evidence that is available to him?

The learned critic next says that I need to 'demonstrate that Div. conforms to all the sound changes and morphological patterns found in Sin. up to the 12th c.' (J. 15). How, indeed, may a researcher employ himself to that task when whatever literature that the Islands may have had up to then is no more evident? And, even if such a source is discovered, one may not find conformities to 'all' the sound changes!

And may it also be not forgotten that my search was for affinities, i.e., 'relationships, resemblances in general', and not congruencies as visualised by the learned critic.

The learned critic continues: 'Once a sound change is found in Sin. that does not occur in Div. he could pin-point the approximate time the languages separated' (*ibid*). This is true and is an acceptable point of view. But Div. has no means of providing us with an example in order to 'pin-point' the time!

But it is likely that the learned critic has found some valuable evidence, for he says, 'Div. and Sin. show some evidence of divergence some 800 years prior to the 12th c: I give here only one example.' (*ibid*).

He refers then to 'an umlaut process ... present in *Sin.*¹ as early as the 4th c. AD.' (which is uncontested) but fails to supply an example from

1. The italics are mine.

contemporary Div., or, at least, a reference to a contemporary source. He then refers to the Div. *den* (equivalent to the Sin. *dän*, 'now') - likely the modern form (because a referenc to a pre-12th c., source is not made !), and to me it looks as though he equates the Sin. *dän* - the result of an umlaut change of several centuries ago, to the Div. *den* of far later times in order to drive home ('*pin-point*'¹) to us the period of linguistic divergence!

Unfortunately he has not mentioned the other examples of which this is only *one*, and perhaps they may be decisive enough to arrive at a conclusion!

May I say that, with the very modest knowledge of linguistics that I possess, I would not venture to bring in an affinity (or its absence) between forms that are so distantly separated in time!

And then the learned critic seems to ask me, 'If it is the case that Sin. immigrants continued coming *in droves*¹ after the 4th c., and that Sin. was spoken in the Maldives as late as the 12th c. why are the umlaut patterns not the same?' (J 15).

My idea is that if, firstly, the rationality of the question is establishod, the answer lies in the field of the science of linguistics (of which the learned critic is, no doubt, a specialist) itself, and even so, as far as I know, no two languages, however close their affinities are, have *all* the features and the patterns of those features in common. And further, the purpose of my research was not to delve into such matters that come more within the purview of one whose intentions are different.

Incidentally, it is difficult to imagine that the 'Sinhala immigrants continued coming *in droves*¹ after the 4th c.' to the Maldives (as though they had nothing else to do!), and my personal opinion is that 'immigration to and settlement over the Maldivian atolls constituted a very slow process' and that it was 'not in considerable waves' (SLMCA. 139).

Another detail that has come to be revealed is that the learned critic (who is not convinced with the contents of Ch. II of the SLMCA. - see above, wherein my exemplifications are countable in hundreds) wants the reader to be satisfied with 'only one example' (which too, thus, remains unestablished!) to prove his own point.

I am extremely thankful to the learned critic for pointing out the presence of another source of the *sa* with a dash on the left head at Vessagiriya (J. 16). Nevertheless, I would not say that the people of Vessagiriya in the

North Central region of Sri Lanka living 40 to 60 miles from the nearest sea coast had the expertise to set sail on a 500 mile ocean voyage then!

However, I do not conclude on this evidence that the sailors of this Southern region emigrated to the Maldives. I only questioned 'What reason is there to doubt?' and stated too that it is 'highly suggestive' of such a thing taking place (SLMCA. 145). This is in addition to other strands of evidence supplied by me, and the reader is left to his own judgement.

I also did not say that the *evele akuru sa* is the 'same' as that at Mulgirigala (J. 16), but that it 'corresponds in form', by which I meant the presence of a dash in place of the curving head on the left found elsewhere.

The learned critic responding to my ideas on the similarity of the *evele akuru* of the *loamāfānus* to the contemporary Sin. script evident in the numerous inscriptions of Sri Lanka, says, 'Surely Vitharana knows that there is no direct connection between scripts and ethnicity' (J. 15). My venture to indicate that relation was not to show an ethnic affinity between the two peoples, because that factor has been established by several writers of the past and I, being no specialist in the field, feel yet incompetent to add to or to subtract from their pronouncements. Likely, what they opined was 'positive' because it has not been contested so far except for the admittance of admixtures from the neighbouring Indian Ocean littoral - a not extra-ordinary factor more common to oceanic regions lying athwart navigation routes. My intention here was to display an affinity between the two peoples even in respect of their mode of writing. Of course, that factor may contribute to support the views on ethnicity already expressed which need not be interpreted as an exercise on my part to relate scripts with ethnicity, and the phrase used by me is 'the origin of the Maldivian people' (SLMCA. 17) - not *ethnic* origin.

Let us also not forget that in archaeology the presence of a script in an area that is not native to it during such far off times as this, is taken as sufficient evidence to the presence there of the particular people who were using it. Take, for example, the runic tablets of the North American continent and the Roman alphabet over that imperial domain. What I contend here is that, like the people from the British Isles who went to New England, Nova Scotia etc. with their own script (and language), the Sinhalas migrated to the Maldivian Islands with their script (and language). It is left for any scholars to nullify it, or even to express a reverse opinion if they can (!) basing themselves on more acceptable evidence.

I do not, hence, perpetuate here the idea that 'script usage is tied to ethnic identity somehow.'

In my search for affinities (which is the burden of my research work) I have found the mutual similarity between 23 of the 25 characters evident in the *loamāfānus*, and am not compulsorily bound to pin-point the reasons, the associated sources etc. etc. connected with the divergence. Was it Tulu-Malayalam influence (as the learned critic suggests)? If so how did it occur? When did the speakers of this language or languages venture into the Islands, and how long did they live there to influence the local script? Or, on the other hand, did the Maldivians at some period of their history visit the land of the Tulu-Malayalees to return with the shape of the characters concerned? Those and such other delicate and abstruse considerations are beyond my requirements and certainly, my wisdom. May another scholar gifted with more diligence than I possess please venture into such meticulous details and contribute to the field of Maldivian studies during the time to come!

I started off with the pragmatic acceptance of the following few considerations:

- i. that a people who had reached a certain level of civilisation (the Sinhalas, here) migrated with their language and its script (and other cultural institutions as well) to another geographical region beyond the seas (the Maldives, here)
- ii. that the latter region was then not peopled, or was peopled with numerically inferior groups, or with culturally less advanced groups
- iii. that these 'indigenous' groups, if at all, got absorbed into the more numerical and culturally more advanced migratory stream with the advance of time
- iv. that migrations from other regions did occur, but not in such degree as to supersede the impact of the major settlers themselves, getting absorbed into the main-stream, thus ultimately forming the Maldivian people.

If future researchers succeed in developing different stand-points based on sources of evidence that have not been available to me, and those that may be discovered in time to come, I shall pay him the highest tribute.

Cultural institutions, it may be remarked, do not fly like winged seeds with the waft of a current of air. The human being is central in cultural diffusion, because it is his presence over a migratory path and /or at his final destination that causes the implantation of cultural features particular to him. There being no other means, specially during the times concerned, the indication of the presence of a cultural institution or two in the neighbourhood of a place without evidence even to a one-way human contact, serves little purpose.

I may mention here itself that the learned critic notes my disregard of the relation that the Buddhist artefacts in the Maldives may have with those of the erst-while South Indian Buddhism, inclusive of the Mahāyāna (J. 20-21), and my dis-inclination to bring in a relation between the Maldivian demon carvings on the one hand and such carvings in Nepal and Indonesia (J. 21). May I say that I have no evidence to establish a human contact between the Maldives and any of these regions located relatively far apart geographically (the 'wider S. Asian context' of the learned critic: J. 29) during the times concerned, whereas the case is different between the Maldives and Sri Lanka.

If, further, as the learned critic says, 'research concerning these origins is still under way,' let not these scholars merely say that certain features evident in these sculptures show affinities with what may be recognised in this and that land or region, but step further to supply testimony to immigrations etc. (in the main) and such other contacts of the pre-Islamic period to which most of what is discussed by me pertains.

The remarks that the learned critic makes about my notes on derivation have to be considered on the grounds of the difference in our data bases. He, as a linguist, depends on modern speech, colloquialisms etc., whereas I, as a non-linguist, with a historical approach depended on the old vocabulary sources (such as the *loamāfānus*) with no means of knowing the nature of their vocalisation then and earlier. Even so, differences are inevitable owing to the time gap. Nevertheless, my method (instances of which appear to him as 'confusions', 'further confusions' and 'wrongs' and hence as 'highly suspect' : J. 18) satisfies my purpose, which is to indicate, as far as I find possible, the affinities that prevail between the two languages in a historical context.

There is no other means by which that affinity can be demonstrated except by the supply of word-lists; and accordingly, I have supplied the

Sin. forms along with the available historic Div. forms which appear to be phonetically approximate and are identical in meaning—phonetically approximate, because independent evolution down the centuries have certainly wrought inevitable changes (about which too the learned critic raises a question).

I have used the symbol indicating ‘becomes’ (>) owing to its propriety, because there seems to be no other way in which a particular word occurs in Div. in the way that it does. A chameleon, for instance, was known in Mediaeval Sin. (as it does today) as *bohoñḍā*, and it is *bohondā* in Div. today; a bed was and is *āñda* in Sin., and *enda* in Div. So similar are the hundreds of words and expressions that I have indicated in the lists, as mentioned before. Now keeping in mind that the Divehis (or Maldivians) migrated from among the Sin. population (and not the other way round!) it is not inconvenient to understand what took place in history. Under such circumstances, what is wrong in my indication:

(Sin.) *bohoñḍā* > (Div.) *bohondā*
 āñda *enda?*

This is the process adopted in the science of etymology as exemplified in the works of pioneer Orientalists coming down chronologically to our own teachers and mentors of the present era, straddling over a century in time. Consequently, it is possible now to state, for example:

(Skt.) *dakṣiṇa* > (Pl.) *dakkhiṇa* > (Sin.) *dakuṇa* > (Div.) *dekunu*
 pānīya > *pānīya* > *pān* > *fen*
 hasti > *hatthi* > *ät* > *et*
 viñśati > *vīśati* > *visi* > *vihi*

thus bringing Div. into the main-stream of Indo-Aryan etymology in a positive manner.

Of course, this discipline seems to be on the wane in the local scene of the present owing to the decline in the awareness of the above mentioned classical languages, and the prevalent modernistic approach resulting in a tendency to rely on popular speech-forms, largely also on the proliferation of studies in linguistics devoid of an awareness of a historical back-ground that supplies a picture of linguistic evolution. It does not therefore mean that the historical approach has become obsolete!

That in brief is my humble response to the learned critic's accusation of my 'over-stating his case'.

Next he points out that the Skt. and Pl. forms are not provided in the list of correspondences. It is the result of my deeming that exercise as superfluous. The Sinhala of old were emigrants from the land where these languages were flourishing (both in speech and writing), and were in constant touch with the people and the literature of the region during even the centuries subsequent to their establishment as a separate people on the Sri Lankan soil. On the other hand, the Divehis did not have the occasion to come in direct contact with these linguistic communities or their literature in such manner. Sinhala was evolving as a separate language, gradually weaning itself away from the original Skt. and Pl. character by the time these immigrations to the Maldives were taking place, and what the immigrants took to their new home was the evolved or the partly evolved Sin. linguistic forms.

Therefore, the Skt. → Pl. → Sin. derivative process is relevant to the soil of Sri Lanka, and the Sin. → Div. derivative process is relevant to the Maldivian Islands. To exemplify: the Sin. term *dakuṇa* (<Skt. *dakṣiṇa*) was evolved within the historical and geographical limits of Sri Lanka, and the Div. term *dekuṇu* was evolved within the historical and geographical limits of the Maldives, subsequent to the arrival there of the Sin. immigrants (with the term *dakuṇa*).

May I also reiterate that the Skt. → Pl. → Sin. → Div. process or a Skt. → Pl. → Div. process did not take place within the limits of the Maldivian Islands. The evolutionary process that appears to have taken place within the Maldives is the Sin. → Div.

It has also to be remembered that though Sin. evolved to a very considerable extent in the above manner, its users did not give up the original Skt. and Pl. forms altogether - they persisted as *tatsamas*, 'equivalents', and are quite evident even in present-day usage. Hence the sources of such Div. vocables as *perēta* (Skt. *prēta*) *viyāpāra* (Skt. *vyāpāra*), *pūrube* (Skt. *pūrva*), *fandita* (Skt. *paṇḍita*), *karma*, *namaskāra* too need not be searched for else-where other than Sri Lanka itself - a land where Sanskrit and Pali learning flourished in continuity right through the period concerned. Sri Lanka, it is said, was the leading out-post of such learning out-side of the Indian sub-continent during these times.

This is mainly why I used the term 'Sinhala' with no particular adjective or pre-fix when dealing with the evolution of Div. although the

majority of its words and expressions are linked to the derived 'unmixed' Eḷu Sin. forms.

The learned critic also states that I conclude that 'the type of Buddhism practised in the Maldives was exactly the same as that found in Sri Lanka' (J. 21). I do not say so, and the phrases that I use in connection with some of the artefacts are 'reflects a stage of Buddhism as practised in Sri Lanka', 'similar to those of Sri Lanka', 'an imitation of Sri Lankan models', 'stylistically comparable ... (to) examples form Sri Lanka', 'suggestive of an affinity' etc. (SLMCA. 97, 119-21).

In the course of stating that my contribution is valuable, for which I thank him, he states that my study is 'by no means complete'. Even as I keep wondering what research contribution, particularly in the humanities disciplines, is complete (!) I think along with him that this 'contribution' of mine, as all other 'contributions' in my modest work (the SLMCA.) is 'not complete'. They have been formulated on the evidence that I could gather, and are open to total negation, modification, subtraction, addition and all such changes as may be found possible by a researcher who may come across more acceptable evidence and, of course, newer evidence that may come to be manifest as time goes by.

The learned critic appears to lay down a few areas (J. 21-22) in which my 'contribution' has been deficient:

- i. how the Buddhist artefacts relate to the Buddhism that once flourished in S. India.

I have supplied the answer above, viz., that I have found no evidence to human contact between the two regions during the period concerned.

- ii. how the artefacts from the Southern atolls compare with those of the Northern.

This is beyond my field of research, and the artefacts found are so few, and even those few so fragmented, that they may be found insufficient for such a broad-based examination. However, I have noted down the features that I could discern (SLMCA. Ch. IV).

- iii. how wide-spread Buddhism was in the Islands.

I have made reference to the map displayed at the National Centre for Historical and Linguistic Research, Male, which is

very expressive: 'Every atoll from the northern-most Tiladummati to Gan in the extreme south is marked with more than one of these historical sites.'

Referring to my summing up of evidence to the relationship between the Sinhala and the Maldivian cultures, the learned critic emphasises the irrationality of my rejection of the speculation of a pre-Sinhala Dravidian habitation in the Maldivian Islands (J. 23). I reject it because it is a speculation, and speculations have no place in my research in the face of historical reality and rational reconstruction based on historical evidence. And this speculation appears to have been built upon yet another speculation by a learned writer of around eighty years ago who ventured to suggest that the Nāgas of the *Mahāvamsa* were Dravidians, and of them, Tamils. The argument appears to proceed, in brief, this way: *If these Dravidians were Nagas who were clever sailors, they would have sailed to the Maldives, and if they sailed to the Maldives they would have settled down there, and if they settled down there, those sites would have been the pre-Sinhala Dravidian habitations in the Maldivian Islands.* To me, that type of argumentation is comparable to a mansion of playing-cards built on a foundation of drifting sand, and I rejected it. I would certainly arrive at such a conclusion only on the evidence of any available local folklore, cultic objects pertaining to around 3,000 years b.p., contemporary inscriptions, middens, burials and the remains of foundations, walls, pillars etc. – in short, few or many of that sort of material that archaeologists and anthropologists 'dig' for.

May I also state that none has so far *identified* who the 'Nāgas of the early Sri Lankan Pali chronicles' were (though the learned critic has thus concluded), although such suggestions are long-standing. And to say that a Dravidian race inhabited the Islands as suggested by identifying them with the Nāgas is to build up one suggestion on the basis of another suggestion. One wonders how far such argumentation is rational!

I based myself on the writings ranging from Gray (*circa* 1888 AD.) to others of the, seventies of the last century, and none of these worthy men had made any acceptable claim to the presence of any type of Maldivian habitations pertaining to the era in question, except for the interesting points of view expressed by the Norwegian explorer, Heyerdahl, about which I devoted Appendix III of my modest work. Thus I came to accept the generally expressed and non-contested Sinhala-Divehi ethnic relation as referred to above. I myself admit of a degree of ethnic admixture

by relatively small groups of other races into the main-stream (SLMCA. 139), and am strengthened by the pronouncements of Reynolds (1977) who refers to a particular ethnic group (the Tamils) that made 'surprisingly little impact', and avers that 'the Islands never had communities that spoke their language, or a dynasty.'

The learned critic subsequently says, 'there is a difference in claiming that the Maldivians are descendents of the Sinhala people and that they are primarily related to the Sinhals.' I shall not devote myself to an exercise in splitting hairs, because it does not serve my purpose. He is some-what right, nevertheless, when he says, 'The impression one gets from Vitharana's description is that the Maldives is nothing more than an out-post of Sinhala mediaeval culture.' Substitute, however, 'Maldives is' with 'pre-1153 AD. Mediaeval Maldives was'.

He soon follows with a small but far-reaching debatable point, viz. the presence of a few Nāgari (Sanskrit) characters in the signature-seal of a king of the Islands in the lid of a votive box. and says that in the names and titles of ministers who witnessed the document 'scripts give testimony to influence from different areas' (J. 23).

I am certainly obliged to him for this evidence, which I was not aware of at the time of my writing, even though it may be that the artifacts were discovered earlier (even which I do not know). Nevertheless, a brief explanation will suffice, because one need not search for 'influence from other areas' as the source of this little detail. The contemporary period (as mentioned above) was one when Sri Lanka was an out-post of Sanskrit learning – perhaps the pre-eminent of such centres outside of the mainland of India. It is difficult to imagine a chief prelate or a learned lay-man of the times who did not know the Sanskrit alphabet, at minimum, and one had only to ask such a monk, an astrologer, or a physician to whose presence in the Islands the *loamāfānus* stand testimony, to supply the few characters. That is more conveniently imagined that the presence of another source of influence from different areas.

May I also say that not only these few characters, but contemporary names and titles of the Maldives savour of the Sanskrit presence in the Islands: *Darumavanta*, *Srī Tribuvana Ādita*, *Srī Buvanāditta*, *Lōkāditta*, *Srī Sundara Āditta*, *Darmāditta*, *dandānāyaka* etc. These usages find their parallels, with slight differences orthographically, in contemporary Sri Lanka where the language was *miśra* ('mixed') *siṅhala* with Sanskrit admixtures as *tatsamas* ('equivalents') being generally present.

The learned critic also takes exception to my assertion that there is no evidence to the practice of any formal religion in the Islands other than Buddhism, on the grounds of the discovery of a 'male figure dancing' having 'what appears to be a snake draped around his arms' which makes him doubt that it 'may be the image of Siva'. Yet another image so discovered 'appears to be of a venerated sage'. He also informs us that 'efforts are currently under way ... to positively identify this artifact' and concludes, 'As is the case elsewhere, Vitharana's categorical statements are difficult to accept without reservation' (J. 24).

The learned critic has almost broken my back! 'As is the case elsewhere ...'!

A reader would certainly note that what I have said is that 'there is no evidence ...' and that the learned critic takes that to be a 'categorical statement' that is 'difficult to accept without reservation'. Or, am I compulsorily expected to find the evidence?

May I also confess that my statement remained true at the time that I made it, and would certainly be nullified on the discovery of any later evidence. No researcher, indeed, can hold his assertions, conclusions etc. in suspense until evidence to the contrary is discovered on an unknown later date! And I would be glad, in this instance, to amend my statement with a note of indebtedness to any one who would find evidence to the contrary.

In this case, new evidence has been found, according to the learned critic, for, he says that a figurine of a 'dancer' with 'what appears' to be a snake 'draping his hand' has been found, and he surmises it to be of Śiva. There is also another bit of evidence in the shape of a figurine that also 'appears to be that of sage'.

Now an ordinary person, or even a specialist in another discipline other than South Asian Archaeology, on obtaining this artifact referred to, *may* jump to the conclusion or to a surmise that it is of Śiva because he may likely be driven by a prejudice peculiar to him that Śiva is the only dancer, and every dancer has to be Śiva and no other. But to prove it to be so beyond all 'reasonable doubt' one has to under-go a little more intellectual labour. He has to recognise in the figurine at least a few of the many marks characteristic of this divinity: a body naked except for the ornaments, a spreading lock of hair surmounted by a crescent and a serpent-hood, four spreading hands holding four different objects (and with no

snake *draping*), the pose with only one foot on the ground, a dwarf being trampled under his foot, a girdle of fire etc.

Who knows whether that which 'appears to be a snake' is a bit of some long narrow *thing* and not a being, or whether the total figurine is that of an acrobat or a runner but not of a dancer?

Or, even if this artifact is 'positively identified' as that of Śiva (a strange Śiva it has to be!) by strict archaeological evidence, other factors have to prove the nature of its existence at the particular place where it was found. Has some visitor dropped it there by purpose or by accident? Has it been picked off a ship-wreck? Are there foundations, pillars, steps etc. that may be regarded as the remains of Śiva shrines with specially the carving of a phallus and of the bull, Nandi? Are there inscriptions and other forms of literary evidence that leads to the prevalence of a related cult? To what period of time does the find belong?

Until such time as may be taken by the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research at Male or any other institution or person to identify positively this figurine (to which, efforts I render my good wishes), please let my 'categorical statment' remain with the validity that it deserves.

May also the figurine that also 'appears to be of a venerated sage' also contribute at the highest level to disprove my modest assertion!

The learned critic then regards my 'tactics' in mounting a convincing challenge to Maloney's 'People of the Maldive Islands' as 'very disappointing'. Whilst thinking that his work is the 'most exhaustive and documented study of the Maldive Islands' and also revealing to the reader that he has a 'strong background in Dravidian societies', he also says that the onus is on me to mount such a challenge (J. 25).

And this is how the learned critic ventures to heap on me the said onus: Says he, 'Maloney *speculates* about Maldive's early history by *tentatively* identifying the Nagas of Sri Lanka legend as a Dravidian people. According to legend, the Nagas were the original inhabitants of Sri Lanka and were expelled by Aryan invaders. Maloney *conjectures* that the Maldives was their place of exile. He also *speculates* that the Gujaratis who have an ancient tradition of seamanship settled in some of the northern atolls.'

May I say that the legend as we know does not refer to the Aryans as invaders, and does not speak of an expulsion by them of the Nāgas

(neither does Maloney, I presume!) and the Nāgas were not the only original inhabitants of Sri Lanka.

The italics are mine in the passage quoted above, and may it be said that speculation, tentative identification and conjecture based on a legend do not go far in historical analysis, specially when it is unconnected with the particular location in question - the Maldives here.

The situation will certainly be different if the reference is to a Maldivian legend that speaks of, say, some 'ancients' arriving to their waters from a vast land on the NE., or a Gujarati legend that refers to their mariners drifting past a group of islands and arriving at a garland of islands each of which shone like emerald dots on a translucent sea!!!

If a Sri Lankan legend, why not think of the 'expulsion' to have been to the off-shore islands on the north in the Palk Strait? Why think of some located 500 miles away? If a Gujarati legend, why not think of the Laccadives which lies directly south athwart the sailing route to the tip of the Indian subcontinent, Sri Lanka and eastward beyond? Why think of the Maldives which lies another three hundred miles away from the Laccadives southwards, and an equal distance away from the mainland of India south-west wards?

The learned critic ventures further to safe-guard Maloney who, he says, has been mis-represented by me by having stated that he is 'cocksure' and 'certain' about the Gujarati presence in the Maldives. He quotes a sentence from the PMI: 'It may be therefore that the ship-wrecked Gujaratis were early settlers on the northern islands ...' and makes a revelation that Maloney is only 'expressing his ideas as a possibility, a lesson that should not be lost on the author', i.e. me !

But unfortunately on page 49 of the PMI. Maloney says: 'This suggests that not only did sea-farers emanating from Bharukaccha and Suppara (Gujarati ports) visit the Maldives, but Gujaratis actually settled there during the pre-Buddhist times', and 'We cannot say whether the people of Gujarat spoke a Dravidian leanguage when they first bumped into the Maldives' (which means that they bumped into them at least once more). Further, on pg. 41, Maloney is again 'cock-sure' when he says that 'there was cultural influence from Gujarat in the Maldives several centuries before Christ'.

So the Gujaratis visited and bumped into the Maldives at least twice, and stayed long enough to stamp their culture there which was populaed even during the pre-Christian era!

And as though excusing himself for having said so, he says 10 pages later, 'It is difficult to pin-point cultural features in the Maldives that might have come from the Gujarati region'.

Then, on what tangible data-base did he arrive at the above conclusions?

So what a revolutionary historical deduction this is by a learned researcher basing himself on nothing such as a record in a historical document or an inscription or any other archaeological artifact, but absolutely on his tentative acceptance, speculation and conjecture !

Then Maloney supplies in his esteemed research work 'ten lines of evidence' aimed at establishing the presence of a 'Tamil-Malayalam substratum' (J.26). Of these, No 3: Dravidian-like kinship system, No 4: Matrilineal patterns in queens etc., No. 5. Ward system of governance, No. 6. Residual caste system ... and No. 7. Dance and poetry ... are mainly sociological and relatively modern aspects and are thus beyond the scope of my research work, and they do not also show affinities with anything traditionally Sri Lankan which was the main field of my research. I shall not comment on them therefore, not particularly because my reasoning (as the learned critic says) 'is faulty as seen elsewhere in this review'.

He also says that I deal superficially with some of Maloney's arguments and that I exclaim ... 'such a substratum does not exist' (SLMCA. 174 & J. 26-27).

Now that the learned critic uses here the term 'argument' which is generally defined as a reason advanced, methodical reasoning, a reasoning process, it is exactly that which is lacking in Maloney. He is rather inclined to assume or to presume certain conditions, and to take things for granted.

Next, if the learned critic says, 'Many of these Vitharana never addresses' (J. 26), may I first ask 'Why should I?' and then refer him to the relevant portions of my work (174).

May I however, comment on the rest.

1. Giravaru legend

I am sorry that I have not heard of a legend as such pertaining to those people, except that they claim to be of Dravidian descent. But they profess the same religion and speak the same language as the rest, and only a very few minor habits mark them out, and even so they do not savour of anything Dravidian, in particular.

However, I have supplied my own interpretation of the term Girāvaru (SLMCA. Appendix IV, 186-90) and any criticisms offered to it are certainly welcome.

If their claim of being Dravidian in origin is correct, they stand as a test case of the minority situation in the Maldivian scene where numerically small ethnic groups have been drawn into the main-stream (*ibid.* p. 139). Even as their contribution to the general cultural scene appears to be minimal, their numbers are dwindling remaining at only 0.1% of the population. They may even be the group that resisted the absorption to the main-stream the most.

2. Dravidian vocabulary items in Divehi not coming via Sinhala

Maloney himself quotes Reynolds (1977): 'Dravidian languages, in fact, seem to have made surprisingly little impact' (on the Maldives). He also refers to Bell's inability to recognise a Dravidian substratum.

Further, in my own hands at present is the latest work (2000) on the Divehi language, viz., 'A Concise Etymological Vocabulary of Dhivehi Language' by H. A. Maniku, a native scholar, containing excellent glosses on over 2,000 words of this language, and the learned author says that there are also Tamil words that have come to Divehi through Sinhala, or which are shared by Divehi and Sinhala with a Tamil root, and confesses to his surprise at the number of such words being so few (Introduction, pg. VIII). I have attempted a cursory count over the 261 pages of his main text and failed to gather even 20.

A learned critic of a sort may now remark that the numbers are so few because Maniku's work is a 'concise' one and Vitharana's count is 'cursory'. Allowing even for such 'surprises', may I say that Maloney too enlists a 'few words' because 'nobody else has clearly demonstrated that ... a Dravidian sub-stratum exists' (PMI. 61). The number that he supplies is 22, and he prefaces that 'exhaustive' list with such phrases as 'Dravidian, but not borrowed through Sinhala' and which are '*probably* built into the language early and not acquired through trade', 'the list which is exemplary and not exhaustive', 'is *obviously* borrowed from Tamil-Malayalam', 'this suggests that', '*obviously* derived from' (pgs. 61-62) etc.

He also supplies in Table IV, 22 others which are 'not likely borrowed after the formation of the language' (pgs. 62-65) and refers to others which '*seem to be* Dravidian' and 'to one 'though paralleled by Sinhala is *not probably* derived from it.'

In Table V (65-67) he supplies 17 more of which ‘most seem to have been borrowed from directly from Tamil-Malayalam rather than through Sinhala’.

I have made a reference to these in my Appendix (SLMCA. 173-74), and am certain now than I was then, i.e., in 1997 (specially with Maniku not accepting those examples as those of Tamil origin, see above) about the situation vis-a-vis the ‘Tamil substratum’, and may only repeat what I stated before, and that is that it ‘simply does not exist’!

The learned critic has, no doubt, classed this too as a ‘categorical statement ... as is the case else-where’. But may I say also (‘as is the case else where’) it will stand so long as a scholar with an equally ‘strong background in Dravidian societies’ as Maloney (as the learned critic introduces to us the learned author: J.25) and of Dravidian languages too and of the Sinhala language as well (!) proves it incorrect with the support of substantial data, appropriate exemplification and, most of all, logical reasoning and argumentation devoid of such words and expressions as those italicised above.

8. Old elements of religion and names of spirits that are Hindu in origin

The words ‘Hindu’ and ‘Hinduism’ occur in the PMI. for the first time on pg. 51 in a paragraph of 11 lines and with the use of two simple sentences there, the learned author (Maloney) seems to feel satisfied that he has convinced the reader of the positive presence of Hinduism in the Maldive Islands.

‘Hinduism’, says he, ‘was evidently present in the Maldives before the Buddhist period. Some of the words in Divehi reflect this (Table 2).’

He next supplies the names of three deities and four other simple words, and proceeds to say that ‘they might have been brought to the Maldives by a early settlers from the coasts of NW. India...’

That is all !

To testify to a phenomenal occurrence, and one revolutionary enough to bear upon the history of a nation, these 11 lines and the evidence supplied which is not even a handful, with also a ‘might have been’ interposed to belie its credulity, do not seem to be sufficient by any standard. The absence of any valid comments on the three deities or on the few words as to their relevance to the particular period (with only a mere ‘evidently’ which in no way makes anything evident !) would certainly not

please a historian or an archaeologist in whose province the subject seems to lie. Even if they, as they are, are acceptable enough so far as they go, one is yet left with questions such as

- i. When did the Hindu period in the Maldives commence?
- ii. When did the Hindu Period in the Maldives terminate?
- iii. How did it actually begin, and what factors caused its downfall?
- iv. Who were the rulers of the times?
- v. What remains - archaeological, epigraphic, literary etc., remain to testify to its existence?

Until such essentials are supplied by a future researcher, may I say (with the same emphasis that I laid on the subject of the Tamil substratum: see above, and SLMCA. 174) that a Hindu Period in the history of the Maldive Islands 'simply did not exist.'

Incidentally, these are three of the 'ten lines of evidence' supplied by the learned author, Maloney, referred to as 'ten sound arguments' by the learned critic, Cain, and the onus of mounting a challenge to them is on me - the one with 'disappointing tactics' (J. 25). And thankfully, have I performed it in the best way that I can, and as far as I find it relevant!

Answer to No. 9 is supplied by specialists who dealt with ethnicity (see above), and for an answer to No. 10 (Island Names) see SLMCA. 78-84.

The learned critic also refers to my 'accusation' of Maloney of having paid undue attention to linguistic features in Div. that are not Sinhala, and, may I also add, of not paying the attention due to features that are Sin. This omission is the greater failing on his part, and the out-standing lacuna in his learned effort: to present to the reader a realistic picture of the linguistic situation in the Maldives. All his Tables from pg. 51 to pg. 70, numbering five in all, deal with Hindu period words, early N. Indian Prakrits, Tamil-Malayalam, Tamil, and probable Tamil words. Even he himself admits that Div. is 'essentially derived from an old form of Sinhala' and 'most of it is traceable to Elu' (pg.87- 88), and does not venture to make even a slight modification to that point of view else-where, and one naturally expects him to elaborate and justify what he professes. It would have been fair by his readers even if he had supplied a few names of previous researchers, along with their strands of evidence, exemplifications and the

reference to sources etc. My personal view (which the learned critic may throw a side as 'biased', 'selective', 'faulty' etc. and declare 'caution is advised') is that this is not the only thing that he should have done: he should have offered any possible criticisms to those points of view, added to them, supplied further examples from later sources and supplied more of them by his own findings and supplied Tables upon Tables of classified details in the same way as and in greater proportion than in which he has dealt with the 'non-Sinhala.'

He has prevented himself from this exercise even in his chapter on 'The Earliest Maldivians' (where the Tables referred to are); and in the more appropriate chapter on 'The Buddhist Period and the Divehi Language', the section on 'The Divehi Language' (pg. 87) does not run even to five complete pages of print which too makes repeated mention of elements 'not of Sin. origin', forms 'not derived from old Sin'. and 'different from Sin.', 'words not derived from Sin'. and 'not Sin. at all'. He only makes reference to about fifteen words common to the languages and to phonetic differences in less than ten examples.

So, in order to exemplify that Div. is 'essentially derived' from Sin. (whatever its form may be) he makes no further positive contribution, specially in contrast to the emphasis that he places on the opposite point of view, repeatedly and even irrelevantly.

Further what evidence does this learned author possess to state i. that Elu is 'the language of inscriptions in the evolved Brahmi script in the centuries immediately after Christ' (pg. 87) ii. that 'in Sri Lanka *n* and *ṇ* coalesced by the fourth century A.D. and iii. that 'in Sin *ḷ* merged with *ḷ* in the eighth century'? (pg. 90.)

No evidence; and even a reference to a source is not made!

The learned critic next accuses me of being emotional re-acting to Maloney's use of the word 'export' to describe the spread of Buddhism in the Maldives. Of course, Maloney's statement does not speak derogatorily about Buddhism as the critic says, and I certainly did not re-act to that. I said that that word insults (not Buddhism but) the role that Sri Lanka played in the preservation and diffusion of Thērvāda Buddhism, and gave my reasons (SLMCA. 175). I may, even so, repeat here a sentence which qualifies the particular nature of the introduction of Buddhism to the Maldives: 'Buddhism went to the Maldives along with the immigrants and was not 'demanded' as a commodity by a religionless or a non-Buddhist people there.' So, there indeed was no grounds for any exportation!

‘Export’ which the learned author uses twice more, is an ‘improper’ word, I said, also because it is as improper as it is to say that the people of the (present) British Isles exported their Christianity (and even the English language) to the American States. Those immigrants took these vital cultural institutions along with them as they departed their old homes for good.

A further point is whether one is driven by emotion when he points out that an insult has been made as he sights an instance when an insult has been made! The English language is certainly rich enough in its vocabulary to have provided the learned author of the PMI. a far better substitute which is both proper and free of insult.

Finally the learned critic calls attention to my statement that Maloney (in his ‘People of the Maldive Islands’) had inadvertantly taken pains ‘to keep a people and their language away from whatever honour that is their due’ (J. 27-28 & SLMCA. 179), and concludes that this is a ‘clear indication of the bias in which the research was carried out’ (ie., my research).

May I say that excuses and explanations are not necessary in this case because a few extracts are more eloquent in impressing upon the reader the nature of the metholical reasoning adopted by the learned author in arriving at his conclusions, in addition to forming an opinion, if at all, of where lies the bias (the references are to the pgs. of the PMI. and the italics are mine).

The *Dpv.* story ... perpetuates the ancient image of the Maldives as having an inaccessible chain of under-water mountains’ where ‘it is difficult to go inside against the wish’. And thereby it lends weight to the *Dpv.* legend that the Sinhalas upon settling in Sri Lanka chased or exiled some of the aborigin to the Maldives (and we may ignore the Buddhist increment in the legend)’ : 44

Three Jatakas ‘*seem* to refer to the Maldives. This *suggests* that not only did the sea-farers emanating from Bharukaccha and Suppara visit the Maldives but Gujaratis actually settled there during the pre-Buddhist times’ : 49

‘The other Jataka *suggests* that ships from Gujarat going SE. wards stopped in the Maldives’ : 49

‘The Maldives *might well have been* settled parallel with the arrival of Indo-Aryans speakers in Sri Lanka is *suggested* in the above interpretation of Sri Lanka myths’ : 49

'This is supported by the finding, shown below, that Tamils and other Dravidian-speakers were settled in the Maldives before the Sinhalas and other Indo-Aryan speakers arrived': 44-45.

(Note: What is 'shown below' does not indicate a positive settlement in the Maldives.)

'It may be that ship-wrecked Gujaratis, as well as exiles were early settlers in the northern island of the Maldives group': 50

'The Lanka of the *Ramayana* was probably not Sri Lanka; it might be in C. India' : 50

'It is difficult to pin-point cultural features found in the Maldives that *might have come* from the Gujarat-Maharashtra region, for most of them are found in South India and Sri Lanka' : 51

'The use of the number 6 and 12 *perhaps* ... this feature of Sumerian and Babylonian civilisation got transmitted by sea and reached the Maldiv Islands' : 53

'What Bell failed to see was that Tamils occupied the Maldives or at least parts of the island group, that they were absorbed into the Divehi population and that the culture history of the country reflects this' : 54

'... the Nagas on the west coast ... *might well have been* Dravidian-speaking and possibly such pre-Sin. peoples of Sri Lanka reached the Maldives in early times' : 312.

'*fandita* comes from Tamil *pandita sastiram*, 'science of medicine':56 (Note : Skt. *pañḍita* > Sin. Tam. *pañḍita*)

'Divehis are not exactly like the Sinhalas in appearance or in demeanour; *perhaps* a little darker' : 56.

'*It would be quite reasonable* to question that Malayali sea-farers ... *would have* gone on to settle in the Maldives, *possibly* after the discovery by Gujarati sea-farers' : 56.

'Circumstantial evidence *suggests* that Nagas in early Sri Lanka were originally Tamils' :57

'The number of place names of Tamil origin even along the SW. coast of Sri Lanka is greater than has generally been recognised : 57

‘There is also the legend that Yakkhas and other ‘non-humans’ were expelled from Sri Lanka to another island by the grace of a previous Buddha in order to allow the Sinhala to occupy the land’: 57

(Note : there is no Sri Lankan legend with such particular attributes.)

‘Naga legends.... *might hark back* to proto-historical Dravidian-speaking sea-farers’ : 57

‘....*we may assume* that Tamils were engaged in sailing up... *may be* to the west coast of Persia to bring horses ... and *it is possible* that Tamils navigating the Arabian Sea by that date *might have settled* in the Maldives’ : 58.

‘*We infer* from this that the Pandyan monopolised the pearl business’ : 58

‘So *we may assume* that well before the Mauryan times routes out of sight of land were known. Such routes *would have had* pilots aware of imminent dangers. Thus is it that Gujarati ... merchants *probably* knew of the Maldives’ : 58.

‘By the third or the second century B.C, the Tamil-Malayalis had the technical capacity to settle and populate the Maldives for Tamil merchants were sailing far afield by then according to the Brahmi inscriptions in Sri Lanka. So it is unreasonable to assume that it was the Sinhala who first populated the Maldives’ : 59

(Note : Of the 1234 brāhmī inscriptions of Sri Lanka of the period 3rd c. BC. to 1st c. AD. reproduced in the IC., there is only one reference to a Tam. sailor (*navika*), two to such merchants and one to a wife (94, 356-57, 480). Do these inscriptional sources stand sufficient testimony to a sailing ‘far afield’?)

‘There is a very heavy component of Tamil in the Sinhala language and the Sinhala have adopted many Tamil societal features such as cross-cousin marriage and girls’ puberty ceremonies’ : 67

‘*So it is unreasonable to assume* that it was the Sinhala who first populated the Maldives’ :59.

There are a few other instances at which my statements have been contested by the learned critic for which too, I believe, my comments may be of some use.

With reference to the 'duo-decimal system' (J. 19) the question that I raised is whether it (or the other multiplication-addition system which he refers to here) was (or is) a counting device used in every-day affairs in spite of the cumbersome nature evident, or whether it was a system by which certain numerals were referred to in Div. To me these forms appear 'learned', 'pedantic' and even 'cryptic', although there are a large number of them, as evident through Maniku's recent work, CEVDL.

I did not challenge Dr. M. W. S. de Silva, but stated that his opinion about Sinhala at any stage not knowing a process that involves 'multiplication and addition in ordering lexical units' has to be accepted with reservation, because Sin. provides at least *tis sapas sū* ($30 + (6 \times 5) + 4 = 64$) involving that process, and other forms not far dissimilar involving addition, subtraction and multiplication, exemplifying each (SLMCA. 67).

The learned critic also says that in the 'most exhaustive and documented study by Maloney' (J. 25), that is the PMI., he *proposes* a Tamil-Malayalam substratum in the Maldives, *speculates* about the early history by *tentatively* identifying the Nagas of Sri Lanka with the Dravidians and *conjectures* that Gujaratis settled in some atolls there (J. 28-29). The learned critic says that my 'tactics' in facing up to all that is very 'disappointing' (italics mine).

May I confess that I am generally weak at tactics, and specially in research matters I would not use them even if I have a lot of it at my command. I only proceed from one step to another on available data to a conclusion, if possible, and if impossible, confess to that too. It is because research is a matter of rational investigation, keeping as far away as possible from opinions arising out of one's whims, fancies, prejudices etc. As such, I regard mere proposals, speculations, tentative feelings, conjectures - and a process, as evident, of basing one such thing on another such thing as not subsumable under critical inquiry which research is. And if that exercise on the part of the learned author is seen as being part and parcel of a research work exalted by the learned critic as 'the most exhaustive and documented study of the Maldives' my response (in the absence of any tactic) is to say 'Alas!'

Nevertheless, at various places in the present article I have offered my criticisms to each of the above 'proposals' etc. as found relevant to my field of study only. I wish that the rest of that excellent work contains well argued subject-matter, exhaustively and well documented.

Further, it appears to have been the custom for scholars of the past (such as Maloney, referred to above) who ventured to reconstruct the early history of the Maldivian Islands to consider them as the group of islands seen or touched by sailors from the NW. region of India - mainly Gujarat, on their voyages southwards to the Kerala and the Sri Lankan region. Ship-wrecks are also regarded as having taken place in these very waters, and speculations have been made on the possibility of early settlements on these shores by those who managed to save their lives. The sources are, however, legendary - the Buddhist Jātaka (birth) stories and the story of the Aryan advent to Tambapaṇṇi (Sri Lanka) in the chronicles, *Dīpavaṃsa* and *Mahāvāṃsa*, and in the absence of other evidences, much use is being made of them.

Nevertheless, a more realistic view taken on the basis of

- i. the nature of sailing during those early times, &
- ii. the geography of the region concerned encompassing the West Coast of India, the Maldivian Islands and Sri Lanka

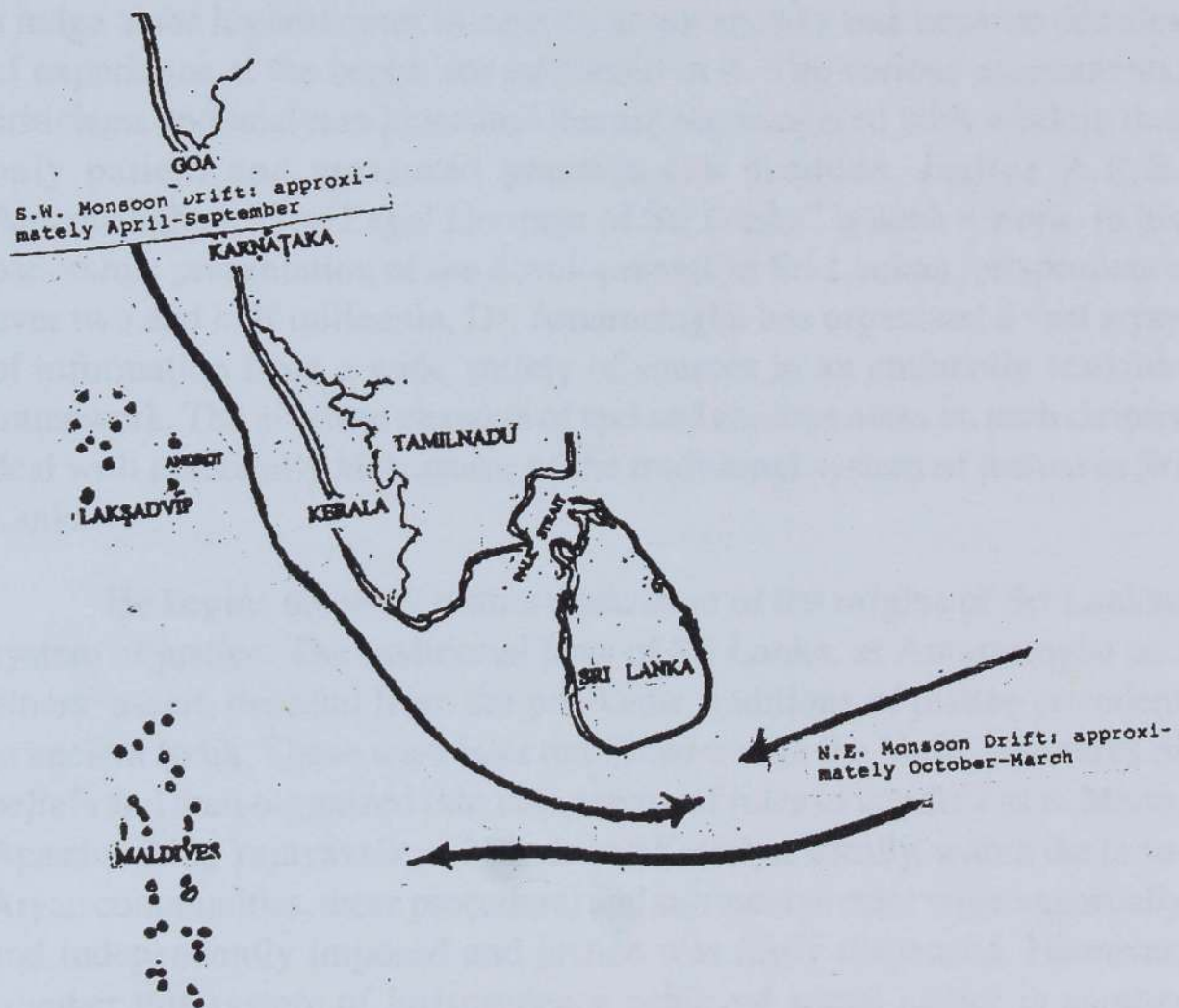
may lead to a different conclusion.

Sailing was generally coast-wise and within sight of land, unless the location of a port of call necessitated a turn-off. As such, a vessel leaving a port in Gujarat (NW. India) sailed south with the West coast of India on its port-side for guidance, and succour in case of distress, on its voyage to the southern ports, Sri Lanka and beyond.

A group of fourteen islands, Lakṣadvīp or Laccadive, with its easternmost island, Androt, 130 miles from the coast of Kerala (SW. Deccan India) lies close to this route, and there is no doubt that the sailing vessels of the times sailed SSW-wards parallel to the Deccan coast along with the SW Monsoon Drift, and NNW-wards along with the NE Monsoon Drift during the two Monsoons through the broad intervening passage (see map).

The Maldivian Islands lies too far to the south of this 'favourite' shipping lane with the northern-most of those atolls, Tiladummati, located over 250 miles of featureless ocean (a distance of around two days' sailing) to the SW. of the nearest point on the Indian mainland - this being the locality of Kanyākumārī or Cape Comorin. At this point those vessels have to steer more to the east, i.e., away from the direction in which the Maldives are. Under such circumstances, the sighting of the Maldives by these sailors, if ever, has to be as a consequence of being drifted away by a storm (to be ship-wrecked or a not), but hardly ever in the course of their normal sailing.

The possibility, therefore, of all these occurrences (inclusive of shipwrecks, banishments, (Nāga and Gujarati) settlements, the prevalence of (Tam.-Malayalam) linguistic sub-strata, the commencement and termination of a Hindu Period etc. (about which particularly Maloney labours hard to convince us by proposing, speculating and conjecturing) taking place is greater over the 80 sq. mile waters and the islands of the Lakṣadvīp group rather than over those of the Maldives. It is far more feasible, hence, for reasearchers of the future who venture to reconstruct the early period of Maldivian history about which no tangible evidence has come to be manifest so far, to visualise all this and other phenomena as having taken place over the Lakṣadvīp scene until, of course, such evidence strong enough to lead to a different conclusion is made available.



In conclusion, may I express my thanks to the learned critic once more for the intense interest evinced in supplying a lengthy assessment of my modest work and a bibliography which too is lengthy. It has been an eye-opener which made me look back, understand my failings and supply further notes as relevant for the better understanding of what I have said. In his specialised field of linguistics he has revealed much that is aseful, although they do not detract from my main propositions. It also provided me the opportunity of expressing two stand-points that may be examined critically by specially those engaged in Maldivian studies:

- i. that Div. is a direct out-come of Sin. with only a faint contact with Skt. & Pl.
- and ii. that the islands referred to in the Sin. and Pl. legendary sources are better regarded as the Lakṣadvīp or the Laccadive group, and not the Maldive Islands.

THE DESCENT OF THE LAW A Sociological Reading

The Legal Heritage of Sri Lanka. A. R. B. Aanurasinghe. Vishva Lekha. Colombo. 1999 RASSL, L & S T, Sarvodaya

“...(H)ere are no Laws, but the Will of the King, and whatsoever proceeds out of his mouth is an immutable Law. Nevertheless they have certain antient usages and Customes that do prevail and are observed as Laws; and Pleading them in their Courts and before their Governors will go a great way (Robert Knox).¹

Reviewing the work of an eminent lawyer who practiced the law as a judge at the highest court in a nation is not an easy task because decades of experience at the bench are embodied in it. The various assessments, criticisms and analyses presented therein are tempered with wisdom that only patient and measured practice can produce. Justice A.R.B. Amarasinghe's "The Legal Heritage of Sri Lanka" is such a work. In his panoramic presentation of the developments in Sri Lankan jurisprudence over two and half millennia, Dr. Amarasinghe has organized a vast array of information from a wide variety of sources in an eminently readable framework. The nineteen chapters of text and copious notes on each chapter deal with practically all features of the traditional system of justice in Sri Lanka.

He begins his work with a discussion of the origins of Sri Lankan system of justice. The traditional laws of Sri Lanka, as Amarasinghe and others² assert, descend from the pre-Vedic traditions of justice prevalent in ancient India. These were later redefined within the Vedic structures of beliefs and then organized into compendia of rules of conduct as in Manu, Apasthambha, Yajnyavalkya, Narada and Kautilya. Ideally, within the Indo-Aryan communities, these procedural and substantive rules were impartially and independently imposed and justice was fairly dispensed. However, whether this system of jurisprudence achieved social justice is another matter for, more than likely, most who lived in ancient India did not belong to the twice-born (*dvija*) social groups to whom these laws applied. The vast majority of ancient Indians belonged to the *sudra* (the fourth *varna*,

according to the Rg Veda, and therefore properly Arya but not *dvija*) and *mlechcha* (the non-Arya and therefore “untouchable”) social groups who were excluded from this system of justice although they existed as integral parts of the society. This had created serious tensions within the ancient Indian communities for practically all post-Vedic religions such as Jainism and Buddhism protested against the injustices inherent in the Vedic formula of and for the society and proposed revolutionary alternatives to this Brahmanical sense of order and justice. This was the system of law making and executing that the Indo-Aryan colonists established in Sri Lanka.

The Mahavansa dramatizes the arrival of the first Indo-Aryans in the fifth century BCE in the story of Prince Vijaya. Citing modern historical sources, Dr. Amarasinghe shows that Prince Vijaya did not arrive in an island bereft of any civilization because various non-Arya tribes have been living in the island for millennia. It is reasonable to assert that these communities had their own systems of law and justice. Amarasinghe contends that the Indo-Aryans adjusted their laws to adopt and accommodate these laws. His perspective is anthropologically justifiable. As cultural anthropological wisdom has it, when cultural diffusion occurs, the new cultural traits establish themselves in this way. They do not displace their indigenous counterparts. Rather, they absorb and redefine them within the values and beliefs that constitute their foundation and, in turn, adjust their own characteristics to make this absorption possible. On the other hand, the local culture absorbs alien elements by altering them to suite its own conditions and requirements while adjusting to them. This anthropological observation includes laws as well because the law is an aspect of culture that deals with, *inter alia*, maintenance of the social order, methods of social control and dispute resolution.

By the third century BCE, such a multiculturally defined legal system, enriched with the local, Vedic, Jain, and even Buddhist, cultures had existed in Sri Lanka. These pre-Buddhist legal maxims were given a Buddhist slant since Buddhism became the state religion in that century. Amarasinghe and others provide examples to show how the emergent Buddhist State redefined the post-Vedic and local laws in Buddhist terms. The *dasa raja dharma*, *pancha maha papa* and the like were originally post-Vedic concepts that were so adopted, altered and accommodated.

This legal system, says Dr. Amarasinghe, cannot be called Buddhist law because there is no such institution within Buddhism.¹ Buddhism did not formally interfere with the secular affairs of the society. Informally, though, a custom had developed that required the king to consult the Buddhist monastic authorities regarding matters of the state and the law. Kingship in Sri Lanka had been intimately associated with the Buddhist value system so much so that the kings were considered as *bodhisatvas* or would be Buddhas. In both these ways Buddhist values intervened in the making and execution of laws and reduced any harshness in the laws. However, the kings could ignore the advice of the *sangha*. But they also took a risk in doing so as the *sangha* wielded considerable political power to mobilize subjects against the kings.

This is to say that the pre-colonial Sri Lankan legal tradition existed as a system of laws deriving from the post-Vedic Indian jurisprudence with many adjustments to accommodate the pre-Aryan local laws and, later, Buddhist values. The latter had produced the Sri Lankan monastic tradition that functioned to check and balance the king's legislative and executive powers. It is this system that Dr. Amarasinghe presents in several chapters that deal with procedural and substantive laws of the period. The substantive laws applied to contract, criminal, real property, personal injury, treason and the like. Separate rules outlined procedures for dispute resolution.

Viewed from a sociological point of view, any law, including the traditional laws of Sri Lanka, is a social institution because it is socially constructed in accordance with cultural values and norms of the society. Its purpose is to define and control the social behavior of individuals. As such, it is a historical phenomenon. It descends from the long established customs and traditions and or is newly promulgated in response to the needs of specific historical events. By "historical" we mean empirical public events situated in space and time. The law is conceived collectively by the members of the society at moments of social conflict. In that sense, the law reflects the collective historical experience of the society.²

However, the law is not the same as justice, at least in the way the law and justice are understood in the Anglo-American positivist jurisprudence. The law, in this sense, is a set of impersonal rules and regulations that controls behaviors procedurally and substantively. A person may be found guilty of violating these rules and regulations irrespective of the moral and ethical value of his conduct. But justice is inseparable

from ethics and morality and is distinguishable from the law. For example, it may be justifiable to hunt wild animals to feed the hungry, but it may be unlawful if a law prohibits the killing of wild animals. Thus, in positivist jurisprudence, there is a hiatus and a tension between the law and justice.³ This tension characterizes the Anglo-American legal tradition and gives it its particular creativity and dynamism as the legislators and judges balance these interests when they create, change and execute laws in terms of justice and fair play. As Kelsen and Hart opined, the laws are systematic, each rule being connected to others through logical descent.⁴

Nevertheless, not all positivist jurists agree on that point. Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, whose opinion on the difference between the logic of the laws and the experience of the juridical officials that Amarasinghe accepts as a credo, is dissatisfied with mere logical connections between facts and the law, and among the legal propositions. According to Holmes the law must be interpreted contextually, not merely logically, to serve justice. The logic of the situation, as experience defines it, must determine the meaning of the law.⁵ This applies not only to the Common Law tradition of the judges but also to the Civil Law administered by the bureaucrats. If the law is only logically applied to facts taken out of their historical context it becomes a travesty.

Even a cursory glance through Dr. Amarasinghe's monograph shows that this notion of the law is nothing new in Sri Lanka. The bulk of his book is devoted to an exposition of complex legal structures that existed in pre-colonial Sri Lanka. These laws had existed as a cultural substratum transcending the individual whims and fancies of the kings and their juridical officials. The local sense of equity has brought even the king's conduct under legal scrutiny, perhaps long before the Magna Carta laid the foundation for the rule of law in the Anglo-American legal tradition. The kings and their local representatives adjudicated cases by invoking this long-standing tradition of justice. Normatively, the results of not balancing the law and justice were the wrath of the supernatural beings and processes and rebellion. However, empirically, when the kings or, at the grass-roots level, the lower orders of the feudal hierarchy⁶ actually applied the laws whether their sense of justice served the interests of individuals or of the collectivity is another matter, a fundamental issue in sociology, anthropology and historiography of the law.

Dr. Amarasinghe's work is a response to the belief, a prejudice for that matter, in Euro-American legal circles that judicial independence did

not exist outside the European civilization. This point of view is not limited to legal circles. In sociology, for example, Max Weber expressed a similar view regarding bureaucratic administration; that rational legal authority of modern bureaucratic administration is a uniquely European Protestant Christian cultural product.⁷ He found even the administration of justice to be an aspect of this larger bureaucratic administration. Thus, the judges are bureaucrats, appointed bureaucratically or by some other bureaucratically defined means, as in the American system where some judges are elected while others such as the federal and Supreme Court judges are appointed by the political authorities. In every case, ideally, rational, impartial and impersonal decision making processes are at work.⁸ This process of judicial appointment takes into consideration only the educational and professional achievements of the candidates. Thus appointed they function like judicial automatons, impervious to the society and the culture that produced them.

However, this is not the observable case. This ideal type is not to be found in the social reality. Ideal types are constructed only for heuristic purposes by extracting the defining features of the phenomena under consideration. In the empirical reality, the candidate to the bench is a member of the society who shares the concerns of the rest in the society. His mind is not a *tabula rasa*, a clean slate uncontaminated with the values and biases of his fellow men. This is particularly the case with the elected judge in the United States. During his campaign for election, he convinces his electorate that he can serve its interests better than his competitors. By doing so, he admits that he entertains their prejudices and biases. When nominated by the Executive, the appointment is a lengthy and arduous process where a committee from the American federal legislature thoroughly scrutinizes his past behavior to find whether any blemishes disqualify him. The candidates have their own philosophical and political agendas. Some are more liberal than the others are. Some believe in a strong federal government while others want the states to have more power. Some favor death penalty while others oppose it. The issues can be endless for as human beings and as members of the society, they are never free from biases. When the federal and Supreme Court judges are appointed the ruling party's political agenda plays a significant role in the choice of a candidate.

In the Anglo-American tradition there is considerable debate regarding the jury trials. Are juries fair and impartial? Do not a juror's personal biases enter his consideration of legal facts? Laborious jury

selection procedures alone do not eliminate biased individuals from the jury panel, for, even in that process the litigants attempt to retain individuals whose biases are favorable to them. This is particularly the case with jury selection for criminal, race, and gender related cases. The point is neither the judges nor the jurors can be completely free from biases. Aside from their general biases, case specific biases may also exist. The intense media coverage exposes the judges and jurors to numerous bits of information and interpretations related to the cases. Often, the seclusion of the jury is employed as a method for maintaining the ideal *tabula rasa* but this is hardly satisfactory in cases that receive much media attention for, even before the jury is secluded, their minds are contaminated with biases. Donald Black finds “social information” as one of the major obstacles to maintaining judicial independence and recommends “de-socializing” the laws to maintain a truly independent system of justice.⁹ Even the civil law judges are not free from this because, even there, fact and law are ultimately matters of interpretation in terms of social, cultural and personal biases of the judges.

Thus, it is clear that the Western prejudices are not justifiable because the belief in the judicial independence in their own societies is based on uncritical and flattering generalizations.¹⁰ But their attitudes towards the Sri Lankan and other non-Western judicial processes may not necessarily be entirely inaccurate either for, it is likely that the same weaknesses that plague the modern bureaucratic judicial systems also had plagued the pre-colonial judicial systems in these societies, and even more so. The very authority of the Buddhist monastic system to intervene in the affairs of the state and the very Buddhist identity of the kings taint their judicial independence. Further, even at the grass roots level of judicial activity, the issues of *varna* and *jati* (caste) impacted the legal process for, as we have seen earlier, the post-Vedic legal maxims applied to the *dvi ja* (twice born) groups only. Aside from the issues of such biases there are issues arising from the feudal power structure. No king or vassal would consider facts and laws in a manner that would endanger his privileged position in the society.

The point is, the very notion of judicial independence is a myth. It is as murky as the notions of perfect objectivity of the natural scientists. Judges everywhere, as scientists everywhere, are human beings and members of sociocultural organizations. Their minds are not clean slates. They are not instruments that mechanically extract information and logically combine them to produce a result. This notion of perfect

objectivity is a product of the European Enlightenment thought that put science and scientific reason in the driver's seat. But it failed even within the natural sciences because, as later philosophers of science pointed out, even the very selection of a research topic, methodology adopted and facts presented are not free from the biases imposed upon the scientists by the spatial and temporal coordinates of their existence. Spatially, the issues of race, gender, age, religion, caste, class, ideology etc. orient the researchers and judges to cultivate particular perspectives on the phenomena of the world.¹¹ Facts and laws are identified, defined and interpreted from these perspectives. Add to this the private psychological propensities of scientists and judges that further truncate and particularize their viewpoints. Temporally, the spatial coordinates of facts and the laws themselves become further invested with the *zeit geist* manifesting itself in the ideology of the times. Thus, ontologically, epistemologically and teleologically, the laws are influenced by the biases of those that enact and interpret them.

The positivist notions of the laws as inviolable universally valid frames of reference to judge human conduct are thus unrealistic even when applied to Sri Lankan contexts. They are different from the laws of nature because they are human cultural products whose meanings change as the society and the culture that construct them change in time. Further, as human inventions, they are shot through with human concerns. They become meaningless when divorced from history and human nature. The latter adds to the historical dynamism of the laws because even human nature varies from person to person. Thus, rather than logically manipulable theorems, they are products of human experiences and weaknesses. Only experience can unravel their meanings.

That takes us to the next concept that Dr. Amarasinghe presents as a guiding idea: Holmes' notion of experience. Holmes contrasts experience with logic. Legal principles can be applied to facts in a formulaic manner. For this, facts have to be extracted from their contexts and reduced to variables in an equation. Similarly, legal principles can also be taken as elements in a syllogism within a "if that then this" logical structure and applied to the facts under consideration. Undoubtedly, this positivist approach can produce consistent results for similar fact patterns. The issue here is, is justice served in this type of legal processes? Are two fact patterns the same? Can facts be reduced to mere variables in an equation? Are facts meaningful without their unique historical contexts? From Holmes' and Amarasinghe's view point, neither the law nor fact is meaningful outside their contexts. These contexts are social and cultural. As such, they are

historical. Amarasinghe's effort is to show how the various historical experiences of the Sri Lankan society have led to the construction of its pre-colonial legal maxims. The various laws that Dr. Amarasinghe presents have to be considered in the contexts of their creation and interpretation in pre-colonial Sri Lanka. The history of this nation, of any nation for that matter, is not the story of a seamless structure that exists in a state of equilibrium. Various specific occurrences that tipped the balance of power and authority have created the need to develop a context specific sense of justice and social control to restore equilibrium in social relations however temporary this equilibrium might have been. Old laws were reread and new ones were created with that in mind. We need to know exactly when and why a rule was legislated or interpreted in particular contexts in order to grasp its true significance from our contemporary perspectives.

Dr. Amarasinghe introduces his work with these two concepts - judicial independence and the judicial uses of experience - that seem to provide food for thought by militating against one another. Set within this tension, *The Legal Heritage of Sri Lanka* lays a firm foundation to build an understanding of Sri Lanka's legal tradition and its place in the world. Dr. Amarasinghe's effort is essential reading not only for lawyers but for social scientists whose work has to do with rules and their meanings, as well as for anyone interested in the delicate task of making and reading rules to deliver equal justice for all.

Notes

1. Robert Knox, *An Historical Relation of Ceylon* (1681:1981at (101) 147).
2. See M.L.S. Jayasekera, *Customary Laws of Sri Lanka* (1984).
3. Perhaps the Buddhist *vinaya* rules may be considered as monastic laws because the monks had to abide by them or face expulsion from the order. It is unlikely that these rules had a direct relevance to dispensation of justice in the secular society. But their diffusion into the culture at large through monastic social interactions with the laity may have had an indirect influence on the organization of the lay social conduct.
4. Durkheim saw the law as a collective representation, an expression of the concerns of the collectivity with the conduct of its members. As such, it is external to the individual, exercises constraints on the individual's conduct, and has an existence independent of the individual. For Durkheim the essence of the laws is morality See Emile Durkheim *The Division of Labor in Society* (1893: Ch. 1); English translation by George Simpson. See Steven Lukes and Andrew Scull, *Durkheim and the Law* (1983:3-27), for an excellent review of Durkheim's sociology of law. See Roger Cotterrell, *Emile Durkheim: Law in a Moral Domain* (1999), for a comparative study of Durkheim's sociology and recent studies in legal sociology.

5. As Cotterrell (1999: 215-227) shows, sociological positivism of Durkheim is different from legal positivism because the latter dissociates the laws from morality while the former finds the very foundation of the laws in morality. However, both types of positivists agree on the supra individual character of the laws. Further, both sociological and legal positivism assume that the construction and execution of the laws are the functions of a body of legal experts who are capable of making completely disinterested analyses of facts and the laws. See H.L.A. Hart, *Positivism and Separation of Law and Morals* (1958), reprinted in *Essays in Jurisprudence and Philosophy* (1983).
6. See H.L.A. Hart, *The Concept of Law* (1961), and *Essays in Jurisprudence and Philosophy* (1983), and H. Kelsen, *The Pure Theory of Law* (1934). Kelsen was so emphatic about the logical properties of the law he even spoke of a science of the law.
7. Oliver Wendell Holmes Jr., *The Common Law* (1881), cited in Amarasinghe (1999 at ix). Holmes' views are also found in his O.W.Holmes, *The Path of the Law* (1897), X Harvard Law Review 8, 457, 465-466.
8. The feudal system of justice at the grass roots level operated through *vidanes*, *korales* and *arachchis* (Amarasinghe:1999 Ch.XIV). The extent of judicial authority decreased down the hierarchy.
9. Max Weber, *Protestant Ethic and the spirit of Capitalism* (1904-1905). Tr. T. Parsons (1958; 13-31). Also see his *Economy and Society*, Ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich, Tr. various (1978: I: Ch. I, III & VII). Also see Harold J. Berman and Charles J. Reid, Jr. *Max Weber as Legal Historian* in *The Cambridge Companion to Weber*, ed. Stephen Turner (2000) 223-240.
10. Weber's views on the law appear in the posthumously published *Economy and Society*. The basic contours of his studies as a legal historian fall within his ideal types of authority constructed from an evolutionary perspective. The ideal types are traditional authority, charismatic authority, and legal rational authority. He did not consider traditional and charismatic authority systems that characterize primitive and traditional societies as rational systems. From his point of view, the European civilization had passed through these systems in the past to develop the legal rational authority of modern bureaucratic administration. The non-European societies were seen as characterized by the other two types and as constantly evolving, through a process of rationalization, towards legal rational authority.

Later scholars found both Weber and Durkheim overstating their claims. Both were positivist Eurocentric thinkers who saw the law as a universalistic and inviolable phenomenon. Durkheim saw any deviations as indications of social pathology. However, field investigations of the empirical situations indicated that the so-called primitive and traditional authorities also to possess rational mechanisms for dispute resolution through judicial processes. On the other hand, the empirical studies showed that the European dispute resolution processes were less rational than Weber thought. But this is the nature of ideal types. They never fully represent the empirical reality and Weber did not expect them to do so. However, in the hands of non-specialists, they become labels and concepts that justify ethnocentric prejudices, particularly when used to classify societies on a social Darwinist evolutionary scale. See Cotterrell (id.); Berman and Reid (id.) and Lukes and Skull (id.) for details.
11. Black upholds positivist jurisprudence. Ironically, the social reality of the law causes problems for the maintenance of a completely independent system of justice. He

wants to de-socialize the laws so that a pristine system of laws and juridical decisions can be established. Black's agenda is to achieve legal positivism, as a goal. See Donald Black, *Sociological Justice* (1989: Ch.4).

12. Although Weber employed the ideal types as convenient methodological devices and his perspectives were Eurocentric, his theses on the reality of the Euro-American legal system are more sophisticated than Durkheim's. He observes that no legal system is perfectly bureaucratic and that no judge is always impartial. See Cotterrell (id. Ch. 14).
13. See Costas Douzinas and Ronnie Warrington with Shaun McVeigh, *Postmodern Jurisprudence: The Law of Text in The Texts of Law* (1991) for a postmodern review of the Enlightenment philosophy, legal positivism and their impact on the Euro-American jurisprudence. See Drucilla Cornell *Beyond Accommodation: Ethical Feminism, Deconstruction, and the Law* (1991), for a feminist treatment of legal positivism. Her work as well as Francois Ewald, *Norms, Discipline and the Law*, Tr. Marjorie Beal in Robert Post ed. *Law, Order and Culture* (1991:138-161), deal with issues of established discrimination of social types. Both are inspired by the questioning of the law by Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, Vol. I, Tr. Robert Hurley (1981), and by Georges Canguilhem, *The Normal and the Pathological*, Tr. Carolyn R. Fawcett and Robert S. Cohen (1989).

One of the earliest criticisms of scientific positivism is Edmund Husserl, *Ideas Pertaining to a Pure Phenomenology and to a Phenomenological Philosophy*, Tr. F. Kersten (1913: Part I, Ch. 1). Also see Paul Feyerabend, *Against Method* (1975), for a criticism of scientific method and its positivist application. Thomas Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (1970), for a discussion of the historical determination and inherent instability of scientific notions and politics in scientific activity. Kurt Hubner, *Critique of Scientific Reason*, Tr. Paul R. Dixon, Jr. and Hollis M. Dixon (1985), for an examination of the adequacy of positivistic claims in the natural sciences.

Sunil Goonasekera

BOOK REVIEW

Land for Money: Dutch Land Registration in Sri Lanka. K. D. Paranavitana. Sridevi Printers. 2001.

This book by Dr Karunasena Dias Paranavitana deals with the Head and Land Tombu registration carried out by the Dutch authorities in Sri Lanka during their period of administration. These valuable records deposited in the National Archives Department of Sri Lanka are some of its irreplaceable treasures, since they have no duplicates elsewhere. The author who has mastered the 17th and 18th century Dutch language has unearthed much information regarding Dutch activities in Sri Lanka in this incisive study. With his fine grasp of the language and his long period of service in the National Archives he had access to the original sources and has given an authoritative account of the Dutch Administration in Sri Lanka, the structural development of the Tombus and the society depicted in them. Special mention should be made of the social structure of Dutch Sri Lanka in the maritime provinces, specially the caste structure and the land tenure system.

When the Portuguese became the sovereign rulers of the Kingdom of Kotte in 1597, they set in motion the machinery to survey the economic resources of their newly acquired territory in order to ensure that they could obtain the maximum benefit from it. They commenced the process by compiling registers call Tombus with detailed descriptions of the land, its produce and the obligations of its owner to the sovereign. This was not a Portuguese innovation for the Sinhala kings too had similar records of land holdings and the revenue dues to the crown, referred to as *lekam miti* or land rolls, some of which are still available. The Portuguese, no doubt, had access to the Sinhala *lekam miti* after the occupation of the kingdom of Kotte. However, when the Dutch took over the administration of the maritime provinces of Sri Lanka from the Portuguese in 1658, the Tombus compiled by the latter were available in parts since much of it was destroyed in the course of the wars. The Dutch had seen some of these and took the first opportunity to make the beginning in compiling such registers for the areas under their authority.

The first 50 pages of the book is a very penetrating study using the original Dutch sources of the administrative system of the areas controlled

by the VOC or the Dutch East India Company. The objective in view was to reap all the benefits the country had to offer with the least expense and the least disturbance to the social structure. Thus they made use of the traditional institutions to achieve their aims. The key administrative positions at the top were held by Dutch officials whereas the responsibility of mobilising the people in the villages to perform whatever the Dutch wished them to do was in the hands of the native officialdom. At the top the Dutch appointed their own men maintaining the title of 'Disave' or provincial governor. Thus there were Dutch Disaves in Colombo, Jaffna and Galle.

The exercise of the rights of the sovereign over the land and his relationship to those who held it were a major problem that the Dutch had to face. The principle that had evolved by the seventeenth century was one of obligatory service which the holder of every plot of land had to perform to the sovereign whoever he may be. Hence great urgency and importance was attached by the Dutch for the preparation of Tombus. The author describes in detail how successive governors carried out this task. For instance Governor Van Imhoff appointed three Tombu Commissioners who were ordered to travel from village to village, interview the land holders and tenants, to ascertain details of landownership and register them in the Tombus. Paddy lands and gardens were separately registered to facilitate the reckoning of taxes. The land registration in Tombus became such an imperative and regular activity in the Dutch government of Sri Lanka that a large volume of records was created requiring the special attention of an officer for the purpose of their maintenance. Governor Schreuder (1757-1762) created the new office of Tombu Keeper, the predecessor of the modern Government Archivist.

In the last section of his book Dr Parnavitana has skilfully analysed the society as depicted in the Tombus, which is of interest to the historian, sociologist and linguist. Special mention has been made of the manner in which the caste system was used to their advantage by the Portuguese and Dutch. So meticulous were they in this respect that the Governor's instructions to the Tombu registrars read as follows: ...' and in order to rectify all irregularities, which for some time past have but too frequently crept in, the Commissioners must, when registering the inhabitants, also investigate the caste of the father and revert the son to his former servitude, in case it is found that he has in an unauthorised manner changed from a lower to a higher status." Dr. Parnavitana has shown that the purpose of the compilation of the Tombus was to retrieve as much

detailed information about the village that would facilitate the company to extricate the maximum taxes. Accordingly, the sources or skills of the villagers were identified by their names and none could escape the prying eyes of the Tombu Registrars. Hence considerable social, economic, cultural and religious aspects of society emerge from a study of these Tombus. The Sinhala names suggest the caste of the individual and the service that they rendered to the government. For instance, if a person's ancestral name or pelapath name is Badalge, he belongs to the smith's caste and therefore he has to make gold and silver articles for the Company. If his name is Palliyaguruge he belongs to the house of the school master and he has to teach and maintain the school Tombu.

The author has explained how many people in the areas colonised by the Portuguese and Dutch have biblical names. The baptismal rite was performed by the Portuguese and Dutch clergy to many native children born to families living in the littoral of the island irrespective of their ethnicity, religion, caste and creed. The name given to a child at baptism was of biblical origin. The local inhabitants did not object to this practice as baptism was advantageous to them, to establish their civil rights, including possession of land and joining public service. The registration of a personal name in a Tombu provided security to immovable property in case of litigation. This explains how even nominal Christianisation gave a tremendous economic and social boost to the inhabitants who ostensibly professed Christianity but continued to practise their "heathen idolatry". The unbaptised children did not possess any personal name but were referred to as *gentigua* - "unbaptised wretches".

Dr. Paranavitana should be congratulated for this worthy effort. The number of scholars in this country who can interpret 17th and 18th century Dutch records can be counted on one's fingers. Of them only our author has made any such valuable contribution to the study of the history, sociology and cultural changes that took place during the Dutch period. This is his third work of this nature. Despite his heavy responsibilities as Senior Lecturer and Head of the Department of Humanities in the Raja Rata University, he continues his valuable research in the Archives Department. The Royal Netherlands Embassy in Colombo has sponsored a worthy publication.

Lorna Dewaraja

The first part of the paper discusses the importance of the study and the objectives of the research. It also mentions the scope of the study and the limitations. The second part of the paper discusses the methodology used in the study. It includes a description of the sample and the data collection process. The third part of the paper discusses the results of the study. It includes a description of the findings and the conclusions drawn from the study. The fourth part of the paper discusses the implications of the study and the recommendations for future research.

The study was conducted in a cross-sectional design. The sample consisted of 100 participants who were recruited through various channels. The data was collected through a series of questionnaires and interviews. The results of the study showed that there was a significant difference between the two groups. The findings suggest that the intervention had a positive impact on the participants. The conclusions drawn from the study are that the intervention is effective in improving the outcomes of the participants. The implications of the study are that the intervention should be implemented on a larger scale. The recommendations for future research are that the study should be replicated in a larger sample and over a longer period of time.

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A CONCISE ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY OF DIVEHI LANGUAGE. RASSL Hassan Ahmed Maniku. Colombo 2001.

From the day that I saw a Maldivian sailing vessel gliding by not far from the coast of my native village in the South several decades ago, I have evinced a particular fascination towards these Islands. A few years later I met the *yālu mīhun* 'friendly people', on the water-front of Galle, and swam to their ships and brought back a handful of the delectable Maldivian fish and shared them with my friends. Several years went by, and I had the fortune of visiting these Islands to research into the affinities that we - the Sinhalese and the Maldivians, did and do possess culturally. Through-out this period, any writings on these Islands have interested me in no small measure, and of them the latest is a scholarly work of over 260 pages named above, compiled by not a visiting researcher, but by a man of the soil itself.

An 'Introduction' running to 15 pages traces the history of the Divehi people, their language and literature, and poses an initial question whether it was the Divehi people or the language or the country — the political body that is, that came first. Of course, the third, naturally, came last — with the people at first settling down in small numbers and forming into miniature social units with the passage of time, ultimately to establish their *rājje*, the kingdom, pervading over numbers of the atolls.

If, now, the earlier Maldivians were immigrants from a particular geographical and cultural region - a point of view that has not been contested so far, it is natural that they took their language with them, for the simple reason that no immigrants took another people's language (or yet another cultural institution, for that matter) primarily, but their own. Until some more convincing evidence leading to a different conclusion is found, if ever, it is not unreasonable to accept that even as a tentative point of view.

To me, the more culturally significant questions are what were they called initially - or rather, how did the Maldivians refer to themselves and their language, to begin with? At what stage of their evolution into a cohesive political cultural unit, did the term 'Divehi' make its first appear-

ance? Or, were they 'Divehis' from their very beginnings (like the 'Sinhala' of our own island)?

The answer is difficult, if not wholly impossible, with the lack of evidence even of a reasonably acceptable nature from the earliest times of reference to it, viz., by Ptolemy of the second century AD. The only little strand of evidence available for the first thousand years of the Christian era is the reference to 'Divi' in the record of Marcellinus (362 AD.), and none is certain whether it meant these Islands and no other.

A second problem that confronts a researcher is whether the early references to these islands are strong enough to support a view that they were populated during the contemporary times. Although their geographical prevalence may not be doubted, legends, no doubt, refer to ships (one of males and another of females) reaching some islands located in this oceanic region and to others that were wrecked in the neighbouring waters, leaving room for interesting conjectures and surmises.

Nevertheless, one is on firmer ground as regards the situation during the fifth century AD., but the present author Maniku, agrees with Bell to push the era of human settlement in his native islands a thousand years further back.

He then proceeds to supply a picture of the Maldivian linguistic and literary activities from the period of the old *evele akuru* (a term that is meaningful in the Sinhala language even now), and refers to Sheik Muhammed Jamaaludhdheen (late 16th century) as the scholar who was largely responsible for the Tana characters in use today. He makes a particular note of how the Divehi language, in spite of the South Indian harassment and a short period of subjugation (by the Cōlas of the region) remained 'inclined' towards Sri Lanka, with only a 'minimal' influence from the former. He emphasises that all island-names have an old Divehi base, and none of them took another form.

The learned author devotes nearly equal space - a little over two pages, to the contribution made by the Sanskrit, Pali and Sinhala languages to the enrichment of his mother tongue, and to the relatively low percentage of words and expressions derived from Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, Urdu, English, Tamil and Malay languages.

When, at this juncture, the learned author says, "The etymology of the vast majority of Divehi words could be traced to Sinhala, Sanskrit and Pali" a very important question arises as to whether the Divehis came in

direct contact with the Sanskrit and Pali language and their speakers, and whether the evolution of Divehi words and expressions from these sources took place within the geographical limits of their Islands themselves during their early history. Such an evolution took place in Sri Lanka where the Sanskrit and Pali vocables co-existed and the Sinhala forms evolved progressively, with the large number of inscriptions and literary works providing a wealth of examples to that process. Maldivian history has not provided any testimony to comparable sequence of events so far, and as such it is more reasonable to accept that it is the already evolved vocabular and other forms of the Sinhala language that reached the Maldive Islands along with the early immigrants. Subsequently, those forms underwent further evolution independently within the limits of their Islands.

This sequence may be illustrated with a few examples as follows:

Sanskrit	Pali	Sinhala	Divehi
<i>vrkṣa</i>	<i>rukka</i>	<i>ruk</i>	<i>ruh</i> ('tree')
<i>mārga</i>	<i>magga</i>	<i>mañ</i> <i>mañga</i> <i>maga</i>	<i>magu</i> ('road')
<i>likhati</i>	<i>likhati</i>	<i>liyayi</i>	<i>liyane</i> ('write')
<i>kṣudra</i>	<i>khudda</i>	<i>kudā</i>	<i>kudā</i> ('small')

Of course, Divehi possesses many vocables suggestive of a direct Sanskrit contact - *kēsa*, *kīrti*, *vihāra*, *fandita*, *sakala*, *karma*, *gaṅgā* etc., but it should not be forgotten that they did and do occur in Sinhala too as 'equivalent' (*tatsama*) forms.

Another interesting point is the paucity of Tamil terms although the Islands are located in close proximity to the Dravidian territory of the Indian mainland, inspite of the erstwhile presence of Cōḷa conquerors, as referred to. In the learned author's main text which contains around 2,000 head-words, my cursory count of those with a Tamil derivation is around ten. Even if the number is five times that, it 'surprises' the reader as it did the learned author. One is now reminded of the efforts of a learned researcher of around 20 years ago who ventured to establish the presence of a 'Tamil sub-stratum' in Divehi on the basis of about 60 terms some of which were 'obviously borrowed', some 'seems to be Dravidian' and some 'probably of Tamil origin' etc. As regards the island names which he supplies as of Tamil origin, the present author (Maniku) says, 'No island name did ever take any other form', i.e., except Divehi.

The learned author also supplies a history of Divehi writing: glossaries, grammars, biographies and works on religion and in poetry, and creative works, dating from the days of the poet Edhur Umar Maafaiy Takurufanu (early 17th century), and enlists the works of other authors up to the present times. This short account is, indeed, a pioneering effort and contributes to the awareness of the activities in this field of endeavour about which not much has been known so far.

Lastly in his 'Introduction', he makes yet another significant contribution by documenting the literary activities by non-Maldivians aimed at the widening of Maldivian studies, ranging from the writings of the French sailor, de Laval (early 17th century) to the several scholarly works inclusive of journalistic articles up to almost the end of the last century.

In his main text, the learned author has brought together, in the order of the Roman alphabet, well over two thousand words of his language - not a mean feat as a pioneering attempt. In addition to indicating the parts of speech of each, he even notes the root-forms, synonyms and archaic forms as found relevant. Next, he supplies the meaning or meanings rather elaborately indicating, for instance, 52 adjectives to *faruvaa*, and relating a Buddhist myth to explain what *keytha* means. He, further, spares no pains to indicate a word's derivative source: Sinhala, Arabic, Portuguese, Dutch, Urdu, English, Tamil and Malay, with painstaking references to the Dictionaries that he names.

In the alphabetical arrangement of words with a half-nasal, however, some confusion appears to be evident. After *abeyakurane*, for instance, occurs the noun *ambi* (occurring in the text as *an'bi*, about which more later), to be followed by *abooyi* and *aboona*, and then another with a half-nasal *ambu* (rendered as *an'bu*) follows. Then two others - *abudhu* and *abunaa*, follow and then occurs *amburani* (*an'buranee*). More instances of such sequence are found throughout the text. It would have been more rational if such vocables of which the second is a half-nasal were made to follow the last of words starting with the same vowel or consonant followed by the corresponding non-nasalised consonant: *ang-* to follow the last of the words starting with *ag-*, *amb-* to follow the last of the words starting with *ab-* etc.

Several instances are available of words arising out of a common Skt., Pl. or Sin. root, identical or slightly different morphologically and mutually different to some degree in meaning, occurring in sequence or in

mutual proximity, with the etymology and the elaborately supplied meanings repeated in every case. In many of these instances they could have been brought together under one head-word, with the source and the gross meaning indicated just once, indicating of course, the different shades of meaning, if any. The technique of cross-reference also could have been made use of with advantage. It may be that the learned author did not pay attention to this factor, his exercise being to produce a 'Vocabulary' but not a 'Dictionary', but he would have gained by it in terms of man-hours and print-space, and saved the readers too from un-necessary repetition.

Incidentally, *veriya* in *beruveriya* is almost equivalent to the Medietaval Sin. *vāriyā*. 'worker' and the Div. term means 'beater of drums'; *biman* and *boli* are equivalents (*tatsamas*) of Sin. forms, and the former is in use yet with no change in meaning ('journey') and the latter has undergone an umlaut change and is pronounced *beli* and is the root-form of the common *bellā*, 'cowrie', 'chank' or 'oyster'. The Sin. *gevalu* means 'home-garden', and that is exactly what it meant a few centuries ago, too.

Attention may now be focused to the expression 'duo-decimal system of counting' that one regularly comes across in the glosses pertaining to numbers. According to this system *tin dolas ase* (rendered in the text as '*thin dolhas ashe*') is $3 \times 12 + 8$ which totals up to 44, and hence the expression is a sort of indirect and periphrastic form of making reference to a number which has a direct form as well - *saurayales* (rendered as '*saurayaalhees*'). In all such expressions, a multiplication by 12 is integral, and hence the term 'duo-decimal', and this vocabulary contains about 60 such expressions denoting numbers ranging from 12 to 100. They seem to correspond somewhat to the English 'three score and ten' meaning 70, and the Sin. *aḍabara* ('half twelve') for 6, and *aṭōrāsiyak* ('eight above hundred') for 108.

One wonders whether this 'system' which appears to be rather inconvenient in practice, was more a form of reference to certain individual numbers or whether it was actually a 'counting system'. If the latter, how could it cope with numbers higher than hundred, say, those in the thousands and in the hundreds of thousands etc.?

I wish that some one familiar with this 'system' would enlighten the general reader.

A problem of a very practical sort that prevails in transliterated Maldivian of the present day lies in the non-acceptance by native writers of the system that has been accepted by international scholars for the ren-

dering of languages specially of the Indian region through the medium of the letters of the Roman alphabet with the addition of a few diacritical marks. One need not elaborate here on the merits this system that has been used by students and scholars in the field of Indology for over the past century. May it only be said that the Maldivian system is confusing, and contains discrepancies within itself. The short *i*, for instance, is rendered by an *i*, but the long is rendered by *ee*, the short *e* is rendered by *e* but the long by *ey*, the short *o* is rendered by *o* but the long by *oa*, and the short *u* is rendered by *u* but the long by *oo*. The (non-aspirated) dentals are rendered as *th* and *dh*, and the *c* as *ch*. Thus, the word *cāndanī* (rendered as we are used to) would be *chaandhanee* according to the Maldivian system, and *furāsūtāvanī* has to be rendered as *furaasoothaavanee*. Thus, *dā* would be *dhaa*, and *dōlu*, *dhoalhu*. What a redundance of letters!

Greater is the confusion when Divehi, thus transliterated, is set side by side with Indo-Aryan languages that possess both aspirated and non-aspirated consonants and the *h* is employed to indicate the aspirated sounds, transliterated through the accepted system. The *tha* (for, *ta*, *ṭ*) and *dha* (for *da*, *ḍ*) of Div. which has no aspirated consonants, will conflict with the aspirated *tha* (*ṭh*) and the *dha* (*ḍh*) of Skt, Pl. and Sin., for instance. If these two systems are made to co-exist in one piece of writing (such as the learned author's 'Vocabulary'), there will be many unnecessary questions arising. Examples are numerous:

1	2	
<i>dhavalhu</i>	<i>davalu</i>	would conflict with aspirate <i>dha</i> in Skt., Pl. & Sin. <i>dhavala</i>
<i>athuranee</i>	<i>aturanī</i>	would conflict with aspirate <i>tha</i> in Pl. <i>attharati</i>
<i>suvandha</i>	<i>suvañda</i>	would conflict with aspirate <i>dha</i> in Skt. Pl. & Sin. <i>sugandha</i>
<i>budha</i>	<i>buda</i>	would conflict with aspirate <i>dha</i> in Skt. Pl. and Sin. <i>budha</i>

Note. 1. form of the word as rendered through the Div. system
 2. form as rendered through the inter-nationally accepted system

The half-nasal too, which is rendered differently, may be brought in line with the accepted system, and all the confusion that prevails now, may thus be eradicated: *an'bi* for example may be rendered as *añbi* and given its place in the word order.

There is no doubt, nevertheless, that the learned author, Hassan .Ahmed Maniku, has made a very significant contribution to the furtherance of Maldivian studies, and his 'Etymological Vocabulary' can certainly act the role of an inspiring resource to those already engaged particularly in lexicographical activity in the Divehi language; and I wish that the various facets of his 'Introduction' may be built upon too.

Lastly, may the present writer be permitted to state that a work on the Maldivian Islands compiled by him and published a mere four years ago has escaped the notice of the learned author. Eighty two of its 231 pages have been devoted to the study of the Div. language, and the contents of a few other chapters contain subject matter kindred to the contents of his 'Introduction', and the work received some unexpected publicity by being severely criticized by a learned researcher from a foreign shore, and the article was published at length in this very journal (Vol. XLIII of 2000). There is no need to exaggerate here the value of critical opinions that a scholar of the very land under reference would have had to state on a number of opinions expressed by me in that modest work, and such opinions would certainly have contributed further to the advancement of studies connected with the S. Asian region, particularly the Islands themselves. They would also have made the present writer be awakened to the errors of judgment that he himself would have committed. As such, a brief statement by him on the manner in which this work escaped his notice, would be valued by the present writer who, indeed, is the greater loser.

V. Vitharana

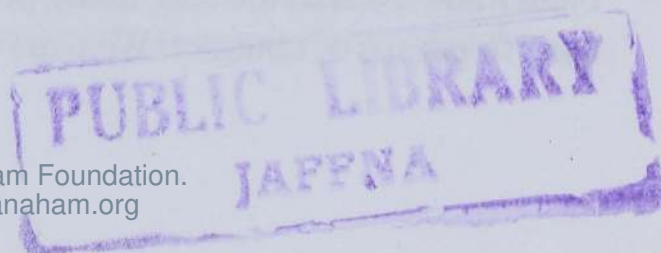
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THE TRANSITION TO A COLONIAL ECONOMY: *Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India* 1720-1800. Prasannan Parthasarathi. Cambridge Studies in Indian History and Society. Cambridge 2001.

Before the eighteenth century, it was from Venice that most merchant ships would leave to bring back cotton from Syria and other Middle-eastern countries. Much later cotton goods from India arrived on European markets. These were the 'calicos', the fine printed fabrics produced by skilful Indian weavers. Except on the Malabar coast which was rich in pepper, the textile industry was to be found in every region of India. Different sectors and circuits governed the production and marketing of raw materials: the manufacture of cotton yarn, weaving, bleaching and preparation of fabrics, and printing. All of India processed silk and cotton, sending a vast quantity of fabrics from the most extraordinary to the most luxurious all over the world. Until the English industrial Revolution the Indian cotton industry was the foremost in the world both in quantity of its output and the scale of its exports ¹. South India in the 18th century was one of the leading manufacturing regions in the world and the cotton textiles of the region were famous worldwide.

The book under review, *The Transition to a Colonial Economy. Weavers, Merchants and Kings in South India 1720-1800* is an important contribution to the economic history of India. It challenges both the popular belief and the thesis advanced by scholars such as Irfan Habib, K.N. Chaudhuri, Tapan Raychaudhuri and Christopher Bayly that poverty and low standards of living have characterized India for centuries. The author demonstrates that until the late 18th century laboring groups received incomes well above subsistence and that it was the rise of British colonial rule that led to a decline in their economic fortunes. He also argues that the 18th century was not a period of chaos, anarchy and decline but a time of commercial expansion, with the establishment of market centers and growth in the use of money. In this sense he agrees with revisionist historians such as Burton Stein who see the 18th century as a period of great dynamism.



But unlike the revisionists who contest the nationalist rhetoric of decline and show continuities between the colonial period and the late pre-colonial rule the author argues in terms of a significant break. While he agrees that Colonial rule was established with the aid and assistance of Indians, mostly bankers and merchants who lent financial support to the English East India Company, he shows that when one looks at the laborers, the framework of production and the conditions of work one reaches a new set of conclusions. Basing himself on a detailed study of weavers in 18th century South India the author shows that poverty did not originate with deindustrialization as many historians have advanced but with the profound political reordering which accompanied British rule.

The first chapter of this book, in my view the most interesting, describes the weaving industry and the rhythms that ruled it. We learn for instance that most weavers purchased their yarn with funds that they received from cloth merchants in advance. The merchants raised much of their finance from South Indian bankers. Thus the burden of losses was shared. Weavers were in a strong position partly because of the very high demand for South Indian cloth. This chapter is most captivating in the (too rare) sections where the weaver household comes alive with details of the food consumed, work schedules, ritual life and festivals. Weavers moved from village to village and threat of migration was often a bargaining chip in a conflict with merchants and states.

Chapter 2 argues that agriculture was a major arena for investment in late pre-colonial South India. Therefore, the high productivity of agriculture was not due to natural advantages of climate or soil but to high rates of investment. Investment in agricultural improvement was a mean for states to attract peoples to their territories—a condition of success for rulers.

Chapter 3 looks at weaver distress in the mid-to end of eighteenth century an area of research that has not been previously identified by earlier scholars. Weavers were in fact victims of the integration of political and economic power. In the mid 18th century, many rulers were not content only to trade but began to create monopolies in products. Some of the most important monopolies were in cloth. The East Indian Company was one of many integrations of politics and economics but it had the most devastating impact on weavers. The Company's growing monopoly of the cloth trade reduced the bargaining power of weavers and in essence nullified their freedoms of contract. Weavers were prevented from selling their cloth

to other buyers by strong-arm tactics and had to work for the Company even if its prices were very low. Weavers' incomes fell as a consequence.

'When the merchant reduces the money, the weaver reduces the thread'. So ran a proverb in Southern India. Reducing the thread, weaver desertion and its threat were the forms of protest most common in the 18th century. The nature and forms of resistance or protest in 18th century South India have however received little scholarly attention². Chapter 4 sheds new light on weaver protests. What emerges is not a picture of rigidity of the weaver's social world but one of plasticity. This book shows that in myriad ways weavers defined their social worlds through acts of protest and resistance. Interestingly letters, petitions and other forms of the written word were integral to weaver protest. They were used to expand the scale of the protest and to communicate with the East India Company.

Chapter 5 highlights the difference in the attitude towards weavers that prevailed between the Company that defeated fierce weaver resistance, reorganized cloth production and drove down the earnings of weavers and the attitude of kings in South India who appeared to check merchant power and protect the weavers. The author argues that South India in the seventeenth and eighteenth century before the rise of company power sustained a form of modernity which rested on principles different from liberal and property rights. Laborers were allowed to maintain a valuable set of rights, privileges and prerogatives. These were lost as a consequence of the establishment of political power inspired by British ideas of statecraft.

While the case that English rule in South India led to the demise of a way of life for laborers with the erosion of rights they possessed in contract, property and community, through, for instance, the Company state's restriction on laborers, mobility is well made; the argument that South Indian kingship was only rarely 'despotic' in nature and generally advantageous to weavers is less convincing. In this sense the author's beliefs in a better world for weavers and workers founded on community ties under commercially minded kings rather than one governed by a modern coercive state in search of monopolies seems to lead him to elude the issue of inequalities within traditional societies. What role did caste play in relations between merchants and weavers and kings? In pre-British society where knowledge was restricted to an elite - weavers were generally illiterate - were not the dice loaded towards the literate members in society, Brahmins and state officials who mediated in all matters pertaining to ordinary life. The quality of life of weavers must surely be assessed as a

whole, in the village and in relation to other social groups apart from merchants. It should locate the weaver in a variety of situations, educational, religious and ascertain the extent of the social mobility taking place. Unfortunately this line of questioning does not run through the book which covers a much more limited area of inquiry albeit with commendable lucidity. It nevertheless leaves us asking for more.

The specificity of South India as compared to Eastern India especially Bengal could have been more clearly spelt out. Indeed Southern weavers produced mainly for the home market and compared to weavers in eastern India suffered less from colonial rule and its multi-faceted impact. The spinning of yarn still continued in the South when indigenous spinning had virtually disappeared in Northern India. The standard of living of weavers in the South and its collapse in the 18th century was not as dramatic as in Bengal for instance. Between 1792-93 – 1796/7 and 1818/1819 – 1822/23 spinners' wages in Malda and eight other residencies in eastern India remained stagnant at Rs 2.50 per month while the average price of raw cotton went up from Rs 12.80 to Rs 16.5 per maund and that of rice from Rs 0.62 to Rs 1.02 per maund. Weavers were getting from the East India Company prices which were from 6 to 83 percent less than what private traders were offering³.

This book is important for the social historian: although mainly based on material in European Company records the author partly succeeds in teasing out details of the lives of workers in the South Indian region. But one often feels that the author failed to make best use of his rich data. The breath of vision of a Braudel or K.N. Chaudhuri could have transformed this scholarly, sound, but often bland account of weavers and merchants into a wonderful tale of workers' artistry and talent pitted against the East Indian Company, epitomy of British rationality and profit-making skills.

Nira Wickramasinghe

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1. F. Braudel, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th century*, Vol.I *The Structures of Everyday Life*, (Collins, London, 1984) p. 327.
 2. The Subaltern Studies group has devoted its attention to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. See for instance Ranajit Guha, *Elementary Aspects of Peasant Insurgency in Colonial India* (Delhi 1983); Ranajit Guha, *Dominance without Hegemony* (Cambridge, Mass., 1997); and Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Rethinking Working Class History* (Princeton, 1989).
 3. Eds. D.Kumar and T. Raychaudhuri, *The Cambridge Economic History of India*, Vol. 2 C. 1757-c. 1970 (Cambridge, 1982)

A DECADE OF CONFRONTATION: Sri Lanka and India in the 1980's.
John Gooneratne. Stamford Lake. Pannipitiya. 2000.

A decade of Confrontation is a study of relations between India and Sri Lanka in the crucial period of the eighties by Dr John Gooneratne a retired career officer of the Sri Lanka Foreign Service. He had a distinguished record serving in several missions and ended as the Sri Lanka Ambassador to Iraq at the time of the Gulf War. I have known the author since the time of his admission to the Service when he was one of a company of future stars such as K K Breckenridge, Rodney Vandergert, S Gautamadasa who distinguished themselves for their professional ability and rose to the highest positions in the Service. They were outstanding for their commitment to professionalism in their outlook and conduct and this was the secret of their rise unlike later generations who have fallen short due to their pursuit of self-advancement and opportunism. Mr Gooneratne impressed me by his zeal for the study of world affairs and his professional approach to it and I recall suggesting that he should become a specialist in Arab affairs. This book it can be said is a fulfillment of this early promise and is a masterly analysis of a crisis in Sri Lanka's foreign relations.

This study attempts to unravel the mystery of the confrontation which occurred in relations between India and Sri Lanka in the eighties when Sri Lanka faced the prospect of an invasion by India. It culminated in the food drop by India on the Jaffna peninsular which was called the 'Operation Eagle Four' and the conclusion of the Indo Sri Lanka Agreement between Prime Minister Gandhi and President Jayawardene on 31 July 1987, which among other provisions admitted the Indian Peace Keeping force to the North and Eastern provinces. This Agreement was accompanied by an Exchange of Letters which set out certain terms on Sri Lanka's foreign policy and both were to say the least a humiliation for Sri Lanka which the author has aptly described as follows: 'The very unequal relationship reflected in the provisions of the main Agreement is repeated in the Exchange of letters. Its provisions go well beyond the scope of the elements connected with solving the ethnic conflict and into the general area of the conduct of Sri Lanka's foreign policy as a whole. A heavy price has been extracted from Sri Lanka in the Exchange of Letters. And it was seen as making Sri Lanka less than independent and less than sovereign.' How relations came to such a lamentable state is the theme of this book.

That this should have happened is indeed a regrettable paradox in the peaceful relations which had prevailed between the two countries throughout their ageless history. This peaceful relationship itself is a miracle given the geopolitical circumstances of the two countries with diminutive Sri Lanka like a stool at the foot of the giant sub continent virtually inviting conquest. This can be attributed to a number of circumstances which include the religious and ethical bonds between the two countries from earliest times in Buddhism and Hinduism that constituted an enduring link between the two civilizations. During the eight centuries of Muslim rule which succeeded the early civilizations, India had scarcely any contacts with Sri Lanka and even after British occupation of the island in 1815 it was ruled as a colony directly from Whitehall and independent of British India. With independence in 1948 the two countries not only resumed their traditional ties of friendship but even forged a partnership in the field of foreign policy with their membership and joint sponsorship of initiatives such as the Colombo Plan, the Colombo Powers culminating in their pioneer role in the inauguration of the Non Aligned Movement. In 1980 they went a step further with their membership of SAARC which made them a part of the South Asian community.

While their foreign relations were exemplary for the spirit of cooperation and understanding, their internal relations too were marked by a spirit of understanding in coping with a number of problems which faced them. These were as is well known the status of the Indian plantation workers and citizenship which were certainly sensitive issues with potential to damage relations but these were peacefully resolved through discussions and negotiations, the crowning achievement being the Sirima Sastri Pact of 1963 which resolved the main issues. Such was the climate of friendship, cooperation and understanding which marked relations between the two countries from the outset of their independence until the decade of confrontation of the eighties threatened to disrupt them. This was indeed a disaster to both countries and how it occurred and the way it was resolved is the theme of this study which makes it indeed a masterly contribution.

The events and issues in this confrontation are generally well known and the author has presented them in a systematic manner under separate chapters. These are briefly 'The Challenge of Nation Building', India Seeking Hegemony, Challenging the Odds, Denouncement – The Indo Sri Lanka Agreement. These subjects encompass the principal factors that caused the confrontation. These were primarily the outlook and policies of President J R Jayawardene, the impact of the ethnic crisis over the

future of the Tamils in the island in the aftermath of the 1983 violence, the reaction of the Indian Prime Minister Mrs Indira Gandhi both to the ethnic crisis and the policies of President Jayawardene and India's own wider perspectives in the South Asian region and its role in it as the kind of super power. The decade of confrontation was the product of these cross currents with President Jayawrdene's open economy policy creating the prospects of US links with Trincomalee which could serve as a base for it in South Asia, Mrs Gandhi's concern over these prospects and the pressure on her from the DMK and Tamil refugees which prompted her to take the unpardonable step of arming and training Tamil militants for military service in Sri Lanka, the efforts of the Sri Lankan armed forces to control the situation culminating in the Vadamarrachi offensive and India's decision to intervene both militarily and politically with the air drop which was a veiled threat and the Indo Ceylon Agreement and Exchange of letter concluded between the two heads, which ended the confrontation without resolving it.

All these aspects and issues have been analysed in detail by the author and this is no place in which to summarise them. One crucial question which he examines is the reasons for India's direct intervention which was at the heart of the confrontation. Various explanations have been given by writers but the official Indian position as stated by the author was given by Indian High Commissioner Mr Dixit who played a key role in this drama which was that it was due to two reasons security and domestic compulsions. The security concerns were over Sri Lankan attempts to get foreign help such as warships from the USA and UK, training facilities from Israel, broadcasting through the VOA and arms, purchases from various sources. Domestic compulsion referred to the pressure of ethnic sentiment especially from within India. It is interesting that later Mr Dixit had second thoughts on the subject of Indian intervention and his comments are quoted in the book which were to the effect that while Mrs Gandhi's support for Sri Lankan Tamil aspirations was justified her policy of material support was wrong. Ultimately as the author has observed Indian military intervention became a fiasco in that there was little support for the IPKF in Jaffna and even in India support for it dwindled until it was obliged to withdraw ignominiously.

One can conclude that 'A Decade of Confrontation' by Mr John Gooneratne is an outstanding study of Sri Lanka's foreign relations which can be recommended for a number of reasons. The subject is of vital importance to Sri Lanka being our relationship with India and what can be

expected in the future in the light of the recent experience which was unique in the ageless history of relations between the two countries. It is not the fear of a recurrence but that it was chastening experience which one should take into account in viewing our relations with India in the future. This should be seen in the context of India's own apparent ambitions to be a predominant power in the region in the light of its maritime and naval aspirations and military build up. A merit of this book is its timeliness as these events occurred a decade ago and not much has been written on the subject. This is probably the most authoritative work to appear on the subject embodying research and analysis which reflect the professional insights of the author and his background of diplomacy. More than ever this book could be regarded as a timely reminder of probably the gravest threat to the sovereignty of Sri Lanka throughout its history and the irony is that it should have come from India which was its life long friend. This book is a revelation of how and why this happened which could serve as a warning for the future. It was due primarily to a clash of personalities and interests at this particular juncture which India chose to resolve by a show of muscle. Of course relations have been normalized since and the old fraternal ties restored but the fact that breakdown occurred in a exemplary relationship should serve as a warning and lesson for the future and discourage complacency. To that extent this book has rendered a timely service to the nation in awakening it to the realities of foreign policy. What is ironic is that this particular breakdown should have occurred in the first decade of SAARC which was expected to usher in an era of peace, amity and fellowship. This book on which the author should be complimented should serve as an eye opener to those concerned which will ensure that the South Asian region at least will be free of such calamitous experiences as the decade of confrontation between India and Sri Lanka in the eighties.

Vernon L B Mendis

PALI GRAMMAR. Vito Perniola. The Pali Text Society- Oxford. 1997.

The present work of Dr. Rev. Fr. Pemiola Pali Grammar, has passed through several editions since its first appearance in 1958 in Sri Lanka. This is, as a revised and enlarged edition, quite comprehensive as it covers almost the whole field of a grammar even though the author says in his succinct Preface that his work is not exhaustive and his research came to an end when the Sri Lanka Government stopped all foreign examinations.

Dr. Perniola's attempt in this work may reasonably be compared with the methodology and aphoristic exposition of the Moggallana grammar, namely, *Moggallana-Vyakarana* composed during the reign of Parakramabahu I (1153-1186). Moggallana's attempt was to start a new school of Pali grammar in Lanka. The influence of extensive Sanskrit studies during this period undoubtedly had changed the approach adopted in the Pali grammar which hitherto prevailed in line with the *Kaccayana-vyakarana*.

Dr. Perniola deviating from the traditional systems has followed the Western Pali grammarians. Some of the pioneers of the western grammatical school such as E. Muller, E. Kuhn, W. Geiger, MacDonald etc. have thrown much light on the subject which benefitted the later Pali grammarians and the present author is not an exception. But Dr. Perniola has been fortunate enough to collect new material and fill up lacuna in those. By the time Dr. Perniola wrote his grammar almost all the *Tripitaka* had been published either by the Pali Text Society, London or in the *Buddha Jayanti Series*, Sri Lanka. Consequently the present author was able to quote extensively from the canonical texts leaving out later ornate Pali works which have more or less the flavour of the Sanskrit didactic poetry.

The present work in its 21 chapters covers the whole field of Pali grammar among which special attention has been paid to the evolution of vowels, consonants, declensions, pronouns, numerals and the verbal system. For example, in dealing with the Verb (Chapter VI) the author illustrates verbal formations with reference to their Sanskrit influence. The root is the ultimate element of a verb; *i* - to go, *kr* - to do, *ji* - to win. Thus the roots are to be given in their Sanskrit form since it is only when we take into consideration the original roots as they are in Sanskrit that we can explain some of the phonological changes they undergo.

The root *sru* - to hear becomes *ssu* in Pali, the double consonant is reduced to one at the beginning of a word, but it is retained when it becomes intervocalic, hence *sunatu*, *suta* but *assosi*. Similarly *gna* - to know becomes *nna*, *natu* but *annasi*. In this instance, the traditional grammarians would not give a root like *kr* (*karoti*), but *Kara* which in any case cannot be a root according to its general definition 'as the ultimate element of a verb'.

Accordingly, take for instance the root *vrt* - to exist == *vattati*, but according to ancient grammarians it is *vatu*. If we are to take *vatu* as the root it is clear that to form *vattati* with the root *vatu*, an artificial or antilinguistic process is required. Not only the Pali grammarians but the celebrated lexicographer Rhys Davids as well explains all the Pali words tracing back to their Sanskrit origin in order to get acquainted with the evolutionary process of Indo-Aryan dialects of which Pali is the foremost due to its expansion through vast literature.

Phonetic changes which inevitably take place in the consonant *sandhis* (euphonic combination) has been categorised into six classes, usually not dealt with in other grammatical works: I) Assimilation; *durga-dugga* (difficult road), II) Adaptation: *sam-carat* = *san carati* (goes about) III) Metathesis: *oruhya=loruyha* (having come down iv) Aspiration: *ista* - *ittha* (desired) v) Simplification: *kartum* - *kattum* (to do) vi) Epenthesis: *rajno* - *rajino* (of the king), Among these major classes their subdivisions where relevant also have been shown.

Chapter XII deals with evolution of the consonants. Here the author has divided the 34 consonants into five categories, namely, mute, nasal, liquid, semivocals and aspirate consonants. He shows the behaviour of the consonants in the process of evolution from their Sanskrit bases. Though the Pali consonant system is close to Sanskrit there are a few significant differences which the present author has substantiated with examples. One of these is the difference in the disappearance of cerebral and palatal *sa* (॑, ॒) leaving dental *sa* (॑) alone. The Section 156 Clause I explains the elimination of the initial vowel and the word begins with a consonant, e.g. *idani* - *dani* (now). Here the form *dani* is rarely or not at all used at the beginning of a sentence except perhaps in poetry. In phrases like '*handa dani bhikkhave amantayami vo*' it can be treated as a *sandhi* where, when two vowels are in juxtaposition one gives way to the other: *banda* + *idani*, here initial *i* of *idani* has disappeared on a phonetical necessity. Likewise, the word *udaka* (water) has three forms: *uda* (*udapanopite Gaya*), *daka* (*dakabhisecana natthi*) and *udaka* (*adakarn hi nayanti*

Nettika). In such cases besides the elimination of the initial vowel we can follow what the philologist N.B. Utgikar says that 'such different forms are variations of provincialism and to formulate valid principles to explain their behaviour would be out of order (Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and derived Languages Poona, 1939).

Attention of the research student should be drawn to interpretation of some words in the work: For example *galagalbati*. the Rev.Fr., possibly agreeing with PTSA Dictionary, explains it as 'it rains' (*devo galagalayati*). *Galagalayati* (from *gla*-to flow) is an onomatopoeic word imitating the sound of strong flows by heavy rains as couened *ciccitayati*, *citicitayati* etc. (page 342) *Seyyathidam* (namely) is formed with *se-yatha-idam*, but another possible alternative is *syat-yatha-idam* by the apophonic operation. An *alupta samasa* 'aharnkara' according to the semantic implication may mean 'pride', etymologically, '1-the doer' which implies haughtiness, arrogance. Further, according to the commentarial interpretation '*ahamkaroti uddhatabhavassetam adhivacanam* : signifies the popular use. In often quoted contexts like '*aharnkara mamakara mānsnusaya* it is used in the sense of a latent disposition persisting till the final eradication defilements. Selfishness is, of no doubt, a secondary meaning.

The author's handling of the subject is very methodical and linguistically informative and pervasive throughout the comparative grammatical studies. "A knowledge of the Sanskrit language" says Suniti Kumar Chatterji, an Emeritus Professor of comparative philology, Calcutta University "and of the Sanskrit background is indispensable for a proper and correct understanding of Indo-Aryan dialects."

The present work substantially proves that Sanskrit is a sine qua non for a comprehensive study of Pali grammar. The Pali language by virtue of its extensive literature has reached an independent position as a classical language, nevertheless, the Sanskrit background is still necessary.

Dr. Pemiola, a committed research scholar has in this work subscribed to the above view. A wide range of notes from canonical texts shows how painstakingly the author has gone through the *Tripitaka*. The author imbued with his research expertise in Sanskrit and Pali, has produced a monumental work, that generously contributes to the discipline of Pali grammar with all the important components of the subject that would be equally useful for both students and research scholars.

Dr. G. S. B. Senanayaka

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ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Minutes of the 153rd Annual General Meeting of
the 155th year of RASSL

1. Date and Time: Saturday, 25th March, 2000, at 3.00 p.m

Venue: 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7

2. Present : Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Dr. K. Arunasiri, Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty, Mrs. Ishvari Corea, Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra, Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekera, Wg.Cdr. Rajah M. Wickramasinghe, Mr. Frederick Medis, Mr. T. A. Burah, Dr. H.W. M. Cooray, Dr. H. M. V. Cooray, Rev. Fr. L. H. Cramer, Mr. W. L. N. Dias, Mr. V. R. de Silva, Mr. L. H. R. P. Deraniyagala, Mr. H. L. W. Dissanayake, Mr. A. D. N. Fernando, Mr. H. V. C. Fernando, Mr. R. G. O. Gunasekera, Mr. A. P. S. Galapata, Prof. (Mrs.) R. Paranavitana, Dr. R. L. Jayakody, Prof. J. A. P. Jayasinghe, Dr. W. M. Karunadasa, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya, Mr. D. P. W. Karunatileke, Mr. Piyadasa Miriyagalle, Mr. M. A. Mohamed, Mrs. G. K. Mohamed, Mr. J. P. Obeysekera, Mr. S. C. Perera, Mr. J. A. Perera, Rev. Fr. Dr. V. Perniola, Mr. Nimal Sarathchandra, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. W. A. Somadasa, Mr. O. M. R. Sirisena, Mr. M. G. Samaraweera, Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne, Mrs. A. L. Tammita, Mr. T. B. Weerakoon, Mr. R. A. Wijewansa, Mr. Chandrasiri Weligamage, Mr. W. M. H. S. R. Wijemanne and Mr. C. Wellappili.

3. The meeting was called to order by the President with the required quorum of 30 present.

4. Notice of the Annual General Meeting

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, President, from the chair, called on the Hony. Jt. Secretary to read the Notice convening the meeting of the 153rd Annual General Meeting of the Society, Dr K. D. Paranavitana, Hony. Jt. Secy., read the Notice convening the meeting.

5. Announcements

Hony. Jt. Secy., Dr. Paranavitana announced the resignation of Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva from the presidency. He said that Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, who was elected President at the last Annual General Meeting, of the Society, had tendered his resignation by a letter dated 28.02.2000. Consequently the Council, acting, on the powers vested in it under Article 30 of the Constitution, had proceeded to fill the vacancy, thereby created.

For the remainder of the term of the elected President Dr. H N S Karunatilake, a Vice President, had thus been elected President.

Acceding to a request from the floor, the President directed Mr. Methsiri Cooray to read the letter of resignation. The letter indicated that the reason for Mr. de Silva's resignation was that he had been abused by a member of the Council. Concern was voiced by Members at the level of conduct and discipline of the members apparent from the letter.

6. Address by the President

Welcoming those present, the President said he was happy to see such a good turnout of members. He gave an undertaking that he would conduct himself in accordance with the Constitution. While the affairs of the Society were generally in a good condition, the books in the Library were in a delicate state and, for that reason, all books were now available for reference only. He expressed his disappointment at the lack of good research and the consequent lack of good articles submitted for publication. This trend, he said, was something that was common all over the country. Since there were so many educated persons in the island now, he called upon members to carry the message of the need for more research and learned papers to those outside the present gathering.

7. Condolences

The President announced the deaths of the following members during the year 1999-2000 and a Vote of Condolence was passed:

Ms. R. N. J. Arthenayaka
 Mr. W. T. J. Mendis
 Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekera
 Mr. Mervyn Casie Chetty
 Mr. Peter Jayasuriya
 Maj. Gen. V. D. Lankathilake

Members observed two minutes silence as a mark of respect to the deceased.

8. Excuses

The following members had expressed their inability to be present and requested that they be excused:

Mr. S. J. D. de S. Wijeratne
 Mr. D. S. D. P. R. Senanayake

9. Confirmation of Minutes of Annual General and Special General Meetings

- 9.1 On a Motion proposed by Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe and seconded by Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra, the Minutes of the 152nd Annual General Meeting held on 24th March, 1999, and which had been previously circulated, were adopted as a correct record of the proceedings, subject to the insertion of the name of Mr. R. Wijedasa as a member of the committee on "Exhibition of the Written Word: The Lithic Record".
- 9.2 On a Motion proposed by, Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra and seconded by Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremasinghe, the Minutes of the Special General Meeting held on 25th October, 1999, and which had been previously circulated, were adopted as a correct record of the proceedings.

10. Treasurer's Report and Audited Statement of Accounts

The Hony. Treasurer, Dr. K. Arunasiri, presented the Audited Statement of Accounts for the period, which had been previously circulated. Several matters concerning the Accounts were discussed by the House.

- 10.1 The President had been incorrectly referred to as the Treasurer on page 20. This was corrected.
- 10.2 Interest earned from the fixed deposit of Rs. 25,000/- with Messrs. Arpico Finance was not shown. Hony. Treasurer clarified the Deposit was made for a period of two years with effect from 01. 09. 98 and the interest was, therefore, due on 01. 09. 2000.
- 10.3 The Auditors had not received independent confirmation of balances lying to the credit of the Society with several institutions. Hony. Treasurer explained that the confirmations had been, in fact, received, but only after the Auditors have finalised the report.
- 10.4 The Society was not maintaining a stock of books and journals. Several points in regard to this matter were raised, the chief being that (i) No proper stock or inventory was being maintained (ii) Books known to be in the Library and previously accessed, were missing; (iii) Books were not insured in spite of an earlier Audit recommendation to the effect; and (iv) That the current market value should be charged from borrowers who lose books. The President agreed that a stock of books had not been taken earlier to his knowledge and said that this task would be taken in hand by him,

but he did not know whether it could be completed within the coming year.

- 10.5 The Hony. Jt. Secretary, Dr. Parnavitana said that wherever a borrower was identified, every effort was made to recover the book. The loss of books on loan was, therefore, not due to the lack of attempts made to recover them. The President Dr. Karunatilake, said that he was unaware, of any Library that insured its stock of books. He added that the cost of insurance was too great for the Society and that the deteriorated condition of the books made insurance difficult. This position was supported from the floor of the house.
- 10.6 Non-payment of EPF and ETF to employees. This practice was criticized by a member who said that while in the past, an organization with less than six employees need not have contributed to these funds, the situation was different now. The Hony. Treasurer stated that he had obtained a ruling from the Department of Labour that this Society, being an approved charity with less than ten employees, was not required to contribute to these two super annuation funds. The President confirmed the Treasurer's position from personal knowledge and said that, however, the matter will be further clarified.

The Audited Statements of Accounts and the Treasurer's Report were thereafter adopted as corrected.

11. Annual Report of the Council

The Hony. Jt. Secretary, Dr. Parnavitana next tabled the Annual Report for the year 1999-2000. The Report was adopted.

12. Resolutions

Notice had been given of four Resolutions, all of which had been circulated and these were taken up for consideration by the House.

Resolution 1

Mr. Denis N. Fernando proposed and Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremesinghe seconded the following Resolution.

“We the members of the RASSL, assembled in Annual General Meeting hereby resolve that the following Code of Ethics and Conduct be respected and adhered to by all members of the RASSL and this code

of ethics be incorporated in the rules of the RASSL under its constitution.

Code of Ethics: The members of the RASSL shall be intellectually honest and members shall at all times:

- a. Not falsify results and fairly represent results as they honestly perceive them.
- b. Fairly record the intellectual material and practical contribution of others to their work.
- c. Ensure joint authors of publications and reports share responsibility for their contents.
- d. Retain all types of records as long as practical and where not commercially or personally sensitive, make them available for others to access
- e. Not falsify one's qualifications, experience and competence.
- f. Not allow or commit plagiarism

Code of Conduct : Members shall behave with integrity and professionalism and members shall at all times:

- a. Adhere to the laws of intellectual property rights
- b. Conduct themselves in a manner that strive to enhance the objectives and rules of the Society.
- c. Shall not engage in criminal activity.
- d. Demonstrate integrity and academic professionalism and observe fairness and equity in matters pertaining to research in keeping with the objectives of the Society.
- e. Strive not to compromise the welfare, health and safety of the community and environment.

Any members in violation of the above code of Ethics and Conduct shall be removed from membership of the RASSL.”

Moving the Resolution, Mr. Fernando traced the history behind this Resolution. He said that in 1995, after an inquiry in regard to a petition against a member was taken up, the Council decided that there should be a Code of Ethics, but however, nothing came of it. Thereafter, in 1999, the identical Resolution, seconded by Mr. Peter Jayasooriya was sought to be

presented at the Annual General Meeting, but it had been received too late and could not be dealt with. He was, therefore, presenting it again. Seconding the Resolution, Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickramasinghe said that the many books in the Library that had pages missing indicated the need for a Code of Ethics.

Several members speaking on the Resolution moved amendments to parts of it. Mr. Medis moved several amendments to the motion, the most important of which was the insertion of a new para at the end reading "Any member who, in the course of a meeting, uses abusive language on one or more members of the Society and or threatens to use bodily force or physical assault on another shall be forthwith removed from membership of the Society".

Mr. Olcott Gunasekera, moved an amendment to add the words "after due inquiry" to the last sentence of the Resolution.

When it was moved, to put one such amendment to the House, Rev. Fr. Perniola rose to a point of order stating, that the main Resolution should be put to the House before Amendments were considered. This position was upheld by the Chair. Mr. Fernando said that he was not in agreement with any of the amendments suggested except that suggested by Mr. Olcott Gunasekera. The Proposer and Secunder were thus moving the Resolution in the original form, with the addition of the words suggested by Mr. Gunasekera.

The main Resolution, including Mr. Gunasekera's amendment was put to the House. Twenty four (24) voting for and one (01) against, the President declared the Resolution carried.

Mr. Medis' amendment was next put to the House. With twenty-one (21) voting for and two (02) against, the President declared the Amendment carried.

Resolution 2

Mr. A. P. S. Galapata proposed and Mr. M. G. Samaraweera seconded the following Resolution.

AMENDMENT TO THE CONSTITUTION

Article 48 of the Constitution to be amended to read as follows:

- 3) (a) In pursuance of section (a) and section (b) of Article 3 the Society shall publish the Journal of the society at least once a year, not later than 30th of November of each year.

- (b) The Journal shall also contain as many articles as possible in Sinhala and Tamil. Administrative data will not be included in the Journal. However, the Council considers that matters discussed and decided by the Society relate to matters coming under Article 3, such records may be included in the Journal.
- (c) The Society shall circulate among members and State institution where required, an ADMINISTRATIVE REPORT covering the activities of the Society during the year. Illustration notes, queries, or letters on subjects submitted to or discussed before the Society, and an abstract of the proceedings of meetings of the Council may be included in the Administrative Report.”

Moving the Resolution formally, Mr. Galapata said that the elimination of the administrative data would make more pages available for articles of value. The separation of the Journal into ACADEMIC and ADMINISTRATIVE categories would help the readership as those reading articles under Article 3 would be interested in Administrative matters. The modern reader is, he said, choosy about the size and length of the material he reads. In the old series the format confined the Journal to research and creative writing. The Society will save money by bringing out the Administrative data in cheaper form. The stipulation of a date for publication will ensure regularity of publication and help develop interest for the dissemination and improvement of learning. He said that the resources available to the Society are sufficient to publish the Journal even more than once a year. In regard to Sinhala and Tamil articles, he said that the urgent need today is for a shift of emphasis to the language used by the majority of the population. There are millions of people to whom knowledge is now locked up behind language barriers.

Mr. M. G. Samaraweera formally seconded the motion although, due to an error for which the President accepted responsibility, his name had not been shown as seconding the motion in the Notice. Mr. Samaraweera said this was a momentous and timely Resolution, particularly with regard to the section dealing with Sinhala and Tamil articles.

The President called attention to the fact that this was an amendment to the Constitution and therefore it required a majority of two-thirds of those present at a meeting to be adopted.

There was much discussion on the motion, and the views expressed were mainly to the effect that it was necessary to include the administrative reports in the Journal, as it was for the information of members. It was

agreed that more Sinhala and Tamil papers should be published and, until sufficient new material was available, translations should be published, and that the 154 year old format of the Journal needed no change.

The Resolution was then put to the House and three (03) members voted in favour of it. The Resolution failing to obtain a majority of two-thirds of the members present, was declared not adopted.

Resolution 3

Mr. Sydney Perera proposed and Mr. V. R. de Silva seconded the following Resolution.

“The Royal Asiatic Society resolves that permission would be granted for the publication of articles of a controversial nature, only if such articles are supported with authentic historical evidence / references.

“In the publication of such articles, opportunity, should also be granted for replies, objections and views of members and subscribers, to be published, which should also be supported with authentic historical evidence references.

Moving the Resolution, Mr. Perera said that views expressed in papers published in the Society’s Journal, if controversial in nature, should be supported by authentic evidence and references. Fiction or distorted history should not be permitted to creep into the Journal. The second paragraph of the resolution was intended to give readers a chance to correct distortions and to express a more reliable point of view, supported by evidence and references. Mr. V. R. de Silva seconded the Resolution. Speaking on the matter the subject of caste was being referred to, he said that it had become a political necessity, all over the country, to refer to the “Govi” caste as being the highest caste. He was sad that this had now spread to the RASSL as well.

Discussion and voting on this Resolution was to follow after the fourth Resolution was moved and discussed, as the same two members were proposing and seconding the two Resolutions.

Resolution 4

Mr. V. R. de Silva proposed and Mr. Sydney Perera seconded the following Resolution.

“RESOLVED that ‘Notes & Queries’ received by the RAS in connection with inaccuracies, distortion and errors in articles published in the RAS

Journal, must be published without delay or arbitrary censoring by the Editor provided such 'Notes & Queries' are fully referenced.

"Suppression or deletion of large sections of such papers must not be done without a valid reason. Such editing must be done in the interest of the RAS and not through prejudice or individual requirements of a few individuals. The reason for such heavy editing must be made known to the paper writer or the RAS membership if so requested.

"This resolution is to specifically apply to the Notes & Queries paper initially sent on 12th November 1998 and which has been passed around for fifteen months without publication. This Notes and Queries paper deals with the offensive and inaccurate references to castes in articles written by Mrs. Lorna Devaraja and another, and published in the Sesquicentennial volume and Vol. special number 1998 of the RAS."

Moving the resolution, Mr. de Silva said that the Constitution of Sri Lanka recognized the equality of persons irrespective of race, religion, community or caste and hence there was no "high" or "low" communities or castes. Unfortunately, the "Govi" caste is mentioned as a pre-eminent "high" caste in a paper published in the journal, therefore being derogatory of other castes. Thus the Journal was being surreptitiously used for propagating views of a derogatory, defamatory and controversial nature.

Referring in particular to a paper by Dr. Lorna Devaraja, he stated that she had cited, as reference, a book, "Kandyan Kingdom" of which she herself was the author. He was of the view that the Journal should not be used for propaganda purposes. He had addressed a paper for publication under "Notes and Queries" on the offensive, derogatory and inaccurate references to castes in a paper written by Dr. Devaraja and another, to the Hony. Editor. In spite of several reminders, nothing happened. After fifteen months, the Hony. Editor had responded that if he could substantiate his views, it would be published. His reply, fully substantiated and referenced, had been sent to a referee on the Hony. Editor's initiative. Finally, after many months, the President. Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva had written to him, to the effect that three paragraphs of his article will be published. He had queried why the bulk of his paper had been omitted.

Seconding the Resolution, Mr. Sydney Perera said that articles in an esteemed Journal should refrain from referring to certain communities in derogatory terms.

Mr. Denis Fernando said that 'Notes & Queries' was meant for this type of situation. Even Hugh Nevill could not get his rebuttal published in the Society's Journal and had to resort to publishing in the 'Taprobanian' to get it printed, and this made the "Taprobanian" a very valuable publication.

Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris, identifying herself as currently a Council member, speaking on **Resolution 4** made an observation that, while she was not aware of the contents of the document that Mr. V. R. de Silva referred to, she was aware that he had written a letter to the Council. Her observation was that this matter had not been handled sensibly by the Council and that the Council should look at it again.

Mr. Methsiri Cooray, an Hony. Jt. Secy., said that there is a Minute in the Publications Committee proceedings that the article of Mr. V. R. de Silva should be published in the Journal. But due to subsequent events it went in another direction, but he did not know why. The decision of the Publications Committee was to publish this, but it was not done. The President said that that was correct, and that he had been the Chairman of the Publications Committee. He did not remember the details of the history but that the Committee did take a decision to publish Mr. de Silva's letter. He would give a guarantee that the matter would be looked at afresh.

Resolution 3: Four (04) members voting for and none against, the President declared the Resolution carried.

Resolution 4: Four members voting for (04) and one (01) against, the President declared the Resolution carried.

13. Election of Auditors

Ms. Wickremasinghe, Dayananda & Co., Chartered Accountants, were proposed for election as Auditors for another year from the Chair and this was seconded by Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe. The proposal was carried.

Mr. Miriyagalla pointed out that certain observations made in the Audit Report indicated that there was little rapport between the Society and the Auditors. Some of the observations made should not, in fact, have been made as, for instance the reference to the EPF/ETF matter. The President said that he would take note of the observation.

14. Group Photographs

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake then invited all Members present and all Council Members to participate in the taking of two group photographs of the Membership and the Council, respectively.

15. **Vote of Thanks**

On behalf of the Royal Asiatic Society Hony. Jt. Secretary, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana proposing a vote of thanks, said that in the preceding year, there had not been much work done, due to turmoil at the end of the year. A lot of discussions took place and he, personally, felt that the time of the Council had been wasted a lot. In the forthcoming year, this difficulty could be overcome and activities could go ahead with the new President. First, he thanked H. E. the President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga for her support as Patron, and the Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs, the Hon. Lakshman Jayakody, and Prof. Suraweera, the Deputy Minister who were both very helpful in the Society's activities. He also thanked the Office bearers and all those who supported the activities of the Council in the past year, the Mahaveli Ministry for making the Auditorium available and Mr. Mahendra Senanayake, of Sridevi Printers (Pvt) Ltd. who helped greatly in getting the publications out on time. Finally, he thanked the Office Staff, Mr. Wijesuriya, the Administrative Secretaries, Miss Lakmali Pathirana who left the Society's employment, her successor Miss M. R. K. T. Indrani who had been recruited recently, the Stenographer Miss S. T. Weeraratne, Mr. R. M. Weerakone the Binder, Thusitha Geekiyanage and Janaka Sampath who supported the Council in its activities.

The meeting terminated at 5.00 p.m.

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
Mr. Methsiri Cooray
Jt. Secretaries

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the 154th year of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, will be held on Saturday, 27th March, 1999 at 3.00 p.m. at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Centre, 96 Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 07.

AGENDA

1. Notice of the Meeting
2. Welcome of members by the President of the RASSL
3. Condolences
4. Excuses
5. Confirmation of the Minutes of the AGM of the 153rd year
6. Confirmation of the Minutes of Special GM-24/10/1998
7. Annual Report of the Council 1998/1999
8. Audited Statement of Accounts 1998
9. Election of President Pro-tem
10. Election of President

Nominations Received

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	Mr. S. J. Munasingha
2. Mr. G. P. S. H. De Silva	Dr. C. G. Uragoda	Dr. R. K. De Silva

1. President Elect takes the Chair
2. Election of Office Bearers

Vice Presidents (2)

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe	Mr. Methsiri Cooray
2. Dr. S. G Samarasinghe	Prof. T. W Wikramanayake	Mr. Methsiri Cooray

Joint Secretaries (2)

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Dr. K. D. Paranavitana	Mr. Methsiri Cooray	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake
2. Mr. Methsiri Cooray	Dr. H. N. S Karunatilake	Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe

Treasurer

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Mr. K. Arunasiri	Mr. T. B. Weerakone	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake

Librarian

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Mrs. Ishvari Corea	Prof N. A. Jayawickrema	Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty

Editor

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake	Prof V. Vitharana	Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
2. Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne	Dr. W. M. Karunadasa	Prof. Indrani Moonesinghe

Election of Council Members

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
1. Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	Mr. Methsiri Cooray
2. Mr. M. Susantha Fernando	Mr. L. A. D. A. Tissa Kumara	Mr. P. Nagasinghe
3. Kalasuri Wifred M. Gunasekara	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
4. Mr. Frederic Medis	Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga	Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
5. Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	Mr. P. Nagasinghe	Mr. L. A. D. A. Tissa Kumara
6. Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga	Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva	Mr. Frederic Medis
7. Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty	Mrs. Ishvari Corea	Mr. K. Arunasiri
8. Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake	Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe	Mr. K. Arunasiri
9. Mr. T. B. Weerakone	Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara	Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
10. Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremesinghe	Mrs. Ishvari Corea	Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara
11. Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema	Mr. Desmond Fernando	Mr. Methsiri Cooray

- | | | |
|---------------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 12. Mr. Desmond
Fernando | Prof. M. B.
Ariyapala | Mr. Methsiri
Cooray |
| 13. Dr. A. Adikari | Mr. G.
Wijayawardhana | Mr. S. J.
Munasinghe |
| 14. Prof. Kapila
Abhayawansa | Mr. W. A.
Jayawardana | Mr. L. Sugunadasa |
| 15. Mr. Sam S.
Wijesinha | Dr. K. D.
Paranavitana | Mr. G. P. S. H.
de Silva |
- Election of Auditor
Vote of Thanks
Tea

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekera
Methsiri Cooray
Hony Joint Secetaries

**ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1998/1999
LECTURE SERIES YEAR 1999/2000**

	Year	Month	Name	Title
1.	'99	April 26	Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera	Lorenzo De Almeida was taken for a ride in Galle in 1506 and never came to Colombo
2.	'99	May 31	Dr. Vernon L. B. Mendis	"The Beginning of British occupation of Ceylon - 1795-1815"
3.	'99	June 21	Dr. Sarath Amunugama	Anagarika Dharmapala
4.	'99	July 26	Mr. L. K. Karunaratne	Mihintale, Royal Park and Monastery
5.	'99	Aug 30	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	Uprisings against the British in the 19th Century
6.	'99	Sep 27	Prof. Willie Mendis	Projects & Prospects in the new millennium
7.	'99	Oct 25	Prof. Kusuma Karunaratne	A comparison between significant Sinhala and Japanese Proverbs
8.	'99	Nov 29	Prof. M. H. F. Jayasuriya	"Vaijayantha Tantra" A lesser known treatise on Sri Lankan Arts and Crafts
9.	'99	Dec 27	Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremasinghe	Symbols on ancient Sri Lankan coins
10.	2000	Jan 31	Mr. Srilal Perera	The <i>Thala Sastra</i> of the Kandyan Drum
11.	2000	Feb 28	Mr. M. H. Gunaratna	National Shipping and Ports Policy of Lanka in the 1st and 2nd millennium

MEMBERSHIP

New members enrolled during the year under review.

04	Resident ordinary members
21	Resident life members
01	Non-Resident ordinary members
03	Non-Resident life members
<u>29</u>	

It is with deep regret that we record the death of the following members of the Society during the year 1998.

Mr. P. Thambimuttu

Dr. M. H. Peter Silva

Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana

Mr. M. A. Piyasekara

Mr. T. P. Unamboove

Miss Minette De Silva

As at 3rd March 1999 the Society had 487 members on roll consisting of the Patron, one Honorary Member, five Institutional members, 400 Resident Life members, 76 Resident Ordinary members, three Non-Resident Life members, and one Non-Resident Ordinary member.

FINANCE & ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE 1998/1999

During the period under review ten (10) meetings of the Finance & Administration Committee were held. This Committee comprised the following members:

	Attendance
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala (Chairman)	9/1/- (Present/Excused/Absent)
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	8/2/-
Mr. Methsiri Cooray	6/4/-
Mr. W. A. Jayawardana	1/6/3
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe	1/5/4
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	1/5/1
Mr. V. Raj de Silva	5/3/2
Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe	6/3/1
Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha	4/3/3
Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle	-/9/1
Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga	1/8/4
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara	8/2/-

1. Salaries and Cadre Committee recommended an enhanced salary structure for the entire staff.
2. A new enrolment and membership form was devised by the Committee and approved by the Council.

**PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
REPORT FOR PERIOD MAY 1998 - JANUARY 1999**

1. Attendance	May - Nov	Dec - Jan
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	6/7	2/2
Dr. C. G. Uragoda	1/7	-
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando	2/7	-
Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya	0/7	-
Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana	3/5	(up to Sept '98)
Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama	2/7	2/2
Dr. A. W. Tammita Delgoda	6/7	1/2
Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake	7/7	2/2
Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle		1/2
Mr. Susantha Fernando		0/2
Mr. Ashley de Vos		0/2

The Committee was reconstituted in November 1998 to conform to the new constitution.

2. A procedure to be adopted on receipt of a paper for publication in the RASSL Journal was discussed at length and approved. The Committee recommended and the society agreed to delete from the constitution of the RAS the statement which said that no reasons need be given to authors as to why their papers have not been accepted for publication.

It was also decided to limit the size of the Journal to 150 to 200 pages.

3. The chief concern of the Committee was the publication of volume XLII of the Journal. The articles to be published had been approved by the previous Committee and Council. They were sent to Sridevi Printers, as arranged by the previous Editor in July with the request that printing be completed within three months. There were delays due to the large number of articles and it was hoped that the final proof would be available by mid December. The final proof was received only in mid-January and returned the next day. The Journal will be ready shortly.

4. Volume XLIII is being prepared for the press. Three articles have been approved by the referees and authors are now in the process of redrafting their papers, in conformity with suggestions made by the referees.
5. Approval was obtained from the council to publish articles in both Sinhala and English.
6. The membership of the Society were requested to send in their academic qualifications and areas of study and interest, in order to have a list of persons who could be called upon to act as referees. Such a list is now available.
7. Instructions to authors have been revised.
8. Means of making available the titles and summaries of articles published in the Journal, on Internet are being explored.
9. The committee decided to encourage authors to submit their contributions in computer diskettes, whenever possible. This would be particularly useful if the author is residing overseas.

Professor T. W. Wikramanayake
*Honorary Editor and Secretary
of the Publications Committee*

LIBRARY COMMITTEE

The Library Committee comprised the following members:
During the period under review 10 meetings of the Committee were held.

Attendance	May '98-Nov '98	Dec '98 - Jan '99
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana	5/7	2/3
Mr. T. B. Weerakone	1/7	1/3
Mr. K. Arunasiri	4/7	3/3
Prof. Vini Vitharana	4/7	2/3
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty	2/7	1/3
Mrs. Ishvari Corea	7/7	1/3
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake	-	2/3

Mr. K. Arunasiri and Dr. K. D. Paranavitana served as the Convenors of the Library Committee.

The utilisation of the Library facilities during the year was as follows:

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. No. of visits by members and others to the Library | 387 |
| 2. No. of Library books borrowed by members | 185 |

Books and Periodicals

- | | |
|---|-----|
| 1. No. of books received as donations | 14 |
| 2. No. of periodicals received as donations | 100 |
| 3. No. of books purchased | 61 |
| 4. A sum of Rs. 74,759.50 has been spent on the purchase of books and periodicals. | |
| 5. The total number of books excluding periodicals in the Library as at 27th February, 1999, were 8140. | |
| 6. All books borrowed by the members have been returned. | |

Computerisation

371 books were entered in the computer.

Binding

213 books were repaired by the Binder.

The Library Committee wishes to place on record the assistance given by the National Library and Documentation Services Board. The Board has agreed to train the Asst. Librarian in the Computerisation of the Library's holdings. Already much progress has been made and all the new books purchased so far have been entered in the computer. The Board has also donated 18 chairs and three tables.

The Hon. Librarian wishes to thank the Chairman and Council Members for their cooperation during the year under reference. She also wishes to thank very warmly the assistance rendered by the members of the Library Committee at all times, and the assistance, given by the Asst. Librarian Miss Luckmali Pathirana. The Library Committee wishes also to place on record the efficient work performed by Miss Imali Dabare who left on 31/08/1998.

Mrs. Ishvari Corea
Hony. Librarian

TOPONYMY COMMITTEE 1998/1999

The Toponymy committee met on eight occasions during the period April 1998 to March 1999. Due to uneven attendance at meetings, progress was sometimes hampered. However the interest in toponymy was sustained by the keenness of some of the members, and their commitment to the subject. Among the highlights for the period under review were:-

- (i) A study of place names up to the second century A.D, in the inscriptions published in EZ. This study undertaken by Prof. Ananda Kulasuriya is now ready for publication in the R. A. S. Journal.
- (ii) A study of place names in the *Sandesa Kavyas*, undertaken by Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya is in progress.
- (iii) Other similar projects in progress include a study by Prof. Vini Vitharana and Mr. Frederick Medis. The Toponymy Committee is also planning an island-wide contest for school children, on place names.

Convener of the Toponymy Committee for the period were Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva (up to June 1998 and Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga from June 1998 to date.)

GENERAL OFFICE

- | | |
|------------------|---|
| Government Grant | - The Society acknowledges with gratitude the enhanced Government Grant of Rs. 600,000/= from the Ministry of Cultural and Religious Affairs for the year 1998. |
| Donations | - A donation of Rs. 7500/- was received from Messrs. Aitken Spence Co. Ltd. |

It is with a deep sense of appreciation we place on record the work done during the year 1998/99.

The office of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka was given a new face-lift. The area where monthly meetings of the Council are held was partitioned.

The entire floor space of the office exclusive of the Library was laid with ceramic tiles giving the office a new look.

The rooms named Lunch Room and Pantry Room which were leaking and in an unclean and unhygienic state were completely redone and made sanitary and a suitable place for work. The toilets were repaired and maintained properly.

A sound system was installed on the table where Council meetings are held, to ensure a better, accurate and a mechanical recording of the discussions etc. of the Council.

Three tables and 18 chairs were received as a donation from the then Sri Lanka Library Services Board due to the efforts of the Hony. Librarian Mrs. Ishvari Corea.

The Council has approved the purchase of a new computer suitable for work connected with the Library, half the cost being borne by the National Library Services Board.

An English steno with computer literacy is being recruited.

An ad hoc Committee appointed by the Council studied the existing salary structure, cadre and list of duties of the staff and recommended an enhanced salary structure to the entire staff.

A delegation of the Council consisting of President Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Vice President, Dr. H.N.S. Karunatilake and Hony. Jt. Secretary, Mr. Methsiri Cooray met the Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs, Hon. Lakshman Jayakody by appointment on getting the ownership of land and the office building regularized.

The same delegation of office bearers met the officials of the Colombo Municipality on the same matter.

A committee consisting of all the office bearers was appointed to revise the Constitution which was presented by the last Council. This Committee met several times and submitted a draft which was accepted unanimously at the Special General Meeting held on 24th October 1998.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Society extends its grateful thanks to Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, the Patron of the Society for Her Excellency's support of activities of the Society.

The Council records its thanks and appreciation for the assistance given by Hon. Lakshman Jayakody, Minister of Cultural & Religious Affairs and Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Deputy Minister of Cultural & Religious Affairs in the activities of the Society throughout the year.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to the Mahaweli Authority for the use of the Auditorium.

The Council also thanks Mr. Mahendra Senanayake and the staff of Sridevi Printers (Pvt) Ltd, for the efficient manner in which they did all the printing work of the Society.

The Society is thankful to Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary, Miss Imali Dabare, Asst. Librarian and her successor Miss. Luckmali Pathirana, Mr. R. M. Weerakoon, Binder, Messrs Chandana Perera. Janaka Sampath and Thusitha Geekiyanage, for their services.

Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara
Mr. Methsiri Cooray
Hony. Jt. Secretaries

10th March 1999

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 2000**

	Schedule	1998	1997
CURRENT ASSETS		Rs.	Rs.
Accounts Receivable	01	52,324.42	99,055.00
Cash & Bank Balances	02	805,299.11	758,393.00
		857,623.53	857,448.00
LESS: CURRENT LIABILITIES			
Accounts Payable	03	34,635.08	8,198.00
Net Current Assets		822,988.45	849,250.00
Fixed Assets	04	900,928.83	766,847.00
Library Book	05	434,837.70	373,761.00
Investments	06	1,431,673.56	1,202,169.00
		3,590,428.54	31,920.27
REPRESENTED BY			
Accumulated Fund	07	3,380,723.98	3,001,568.00
Specific Fund	08	209,704.56	190,459.00
		3,590,428.54	3,192,027.00

We certify that to the best of our knowledge and belief the above Balance Sheet contains a true account of the assets and liabilities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka.

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at December 31, 2000 and the annexed financial statements and have obtained all the information and explanations that were required by us. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet and Income & Expenditure Account exhibit a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at December 31, 1998.

Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co.
Chartered Accountants

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998

INCOME	Schedule	1998 Rs.	1997 Rs.
Government Grant		1,100,000.00	500,000.00
Donations & Other Grants	09	37,500.00	7,500.00
		<u>1,137,500.00</u>	<u>507,500.00</u>
MEMBERS SUBSCRIPTION			
Life Membership Fees		27,500.00	26,850.00
Subscription -Current Year		11,850.00	13,951.00
-Prior Years		900.00	4,326.00
-In Advance		1,550.00	1,300.00
Entrance Fees		1,715.00	1,220.00
Non-Resident Membership Fees		5,355.00	4,530.00
		<u>48,870.00</u>	<u>52,177.00</u>
OTHER INCOME			
Sales of Journal		109,814.31	100,301.00
Photocopy Income		5,394.12	6,288.00
Interest on Treasury Bill		-	37,447.00
Gross Interest on Fixed Deposits & Savings Accounts	10	211,549.00	158,180.00
Fines for delay in returning books		244.47	915.00
Sales of 150th Anniversary Journal		-	2,650.00
Sundry Income		<u>327,001.90</u>	<u>305,781.00</u>
Total Income		1,513,371.90	865,458.00
Less-Expenses		<u>1,121,776.67</u>	<u>413,748.00</u>
Excess of Income Over Expenditure		391,595.23	451,781.00
Less: Taxation for the year		12,439.48	3,336.00
Balance C/F		<u>379,155.75</u>	<u>448,375.00</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
RECEIPT & PAYMENT ACCOUNT
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998

	1998	1997
	Rs.	Rs
RECEIPTS		
Government Grant	1,100,000.00	500,000.00
Donation & Other Grant	37,500.00	7,500.00
	<u>1,137,500.00</u>	<u>507,500.00</u>
Received from Members		
Entrance Fees	1,715.00	1,220.00
Life Membership Fees	27,500.00	26,850.00
Current Year Subscription	11,850.00	13,951.00
Non-Resident Membership Fees	5,355.00	4,530.00
Arrears & Advance of Subscription	2,450.00	5,626.00
	<u>48,870.00</u>	<u>52,177.00</u>
Other Receipts		
Interest Received	195,992.52	188,681.00
Sale of Journals	109,814.31	100,301.00
Photocopy Income	5,394.12	6,289.00
Fines for delay in returning books	244.47	915.00
Refund of Income Tax Overpaid	3,243.00	-
Sale of 150th Anniversary Journal	-	2,650.00
Encashment of Investment	582,009.52	355,160.00
	<u>896,697.94</u>	<u>653,996.00</u>
Total Receipts	<u>2,083,067.94</u>	<u>1,213,673.00</u>
Less Payments		
Purchase of Library Books	61,076.20	13,684.00
Acquiring of Fixed Assets	108,402.00	33,663.00
Investment on Fixed Deposits	250,000.00	-
Investment on Savings Account	542,269.00	-
	<u>961,747.20</u>	<u>47,347.00</u>

Other Payments

Salary Advances	215,839.07	144,828.00
Tea Expenses	15,489.50	12,702.00
Stationery & Postage	23,207.60	28,126.00
Printing Expenses - <i>Kankhavitarani</i>	97,643.97	-
Letters & Post Cards	8,422.74	-
Journals	73,160.00	75,380.00
A. G. M. Reports	13,959.42	10,400.00
Audit Fees	9,375.00	5,000.00
Sundry Expenses	20,599.84	10,164.00
Telephone Charges	14,868.25	11,168.00
Bank Charges & Overdraft	1,567.73	450.00
Service Charges Photo-copier	17,606.87	9,140.00
Repairs & Maintenance	144,667.10	28,880.00
Income Tax	10,270.42	7,143.00
Advertisement	4,750.00	-
Advance paid for Printing	-	50,000.00
Paid for Service Agreement - Copier	-	6,875.00
Repair & Service Charges - Hoover	6,693.00	-
Investment	-	312,619.00
Travelling	1,472.00	758.00
Mrs. Kottegoda	-	4,000.00
Translation Expenses	114,000.00	18,000.00
Gratuity Payment	20,500.00	-
Payment for returned book	-	4,510.00
Book-binding Expenses	8,800.00	-
Tiling Expenses	251,520.75	-
	<u>1,074,413.26</u>	<u>740,143.00</u>
	<u>2,036,162.38</u>	<u>787,490.00</u>
Net Surplus for returned books	46,905.56	409,183.00
Bank Balance B/F. on 01/01/1998		
Sampath Bank Savings Account	438,192.20	309,112.00
Sampath Bank Current Account	316,456.08	34,788.00
Cash in Hand	3,745.27	5,310.00
	<u>758,393.55</u>	<u>349,210.00</u>
Bank Balance on December 31	<u>805,299.11</u>	<u>758,393.00</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998
(SCHEDULES)

SCHEDULE : 01	1998	1997
Accounts Receivable	Rs.	Rs.
Interest Receivable	43,653.25	28,097.00
Income Tax Over paid	4,661.42	10,073.00
Advance paid for Printing	-	50,000.00
Paid for Service Contract - Copier	-	6,875.00
Mrs. D. Kottegoda - Flowers of Sri Lanka	4,009.75	4,010.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	52,324.42	99,055.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

SCHEDULE : 02

Cash & Bank Balance

Cash in hand	5,205.59	3,745.00
Cash at Bank - Sampath Bank		
A/c No. 000160001259	129,682.57	316,456.00
Sampath Bank A/c No. 100160002683	670,410.95	438,192.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	805,299.11	758,393.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

SCHEDULE : 03

Accounts Payable

Telephone Charges	1,210.20	698.00
Audit Fees	7,500.00	7,500.00
Siedles (Pvt.) Limited	25,924.88	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	34,635.08	8,198.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998
(SCHEDULES)

SCHEDULE: 04	Balance at	Additions	Balance at
<i>Fixed assets</i>	01.01.1998		31.12.1998
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Typewriters	16,355.00	-	16,355.00
Pedestal Fan	5,900.00	-	5,900.00
Filing Cabinet	8,663.00	-	8,663.00
Gestetner Machine	37,500.00	-	37,500.00
Furniture & Fittings	164,216.95	30,385.00	194,601.95
Society Name-board	13,588.75	-	13,588.75
Vacuum Cleaner	4,500.00	-	4,500.00
Electric Kettle & Boiler	1,460.00	-	1,460.00
Wall Clock	600.00	-	600.00
Cannon Photo Copier	149,000.00	-	149,000.00
Steel Cupboard	35,480.00	-	35,480.00
Glass Fronted Book Alm.	28,168.75	-	28,168.75
Hoover Polisher	4,600.0	-	4,600.00
Telephone	14,150.00	-	14,150.00
Sundry Assets	2,863.00	-	2,863.00
Partitioning of Library	85,110.00	-	85,110.00
Typewriters (Electronic)	26,552.50	-	26,552.50
Hand Press Machine	800.00	-	800.00
Almirah	19,800.00	-	19,800.00
Water Filter	1,800.00	-	1,800.00
Computer & Printer	118,089.00	-	118,089.63
Fax Machine	19,950.00	-	19,950.00
Paper Cutter	7,000.00	-	7,000.00
Microphone Sets	-	103,696.88	103,696.88
	<u>766,846.95</u>	<u>134,081.88</u>	<u>900,928.83</u>

SCHEDULE : 05	1998	1997
Library Books	Rs.	Rs
Balance at 01. 01. 1998	373,761.50	360,078.00
Additions during the year	61,076.20	13,684.00
	<u>434,837.70</u>	<u>373,762.00</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998
(SCHEDULES)

SCHEDULE: 06	1998	1997
	Rs.	Rs.
Investments		
Funded Investment Savings Account		
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-61233	67,623.42	61,417.00
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-61217	96,865.23	87,976.00
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-54601	45,215.91	41,067.00
	<u>209,704.56</u>	<u>190,460.00</u>
Other Investments		
Savings Account		
Sampath Bank A/c No. 60004813	542,269.00	-
N.S.B. - A/c No. 100020154601	-	224,284.00
Fixed Deposits		
N.S.B. - A/c No. 500014807015	179,700.00	179,700.00
People's Bank	-	357,725.00
Arpico Finance Company Ltd.	250,000.00	250,000
State Mortgage & Investment Bank	250,000.00	-
	<u>1,221,969.00</u>	<u>1,011,709.00</u>
	<u>1,431,673.56</u>	<u>1,202,169.00</u>
SCHEDULE : 07		
Accumulated Fund		
Balance at 1. 1. 1998	3,001,568.23	2,552,163.00
Add: Excess of income over		
Expenditure during the year	379,155.75	448,375.00
Income Tax Over - Provision	-	1,030.00
	<u>3,380,723.98</u>	<u>3,001,568.00</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998
(SCHEDULES)

SCHEDULE: 08	1998	1997
Specific Funds - Investment	Rs.	Rs.
<i>Chalmers Oriental Text Fund</i>		
Balance at 01.01.1998	61,417.48	55,232.00
Add: Interest during the year	6,205.94	6,186.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Balance as at 31. 12. 2000	67,623.42	61,418.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
<i>Chinese Records Translation Fund</i>		
Balance at 01.01.1998	87,975.57	79,115.00
Add: Interest during the year	8,889.66	8,860.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	96,865.23	87,975.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
<i>Society Medal Fund</i>		
Balance at 01.01.1998	41,066.52	36,930.00
Add: Interest during the year	4,149.39	4,136.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	45,215.91	41,066.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
	209,704.56	190,459.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
SCHEDULE: 09		
Donations & other Grants		
Donation: M/s. Aitken Spence Co. Ltd.	7,500.00	7,500.00
Mrs. P. De Silva	30,000.00	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	37,500.00	7,500.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
SCHEDULE: 10		
Interest for 1998		
N. S. B. Savings Account	11,820.07	22,589.00
Arpico Finance Company Ltd.	43,750.00	11,250.00
P. B. Thimbirigasyaya-F. D.		
A/c. No. 08601840-7	33,983.87	44,477.00
N. S. B. - 50001- 48 - 07015	18,104.78	27,869.00
Sampath Bank - S/A No. 100160002683	64,055.31	51,995.00
Sampath Bank - S/A No. 100160004813	17,412.97	-
S. M. & I. B.	22,422.00	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	211,549.00	158,180.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998
(SCHEDULES)

SCHEDULE : 11	1998	1997
Salaries & Allowances	Rs.	Rs.
Mr. R. M. Weerakoon	43,600.00	34,550.00
Miss I. U. Dabare	36,250.00	44,500.00
Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya	60,288.45	37,554.00
Mr. Anura Wickramasinghe	-	1,500.00
Mr. Chandana Perera	27,900.00	21,371.00
Overtime & Incentive payment	14,082.88	3,853.00
Mr. Sampath	11,250.00	-
Miss Luckmali Pathirana	22,467.74	-
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	215,839.07	143,328.00
	<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1998

	1998	1997
	Rs.	Rs.
Expenses		
Staff Salaries, Allowances & Overtime	215,839.07	143,328.00
Staff Tea Expenses	15,489.50	12,702.00
Printing Expenses - Journal	73,160.00	120,380.00
<i>Kankhavitari</i>	147,643.97	-
A. G. M. Report	13,959.42	10,400.00
Letter Head, Post Cards & Others	8,422.77	-
Stationery & Postage	23,207.60	28,126.00
Sundries	20,846.83	10,164.00
Telephone	15,380.06	11,419.00
Audit Fees	6,000.00	7,500.00
Bank Charges & Overdraft Interest	1,567.73	450.00
Service & Repairs Charges- Photo Copier	24,481.87	9,140.00
Professional Charges	3,375.00	-
Advertisement	4,750.00	-
Repairs & Maintenance	144,667.10	28,880.00
Woden Panel Expenses	-	12,500.00
Book Binding Charges	8,800.00	-
Travelling	1,472.00	758.00
Gratuity	20,500.00	-
Repairs of floor Hoover	6,693.00	-
<i>Atthakatha</i> Translation Expenses 1	14,000.00	18,000.00
Tiles & Tiling Expenses	251,520.75	-
	1,121,776.67	413,747.00
	1,121,776.67	413,747.00

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
ANNUAL REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1999-2000
155th YEAR
OFFICE BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY
April 1999-March 2000

Patron

Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga

President

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, BA Hons (Cey), Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Archives Administration (Lond.); Honorary Member, International Council on Archives, Paris.

Immediate Past President

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, (1980-1986) (1998-1999), BA Hons, PhD (Lond), Professor Emeritus (Colombo) DLitt Honoris Causa (Colombo), DLitt Honoris Causa (Ruhuna), Sri Lanka Sahitya Shiromani (Malwatta Chapter).

Vice Presidents

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, BA Hons (Cey), MA (Harvard), MPA (Harvard), MSc (Lond), PhD (Lond).

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, MA (Cey), LLB, MA (Penn), PhD (Colombo).

Hony. Jt. Secretaries

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, BA Hons (Cey), Diploma in Archive Administration (The Netherlands), PhD (UNSW).

Mr. Methsiri Cooray, BA (Cey) LLB (Cey), Attorney-at-Law.

Hony. Treasurer

Dr. K. Arunasiri, BA Hons (Cey), MA PhD (Kelaniya), SLAS.

Hony. Editor

Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake, MBBS (Cey), PhD (Glasgow), DSc Honoris Causa (Peradeniya and Ruhuna), Professor Emeritus, University of Peradeniya.

Hony. Librarian

Mrs. Ishvari Corea, BA Hons (Cey), Dip Lib, ALA (Lond), Hony Fellowship (SLLA).

Members of the Council

- Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama, BA, PhD (Lond).
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, (1992-1994), MA, PhD (Lond), Sasana Kirti Sri (Sarvodaya).
Dr. C. G. Uragoda, (1987-1992), MD, FRCP, FCCP, FFOM, DSc Honoris Causa (Colombo).
Lt. Com. S. Devendra, BA (Cey).
Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha, BA, LLM, Barrister-at-Law.
Mr. Desmond Fernando, MA (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn).
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara.
Mr. Ashley de Vos, Consultant Architect.
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty, LLB (Sri Lanka), LLM (Kent), Attorney-at-Law.
Mr. Frederick Medis, FCSA (Hons).
Wg. Cdr. Dr. A. Gunasingha, LDS (Cey) DPD (Dundee), FICD, MA.
Mr. S. J. D. de S. Wijeratne, Advocate of the Supreme, Court Retired
Supreme Court Judge
Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickramasinghe.
Mr. M. R. P. Susantha Fernando.
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake, BA (Cey), BA Hon (Lond), MA (Vid), PhD.
Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris BA(Cey), Dip. Lib. (Lond), ALA, ASLLA.

RECONSTITUTED COUNCIL-OCTOBER1999-MARCH 2000

Patron

Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga

President

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, BA Hons (Cey), Academic Postgraduate Diploma in Archives Administration (Lond); Honorary Member, International Council on Archives, Paris.

Past Presidents

- Dr. T. Nadarajah, (1986) Ph.D.
Dr. C. G. Uragoda, (1987-1992), MD, FRCP, FCCP, FFOM, DSc Honoris Causa (Colombo).
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, (1992-1994), MA, PhD (Lond), Sasana Kirti Sri (Sarvodaya).

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, (1994-1996) BSc Hons (Cey), Ph Eng (ITC Netherlands), MSc (ITC Netherlands), FI Sur Eng (SL), Fellow of the National Academy of Science.

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, (1996-1998), BA (Lond)

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, (1980-1986) (1998-1999), BA Hons, PhD (Lond), Professor Emeritus (Colombo) DLitt Honoris Causa (Colombo), DLitt Honoris Causa (Ruhuna), Sri Lanka Sahitya Shiromani (Malwatta Chapter)

Vice Presidents

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, BA Hons (Cey), MA (Harvard), MPA (Harvard), MSc (Lond), PhD (Lond).

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, MA (Cey), LLB, MA (Penn), PhD (Colombo).

Hony. Jt. Secretaries

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, BA Hons (Cey), Diploma in Archive Administration (The Netherlands), PhD (UNSW).

Mr. Methsiri Cooray, BA (Cey), LLB (Cey), Attorney-at-Law.

Hony. Treasurer

Dr. K. Arunasiri, BA Hons (Cey), MA PhD (Kelaniya), SLAS.

Hony, Editor

Prof. T. W. Wickramanayake, MBBS (Cey), PhD (Glasgow), DSc Honoris Causa (Peradeniya & Ruhuna), Professor Emeritus.

Hony. Librarian

Mrs. Ishvari Corea, BA Hons (Cey), Dip Lib, ALA (Lond), Hony Fellowship (SLLA)

Members of the Council

Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema, BA, PhD (Lond).

Lt. Com. S. Devendra, BA (Cey).

Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha, BA, LLM Bar-at-Law.

Mr. Desmond Fernando, MA (Oxon), Barrister-at-Law (Lincoln's Inn).

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

Mr. Ashley de Vos, Consultant Architect.

Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty, LLB (Sri Lanka), LLM (Kent), Attorney-at-Law.

Mr. Frederick Medis, FCSA (Hons).

Wg. Cdr. Dr. A. Gunasingha, LDS (Cey), DPD (Dundee), FICD, MA.

Mr. S. J. D. de S. Wijeratne, Advocate of the Supreme Court, Retired Supreme Court Judge.

Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremasinghe.

Mr. M. R. P. Susantha Fernando.

Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake, BA (Cey), BA Hon (Lond), MA (Vid), Ph.D.

Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris, BA (Cey), Dip. Lib. (Lond), ALA, ASLLA.

Resume

1. **Period:** The Report on activities presented here, covers the period April 1999 - March 2000. The audited financial statement covers the Calendar year 1999. Vide Report of the Auditor annexed.
2. **The Council:** The Council came to be reconstituted, in terms of the amendments to the 1998 Constitution approved by the SGM held on 25.10.1999. Vide List of Office Bearers and Minutes of the SGM.
3. **Council Meetings:** During the period under review 12 Ordinary meetings and 01 Emergency meeting were held.
4. **Public Lectures:** As usual 12 public lectures were held under the Series of Monthly Lectures Vide List on page xxxxiv.
Lecture Schedule for the period 2000/2001 has been finalized. Vide attached Printed Lecture Schedule.
5. **Membership:** Seventeen new members were enrolled, Vide List in the report of the F and A Committee on p. xxxxiv.
6. **Journal:** Volume Numbers XLII and XLIII were printed and published. Vide the Report on p. xxxxvii
7. **Library:** 116 books were added to the Library, including the 07 Volume Catalogue of the Hugh Nevill Collection of Sinhalese Manuscripts in the British Museum Library, edited by K. D. Somadasa, and published by the British Museum Library, in 1999. Vide Report of the L C on p. xxxxvii.
A physical count of the publications in the Library has been carried out.
8. **Toponymy Committee:** List of place names of the period 3rd c. BC-3rd c. AD was printed. Vide the Report on p. xxxix
9. **Sub Committee on translation of Pali Commentaries into Sinhala (TPCS)**
Two volumes of translations were published. Vide the Report on p. xxxix
10. **General Office:**
Personnel: The new post of Stenographer cum Data Entry Operator was filled, and the vacant post of Assistant Librarian was filled.
Equipment: The CPU of the Society's computer was replaced, as the

existing system broke down. Vide F and A Committee Report on p. xxxxiv.

A new computer with e-mail and Internet facilities was purchased Vide of the Report on p. xxxvii.

A new telephone extension and a bicycle was provided for the office, Vide Report of the F and A Committee on p. xxxxiv.

11. Exhibition on the Written Word: The Lithic Record

The following members of the Society participated in the project: President RASSL, (Chairman), Messrs Lakshman de Mel, D. G. B. de Silva, Ashley de Vos, L. K. Karunaratne, Das Miriyagalla, P. H. Premawardhana, Lt. Com. S. Devendra, Dr. Lorna Dewaraja, Drs. Malini Dias and W. S. Karunaratne (on invitation).

The Committee has worked out the overall plan and the exhibits and display formats have been identified. It is expected to hold the exhibition sometime in mid-2000.

12. A project to publish a History of Sri Lanka. This activity, has just commenced and is in the project formulation stage. The Committee comprises the following Council members: President RASSL (Chairman), Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake, Lt. Com S. Devendra, Mr. Methsiri Cooray and Mrs. Kamalika Peiris.

COUNCIL

Thirteen Council Meetings and one Emergency Meeting were held during the period. Attendance of members is as follows. (Present/Excused/Absent).

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva	(President)	12/1/0
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	(Immediate Past President)	9/0/0
Dr. T. Nadarajah	(Past President)	-
Dr. C. G. Urugoda	”	10/0/3
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	”	6/2/2
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando	”	1/0/0
Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya	”	-
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	”	-
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	(Vice President)	12/1/0

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe	(Vice President)	11/2/0
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana	(Hony. Jt. Secretary)	12/1/0
Mr. Methsiri Cooray	(Hony. Jt. Secretary)	11/2/0
Dr. K. Arunasiri	(Hony. Treasurer)	12/0/1
Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake	(Hony. Editor)	11/1/1
Mrs. Ishvari Corea	(Hony. Librarian)	7/4/2
Council Members		
Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama		8/3/2
Lt. Com. S. Devendra		9/2/2
Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha		9/0/4
Desmond Fernando P. C.		3/4/6
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara		4/5/4
Mr. Ashley de Vos		6/2/5
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty		10/2/1
Mr. Frederick Medis		12/0/1
Wg. Cds. Dr. S. Gunasinghe		6/2/5
Mr. S. J. D. de S. Wijeratne		7/0/6
Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickramasinghe		9/3/1
Mr. M. R. P. Susantha Fernando		5/2/6
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake		10/0/3
Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris		10/1/1

MEMBERSHIP

During the period under review 04 Resident Ordinary Members, 12 Resident Life Members and 01 Non-resident Life Member were enrolled and 08 members were transferred from Ordinary to Life Membership.

Condolences

1. Mrs. R. N. J. Arthanayaka (L/217)
2. Mr. W. T. J. Mendis (O/148)
3. Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekara (L/33)
4. Mr. Mervyn Casie Chetty (L/87)
5. Mr. Peter Jayasuriya (L/56)
6. Maj. Gen. V. D. Lankathilake (L/542)

**New Members and Conversions from Ordinary to Life between
April 1999-February 2000.**

A) New Members

Ordinary/Resident

- 327 A. P. S. Galapatha, BA (Cey).
 328 S. H. M. Jameel, BA (Hons), Dip in Education, MA.
 329 M. H. Gunaratne, BA Econ (Cey), MSc (Wales) MCCIT (Lond).
 330 Dr. P. R. Wijewardene, MA (Cantab), DSc, C, Eng. (SL and UK.)

Life/Resident

- 584 Shivashankar Menon, BA (Hons) MA.
 585 M. H. V. Cooray, BSc (Hons) (Cey) Ph. D. (Cantab).
 586 Suhada Gamlath, Attorney-at-Law.
 590 D. V. Thambugala, MA (Germany).
 592 U. A. Gunaratne, Ph. D (Chicago).
 594 M. K. D. Wijeratne, BA (Cey) MA, M Phil, Kelaniya.
 959 Mrs. R. C. W. D. Perera, ACA, FCMA.
 596 Dr. A. R. B. Amerasinghe, LLB (Hons), B. Litt, Ph.D.
 597 A. S. Jayawardana BA (Econ) (Cey), MSc (Lond) M. P. A. (Harvard).
 598 Dr. G. Uswattearachchi, BA (Hons) (Cey) Ph.D (Cantab).
 599 Dr. W. M. H. S. R. Wijemanne, MBBS (Cey), MD (SL), MRCP (UK), FRCP (Edin), (FCCP).
 604 Y. M. Wickremasinghe BSc Agri, MSc Agri, MSc Forestry.

Life/Non-Resident

- 600 Dr. K. Abayasiri Silva MA (Econ) (Manchester), Ph.D.

B) Conversion from Ordinary to Life

Life/Resident-on payment

- 587 Dr. Mrs. C. S. Perera, MD (SL), FRCP (UK).
 588 Prof. Narada Warnasuriya.
 589 Rev. Fr. L. H. Cramer S. J.
 591 W. Wickramasinghe.

- 602 P. P. W. Perera Dip in Phil, Dip in Management, Dip in Marketing.

Life / Resident - Vide Clause 11

- 603 Dr. R. H. de Silva.

Life / Non-Resident - on payment

- 593 Dr. Michael Roberts, BA (Cey), Ph.D (Oxon).

- 601 M. D. Lenerolle.

As at February, 2000, the Society had 559 members on its roll, consisting of the Patron, 01 Honorary Member, 65 Resident Ordinary Members, 455 Resident Life Members, 22 Non-Resident Life Members, 03 Non-Resident Ordinary Members, and 14 Institutional Members.

MONTHLY LECTURE MEETINGS

1999

- | | | |
|-----------|------------------------------|--|
| 26 April | Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera | Where did Lourenco de Almeida Land in 1506: is it Colombo or Galle? |
| 31 May | Deshamanya Dr. Vernon Mendis | The British Occupation and Conquest of Sri Lanka 1795-1815 |
| 28 June | Mr. D. G. B. de Silva | Ibn Batuta's Batthalan' - Puttalama: a Discourse on the seat of Aryachakravarthi |
| 28 July | Mr. L. K. Karunaratne | Mihintale, Royal Park and Monastery |
| 30 August | Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake | Uprisings Against the British in the 19th Century |
| 27 Sept | Prof. M. W. J. G. Mendis | Projects and Prospects in the New Millennium |
| 25 Oct | Prof. Kusuma Karunaratne | A Comparision Between Significant Sinhala and Japanese Proverbs |

29 Nov	Prof. M. H. F. Jayasuriya	“Vaijayantha tantra”: a Lesser Known Treatise on Sri Lankan Arts and Crafts
27 Dec	Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickramasinghe	Symbols on Ancient Sri Lankan Coins
2000		
31 January	Mr. Srilal Perera	The <i>Thala Sastra</i> of the Kandyan Drum
28 February	Mr. M. H. Gunaratna	National Shipping and Ports Policy of Sri Lanka in the 1st and 2nd millenniums AD

REPORTS

FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE (F&A)

During the period under review 11 meetings of the F. & A Committee were held.

It comprised the following members.

Attendance

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva (Chairman)	11
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	2
Mr. Sam S. Wijesinhe	2
Mr. Desmond Fernando	0
Mr. S. J. D. de S. Wijeratne	0
Wg. Cdr. R. M. Wickramasinghe	4
Mr. M. Susantha Fernando	1
Dr. K. Arunasiri	10
Mr. Methsiri Cooray (Secretary)	9

The Committee monitored the income and expenditure of the Society, looked into capital expenditure items, recommended applications for membership and examined the general administrative matters of the Office.

A new CPU was purchased to replace the existing computer at a cost of Rs. 34,000/= from Micro Devices, and processed the purchase of a new computer with e-mail and Internet facilities. It was subsequently purchased from Data Technologies at 93/89 Elvitigala Mawatha, Colombo 08, at a cost of Rs. 77,990.63.

A sub-committee was appointed to go into the revision of the salary structure of the staff.

A parallel telephone line was installed at the President's table and a bicycle was purchased for office use.

The new post of stenographer cum DEO was filled with the appointment of Miss S. T. Weeraratne and the vacant post of Assistant Librarian was filled from 1st of January 2000 with the appointment of Miss R. K. M. T. Indrani.

Methsiri Cooray
Hony. Jt. Secretary

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE (PC)

Attendance

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake (Chairman)	10
Dr. C. G. Uragoda	4
Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema	7
Mr. Ashley de Vos	2
Lt. Com. S. Devendra	4
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake	7
Dr. K. Arunasiri	8
Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake (Hony. Editor/Convener)	11

The Committee was appointed in April 1999.

Volume XLII of the Journal was ready by May 1999. Volume XLIII is now in the Press.

The main concern of the Committee was the shortage of articles for the Journal. The members of the Society have been requested to send papers for publication. The response continues to be slow.

The Council approved the suggestion that CINTEC be asked whether the Table of Contents of Journals published after the date of publication of the Annotated Bibliography by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, along with the cover page of the Annotated Bibliography, be displayed on Internet. Due to the absence of the Director, CINTEC this matter has been delayed. It is hoped that arrangements will be made and the Society be given an Internet address by April this year.

The question of reprinting articles published in previous volumes of the Journal was referred to the Committee by the Council. The Committee decided that papers dealing with,

1. Customs and Ceremonies Connected with Paddy Cultivation, and

2. Ancient Sinhala Sports

be printed.

Other topics suggested were

3. Sinhala Music, and
4. Rites and Customs of the Sinhalese.

The Council has suggested that such lists be prepared by the Committee and kept in abeyance until such time as funds become available.

Professor T. W. Wikramanayake
Honorary Editor and Secretary of the Publications Committee

LIBRARY COMMITTEE (LC)

The Library Committee comprised the following members and during the period under review 10 meetings were held.

Attendance

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe (Chairman)	5
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara	2
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty	3
Mr. Frederick Medis	6
Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe	1
Mrs. Kamalika S. Peiris	5
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana	7
Mrs. Ishvari Corea (Hony. Librarian/Convener)	8

The utilization of the library facilities of the RASSL during the year was as follows:

No. of visits by members and others to the library	488
No. of library books borrowed by members	201
No. of books received as donations	36
No. of periodicals received as donations	83
No. of books purchased	53
No. of books repaired by the binder	296

Except for two borrowers, all the others have returned the books borrowed by them.

Rs. 91, 108.22 was spent on the purchase of books and periodicals.

The Library Committee gratefully records the receipt of donations of 36 books and 83 periodicals during the year under review.

Computer

A computer with e-mail and Internet facilities has been approved by the Council for purchase.

The Hon. Librarian wishes to thank the Chairman and Council Members for their cooperation during the year under reference. She also wishes to thank very warmly the assistance rendered by the members of the Library Committee at all times, and the assistance given by Miss Luckmali Pathirana, Miss S. T. Weeraratne, Miss R. K. M. T. Indiani and Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary.

Ishvari Corea

Hony. Librarian

TOPONYMY COMMITTEE (TC)

The TC is an *ad hoc* Committee of the Society, to which any member of the Society could volunteer his/her services.

During the year under review, one meeting of the TC was held, attended by Messrs G. P. S. H. de Silva, Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga, S. Devendra and Frederick Medis. Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga, the convener during the early part of the year, excused himself from that position, due to health reasons.

The Committee finalized the monograph on the List of Place Names prepared by Prof. Emeritus Ananda S. Kulasuriya, from the published inscriptions of the period 3rd c. BC-3rd c. AD in Ancient Inscriptions of Ceylon Vol. I, and Vol. II, Pt I, edited by Prof. S. Paranavitana. The monograph is included in the Journal Vol. XLIII, 1998 and is also available as an off-print.

Frederick Medis

Member Toponymy Committee / Convener

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE TRANSLATION OF PALI COMMENTARIES INTO SINHALA (TPCS)

The TPCS comprised the following members and regular meetings were held during the period under review.

1. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala - Chairman
2. Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe - Joint Secretary
3. Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana - Joint Secretary until his demise on 17th Sept. 1998
4. Dr. K. D. Paranavitana - Treasurer
5. Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama
6. Prof. Y. Karunadasa
7. Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
8. Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake
9. Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa

The following Sinhala translations were printed.

1. *Kankhavitarani* 1998 - 293 pages
Translated by Dr. Kapila Abhayawansa
2. *Dhammapadatththa* 1999 - 505 pages
Translated by Rev. Welamitiyawe Siri Dhammarakkhita

The translation of *Therigatha* done by Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake is in the press and the printing will be completed in a months time. The *Anguttara Nikaya* translation by Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa was completed and the translation of the *Visuddhimagga* by Mr. H. W. Dissanayake will be completed in two months time. The translations of the other commentaries are in progress. It is historically worth recording here that the introduction to *Kankhavitarani* written by Venerable Aggamaha Pandita Balangoda Ananda Maitreya Thera happens to be the last document he signed before he passed away.

The Committee recommend that Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama be appointed as the Chairman of the Committee.

The Committee wishes to thank Hon. Lakshman Jayakody, Minister Buddhasasana for providing a sum of Rs. 500,000 and Hon. Lal Gamage for allocation Rs. 314,500 out of which a sum of Rs. 602,431,97 has been spent for printing and payment for translation. There is a credit balance of Rs. 270,673.69 with interest on 31.12.1999 in a separate account maintained for this project.

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe
Secretary of the Sub-Committee

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Society extends its grateful thanks to Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, the Patron the Society for Her Excellency's continued support of the activities of the Society.

The Council records its thanks and appreciation for the continuous support given by Hon. Lakshman Jayakody, Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Deputy Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs and the Ministry to the activities of the Society throughout the year.

The Council extends its thanks to all Office Bearers and the Members of the Council for their support in furthering the objectives of the Society.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to the Mahaweli Authority for the facilities and assistance given in the use of the Auditorium.

The Council also thanks Mr. Mahendra Senanayake and the staff of the Sridevi Printers for the efficient manner in which they did all the printing work of the Society.

The Society is thankful to Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary, Miss Luckmali Pathirana, Asst. Librarian and her successor Miss R. K. M. T. Indrani, S. T. Weeraratne - Stenographer, Mr. R. M. Weerakone Binder, Mr. Thusitha M. Geekiyanage and Mr. B. H. Janaka, P. Sampath Peons, for their services.

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana

Methsiri Cooray

Hony. Jt. Secretaries.

20 February 2000

RETORT OF THE HONY. TREASURER FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31ST DECEMBER 1999

The main source of funding for the RAS during the year under review was as usual, the Annual Government Grant of Rs. 600,000/=. The Hony. Treasurer on behalf of RASSL wishes to thank the Hon. Minister of Buddhasasana and Cultural Affairs for the grant. M/s AITKEN SPENCE too has as usual helped the Society with their Annual Contribution of Rs. 7,500/=. It is gratefully acknowledged.

Incomewise, the amount collected from the sale of Journals was Rs. 51,159/= and the membership fees amounting to Rs.61,875/=; they are the most conspicuous.

Similarly expenditurewise, the highest single item is the salary bill amounting to Rs. 256,611/- For details please refer to the audited statement of accounts.

**NEW MEMBERS ADMITTED
DURING YR. APRIL 1998 - MARCH '99**

Prof. Kevin Trainer	NR/L	27. 4. 98
T. M. Alien De Silva	R/L	27. 4. 98
Dr. L. A. Wickramaratna	ORD	28. 9. 98
Dr. Mrs. Wimala De Silva	ORD	28. 9. 98
Dr. Wimal Wickramasinghe	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Dr. W. H. Wijepala	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Dr. C. Osmund Bopearachchi	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Prof. Kapila Abayawansa	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Miss Sanjiewi Mantriratna	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Rev. K. Narada Thero	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris	LIFE	28. 9. 98
Mr. T. A. Burah	ORD	30. 11. 98
Miss R. Chaula	ORD	28. 12. 99
Mr. A. A. Fernando	ORD	22. 2. 99
Mr. M. H. R. L. Jayatillaka	ORD	22. 2. 99

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
153 rd Year
ABSTRACTS OF COUNCIL MINUTES -1998/1999
Council Meeting : 27th April 1998

Present: President Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and 18 members.

President welcomed members seeking member co-operation in the work of the Society.

Minutes of meetings held on February 23rd and March 5th were confirmed.

Financial Statements of February and March were confirmed.

Filling of vacancies in Council: Mr. Sam Wijesinghe, Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolla, and Mr. K. Arunasiri, were approved by the Council to fill the vacancies.

The following committees were elected:

Finance Committee

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala - Chairman

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake

Dr. K. D. Parनावitana

Mr. Methsiri Cooray

Mr. W. A. Jayawardena

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe - Hony. Treasurer, Convenor & Secretary

Publications Committee

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake - Chairman

Dr. C. G. Uragoda

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya

Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana

Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema

Dr. Tammita Delgoda

Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake - Hony. Editor, Convenor & Secretary

Library Committee

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva - Chairman
 Mr. T. B. Weerakone
 Pandit V. W. Abeygunawardena
 Prof. V. Vitharana
 Mr. K. Arunasiri
 Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
 Mrs. Ishvari Corea - Hony. Librarian, Convenor & Secretary

Membership & Administration Committee

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala - Chairman
 Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
 Dr. S. Goonesinghe
 Mr. Raj de Silva
 Mr. Sam S. Wijesinghe
 Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle
 Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara - Secretary, convenor

Toponymy Committee - Serving Members to continue

Hony Joint Sec. to call for quotations for supply and installation of a recording system at meetings

Printing of Lecture Schedule to be entrusted to Sridevi Press.

Future meetings to be held at 3.00 PM on the last Monday of each month, lecture at 5.00 PM the same day

Action on the following work were agreed on :

Repairs to lavatories
 Repairs to Tea Service room
 Partitioning
 Polishing of floor

Council Meeting 25th May 1998

Present: 18 members and Prof. Ariyapala presiding.

Excuses from one member.

Mr. K. Arunasiri was selected in place of Mr. Desmond Fernando for the place in Council.

Use of hall for launch of Mr. Gamini Punchihewa's book allowed.

Revision of Constitution: Committee of present office bearers Ms. S. Wijesinha and Mr. W. A. Jayawardane appointed.

Payment for translations approved in terms of agreement with Buddha Sasana Trust.

Library Assistant to be recruited on contract basis for one year,

Council agrees to co-sponsor book of Dr. A. R. B. Amarasinghe, with no Financial committment to Society.

Council Meeting 29th June 98

Present: 20 members, Dr. Neville Karunatilake presided

Excuses from 3 members

Two minutes silence observed to honour Mr. P. Thambimuttu.

Minutes of Finance and Administration Committee of 15/6 were tabled.

Members in arrears of subscriptions to be reminded by letter.

Decisions on use of computer / telephone, and maintenance of records made.

Publications Committee; Printing Vol. XLI-1996, Rs. 67,950/- + GST appd. Members to be written to for papers for 1997 issue XLII. Sec. to draw up procedure. Reasons for rejection to be notified.

Dr. K. Indrapala granted permission to publish article titled "Early Tamil Settlements in Sri Lanka" in Ind. Comemoration Volume.

Accounts for month tabled. Rs. 600,000/- Government grant received.

First Pali Commentary *Kankavitarani* ready for release.

Council Meeting 28th July 1998

Present: President and 17 members

Excuses from 5 members

Two minutes silence was observed in honour of Dr. M. H. Peter Silva and Dr. Y. Seneviratna.

Minutes of June meeting were confirmed.

The following appointments on 6 month's probation were approved: Mrs. P. V. L. Pathirana Computer Operator cum Asst. Librarian, salary Rs. 4000/- per month

J. P. Samath Library Attendant /peon salary Rs 2,250/- per month

Articles for publication: To be sent to specialists in the relevant field for evaluation. Council retains right to reject any article or papers without giving reasons.

Council agreed to accept offers from guest lecturers without submission of a synopsis but in all other cases the synopsis to be submitted in advance.

The President informed that a delegation will meet the Minister of Cultural affairs regarding title to office building

Minutes of meetings of Finance and Administration Committee, Library Committee Publications Committee and the statement of Account for June were tabled.

Rs. 3 million available for development work. However the President mentioned that he was appealing to Her Excellency, the Patron for further assistance and also to the UNESCO.

Estimates for repairs were approved, with one member disagreeing, on tiling.

Mr. G. P. S. H. De Silva's letter of resignation from the post of VP for personal reasons was tabled and the Council accepted same with regret, and thanked him for his work.

Gratuity payments totalling Rs 20,500/- @ one months salary for each year of service was approved.

Council Meeting of 31st August 1998

Present: President and 18 members

Excuses from 5 members

The draft Constitution was taken up for discussion. Mr. A. Denis. N. Fernando mentioned that the meeting was not in order as no notice had been received by him. Mr. Fernando also moved for amendment of minutes of council meeting held on 27th July.

The President not accepting Mr. Fernando's corrections placed the matter before the Council. Except Mr. Fernando, all members voted against the acceptance of the amendment.

The President placed the Draft Constitution before the Council explaining the new clauses. It was unanimously accepted, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando having left the meeting.

It was decided to print the Constitution and place it before a Special General Meeting on a Saturday for consideration.

Council Meeting of Sept 28th 1998

Present: President and 14 members

Excuses from 5 members

Two minutes silence was observed as a mark of respect to Dr. Somapala Jayawardane and Mr. M. A. Piyasekara

Correction of minutes: Minutes of the August meeting corrected to read "before the President could present the new draft of the Constitution" The minutes were confirmed.

The Special General Meeting to be held on 24.10.1998 and a printed copy of the draft Constitution to be posted to all members with due notice.

Council approved payment for repairs.

The designation of Administrative Officer to change as "ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY" with no change of salary or duties

Overtime payments to staff approved.

Council approved renewal of following deposits,

ARPICO FIXED DEPOSIT., National Savings Bank and Peoples Bank.

The need to avoid extra pages and reduce costs was pointed out, and also the need to be careful about spelling of titles in publications was pointed out.

The following payments for translations were approved

Rs. 24,600/= to late Dr. S. Jayawardane
 Rs. 24,600/= to Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
 Rs. 31,000/= to Dhamma Rakkhita Thero.

The increased allocation for purchase of books to Rs 100,000/= was approved.

The President mentioned the need for all minutes of Committee Meetings, and Council Meetings be ready within one week.

Copy of letter of Editor to Mrs. P. De Silva was discussed and referred to the Publications Committee for its views.

The convenor of the Toponymy Committee to send minutes of their meetings. The Council decided to send a reply to the letter of Desabandu Edith Fernando. On the letter of Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando the Council decided to send a reply to the following effect:

"That the Council unanimously decided to deplore and condemn his behaviour, that he had no right to issue instructions to the President and that the issues raised by him have no substance and that Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando apologise to the President"

Council Meeting of 26th October 1998

Present: President and 12 members present.

Excuses from 3 members

Matters arising from minutes: Ref last para after the words Mr. A. D. N. Fernando.... should.... add "Withdraw his letter dated August 10th 1998 to the President and apologise to the President"

Finance and Administration Committee: Council agreed to the sketch prepared by Mr. Ashley De Vos, Architect, for partitioning.

Publications Committee: Council agreed that it was not necessary to give reasons for rejecting an article.

President reported that *Kankavitarani* had been published

Toponymy Committee: Council agreed to grant Rs 2000/= for perusal of place names. Statement of Accounts, September were tabled.

Council agreed to Mr. A. Susantha Fernando being nominated for the Fukuoka Asian Culture Prize for his publication "Alien Mysteries in Sri Lanka and Egypt."

Council Meeting of 30th November 1998

Present: Vice President Dr. Karunatilake presiding in the absence of the President and 11 members.

Excuses from 4 members.

Two minutes silence was observed as a mark of respect to Mr. T. P. Unambuwe.

Minutes of meeting, October 98 confirmed.

Disposal of the Typewriter and the purchase of computer were discussed. Library Committee to pursue action

1000 copies of new constitution to be printed. Dr. Karunatilake had read the proof but wanted the final proof to be read by at least two other members.

Library Committee entrusted with the responsibility of purchasing new books within the allocation.

The following decisions were taken,

Publicity to the RASSL Library

Mrs. Corea volunteered to do a write-up on the RASSL Library for publication in the newspapers

Library membership card to be reintroduced

Non members could have access to Library only on written application and permission of Council.

Council to hold a Press Conference to give publicity to the Library. The need for a stock verification was mentioned as it had not been done. Dr. Parnavitana said the Library Committee had just initiated a verification. Under clause 54 of the Constitution an annual verification is the responsibility of the Library Committee.

About defaulters the provisions of the Constitution should be strictly enforced. Statement of Accounts and Publications Committee minutes were tabled.

Siedles had been paid an advance of Rs 77,772/= for the installation of a recording system. Decision to be taken on the return of the President Dr. Ariyapala.

The following names were approved to fill the existing vacancies in the Council.

Mr. Desmond Fernando PC
 Prof. W. M. K. Wijetunga
 Mr. Susantha M. Fernando
 Mr. G. S. B. Senanayaka

The standing Committees were re-constituted. Finance and Administration Committee to have 6 members while the Publication and Library Committees will have 5 members each. The Publications Committee to report to the Council on the letter of Prof. Wikramanayake dated 21. 10. 98

Letter of Mrs. Padma Edirisinghe tabled and discussed. Society decides its inability to sponsor the book "Kuvehi's curse"

Printing *Therigatha*, Sridevi Printers' estimate Rs 158,900/= +NSL approved. Quotation to be called to print 1000 copies of Constitution.

Council Meeting 28th Dec. 1998

Present: President and 17 members.

Excuses from 4 members.

Minutes of November meeting were confirmed with minor corrections

Names of Council members

1. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
2. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya
3. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake
4. Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
5. Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara
6. Mr. Methsiri Cooray
7. Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake
8. Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe
9. Mrs. Ishvari Corea
10. Prof. Vini Vitarana
11. Mr. T. B. Weerakone
12. Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle
13. Mr. K. Arunasiri
14. Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema
15. Mr. W. A. Jayawardana
16. Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha
17. Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
18. Mr. Ashley de Vos
19. Mr. V. Raj de Silva
20. Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe
21. Dr. A. S. W. Tammita Delgoda
22. Mr. Desmond Fernando
23. Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga
24. Mr. G. S. B. Senanayake
25. Mr. M. R. P. Susantha Fernando

Names of members of respective Committees***1. Finance & Administration Committee***

1. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala (Chairman)
2. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake
3. Mr. W. A. Jayawardana
4. Mr. V. Raj de Silva
5. Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe
6. Mr. Desmond Fernando
7. Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga
8. Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe (Hony. Treasurer-Ex-Officio)
9. Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha

10. Mr. Methsiri Cooray
11. Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara (Convenor / Secretary)

2. *Publications Committee*

1. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake (Chairman)
2. Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama
3. Mr. Ashley de Vos
4. Dr. A. S. W. Tammita Delgoda
5. Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle
6. Mr. Mihindukulasuriya Susantha Fernando
7. Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake (Convenor / Secretary)
8. Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe - Ex - Officio

3. *Library Committee.*

1. Dr. K. D. Parnavitana (Chairman)
2. Mr. T. B. Weerakone
3. Prof. Vini Vitarana
4. Mr. K. Arunasiri
5. Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
6. Mr. G. S. B. Senanayake
7. Mrs. Ishvari Corea (Convenor/Secretary)

Dr. K. D. Parnavitana Library Committee to be responsible for purchase of new computer. Prof. V. K. Samaranayake may be consulted.

It was noted that library cards for borrowing of books are available in office. Annual verification of books; Dr. K. D. Parnavitana mentioned that the Library Committee will attend to this matter.

The risk of books perishing was discussed and the Library Committee to submit a report on the condition of the books.

The launching of Mrs. Padma Edirisinghe's book was discussed. An *ad hoc* committee under the chairmanship of Mr. S. S. Wijesinha was appointed to report on the matter. Mrs. Padma Edirisinghe too, to be invited to present her views.

Ref letter of Prof. T. W. Wikramanayaka the Council noted that it was the practice to publish articles in both languages in the Journal.

Council decided to print 1000 copies of the constitution.

Report of Finance Committee tabled and approved.

Report of Library Committee tabled and purchase of books approved

Report of Publications Committee tabled. Editor explained his wish that more articles are forthcoming for publication in the Journal.

Report of Committee on Pali Commentaries was tabled.

Letters from Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne, Mr. Desmond Fernando and from... Melrose were tabled.

Council decided to send a reminder to Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando on the letter of the RASSL dated 20/10.

Meeting of 25th January 1999

Present: President and 16 members present

Excuses from 4 members.

Dr. Karunatilake agreed to brush up the minutes of December meeting and hand over same to Joint Secretary.

Launching of Mrs. Padma Edirisinghe's book - *ad hoc* Committee has looked into it and the matter has been satisfactorily settled

Minutes of last AGM, delayed due to unavoidable circumstances have now been circulated and members are requested to peruse them.

Copies of Standing Committees and Statement of Accounts tabled.

On Mr. Ashley De Vos's letter regarding Publications Committee, Council decided to discuss further with Mr. De Vos at the next Council Meeting.

Reference to an inaccurate statement in the *Sunday Leader* (Jan. 24th 1999) captioned "expelled from panel" the Council rejecting all allegations decided to write to the Editor explaining correct position.

Ref. Prof Wikramanayaka's letter, he wishes that the authors submit evidence to justify statements.

Council agrees to allow "Flowers of Lanka" to be published under the same conditions applicable to Prof. Kottegoda earlier.

Ref. letter of Mr. A. D. N Fernando fo 15. 1. 99 a sub committee was appointed to inquire into the complaint

The appointment of Mr. T. M. Geekiyanage to the post of peon was approved.

Annual General Meeting: All Reports to be submitted to the office before February 19th. Call for nominations to Council

Council to meet to consider nominations.

14 days notice to be given for AGM

Mr. Arunasiri reminded that a Sal Tree was planted to comemorate the 150th anniversary on 7.2.95. He proposed a plaque be set up and also tend it.

Council Meeting of 22nd February 99

Present: President and 15 members

Minutes of meetings of 28/12/98 and 25/1/99 were confirmed

National Library Services Board to be thanked for its gesture in meeting half the cost of the computer. Mrs. Ishvari Corea to be thanked for her efforts.

Reference, letter of Prof. T. W. Wikramanayaka it was noted there was no response from authors. Society to ensure that remarks of a derogatory nature will not appear in the Journal in the future.

Mr. A. D. N. Fernando to be written to for a response in one week.

Letter of resignation from Mr. Ashley De Vos discussed and accepted.

On references in *Sunday Leader* though the Editor has not responded, no further action to be taken.

Only encashment of unavailed annual leave allowable.

New salary scales involving a committment of Rs 8,800/- approved.

New list of duties to be finalised by Dr. Karunatilake.

Reports of Finance and Administration, Publication and Library Committees were tabled.

Council approved the revision of part of section of the 150th anniversary vol. The appointments of Miss Pathirana and of Mr. Janaka Sampath were approved. Appreciating the following donations, council to thank the donors.

Balaya Beda Herima. Mr. Ariya Rubasinghe
Perani Lakdiva Kanthawa. Prof. Indrani Munasinghe
S/L Army Voluntary Force, 117th Ann. Vol., Two Books.

Notice of AGM of 27th March 1999 sent to all members. Nominations close on 1.3.99. Council will meet on 4th March at 3.00 PM to consider Nominations, Draft Annual Report and Auditors Report

Elections to be held under provisions of the new constitution.

Page 100

The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the progress of the work done during the year.

The second part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The third part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The fourth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The fifth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The sixth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The seventh part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The eighth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The ninth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The tenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The eleventh part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The twelfth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The thirteenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The fourteenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The fifteenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The sixteenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The seventeenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

The eighteenth part of the report deals with the work done in the various departments during the year.

ATTENDANCE AT COUNCIL MEETINGS YR. APRIL 1998 - MARCH 99

Month Date	April 27	May 25	June 29	July 27	Aug 31	Sept 28	Oct 26	Nov 30	Dec 28	Jan 25	Feb 22	Mar 4	Total
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	1	1	E	1	1	1	1	E	1	1	1	1	10
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	9
Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara	1	1	1	1	1	E	1	1	E	1	1	1	10
Mr. K. Arunasiri	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	E	1	1	11
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe	1	1	1	E	1	1	1	E	1	E	1	0	8
Mrs. Ishvari Corea	1	1	1	0	1	1	E	1	1	1	1	1	9
Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	10
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	9
Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema	1	0	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Mr. W. A. Jayawardana	1	1	1	1	1	1	E	1	1	1	1	0	10
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty	1	1	E	1	1	E	1	1	1	1	1	1	10
Mr. V. Raj de Silva	1	1	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	1	0	10
Mr. K. Arunasiri	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	11
Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	9
Wg. Cdr. Dr. S. Gunasinghe	1	1	1	1	1	E	1	1	E	1	0	0	8
Dr. C. G. Uragoda	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	1	1	1	1	0	E	0	0	0	0	0	0	4
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando	1	1	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5
Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana	1	1	1	E	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	3
Mr. Ashley De Vos	1	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	6
Dr. A. S. W. Tammitta Delgoda	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0	4
Prof. Vinne Vitharana	E	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	E	1	1	0	7
Mr. T. B. Weerakone	E	1	1	0	1	1	1	0	E	1	1	0	7
Mr. Desmond Fernando									1	E	1	0	2
Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga									1	1	1	0	3
Mr. G. S. B. Senanayaka									1	0	1	0	2
Mr. M. Susantha Fernando									1	1	0	1	3
Mrs. Indraneel Iriyagolla									1	1	0	0	2
Mr. G. P. S. H. De Silva									E	E	0	0	2
Pandit S. W. Abeygunawardane	1	1	E	0	0	E	0	0	E	1	0	0	2
Mr. R. C. De. S. Manukulasooriya	1	0	E	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	2

RAS — Life Members

		M. No.
1	Abeyaratne, Ms. N. K.	532
2	Abeygunawardhana, Pandit V. W.	37
3	Abeykoon, Mr. D. W.	565
4	Abeyratne, Mrs. N. K.	257
5	Abeysekera, Mr. E. E. C.	97
6	Abeysekera, Mr. W. V. P.	292
7	Abeysekera, Ms. W. C. C. M	331
8	Abeysinghe, Mr. N	244
9	Abeywickrema, Mr. D. S. H.	541
10	Abeywickrema, Mr. S	463
11	Abeywickrema, Prof. B. A.	124
12	Abhayarathna, Mr. G. D	473
13	Abhayawansa, Prof. R. P. K.	571
14	Aboosally, Hon. M. L. M	169
15	Aboosaly, Mrs. S. Z.	607
16	Adikari, Mr. A. M. G.	520
17	Adikari, Mr. Abeyaratna	504
18	Aloysius, Dr. D. J.	250
19	Aloysius, Dr. R. A. R. D.	417
20	Alwis, Pandit William	180
21	Amerasinghe, Mr. N.	291
22	Amarasiri, Mr. M. S. U.	378
23	Ameratunga, Hon. J. A.	35
24	Amerasinghe, Dr. A. R. B.	596
25	Amerasinghe, Mr. D. C. L.	143
26	Ariyadhamma, Ven. Tambiliyana	256
27	Ariyapala, Prof. M. B.	116

28	Arunasiri, Dr. K.	258
29	Atukorala, Dr. D. N.	269
30	Augusta, Mr. S. A. D. M. Rose	545
31	Balagalle, Prof. Wimal	43
32	Bandaranayake, Prof. S. D.	289
33	Berugoda, Mr. S.	471
34	Bibile, Mr. K.R.	342
35	Bopearachchi, Dr. O.	567
36	Brohier, Ms. B. D.	370
37	Bulathsinghala, Dr. R. G.	290
38	Burah, Mr. T. A.	580
39	Cader, Miss S.	366
40	Casie Chetty, Mr. C. D.	380
41	Casie Chetty, Mr. N. Y.	364
42	Chandraratne, Mr. R. M. M.	428
43	Chawla, Dr. S.	296
44	Chittambalam, Mr. A.	215
45	Cooray, Dr. H. W. M.	408
46	Cooray, Dr. M. H. V.	585
47	Cooray, Mr. Methsiri	404
48	Cooray S. F. A	609
49	Coperahewa, Mr. H. S.	560
50	Corea, Dr. Mrs. E. M.	502
51	Corea, Mrs. I.	379
52	Corea, Prof. J. R.	551
53	Cramer, Rev. Fr. L. H.	589
54	Da Silva, Mr. O. M. L. H.	46
55	Dahanayake, Mr. C.	293
56	Daluwatte Mr. N. R. M.	232
57	Dasanayake Mr. D. M. P. B.	501
58	Dayasiri, Mr. G. K.	214
59	De A. Abaraham, Mr. A. J.	340

60	De Alwis, Mrs. Malathi	387
61	De Costa, Mr. Ajitha	578
62	De Fonseka, Dr. R. N.	362
63	De Fonseka, Miss. R.	321
64	De Lanerolle, Mr. J. A. D.	264
65	De Lanerolle, Mrs. Nalini	259
66	DeMel, Mr. K. N.	156
67	De Mel, Mr. W. L. P.	234
68	De Mel, Mr. R. G. J.	125
69	De Saram, Mr. C. J.	245
70	De Saram, Mrs. F. R.	4
71	De Silva Anslem, L.	190
72	De Silva, B. S.	606
73	De Silva, Dr. G. M. H.	457
74	De Silva, Dr. M. U.	430
75	De Silva, Dr. Ms. M. L.	449
76	De Silva, Dr. N. R.	498
77	De Silva, Miss. Vijitha	320
78	De Silva, Mr. Aelian	558
79	De Silva, Mr. Chandra	438
80	De Silva, Mr. F. N.	384
81	De Silva, Mr. G. P. S. H.	371
82	De Silva, Mr. H. L.	222
83	De Silva, Mr. L. D.	311
84	De Silva, Mr. R. D. C.	539
85	De Silva, Mr. S. J. D.	434
86	De Silva, Mr. V. R.	522
87	De Silva, Mr. V. R. K	327
88	De Silva, Mr. W. M. W.	22
89	De Silva, Prof. Nimal	423
90	De Silva, Dr. R.K.	216
91	De Soysa, Dr. A. H. P.	23

92	De Soysa, Mr. B. H.	15
93	DeSoyza, Dr. M. H.	267
94	De Soyza, Ms. Nela	268
95	DeVos, Mr. C. A.	162
96	Dep, Mr. W. P. G.	575
97	Deraniyagala, Mr. A	347
98	Deraniyagala, Mr. L. H. R. P.	405
99	Deraniyagala, Dr. S. U	76
100	Devendra, Lt. Com. S.	107
101	Devendra, Mr. Tissa	547
102	Dewaraja, Dr. Mrs. L. S.	191
103	Dhammajoti, Ven. B.	432
104	Dhammika, Ven. S.	485
105	Dhamminda, Ven. A.	431
106	Dias, Mr. W. L. N	224
107	Direckze, Mr. G. E. S.	240
108	Dissanayake, Mr. H. L. W.	577
109	Dissanayake, Mr. U. B.	118
110	Dissanayake, Mr. M. K.	418
111	Dissanayake, Prof. J. B.	208
112	Dissanayake, Dr. A. B.	212
113	Don Peter, Rt. Rev. Fr. Mgr. Dr. W. L. A.	47
114	Douglas, Mr. O. P.	442
116	Edirisinghe, Miss V.	549
117	Edirisinghe, Mrs. P. B.	483
118	Ediriweera, Dr. S. A.	332
119	Ekanayake, Dr. R. A. I	352
120	Ekaratne, Mr. S. P. K.	458
121	Elapatha, Mr. S. A. I	119
122	Fernando, Mr. Desmond	78
123	Frnando, Dr. L. H. S.	251
124	Fernando, Dr. Miss K. N. M. D.	474

125	Fernando, Dr. Miss K. S. M. D.	513
126	Fernando, Dr. Ms. A. 1.	411
127	Fernando, Dr. Ms. M. P.	284
128	Fernando, Dr. Neville	252
129	Fernando, Dr. P. V. D.	357
130	Fernando, Dr. W. H.	203
131	Fernando, Miss K. Sudarshani	518
132	Fernando, Mr. A. D. N.	163
133	Fernando, Mr. Bonnie	204
134	Fernando, Mr. C. H. U.	495
135	Fernando, Mr. Cedric	235
136	Fernando, Mr. H. V. C.	277
137	Fernando, Mr. K.	397
138	Fernando, Mr. K. P. V. D.	466
139	Fernando, Dr. C. Mark	612
140	Fernando, Mr. M. C. E.	320
141	Fernando, Mr. M. R. P. Susantha	515
142	Fernando, Mr. Nihal	312
143	Fernando, Mr. Sunimal	461
144	Fernando, Mr. W. B. Marcus	109
145	Fernando, Mr. W. H.	230
146	Fernando, Mr. W. S. S.	538
147	Fernando, Mrs. Edith	166
148	Fernandopulle, Dr. M.	425
149	Ganesh, Mr. K.	79
150	Gomis, Most. Re. Dr. Oswald	392
151	Gooneratna, Dr. Colvin	517
152	Gooneratne, Dr. Brendon	512
153	Goonesinghe, Dr. S.	399
154	Goonetilake, Dr. Mrs. Hema	193
155	Goonatilake, Dr. Susantha	194
156	Goonetilleke, Mr. N. S. A.	306

157	Goonetilleke, Mr. Prasanna	527
158	Goonewardena, Mr. E. G.	120
159	Goonewardena, Dr. I. Palitha	552
160	Goonewardena, Mr. K. N. S.	341
161	Goonewardena, Prof. K. W	90
162	Gunaratne, Mr. U. A.	592
163	Gunasekara, Mr. R. G. G. O	88
164	Gunasekara, Ks. Wifrel M.	150
165	Gunasekara, Miss D. I.	508
166	Gunasekara, Mrs. D. K.	403
167	Gunasekara, Mrs. Therese	496
168	Gunatilake, Mr. W. P.	275
169	Gunawardena, Mr. H. D. J.	89
170	Gunawardene, Mr. L. W.	27
171	Gunawardena, Mrs. S. D.	297
172	Gunawardena, Prof. R. A. L. H	195
173	Gunawardana Mr. A. W. C	398
174	Guruge, Dr. A. W. P	406
175	Hemapala, Mr. B. A.	421
176	Herath, Ms. H. M. Y. V. K.	531
177	Hewage, J.	613
178	Hewavisenthi, Mr. A. C. de S.	346
179	Hulangamuwa, B. A.	605
180	Hussein, Mr. M.	279
181	Hussein, Mr. M. A.	510
182	Iriyagolle, Mr. I. M. G. A	374
183	Iriyagolle, Mrs. I.	363
184	Jayakody, Dr. R. L.	401
185	Jayamaha Mr. D. A. A. E.	486
186	Jayantha, Mr. G. W.	440
187	Jayasekera, Dr. A. A. H. W.	265
188	Jayasekera, Dr. G.	323

189	Jayasekera, Dr. M. M. R. W.	219
190	Jayasekera, Mrs. S. V. S.	274
191	Jayasena, Dr. K. L. A. D.	102
192	Jayasinghe, Prof. J. A. P.	505
193	Jayasuriya, Dr. D. C.	225
194	Jayasuriya, Mr. R. L.	207
195	Jayatilleke, Mr. K.	390
196	Jayawardana, Mr. A. S.	597
197	Jayawardene, Mr. J. K. C. C.	184
198	Jayawardena, Mr. Jayantha	424
199	Jayawardena, Mr. N. U.	247
200	Jayawardena, Mr. R. A.	276
201	Jayawardena, Mr. W. A.	63
202	Jayawardena, Mrs. C.	479
203	Jayawardhana, Mr. S. C.	583
204	Jayaweera, Dr. Mrs. Swarna	57
205	Jayawickrema, Prof. N. A.	185
206	Jegarasingam, Mr. K.	388
207	Kanruadasa, Dr. W. M.	443
208	Kanruadasa, Prof. Y.	383
209	Kanruadasa, Dr. U. B.	446
210	Karunanayake, Dr. N.	410
211	Karunanayake, Mr. S. R. S.	554
212	Karunaratne, Dr. Mrs. K. E.	196
213	Karunaratne, Mr. T. B.	523
214	Karunatilake, Dr. H. N. S.	171
215	Kudaliyanage, Mr. R. O.	582
216	Kularatne, Dr. E. D. T.	511
217	Kulasuriya, Dr. A. S.	67
218	Kulatilake, Mr. S. P. B.	475
219	Kulatilake, Mr. P.	303
220	Kundanmal, Mr. Muni	228

221	Kurukulasuriya, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N.	460
222	Laduwahetty, Mr. C. J.	413
223	Lakdusinghe, Mr. S.	484
224	Lankathilake, Maj. Gen V. D.	542
225	Lenadora, Mr. P. J. B.	579
226	Liyanage, Mr. M. P. R.	479
227	Madawela, Maj. Gen. M.	382
228	Mahatantila, Mr. W. D. V.	218
229	Mahinda, Ven. M. Thero	99
230	Manamperi, Mr. P.	385
231	Manatunga, Mr. A. K.	349
232	Maniku, Mr. H. A.	197
233	Manjusri, Mr. Kushan	536
234	Manthirratne, Miss M. A. S. R. S.	570
235	Manukulasooriya, R. C. de S.	145
236	Marambe, Mr. J.	415
237	Medis, Mr. F.	414
238	Meegama, Dr. S. A.	553
239	Melegoda, Dr. Nayani	507
240	Mendis, Dr. L. P.	487
241	Mendis, Dr. V. L. B.	345
242	Mendis, Mrs. Charnaine	206
243	Menon, Mr. Shivashankar	584
244	Miriyagalle, Mr. Piyadasa	524
245	Mohamed, Mr. M. A.	481
246	Mohamed, Mrs. G. K.	482
247	Mohammed, Mr. T. I.	530
248	Moheed, Mr. M. A. F.	226
249	Mohotii, Mr. E. S.	129
250	Moldrich, Mr. D. J.	441
251	Moragoda, Mr. A. M.	261
252	Moragoda, Mrs. J.	262

253	Mudiyanse, Prof. N.	112
254	Munasinghe, Col. B.	279
255	Munasinghe, Dr. Mrs. T. G. I.	343
256	Munasinghe, Mr. S. J.	295
257	Musthapha, Mr. Faisz	506
258	Muthukumar, Mr. Amrit	488
259	Nadaraja, Prof. T.	81
260	Nanayakkara, Dr. K. J.	187
261	Nanayakkara, Mr. S. A.	480
262	Nandawansa, Ven. M.	437
263	Narada, Rev. K.	566
264	Obeyesekera, Mr. J. P.	130
265	Palandy, Miss N. Z.	227
266	Panabokke, Dr. C. R.	293
267	Panawatte, Mr. K. M. A. S	114
268	Panditaratne, Mr. W.	400
269	Paranavitana, Dr. K. D.	255
270	Paranavitana, Prof. Mrs. R.	334
271	Paranavitana, Ms. N. S. D.	543
272	Pathirana, Mr. U.	314
273	Pathmanadan, Mr. N.	237
274	Peiris, Dr. Merlin	435
275	Peiris, Mr. G. S. N.	503
276	Peiris, Mr. W. R. J.	447
277	Peiris, Mrs. Kamalika S.	573
278	Peiris, Prof. G. L.	355
	Pereira, Dr. Ravi	521
279	Perera, Dr. Ms. C. S.	587
280	Perera, Dr. S. W.	548
281	Perera, Mr. A. E. H.	315
282	Perera, Mr. B. J.	131
283	Perera, Mr. B. L.	412

284	Perera, Mr. D. G. A.	213
285	Perera, Mr. J. A.	260
286	Perera, Mr. J. L. N.	51
287	Perera, Mr. M. D. R.	540
288	Perera, Mr. M. D. S.	242
289	Perera, Mr. M. J.	133
290	Perera, Mr. P. T.	134
291	Perera, Mr. R. S.	429
292	Perera, Mr. S.	348
293	Perera, Mr. S. C.	467
294	Perera, Mr. W. M. R. A.	272
295	Perera, Mrs. R. C. W. Dissanayake	595
296	Perera, Rev. Fr. G. Quintus	50
297	Perera, Rev. Fr. J. K. E. N. J.	304
298	Perera, Mr M. D.	164
299	Perniola, Rev. Fr. Dr. V.	24
300	Pethiyagoda, Mr. T. R. D.	361
301	Pieris, Mr. D. H.	173
302	Pieris, Mr. H. C.	174
303	Piyasena, Mr. V. L.	469
304	Poologasingham, Prof. P.	540
305	Premasiri, Mr. N. N. N.	492
306	Prematilleke, Dr. P. L.	147
307	Premawardhana, Mr. P. H.	451
308	Prickett, Dr. Mrs. Martha	284
309	Punchihewa, P. G.	611
310	Punnasara, Ven. Pandit G. Thero	300
311	Punyasiri, Ven. Aparekke Thera	493
312	Quere, Rev. Fr. Dr. M.	389
313	Ralapanawe, Mr. M. S. B.	373
314	Ramanathan, Dr. V.	360
315	Ranasinghe, Dr. L.	353

316	Ranasinghe, Mr. D. D.	177
317	Ranawella, Prof. S.	249
318	Ratnasiri, Mr. A. W. D.	456
319	Ratnasuriya, Mr. H. D. A.	159
320	Ratnayake, Dr. H. A.	337
321	Rockwood, Mrs. S.	178
322	Rodrigo, Mr. J. F. A. Zeno	209
323	Rohanadeera, Prof. Mendis	555
324	Samaranayake, Mr. Henry	376
325	Samarasekera, Dr. Jastin	283
326	Samarasinghe, Dr. S. G.	165
327	Samaraweera, Dr. V.	188
328	Samaraweera, Mr. M. G.	557
329	Sansoni, Mrs. Barbara	448
330	Saparamadu, Mr. S. D.	52
331	Saravanamuttu, Mr. Ajith	516
332	Schaffter, Mr. C.	253
333	Seevalee, Rev. Gallegoda	529
334	Sellamuttu, Mr. S.	20
335	Senanayake, Mr. A. M. P.	359
336	Senanayake, Mr. D. A.W.	223
337	Senanayake, Mr. D. S.	563
338	Senanayake, Mr. D. S. D. P. R.	462
339	Senanayake, Dr. G. S. B.	537
340	Senaratne, Mr. S. G.	299
341	Seneviratne, Mr. D. G. P.	576
342	Seneviratne, Mr. L. C.	305
343	Seyone, Mr. Velautha	544
344	Silva, Dr. Roland	155
345	Singh, Miss Revati Chawla	574
346	Sirisena, Mr. O. M. R.	490
347	Situge, Mr. H. V.	561
348	Somadasa, Mr. W. A.	330

349	Somaratne, Dr. G. P. V.	339
350	Someswaram, Mr. T.	564
351	Sourjah, Dr. R. G.	294
352	Sri Cumarasinghe, Mr. N.	45
353	Sri Nandalochana, Mr. S.	254
354	St. John, Mr. R. B. L.	316
355	Stephen, Dr. S. J.	326
356	Sugunadasa, Mr. L.	286
357	Sumanasekara Banda, Mr. S. J.	152
358	Sumanasuriya, Dr. K. T. W.	161
359	Surasena, Mr. S.	273
360	Suraweera, Prof. A. V.	329
361	Takara, Hideki	608
362	Thambugala, Mr. D. V.	590
363	Thenabadu, Prof. M. W.	534
364	Thome, Mr. Percy Colin	335
365	Tilakasena, Mr. S.	396
366	Tillekeratne, Mr. K. A.	271
367	Tissa Kumara, Mr. L. A. D. A.	333
368	Todd, Mr. H. O.	210
369	Udeshi, Mr. K.	407
370	Uragoda, D. H.	491
371	Uragoda, Dr. C. G.	71
372	Uragoda, Dr. L. C.	407
373	Uragodawatta, Miss T.	519
374	Usvatt-aratchi, Dr. G	598
375	Uyangoda, Dr. J.	338
376	Vidanapathirana, Mr. A. S.	409
377	Vimaladhamia, Mr. K. P.	452
378	Vitharana, Prof. V.	59
379	Warnasuriya, Prof. N. D.	588
380	Watagedera, Mr. Sugath	478

381	Weerakkody, Dr. D. P. M.	454
382	Weerakoon, Mr. T. B.	115
383	Weeraman, Mr. P. E.	113
384	Weerasinghe, Mr. P.	328
385	Weerasinghe, Ms. C. B.	581
386	Weerasuriya, Miss Anu	550
387	Weerawardena, Mr. I. K.	351
388	Wellapili, Mr. C.	534
389	Wickramasinghe, Dr. Mrs. D. M.	391
390	Wickramasinghe, Dr. N. K.	465
391	Wickramasinghe, Dr. Wmal	569
392	Wickramasinghe, Mr. Y. M.	604
393	Wickramasinghe, Wg. Cdr. R. M.	476
394	Wickremagamage, Prof. C.	427
395	Wickremanayake, Dr. S. S. K.	464
396	Wickremasinghe, Mr. C. E. L.	96
397	Wickremasinghe, Mr. C. G.	394
398	Wickremasuriya, Prof. Miss C.	220
399	Wijayapala, Dr. W. H.	568
400	Wijayatunga, Mr. W. M. H.	356
401	Wijayawardhana, Dr. G. D.	123
402	Wijedasa, Mr. Ranumthu	559
403	Wijemanne, Dr. P.	367
404	Wijemanne, Dr. W. M. H. S. R.	599
405	Wijeratne, Dr. Nissanka	137
406	Wjeratne, Mr. E. A.	83
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