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THE EVOLUTION OF SOCIAL POLICY IN SRI LANKA 1833-1970: THE BRITISH COLONIAL LEGACY

by
Laksiri Jayasuriya

Introduction

Sri Lanka, which gained independence from Britain in 1948 as a semi-independent colony, has an unenviable record of having evolved as a 'welfare state' in a non-industrialized third-world country. It is ranked in the development literature as an exceptional case of a middle-to-low income country which has attempted to satisfy basic needs, especially of the poorest, by incorporating economic growth with minimum standards of welfare. Admittedly, Sri Lanka has, since the late 1970s, undergone a political and economic crisis which has coincided with the decline of the social democratic state and the welfare state (Jayasuriya 2000). Nevertheless, for a country with a poor per capita Gross National Product (GNP), Sri Lanka still rates relatively high in comparison with other developing countries on a range of social indicators such as HDI (Anand & Kanbur 1991 Osmani 1993; Jayasuriya 2001).

According to a recent World Bank Report, despite adverse social, economic and political circumstances, 'Sri Lanka continues to preserve its edge over other developing countries in basic health, education and social welfare indicators' (World Bank 1998: 6). There is no doubt that Sri Lanka's achievement, relative to comparable countries on several social indicators (e.g., 87 per cent literacy rate, infant mortality rate of 17 per 1,000 live births, life expectancy of 70 years) is remarkable, and warrants greater systematic scrutiny and scholarly understanding (UNDP 1990–96).

This Paper is cast as a preliminary foray into a relatively neglected aspect of Sri Lanka's social history—the evolution of social policy and the Sri Lankan welfare state. This exploration of the historical roots of Sri Lankan social policy assumes that the disciplined study of social policy is concerned with 'all forms of collective interventions such as fiscal, occupational and social programs that contribute to general welfare' (Rein 1970: 4). In general, the study of social policy qua social policy is focused

on the nature, rationale, objectives and social consequences of public policies dealing with welfare—i.e., in the *how*, *why* and *what* of social policy. Indeed, as Titmuss (1950), one of the pioneers in the study of social policy, observed, 'social policy is concerned with social purposes', and should not be seen simply as a tool for reaching decisions. Adopting a distinctly historical focus, the paper endeavours to highlight the impact of British colonial policy on the development of Sri Lankan social policy from its earliest days as a British colony in the 19th century to the consolidation of the welfare state and its decline in the 1970s, in the post-independence period (Jayasuriya 2000).

Prior to its annexation by Britain as a Crown Colony in the 19th century, Sri Lanka—then known as Ceylon—was first colonized by the Portuguese (1505–1658) and later the Dutch (1658–1794) (Goonewardene 1958; Arasaratnam 1958; Arasaratnam 1964; de Silva 1981). As a result, Sri Lanka, in addition to its rich heritage of a developed civilization nearly 2000 years old, has had a long and extended period of colonial occupation, with each of the colonial powers leaving its own particular legacy for the future (de Silva 1981; Ludowyck 1967). Sri Lanka under British rule, acknowledged as 'the premier colony', has been used as a testing ground for British political ideals in a range of institutions—social and political. In fact, Sri Lanka, 'has been suggested [as being] the prototype and model for the new Commonwealth of the latter part of the 20th century' (Jeffries 1962: ix).[1]

As a third-world country, Sri Lanka, for a colonial country, has a distinctive standing on many aspects of social and political development. Ceylon was not just regarded as the 'senior colony of the Empire ... [but also] a constitutional pioneer' (Wright 1950). Besides its pre-occupation with constitutionalism—nearly eight different constitutions in the 20th century—Sri Lanka was one of the first colonial countries to have a jury system, grant universal franchise (just 7 years after Britain) and introduce Westminster style parliamentary institutions such as a representative legislature and the separation of powers. Until the political crisis of the last two decades, leading to a divisive civil war, Sri Lanka was regarded in many quarters as a 'model' third-world country and one of its claims to this distinction was its conjunction of Westminster style parliamentary democracy with a welfare state.

The development of social policies associated with the welfare state, without discounting domestic social and cultural influences, is largely a

legacy of Sri Lanka's British colonial past. These historical origins of social policy remain neglected largely because, theorists, mostly economists, who have examined Sri Lanka's social policy development, have concentrated on the complex relationship between welfare and growth in Sri Lanka, and the economic impact of these welfare policies. Not surprisingly, the 'long history' (Osmani 1993) of social policy and its significance for understanding contemporary policy developments remains unexplored. Indeed, the emergence of the Sri Lankan welfare state remains a puzzle for the theorists of social welfare and social policy.

While political factors in the post-independence period—the first two decades of independence—were important in the expansion of welfare programs, they are not sufficient in themselves to fully explain the emergence of the Sri Lankan welfare state. A key argument of this paper is that the origins of the Sri Lankan welfare state are located in the interstices of colonial social policy, in particular, the prevailing ideas of social liberalism that were influential in Britain in the first half of the 20th century. In short, colonial policy cannot completely be separated from the intellectual milieu of British social policy. In this respect, the Paper, in addition to its main purpose of drawing attention to the colonial foundations through a process of diffusion (Midgley 1984) of social policy as well as the welfarism of the late colonial state in Sri Lanka, may also be seen as contributing to the expanding literature on the impact of ideas on public policy (Hall 1986).

The Paper focuses primarily on the historical evolution of the welfare state in Sri Lanka by identifying the various phases of social policy development leading to the consolidation of the welfare state during the post-independence period. The paper heuristically identifies two broad phases: the early colonial state, 1833–1931, the formative phase of social policy; and, the more recent period of the late colonial state, 1931–1970s, marked first by the emergence of welfarism, and subsequently the 'welfare state'. Whereas the formative colonial phase focuses on modernization and the development of a colonial export economy, the second, more developmental phase of late colonialism deals with two ostensibly distinct periods of political and social development—the pre-independence period of partial self-rule (1931–48) and post-independence period (1948–1970s).

In the periodization of Sri Lanka's contemporary history, the first two decades of independence from 1948 to 1970, constitutes a critical period because it laid the foundation for the emergence of a 'post-colonial

state' as this term has come be understood in the growing literature on 'post-colonial studies' (Midgley 1998; Srivastava 1998; Mamdani 2001). The term, 'post colonialism' is used in its broad sense to characterize the abandonment of the cultural attitudes, beliefs, and social practices of the colonial era and the emergence of new cultural narratives and socio-political structures. In short, the post colonial era bears witness to:

> the process of decolonization [which] requires the rejection of the imperialist legacy and its substitution by an authentic indigenous perspective (Midgley, 1998: 34).

Post-colonialism in Sri Lanka (1977–94), unlike elsewhere, is not synonymous with independence from colonial rule. Rather, in the Sri Lankan context, the advent of post colonialism evolved within the context of the neo-liberal political and economic reforms of the late 1970s, a vibrant cultural nationalism and a civil war waged between the state and a militant ethnic minority (Tamils). It is these developments which herald the beginnings of the post-colonial era in the evolution of the modern Sri Lankan state. The paper, however, is confined to an analysis of social policy as a legacy of British colonial rule extending from the early to the late colonial state including the first two decades of independence during which the hegemonic influence of metropolitan centres persisted. The latter sub-period (1948–1970s) is a highly politically significant period which incorporates the transition from a colonial to an autonomous independent state. This period highlights the initial confrontation with the tensions and contradictions of an emergent post colonial state.[2]

The two phases of social development, identified in the Paper, as well as sub-periods constitute well-defined stages in Sri Lanka's social and political evolution of the early and late colonial state (Fernando 1999). Each phase of social development is associated with constitutional reform documents embodying the logic and rationale of British colonial policy. This 'constitutionalism' is perhaps one of the distinctive features of the Sri Lankan polity, and one which had an important bearing on social policy developments. In fact, 'only the French have shown a greater preoccupation with constitutional reform' (Russell 1982: xvii), and signifies that Sri Lanka was not just the senior colony of the Empire but also a constitutional pioneer (Wright 1950).[3]

The early colonial state in the formative phase of colonial rule was heavily influenced by the constitutional reforms of the Colebrooke-

Cameron Commission of 1833. These political reforms laid the foundations for a liberal democratic political system, and had an indelible impact on all subsequent social policy developments. Similarly, the second phase, that of late colonial state in the twentieth century, is framed within the context of the political reforms of the Donoughmore Commission of 1927–29, whose Report led to the grant of partial self-rule in 1931, and a political system based on universal suffrage and electoral politics. This phase, 1948 to 1970s, also extends into the first two decades of independence which commences in 1948 with complete independence from colonial rule – an outcome of the constitutional reforms proposed by the Soulbury Commission Report (1945). These two decades, as suggested earlier, incorporate a politically and socially significant period of transition from a colonial to a 'post-colonial state'.

An underlying theme of the Paper is that the colonial legacy, marked by historic political and social reforms and extending from the early to the late colonial state, in substance, extends after independence. This in turn is bound to have an important bearing in understanding social policy developments in the post-colonial stage, i.e., from 1970 onwards. However, although these are not examined in the paper, it is suggested that the social and political developments, especially after 1977 can be only understood and examined in terms of the contradictions and tensions inherent in the historical continuities and discontinuities of the colonial legacy. The Paper however, is devoted mainly to an exposition of the nature and form of social policy evolution from the early to the late colonial state. In contextualising the evolution of social policy and the welfare state, the Paper concludes by speculating on some of the major factors that may have been responsible for the emergence of the Sri Lankan welfare state—the *how*, *why*, and *wherefore* of social policy.

Formative Period of Social Policy (1833–1931)

The Socio-Political Context

The history of British colonial administration in Sri Lanka for nearly one and half centuries is marked by several significant and memorable events of British colonial policy; but, none was more critical for the future development of the colony than the political reforms that flowed from the Report of the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission of 1833 (Mendis 1956, 1957; de Silva 1965, 1981). Although total colonial rule was imposed on the whole country by the British in 1815 after its annexation from the

Dutch in 1796, the colony did not achieve a single unified system of administration until the reforms of 1833.

The 1833 Reform Commission sought to reform the system of government mainly by introducing radical changes to the system of public and judicial administration. The thinking of Colebrooke and Cameron was markedly influenced by the utilitarianism[4] of the era, especially the writings of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill (Stokes 1959). Whereas Colebrooke's distinctive contribution was towards establishing an efficient unified system of public administration, Cameron was primarily concerned with introducing a liberal political culture based on the rule of law and a new system of judicial administration.

Colebrooke, by his public administration reforms, sought to incorporate in an alien colonial context British liberal principles and utilitarian values such as the merit principle and equality of treatment. Thus, on the question of staffing of, and recruitment for, the public service, Colebrooke made a strong case for the inclusion of Ceylonese (i.e., the local inhabitants) in the higher public service hitherto confined to British civil servants drawn from the élite universities in Britain. Similarly, he argued strongly for a competitive system of examinations as the basis of entry to the Civil Service—an idea borrowed from the Northcote-Trevelyan reforms of the British Civil Service (Warnapala 1977). The opening up of the public service to local applicants—the Ceylonisation of the public service—was in later years to gain in importance as an issue for political agitation. It was destined to become a catalyst for other social policy reforms, especially those relating to higher education.

These measures of governance, indicative of the opposition to patronage (e.g.. the hereditary privileges afforded to high caste persons such as headman), signifies the influence of the intellectual ideas and values of utilitarianism in Britain during the 19th century on British colonial policy (Goldthorpe 1962; Sleeman 1973; Evans 1978). Utilitarian ideas were also markedly evident in another main reform proposal of Colebrooke, namely the abolition of the semi-feudal traditional practice of compulsory service or *rajakariya*. According to this feudal practice, the nobility and high status persons enjoyed the right to extract forced labour from the lower caste ordinary workers and peasants. With the recommendation for its abolition, the 1833 Reform Commission took a major step in modernizing society by liberating it from some of the constraints of its traditional feudal heritage.

Furthermore, by endeavouring to free land and labour from feudal controls and restrictions, these reform measures helped to create an atmosphere conducive to private enterprise in shaping the development of the colonial economy. A free wage labour force working on the plantation economy was also conducive to 'the development of individualism ... a potent feature in the proposals of Colebrooke for economic reform' (Samaraweera 1973: 86). There is no doubt that 'the introduction of capitalism to Sri Lanka around 1833 marks the beginnings of the modern period of Sri Lankan history' (Kannangara 1988: 136). In this context, the Colebrooke reforms initiated an economic climate opposed to mercantilism and state monopolies, but steeped in laissez faire doctrines of individual enterprise and free trade, all of which helped the growth of a prosperous plantation economy from 1850 onwards (Snodgrass 1966).

The colonial economy, based largely on overseas capital, was a classic example of an enclave economy. It was built around three main commodities: first coffee to about 1886, followed by tea, rubber and coconut. This left the rest of the economy based on traditional peasant agriculture relatively neglected by colonial policy (Snodgrass 1966; Bandarage 1983). In effect, this created a 'dual economy', 'a highly organized, foreign owned, capitalist plantation economy [alongside] a tradition bound, primitive, self-sufficing subsistence peasant economy' (Ponnambalam 1980: 8). The new colonial export economy also helped to generate a significant commercial entrepreneurial culture, which in turn created a local capitalist class based on the mercantilist foundations of the export economy (Bandarage 1983; Jayawardena 2000; Jayasuriya 2001). This new local bourgeoisie was destined to play a vital role in shaping subsequent political and social developments of the 19th and 20th centuries, especially in the campaigns for political reform and self-rule (Jayawardena 2000; Jayasuriya, K. 2001).

Equally significant were the far-reaching judicial reforms proposed by Cameron, the other member of the 1833 Reform Commission. Cameron was a progressive liberal who with his *Charter of Justice* based on the rule of law, introduced a uniform system of judicial administration. With these reforms, he sought to restrict the powers of the Governor who as a rule in the colonial state was able to exercise considerable executive power in the exercise of his functions and duties as the sole authority of government. Cameron also argued strongly for the role of an independent judiciary as the basis of good government and an effective check on the abuse of executive powers. Cameron, 'a dogmatic utilitarian' (Samaraweera

1973:87) was more heavily influenced by Jeremy Bentham than was Colebrooke, and was forthright in wanting to depart from local traditions and practices. With these reforms, he laid the basis for the rule of law and provided for the protection of the equal rights of all individuals. This was influential in creating a judicial system markedly different from customary practices in that the administration of justice was without distinction of race, creed or social status.

Colebrooke too, in his reform of the system of public administration, favoured giving the Ceylonese a greater role by restricting the autocratic powers of the Governor in the administration of the colony. This, he believed, would play a decisive role in 'the gradual amelioration of colonial [traditional] institutions' (Mendis 1956: 58). To this end, there was to be a Legislative Council responsible for the day to day administration of the colony, consisting of 12 members. One half of this number (six) was to be designated as Unofficial Members and selected by the Governor from representatives drawn from the inhabitants of the country. By directing that the composition of the Legislative Council—a body entrusted with legislative and executive powers—should include persons other than officials of the government, the future fate of colonial governments was radically altered by demands for more local representation as an indication of a greater measure of self-government.

Indeed, a lasting contribution of the liberalism of Colebrooke and Cameron was to introduce one of the guiding tenets of British colonial rule, viz., 'indirect rule' based on a partnership with local élites. It was a characteristic feature of British colonial rule 'to seek allies ... [through] a class of collaborators ... in the conquered territory' (Mamdani 1976: 42) who were rewarded for playing a mediating role on behalf of an absent ruling class. The path-finding constitutional reforms of the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission also included opening the civil service to qualified Ceylonese. The latter was highly significant and gained in salience with the rise of an influential Ceylonese capitalist class who continued to agitate for a greater share of political power in governance by increased representation in the political system of the colony (Singer 1964; Jayawardena 2000).

The British Colonial Office, in this regard, was more liberal than the India Office of the mid 19th century, which under the influence of James Mill (father of John Stuart Mill), was more doctrinaire, and resistant to greater demands for indirect rule (Stokes 1959). This, in part, accounts

for the different paths to independence followed by India and Sri Lanka; and, again highlights the importance of understanding the relative autonomy of the local colonial State. According to Stokes, in contrast to India, it was 'only in Ceylon, under the less authoritarian rule of the Colonial Office, did the liberal wing of the utilitarian mind predominate' (Stokes 1959: 321). Sri Lanka during this period provides a counterpoint to the Indian experience where of course Utilitarian ideas had a major impact. However 'in India, the connection between ideology and policy formulation was complicated by the size and diversity of the dependency and by the imperial structure of authority (Cook 1993: 63). The Sri Lankan local colonial state, on the other hand, was more entrenched and the utilitarian ideas met with less resistance from both the metropolitan state and in the domestic arena, especially from colonial administrators.

As Mills rightly observes, the year 1833, heralding the Colebrooke-Cameron Reforms, is 'a landmark in the history of Ceylon' (Mills 1933: 65). By its liberal, pragmatic thinking the sweeping and progressive reforms of the Colebrooke-Cameron Commission established a solid basis for the political and social development of the colony over the next hundred years. Furthermore, this kind of policy borrowing as Cook (1993) points out in his study of Ireland and India, was an important aspect of the British colonial experience. Sri Lanka thereby managed to become a kind of colonial social laboratory.

Besides the influence of utilitarian ideas, stemming from the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms, the other major influence on social policy development during this early phase of colonialism, was the Christian Church. The impact of the Church was mainly through Christian missionary enterprise and Evangelicalism. The latter was dominant in the intellectual armoury of the British Colonial Office and colonial administrators, all of whom belonged to the British ruling class (Dicey 1996; Stokes 1959). The influence of Evangelicalism was clearly evident in the desire of colonial administrators, when confronted with two well established religious systems—Buddhism and Hinduism—to assert, with crusading zeal, the dominance of Christianity as the 'religion of government'.

The 'Christianization' of the local colonial state was greatly assisted very early in British rule by severing the connection between Buddhism and the State, thereby fracturing the traditional patronage accorded to Buddhists and enshrined in the terms and conditions of the Kandyan Convention, 1815 which marked the final annexation of Sri Lanka by the

British (de Silva 1977). The reformist zeal and 'civilizing mission' of Christianity was also evident in social policy enactments such as the action taken to mark the end of polyandrous marriage by the Kandyan Marriage Ordinance of 1859, the abolition of slavery and the non-recognition of caste in all areas of public policy (de Silva 1965).

In general, during this early period of British colonial administration, although Christian missionaries were seen as the 'auxiliaries of government for tackling social problems' (de Silva 1965: 140), they were rarely interested in social reform for its own sake. However, it was also the case that, in comparison with India, there was less scope for social reform in Sri Lanka. This was mainly because there were no glaring social abuses such as *sati*, *thugee*, untouchability, infanticide and ritual ceremonies in Sri Lanka (de Silva 1965). Unlike the Indian context, it was much easier in Sri Lanka to deny the harmful social effects of the caste system and afford it any formal institutional recognition.

As far as caste was concerned, Sri Lanka represented 'a unique variation of the Indian system' (Kulasekera 1988: 131). Not only was caste contrary to the principles of doctrinal Buddhism, but there was also a marked difference in social attitudes and the cultural ethos prevailing in India and Sri Lanka (Malalgoda 1976; Fernando 1979). This was largely because caste as a social phenomenon was much less rigid and not formally entrenched in social institutions. The absence of a Brahmin caste as in India also meant that the Sinhalese caste system 'never knew the structuralizing power of the Brahmin' (Ryan 1953). In Sri Lanka, among the Sinhalese, caste was a social category ... a secular function' (Malalgoda 1976: 46). But, admittedly, caste was certainly a far more potent factor among the Tamil communities, and was closer to the Indian system (Banks 1969). The difference between the Sinhalese and Tamils was apparent in the absence of caste related distinctions except in the informal social interactions of the Sinhalese, e.g., choice of marriage partners, etc. (Russell 1982; Kannangara 1988).

The unofficial status, accorded to Christian missionary societies as the representatives of the 'government religion', and the exclusive appointment of Christians to important government offices helped to drive many inhabitants, especially among the Sinhalese nobility, to profess Christianity as converts (Malalgoda, 1975). Following the disestablishment of Buddhism in 1839, James D'Alwis, a convert to Christianity, in 1861 went so far as to predict the disappearance of Buddhism. Christianity gained

a firm foothold among the upper echelons of the Sinhalese and Tamils, largely because of education. Education was a powerful factor in the 'Christianization' of the colony during the British period of colonial rule. In fact, over the extended period of colonial occupation (from 1505) and exposure to religious conversion under the Portuguese and Dutch rule, Ceylon stands out as being 'more christianized than most other traditional societies ... [in South Asia] ... and having the largest Christian community in percentage terms in South Asia' (Russell 1982). The protest against this 'Christianization' and neglect of the indigenous culture, a central focus of the nationalist movements of the early of the 20th century (Bond 1992; Houtart 1974) was to gain in momentum in the post-colonial era..

Considering issues of governance overall, there is no doubt that public policy in the early phase of colonial rule was guided by two main factors: the need for stable, efficient and orderly government and the effective use of public expenditure in the management of the colonial economy. Social policy remained secondary to these prior and demanding concerns of the local colonial administrators. While systematic and disciplined administration has been a hallmark of British colonial rule, colonial administrators also endeavoured, where possible, to promote social welfare measures likely to strengthen British rule by gaining the compliance and goodwill of local inhabitants. The 'benevolent paternalism' of colonial rule involved, among other things, promoting social policies having a bearing on enhancing the well-being of the local inhabitants (Kulasekera 1988). In this regard, the objectives of the Colonial Office were partly pragmatic and partly humanitarian (Jones 2002).

Interestingly, the specifics of colonial social policies appeared to reflect the policy ethos in Britain at this time on matters relating to social welfare. Thus, it is of some significance that the beginnings of collectivism and state intervention in welfare in Britain occurred in the period 1870–95 (Evans 1978) when the 'vague egalitarianism', of British social thinking was also apparent in three distinct areas of colonial social policy, particularly, *education*, *health* and *labour welfare*. These policy areas continued to prevail more generally as central features of British colonial policy in the 20th century (Mair 1944). While these social policy initiatives regarded as being conducive to the well-being of local inhabitants were not seen as being contrary to the economic interests of the rulers. Rather, they were the visible manifestations of the 'civilizing mission' of British colonial policy, one which was to be achieved with the aid of Christianity (Jeffries 1962),[5] revealed through the close link between education and

religion in social policy development. In fact, nearly all political and social developments in the early phase of colonial rule were framed within the political context of the Colebrooke-Cameron reforms and the impact of Evangelicalism and Christian missionaries.

Education

For most of the 19th century, education was not of direct interest to the colonial administrators who were content to leave this aspect of social policy to the Christian missionary societies. Thus, one major consequence of Christian Evangelicalism during British colonial rule was that 'education figured predominantly as a means of diffusing Christianity' (Malalgoda 1976: 193). As a rule, the colonial administrators preferred to promote English education as a basis for staffing the lower ranks of the administration by assisting missionary societies to provide for English education in secondary schools through state assisted missionary schools. It was, however, only towards the latter part of the 19th century that a education became a significant area of direct state involvement. These policy initiatives were clearly influenced by the educational reforms of 1870 in England (Evans 1978).

The focus on education as an aspect of public policy began with the establishment of the Department of Public Instruction in 1869 when there was a concerted attempt by the state to develop education as a state responsibility. Even then, direct state involvement was mainly confined to elementary or primary education where the medium of instruction was in the Vernacular, the mother tongue of the two main ethnic groups (i.e., Sinhalese or Tamil). However, the Christian churches were also actively engaged in vernacular education and, according to Houtart (1974), this enabled Christian education 'to be an instrument of proselytism' (p.275), in addition to serving the Christian population.

English education was restricted to secondary schools which were the prerogative of state aided denominational schools, predominantly missionary schools, and one influential public school, the Colombo Academy, was founded in 1835. This latter became *Royal College* in 1881, and was developed on the model of the English Public Schools which were also being developed in India (de Souza 1974), particularly the well known Doon School (Srivastava 1998). This leading government school also served as 'the first educational institute to inaugurate some form of modern education [by preparing students] ... for London University external degrees' (Pieris 1964: 437).

Educational progress, though slow at first, gained in momentum only after the constitutional changes in the early part of the 20th century (Jayaweera 1973). In 1911, education became obligatory, though not enforced, and the school leaving age was raised in 1917 to 14.[6] Following the constitutional reforms of the 1920s, giving greater representation to the Ceylonese in the Legislative Council, the government sought to ensure provision of educational facilities for all children between ages 5 and 14. This led to an increase in the number of government schools between 1920 and 1930 (from 919 to 1490).

Overall, the impact of these educational policies may be gauged from the fact that 'school enrolments in the two decades after 1880 more than tripled [and] doubled over the next two decades' (Fernando & Kearney 1979: 21). As a result, the literacy rate for males increased from 24.5 per cent in 1861 to 40.4 per cent in 1911. This rate was much less for females; the shift here was from 2.5 per cent to 10.9 per cent. However, the distinction between English and Vernacular education continued with the government concentrating on 'promoting mass vernacular education ... in vernacular schools [which] levied no fees' (de Silva 1981: 413). In the two-tired educational system introduced in the latter part of the early colonial state vernacular education remained the poor relation of English education in state assisted denominational schools. The latter were restricted to the favoured few on grounds of race, religion, caste and social status.

The English educated consisted of non-Ceylonese settlers (mostly Europeans), and other Ceylonese (local inhabitants) drawn mainly from the nobility and the upper echelons of the middle class who had the benefit of receiving a secondary education in Christian missionary schools or in the leading government school—Royal College.[7] English education in these secondary schools formed the training ground for the highly westernized Ceylonese liberal intelligentsia who manned the professions, business, and the administrative services (Pieris 1964). Vernacular education belonged to those who gained an education in government schools for elementary education. This was available to a large section of the inhabitants living in the urban and rural sectors without any ownership of landed property (Pieris 1964).

This social and cultural differentiation between the English educated (writing and speaking) and the vernacular educated, characteristic of much of late 19th century and the 20th century, created 'a class system ... superimposed on the caste system' (Jennings 1951:9). One of the major

consequences of this policy strategy for education was that the resulting educational inequalities created a 'dual society', mirroring the 'dual economy'. The 'dual society', reminiscent of Disraeli's 'two nations', was differentiated primarily, though not exclusively, on the basis of education: the differentiation was between those who had access to English as against those with a Vernacular education (i.e., Sinhalese or Tamil).[8]

The English educated, largely 'an extension of Victorian England' (Jayawardena 1972: 172) were not just the exponents of the metropolitan culture, but were also the products or beneficiaries of the colonial market economy based on the plantations. This was the breeding ground for the new local capitalist class of entrepreneurs, and a westernized middle class of professionals and civil servants. The vernacular educated, on the other hand—mostly dependent on the village peasant economy—remained enmeshed in the traditional culture, the historical culture and civilization of the Sinhalese and Tamils. This differentiation was to have a lasting effect on nearly all aspects of political and social development well into the 20th century.

The 'dual society' (contrasting the metropolitan and the provincial/ culture) that resulted from the use of education as an instrument of social policy in the late 19th century helped to consolidate the political hegemony of colonial rule for several decades. This was achieved primarily by creating a 'small *élite* who would be the purveyors of western culture' ... [and catalysts for] 'the development of institutions patterned largely on the model of those in England' (Jayaweera 1973: 461). The English educated intelligentsia throughout much of the 20th century were by no means a homogenous group. They consisted of many fractions cutting across race, creed and caste differences—the Europeans, burghers, business entrepreneurs, landowners, plantation executives, anglicized Buddhists, and the local bureaucracy.

Out of this social differentiation there emerged a comprador élite—a westernized élite—having strong links with the metropolitan centre of Britain, and imbued with the social and political values of Victorian England—those of political liberalism framed in laissez faire thinking and utilitarianism (Jennings 1954). This highly anglicized educated élite, drawn mostly from the propertied class, were educated throughout the early and late colonial period predominantly in the Sri Lankan secondary schools system (state as well as denominational), and were mostly Christian. Overall, as a social group, they promoted and fostered an élitist bias in the

educational system and were, by and large, politically and socially conservative (Singer 1964).[9]

Jayawardena (1972) identifies three sub groups among this group: *conservatives*, *moderates* and *radicals*. The conservatives, drawn mainly from the landed gentry and local entrepreneurs tended to be the allies of the European colonial élite. The conservative element among the western educated élite was not only alienated from the culture of the majority of the people of the country, but showed contempt for indigenous culture (Hensman 1962; Gooneratne 1992). The two other sub groups – moderates and radicals – constituted the more national minded Ceylonese middle class who formed the core of the nationalist movements, cultural and political. Thus, whereas the conservatives were 'responsible for the resistance offered by the education system to any major social change' (Jayaweera 1973: 462), such as the introduction of the national languages as a medium of instruction in the schools, or free education, the other groups were to varying degrees interested in bridging the cultural divide between the westernized and indigenous élite (Ames 1973; Gooneratne 1992). The 'moderate', educated élite who became the pioneers of 'cultural nationalism' were seeking 'to be modern without becoming completely westernized' (Bond 1992: 22).

The prominent westernized élite were most vocal in defending their privileged interests, and this was markedly visible in their persistent demand for increased Ceylonisation of, and easier access into, the local colonial bureaucracy. This, among other considerations, meant promoting the case for the establishment of a local university to assist Ceylonese to gain entry into the upper echelons of the bureaucracy, which were mainly confined to British colonial civil servants (Pieris 1964). The 'University Movement', as it came to be known in the early 20th century, was spearheaded by nationalist organizations and other groups such as the Ceylon Social Reform League, founded in 1905. The Social Reform League, acting largely as a middle class protest against the colonial establishment, was used by moderates and radical sections of the westernized middle class to promote political and social reforms. One area in which they were successful was in their demand for university education (Pieris 1964).

The colonial administration, alert to the demands for increased Ceylonisation, recognised the lack of educated personnel in 1918 and the need for a local university.[10] This eventually led to the opening of the University College in 1921, 'as a halfway house to a national university

[and] provided the not-so-very affluent with higher education at a reasonable cost' (de Silva 1995:9). The University College was affiliated to the University of London, and later became the University of Ceylon in 1942 (Jennings 1951; Pieris 1964). The graduates from the University over the next few decades contributed to consolidating a westernized local Mandarin class—the Brown Sahibs—an educated professional class, especially in the prestigious professions of law and medicine, and the administrative services. In short, the leadership of the political élite came mainly from this anglicized, university educated group who were to spearhead the move to independence and self-rule.

Health and Labour Welfare

During the period of colonial administration in the 20th century (the late colonial state), the other two key areas of social policy, namely, health and labour welfare, were closely linked. Health services were dominated by two main considerations: a) the need to provide for the health care of the colonial élite (i.e., the European settlers and the Ceylonese English educated middle class), living in Colombo, the capital city, and other urban centres, and, b) to cater for the welfare of Indian immigrant indentured labour in the plantation sector. While medical facilities, e.g., hospitals and allied services located in the capital, Colombo, and other urban centres were given priority to cater to the needs of the European population and the educated Ceylonese middle class, there was less interest in providing for the rural areas (Jones 2000; 2002). The health care needs of the rural sector had to rely mostly on the indigenous health system (Ayurveda) which had minimal government sponsorship (Pieris 1999).

Until the 'civil medical establishment' of 1858, the first western-trained doctors on the island were military personnel. However, this changed with the inauguration of the Ceylon Medical College in 1870, whose degree, the Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery (L.M.S.) was recognized by the General Medical Council of UK in 1888. This marked the beginnings of professional medical education which led in 1921 to the establishment of a Medical Faculty at the University College (Malalasekera 1969; Uragoda 1987). The establishment of the Ceylon Medical College and beginning of medical training was a notable event of British colonial social policy because it was the first colonial medical training institution in the history of British colonial administration (Mair 1944). The degrees awarded by the Ceylon Medical College, which were later authorized by the Ceylon Medical Council set up in 1924, have had a long and

distinguished record of recognition and approval by the General Medical Council in Britain. In the early days, Ceylonese from the Burgher and Tamil communities were disproportionately represented in the Medical College and reflected their privileged status in access to English education.

From the late 19th century to the first decades of the 20th century, the main hospitals were located in the capital Colombo, the provincial capital cities such as Kandy, Galle and Jaffna. Training schools for nurses were also started in 1878[11] and located in two leading hospitals—Lady Havelock in Colombo and the Kandy Hospital. These training facilities, it is reported (Perry Report 1905), were far from adequate at the turn of the 20th century. According to the Perry Report, in the early days, the nursing staff in these institutions were also drawn mostly from the Christian Church and many nuns worked as matrons and nursing sisters (Gunatilleke 1985; Uragoda 1987). The elements of the medical infrastructure needed for these curative services (e.g., the Bacteriological Institute, established in 1899) were also located in Colombo. However, efforts were made to increase the number of government hospitals in the country, and as a result, the total number of hospitals doubled in the decade 1891–1901.

Privileged access to western medicine represents another manifestation of the 'dual society' and the structural inequalities inherent in colonial social policy. This allopathic medicine was the preserve of the English educated while the system of traditional indigenous medicine (*Ayurveda*) was confined predominantly to the vernacular educated class (Pieris 1999). There were, in fact, underlying tensions and conflict between the two systems and the government intervened in 1920 to introduce some control and regulation. The medical profession, patronized by the growing English educated middle class and, to a lesser extent, other para professionals attached to government hospitals in the capital, Colombo and other urban centres, enjoyed high status and became symbols of western education, privilege and elitism.

Interest in public health or preventive aspects of health care was confined to the prevention of epidemics and infectious diseases, such as cholera and smallpox. In the 1880s cholera was a major health problem and was controlled by the legal enforcement of quarantine measures (Pieris 1999). More attention was paid in the early part of the 20th century to matters of public health and the control of communicable diseases (e.g., prevention of diarrhoeal diseases, typhoid, hookworm, and tuberculosis) as a means of reducing high mortality rates (Meegama 1986).

Public health and preventive health services such as improved sanitation, sewerage disposal, ante natal clinics and immunization programs were coordinated in one Department in 1920 as the Department of Medical and Sanitary Services. This marked the beginning of a well developed state system of primary care and hospital care. The emphasis on preventive health care at the time was exceptional. A Special Health Unit, the first of its kind, to deal with matters relating to public health such as sanitation, maternity and child welfare and school health, was established in 1926 (Jones 2002). This unit which was also responsible for training as Public Health Inspectors and the staff needed for infant and maternal clinics, encouraged a strong emphasis on preventive health care which 'turned out to be a critical factor in producing the well known health outcomes of Sri Lanka' (World Bank 1998: 11).

One of the main achievements during this period was the completion of a system of drainage and sewerage disposal in Colombo and other major urban centres.[12] Another notable feature was the regulation of sanitary conditions and health services in the estates of the large plantations by requiring owners to provide for these basic health care needs. These achievements in the health sector were widely acclaimed and recognized by the British Colonial Office which took great pride in the Sri Lankan hospital system for being regarded as a model of efficiency. According to a British Parliamentary Report (Parliamentary Papers 1928 CMD 3235), it was stated that 'Ceylon possesses probably the most extensive hospital system of any British possession' (quoted in Mills 1933).

Given that one of the main objectives of colonial rule was to extract the maximum benefit from the economy of the country, the expansion of the plantation economy was a prime consideration of this early period. Not surprisingly, social policy initiatives of this early phase of colonialism such as health care were linked with labour welfare, especially in providing for the health care needs of Indian labour. Accordingly, a dominant feature of welfare policy at this time was on 'the provision of medical facilities, [and] on the best estates immigrant Indian labourers and their families received free medical treatment and hospitalization' ... [but] ... these facilities were of a very elementary nature' (Wickramaratne 1973: 476). Although the statutory responsibility for providing these medical facilities was placed mainly on the owners (Medical Ordinance 1880) and financed by the Ceylon Planters Association, comprised mainly of European colonial settlers, the government also bore some of the cost of estate hospitals.

One of the distinctive features of social policy development in the late 19th century therefore relates to the measures taken to protect the expanding export economy in the plantation sector. These were geared mainly to providing for the needs of indentured labour from India, employment of which was on a contract basis in the plantation sector, and seen as being critical to the economic well-being of the country. In fact, the political economy of the country right up to independence continued to be heavily influenced by the fate of this export economy which, following the coffee blight of the 1890s, was confined to three major commodities—tea, rubber and coconut—(Snodgrass 1966).

The push towards regulating working conditions of immigrant Indian labour came from the Colonial Office as well as the India Office of the Government of India (Pieris 1967; Tinker 1974). The colonial government, by encouraging labour migration, considered it a matter of duty to protect its citizens' conditions of passage and conditions of work in ports of destination. Though the welfare of immigrant labour, such as provision of schools, hospitals, crèches, etc. was seen as a matter of state responsibility, the discharge of these was the function of the employers. Interestingly, 'the missionary societies ... were indifferent to the plight of Indian immigrant labour and reflects the fact that missionary societies in Ceylon ... were rarely interested in social reform for its own sake (de Silva 1965: 288).

These labour welfare policies were, however, regulated by the state, and the government of Ceylon introduced several pieces of social legislation (Pieris 1967; Wickramaratne 1973) relating to recruitment and welfare and indentured Indian Labour on the estates (e.g., Medical Wants Ordinance No 9 of 1912 and Minimum Wage Ordinance of 1927). As Goonesekera (1993) observes, there were occasions where 'the government had to put pressure on [employers] to conform to Labour codes and other provisions' (p. 22). The early labour welfare legislation was intended to facilitate the continued recruitment of immigrant Indian labour which was of vital interest to the British owners of the plantations.

The concern shown in this matter by the Legislative Council reflects 'the gulf between the Ceylonese in the Legislative Council and the mass of people they had presumed to represent (Wickramaratne 1977: 476). The interests of Ceylonese members in the Legislative Council, were, in fact, no different from those of the non-Ceylonese members (mostly British) because the Ceylonese members too had a personal vested interest in the

development of the export economy. In this respect, the political economy of the country was an influential factor in determining the nature and direction of colonial social policies. While the management and regulation of labour on the plantations was in the interests of capital, the beneficiaries of these welfare measures were exclusively the indentured Indian labour.

Clearly, the economic interests of a plantation economy based on indentured labour shaped and influenced the expansion of social policy primarily as an instrument for the social reproduction of this labour. Consequently, the interests of the indigenous working class were not specially catered for by the state until the passage of the Workmen's Compensation Ordinance of 1933 (Orde-Brown 1943). The latter legislation was in many ways a direct outcome of the newly emerging working class movement, largely confined to the urban working classes in the capital, Colombo (Jayawardena 1972). There is, however, no doubt that the special treatment afforded to indentured Indian labour for work on the plantations was largely instrumental in gaining 'government intervention in industrial relations in Ceylon' (Kearney 1971).

Furthermore, the beginnings of trade unionism in Ceylon were greatly assisted by the British Trade Union Congress which sent a Labour MP (A. A. Purcell) in 1920 to help the nascent Ceylon Labour Union established in 1922 to agitate for such labour legislation as an Employers' liability for payment of minimum wages and workers' compensation (Jayawardena 1972).[13] The 1920s and 1930s were a period of considerable unrest among the urban working class demanding ameliorization of working conditions. It is worth noting that anti-Trade Union legislation passed by the Legislative Council was rejected by the Secretary of State for Colonies in 1929, who happened to be Lord Passfield in the Labour Government of 1929–31 (Pieris 1967). Lord Passfield was none other than the well-known Fabian Socialist leader, Sidney Webb.

The first major victory for organized labour came only with the enactment of the Trade Union Ordinance No. 4 of 1935, which 'for the first time gave legal sanction to workers' right of association and right to bargain collectively (Kearney 1971: 19). This legislation provided for the registration of trade unions and also sought to protect them from actions of tort. The growth of local trade unionism among the urban working class and the emergence of the labour movement may well have been an unintended outcome of colonial policy relating to immigrant labour welfare. These policy decisions were fraught with considerable significance for

subsequent political developments even after independence in 1948. But, it was not until the early 1930s that organized labour through its association with Left parties began to make any direct impact on social and economic policy development (Kearney 1971; Jayawardena 1972).

Social Policy in the Late Colonial State (1931–1948)

Prelude to Welfarism

The first three decades of the 20th century leading to the radical constitutional and political reforms of 1931—the Donoughmore Commission Reforms—were noted for their agitation for a greater degree of self-rule, the Ceylonization of the administration, the politicization of the urban working class, and the growth of a strong nationalist movement (Kearney 1973; Jupp 1998). Economic and social conditions arising mostly from World War I had a significant influence on the period 1900–1930 and were exacerbated by the Depression of the late 1920s. The ordinary inhabitants of the country, more so than immigrant labour in the plantations, were adversely affected by a stagnant and declining economy, high levels of inflation and food shortages.

It was against this background that there was considerable social unrest, especially among the urban working class who were organized into trade unions, and demanding better working conditions. There was also growing dissatisfaction among the Ceylonese legislators who were more interested in seeking state intervention to protect their economic vested interest than in social amelioration. The Ceylon National Congress 1919, largely followed the pattern of Indian nationalism and 'spearheaded ... the movement ... for responsible self-government (Farmer 1965: 431). As a lobby group, this body was representative of the Ceylonese middle class, and remained at the forefront in pressing for increased representation of their interests.

In the political struggle against British colonial rule during the 20th century, the reform movement drew its strength from three main sources: i) the westernized middle class, represented by bodies such as the Ceylon National Congress, marking the beginnings of political nationalism; ii) the cultural nationalist movements, especially of Sinhalese Buddhist nationalists, the so-called 'Protestant Buddhists',[14] and iii) the radical wing of politically minded nationalists of the Left.

The leadership of these nationalist movements—political as well as cultural—came from the English educated middle class, products of

the secondary school system. The emergence of a cultural nationalist movement was a direct consequence of the 'dual society'. Hence, Sinhalese/ Buddhist nationalism and Tamil nationalism (Cheran 1992; Uyangoda 1999), in separate movements, came into being partly as a reaction against the colonial establishment, but more importantly as a protest against the power and influence of the educated élite who were highly anglicized and alienated from the indigenous cultures. Thus, the Sinhalese Buddhist nationalist movement which came into prominence mainly in the early 20th century, began largely as a campaign directed against the dominance of Christianity as the 'religion of government' (Farmer 1965; Roberts 1979).

Paradoxically, the leadership of this group was in the hands of those who were westernized in terms of language and cultural values (Smith 1966).[15] A classic example of this may be found in the Buddhist nationalist writings of Vijayavardhana (1953) who, despite his highly anti-western attitude, was deeply immersed in liberal political ideas. Thus, quoting J. S. Mills' *Liberty*, he eloquently argues in favour of laissez economics on the grounds that:

> the best expression ever given to the reasoned idea of individual freedom, enjoyed in association with one's fellows, ... a man may do anything that he wishes to if he does not injure his fellow men. The state has no right to interfere with him, not even for his own good, as long as he is not injuring other people (Vijayavardhana: 1953: 484).

More important than the pursuit of economic ideals for these English educated Buddhist nationalists was the propagation of a Buddhist education in Buddhist schools to compete with the main Christian secondary schools and to challenge the power and influence of the English educated political élite. Another theme, expressed strongly by one of its leaders (Angarika Dharmapala) was that monks should engage in social service activities to improve the economic and social conditions of the people, especially the impoverished peasantry (Seneviratne, 2001).

In the case of the political nationalism of the Left, its leaders were drawn from the radicalized fraction of the English educated middle class who were prominent in the nascent, largely urban-based trade union movement (Kearney 1973; Jupp 1978). The working class was in the main made up of a 'pre-industrial group of town workers (in small scale

enterprise) who, like the urban poor of other countries, were particularly sensitive to unemployment and rise in food prices' (Jayawardena, quoted in Pieris 1967: 227). It is worth noting that some leading figures of this radical group sought their inspiration from the British Labour Movement and Fabian socialist thinking in England in the early decades of the 20th century. Others were more directly influenced by doctrinaire Marxist, revolutionary doctrines, especially of the Fourth Internationale and Leon Trotsky (Lerski 1968: Jupp 1978).

The loose alliance of influential sections of the political and cultural nationalist movements has had a chequered history in the form of coalition politics throughout the 20th century. What is perhaps important is that as interest or pressure groups, they were united in their demand for self-rule and the need for a strong focus on social welfare in redressing social inequalities, such as those arising from a lack of educational opportunities. Underpinning this 'élite accommodation' in the political struggle for independence from colonial rule was a vibrant colonial society, another legacy of late British colonial policy.

The impact of civil society is revealed in the increasing assertiveness of trade unions and a range of other social movements such as the social service movement (Jayawardena 1972). The latter, spearheaded by the Social Service League established in 1915, pursued the reform of labour laws in addition to other measures of social legislation such as regulation of child labour. As this colonial civil society grew, it became an arena for increased political contestation to which the colonial state responded through a mix of accommodative and managerial strategies. An important element of this accommodative strategy was the expansion of social and labour welfare programs which later in the period of partial self-rule took the form of 'welfarism'.

The Sri Lankan nationalist movement along with other political forces which focussed on constitutional reform, formed the core of the 'the dynamic civil society of the early 20th century', dominated by 'men of property and the professional classes' (Wilson 1959: 84–85). It was this political élite, as previously noted, who led the agitation for constitutional reform and succeeded in persuading the Colonial Office to appoint a Reform Commission in the late 1920s. It is perhaps worth noting in passing that this Reform Commission (the Donoughmore Commission of 1927–29) was appointed by a Conservative Government 'in order to forestall the possible appointment of a Commission by a Labour Government after the

election of 1929' (de Silva 1973: 490). Nevertheless, the implementation of the Reform proposals fell to the Ramsay-MacDonald Labour Government in Britain, 1929–31,[16] and became the responsibility of Lord Passfield who was the Secretary of State for the Colonies. Passfield—better known as Sidney Webb—was one of the most influential of the socialist intellectuals from the 'heroic period of the British labour movement' (Russell, 1982: xviii).

Not surprisingly, Passfield, who was more sympathetic to the political aspirations of the Sri Lankan people, played an important part in steering the implementation of the recommendations of the Reform Commission. It was also fortunate that one of the Labour members on the Donoughmore Commission of 1927–29, was none other than Dr Drummond Shiels, Lord Passfield's Under-Secretary at the Colonial Office until 1931. Shiels had been one of the most active and influential members of the Commission and the person widely believed to have been responsible for the landmark recommendation—the grant of universal suffrage in 1931. This is further evidence of the influence exerted by the British Labour Party on political developments in Ceylon through its contact with the Ceylon Labour Party, led by A. E. Goonesinghe who was greatly indebted to the political philosophy and idealism of the British Labour Party (Jayawardena 1972).

From the point of view of social policy development, the main concerns of the Commission were two-fold: one was that the existing system of government was more interested in administration than legislation; and the other that it had shown a greater interest in state intervention for economic development than for social reform. The push for social reform, and not just political reform, came most forcefully from the Left working class leaders. The Commission, persuaded by this point of view

> found that in many provinces poverty and ill health were the lot of many villages ... many sections of the people had not even decent housing or adequate facilities for primary education ... no poor law system for relieving destitution, no system of compensation for injured workmen, no up to date system of factory legislation and no control over hours and wages in sweated trades (Mendis 1957: 118).

Confronted by these facts, 'the Commissioners took the view that the extension of the franchise was even more urgent than any grant of

responsible government (Mendis 1957: 119). This would make the elected representatives of government more accountable and responsive to the needs of the people. Hitherto, this was not the case with the earlier constitutions because the governments were more of 'an oligarchy or plutocracy, not a democracy' (Jeffries 1962: 33). Thus, one of the main, and most revolutionary, recommendations of the Donoughmore Commission was the grant of universal franchise for males over 21 and females over 30 years of age.

As a way of correcting the lack of interest in legislation in the previous colonial governments, the Commission went on to recommend a democratically elected legislature, the State Council, with responsibility to exercise legislative and executive powers. To this end, they established a Board of Ministers and an Executive Committee system of government, modelled on the London County Council. This form of partial self-rule has been aptly characterized as a period of power without financial control as the control of the purse remained with non-elected Officers of the Crown, all of whom were British civil servants. The semi-autonomous system of government (1931–1948) under the Donoughmore Constitution of 1931 was really a halfway house between colonial office domination and complete self-rule.

As foreshadowed by the Donoughmore Commissioners,[17] the democratization of the government as a result of universal franchise, and the structures of government established through the Executive Committee system (modelled on the form of governance of the London County Council) enabled the passage of much social legislation. This, however, was without any acknowledgement of how this package of social legislation was to be implemented in terms of social welfare programs and services. The elected legislators were enthusiastic in passing social legislation and recommending various economic and social measures for which they had no financial responsibility. The lag between enactment of legislation and its implementation with programs and services was a major shortcoming of much of this social legislation such as the enlightened child welfare legislation of this period.[18]

However, the extensive progressive social legislation once placed on the statute book, acquired a momentum of its own, and led to further electoral pressures for reform. This marked the beginnings of 'welfare politics', and the welfarism of this era which dominated electoral politics until overtaken by the 'ethnic politics' of the 1980s (Jayasuriya 2000; Dunham & Jayasuriya 2001). The welfarism of the Donoughmore era

(1931-48), in addition to helping create the 'welfare state' of the 1960s and 1970s, was also influential in hastening the grant of self rule in 1948. As Pieris (1977) rightly observes, the welfare politics of the Donoughmore period 'was a lucid argument' in favour of political independence and accepted as such by the colonial government.

Welfare Politics and Welfarism

Education and Health

The welfare politics of the Donoughmore period (1931–48) was mainly focussed on two areas of social policy: *education* and *health*. Social policies relating to public welfare (e.g., unemployment relief, food subsidy) and also social infrastructure, mainly public utilities (e.g., electricity and transport), were less important as issues of competitive politics. The link between social reform and education, inherited from the early period of colonial administration, gained a new perspective and momentum with the growth of the nationalist movement. Educational reform which loomed large in the welfare politics of this period was closely linked to nationalist and religious movements (Ministry of Education 1969; Jayasuriya 1969; Houtart 1974). This was reflected in the moves made in the newly democratically elected assembly (State Councils of 1931–48) to alleviate the educational inequalities of the earlier period by improving access to education and expanding state education facilities (Jayasuriya 1969).

These early educational reforms were directed mainly towards granting free education along with compulsory schooling, and removing the dominant role of the Christian Church in state assisted education. The latter were resisted by the Christian mission schools, especially the Roman Catholic Church. Thus, whereas Buddhist interest groups were strongly supportive of free education, the Roman Catholic Church opposed these changes. The objections were mainly on the grounds that the proposed radical changes in education required an increased public expenditure which could be achieved only by a decrease in the allocation of grant-in-aid to Christian denominational schools (Jayasuriya 1969; Houtart 1974). To mitigate these objections, the State, in providing free and compulsory education was prepared to include a compensatory measure and increased allocation of resources to all denominational schools. The net result, however, was that these educational reform measures led to an intensification of religious conflicts and a political polarization. This partly reflects the tensions inherent in the 'dual society', the conflict between the dominant westernized and marginalized non-English educated groups.

There were two other education policy reforms which were of considerable importance in this critical pre-independence period of partial self-rule. One was the development of a system of Government secondary schools (Central Schools) in selected provincial urban centres—an innovation of significance because up to this time secondary schooling was mainly through mission schools. From a social policy perspective, this measure was also designed to enhance greater equality of educational opportunity by increasing educational access to those from the rural and semi-urban areas. Students from these areas had hitherto been denied access to educational facilities which were mainly confined to state aided mission schools concentrated in a few key urban centres.

The other main reform—also on the grounds of a greater measure of equality—was with regard to the expansion of facilities for higher education, including the professions (de Silva & Peiris 1995). This was achieved primarily by granting independent university status through the establishment of the University of Ceylon in 1942 (Jayasuriya 1968a). The system of university education itself was based on the British higher education model, especially the Oxbridge model, and planned as a fully residential university located in Peradeniya (near Kandy). This highly sophisticated conservative elitist model of higher education was developed and nurtured by an eminent British scholar and constitutional expert, Sir Ivor Jennings, who became the first Vice-Chancellor of the University and later of the University of Cambridge. This élite model of university education was very much the brainchild of Sir Ivor Jennings, and one which helped to further inculcate the liberal values of the western intellectual tradition and political liberalism.[19]

In the latter period of mass higher education in the 1970s, this élite model of university education was to come under severe strain and tension, especially the conflict between the modernizing élites and the 'traditionalists', the new élite (de Silva and Peiris 1995). In short, the politicized university of the 1970s was to become the prime site for the wider social and political conflicts and tensions: the conflict between 'two cultures'— the westernized and indigenous educated classes (Jayasuriya 1997). The expansion of higher education, by changing the social composition of the governing élite class, along with the decision taken in 1945 for free university tuition, rates perhaps as the most significant influence in the social transformation of Sri Lankan society in recent times. The social dynamics of the accompanying structural changes are critical

for understanding the fate of late colonialism (1931–1970) and the emergence of post-colonialism in the 1970s.

Turning to other areas of social policy, particularly, health care and public welfare, policy developments in these sectors were initially driven by the need to mitigate the disastrous social effects of the Great Depression of the 1930s, the severe drought of the mid 1930s and the malaria epidemics (Meegama 1967, 1986; Jones 2000). Health policies in particular, gained in salience, and there was a 'strong political commitment and prioritization to expand and improve public health facilities [with] about 2.5% of GDP being spent on health' (Sanderatne 2000: 102). With a view to developing a comprehensive health care system 'central dispensaries were upgraded to rural hospitals' (World Bank 1998). This led to increased medical facilities (e.g., several new rural hospitals) for the neglected rural areas and increased attention devoted to preventive medical facilities (e.g., tuberculosis control, small pox vaccination, improved sanitation, sewerage, etc.). Para medical services such as increased personnel to staff infant and maternal health services increased six-fold between 1935 and 1945 (Sanderatne 2000).

The control of malaria, probably the most serious health policy issue at the time, was not only important in accounting for a fall in morbidity rates,[20] but overall it was a significant factor in improving the health status and social well-being of the population as a whole (Pieris 1999). Therefore, it is not surprising that the systematic program of malaria eradication through DDT spraying and other programs is ranked as one of the main social achievements of this period; and this program has received high praise internationally from the WHO as an unparalleled achievement of mortality reduction in world demography (Gunatilleke 1985). These policies once in force could not be dismantled and acquired a life of their own and were expanded under the welfare state policies of the 1960s.

The considerable expansion of curative and preventive services also required facilities for increased training of para-medical personnel (e.g., midwives, sanitary assistants and apothecaries) to serve in the remote areas. The expansion of these services, especially free health services, led to a substantial increase in health expenditures, with a doubling of health expenditure between 1930–31 and 1944–45. Several social indicators such as infant mortality which dropped from 170 per 1000 births in 1930 to 140 in 1945 and a similar fall in the crude death rate from 254 to 219 per 1000 bear witness to the effectiveness of the health care system and the

increasing utilization of these services by the rural population (Perera 1985; Gunatilleke 1985). There is no doubt that by 1948, 'the health care achievements during the ninety years since the establishment of a separate medical department in 1858 "were phenomenal" ' (Uragoda 1987: 95).

Public Welfare

Public welfare measures undertaken in this period were primarily concerned with alleviating social distress, poverty, and unemployment. The government measures to combat unemployment and poverty were mainly on two fronts—one strategy for the urban areas and another for the rural sector. In the urban areas, it was mainly one of providing temporary short-term relief by expanding work opportunities, e.g., as casual labourers in public works (e.g., roadwork, flood protection, etc.). However, for the first time in colonial rule, attention was given to the plight of persons in the neglected village peasant economy who were adversely affected by adverse economic circumstances. The plight of this sector was largely seen as a facet of the 'wider theme of population pressure in the wet zone' (de Silva 1981: 465), and policies were designed to relocate these groups in other less populated areas. This resulted in the development of agricultural peasant colonization schemes in sparsely populated and relatively neglected areas which had a potential for increased agricultural production (mainly rice and some subsidiaries). To this end, a great deal of public expenditure was devoted to deployment of population to these new areas of colonization (Farmer 1957). Hereafter, peasant colonization and the problems of the landless peasantry came to be regarded as an important element not just of economic development, but of a rural welfare strategy (Jayasuriya, K. 1981).

From the earliest times, one of the distinctive features of the total package of social welfare in Sri Lanka was the incorporation of rural welfare policies alongside other more urban based social policy initiatives (Wickramaratne 1977). These policy initiatives, alongside those in fields of health care and public welfare, acquired special significance by the need to mitigate the disastrous social effects of widespread social catastrophes such as the Great Depression of the 1930s. The latter, it should be noted, was compounded by the severe drought in the mid 1930s and the malaria epidemic. The specific response of successive governments in the Donoughmore era to these adverse social and economic circumstances is contained in a number of official Reports such as the Newnham Report (1936) and the Wedderburn Report (1934). These Reports bear a

remarkable similarity to Reports in Britain such as the Royal Commission on Poor Law 1905–09 or the poverty studies of Booth, Rowntree and others (Bruce 1961; Gilbert 1970).

The Newnham and Wedderburn Reports, framed in the style of UK Commissions of Inquiry, represent the first systematic attempt in Sri Lanka to quantify the problems of poverty and unemployment and prescribe remedial measures. The Wedderburn Report, in particular, laid the groundwork for a system of state sponsored welfare relief characteristic of the British Poor Law of the 1920s and was responsible for the introduction of the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939. This was meant to supplement, in extreme cases of adversity, the traditional forms of relief available from the extended family. In another important Government Report, the Corea Report (1937), the problems of unemployment were subject to further scrutiny, and transitory measures recommended to deal with social distress created by the breakdown of family based support systems (Wickramaratne 1973).

In the absence of a comprehensive system of social security, these policy responses to poverty and 'diswelfare' tended to regard social distress as an individual problem remediable by the allocation of social assistance. This Poor Law orientation, by providing social assistance and relief for the needy and destitute, has characterized most of the public welfare and income maintenance programs undertaken by nearly all governments in the post-independence period (Jayasuriya et al. 1985). Social assistance schemes based on the British Poor Law 'principle of less eligibility' pointing to a selectivist approach to poverty alleviation (i.e., as a safety net for those most in need) stands in sharp contrast to the universalist policies in other areas such as income maintenance through the food subsidy, free health care and education. As Midgley rightly observes, this approach to public welfare is[21]

> descended from poor law principles in European states' which have been established in a number of developing countries ... [and] are a startling example of the maintenance of colonial welfare policies in the post colonial Third World (1984: 3).

In contrast to these selectivist policies relating to public welfare, the food subsidy which originated as an emergency wartime measure of public welfare was a universal measure. It was first introduced as a subsidy in rice deficient areas and later extended to other areas, along with the

addition of wheat flour and sugar as subsidised items. As a result of this universalist policy, rice, wheat flour, and sugar were rationed during the war period and sold at controlled prices to stabilize the cost of living. Sen (1981) identifies the food subsidy as an example of the concept of 'entitlements', in particular, as a method of '*universal support*' of non exclusion, guaranteeing the 'right to food' and being effective in famine prevention.

The rationale for this policy was similar to 'the development of services as well as the provision of help in cash or kind [as] an impressive aspect of the wartime evolution of welfare' in Britain (Bruce 1961: 272). Indeed, it was this which prompted Sir William Beveridige—the architect of the Beveridge Report of 1942 which led to the foundation of the welfare state in Britain—to pose the question: 'If for warfare, why not for welfare'. The food subsidy, as a wartime measure in Sri Lanka, as it turned out, was destined to become an institutionalized welfare measure for nearly three decades after the war.

The food subsidy which remained as a welfare policy measure until the 1970s was the single most important item of social expenditure, varying between 4 per cent and 5 per cent of GNP during the period 1970–81. This single social policy measure acquired considerable social, economic and political importance as the principal anti-poverty measure of all post-independence governments. It was dispensed with only in 1977 by a neo-liberal political regime which sought to drastically curtail the Sri Lankan welfare state.

Whereas the food subsidy, based on the principle of material benefits (i.e., the provision of goods and services), was the preferred strategy for achieving welfare state objectives of income maintenance, this strategy was radically changed to cash benefits or their equivalents such as food stamps by the conservative neo liberal governments after 1977. This new policy strategy, partly in compliance with the structural adjustment policies of international agencies such as the World Bank (Lakshman 1989; Jayasuriya 1997; Gunatilleke 1993), moved towards a total selectivist policy or social safety net strategy by targetting welfare to those most in need (Jayasuriya 2000; Sanderatne 2000).

By contrast, the universalist policy orientation of the food subsidy and other social policies (e.g., health and education) reflected the orthodoxy of British welfare state policies (Pinker 1985). A central feature of British

welfarism was the need to make social policies 'free of social discrimination and the indignities of the poor law' (Titmuss 1950: 506), and to share social risk more broadly. This British tradition of linking citizenship with universal social rights (Ferris 1989) except for social security and public welfare, was at least, implicit in the welfarism of this period.

Overall, it is difficult not to overestimate the critical significance of the constitutional reforms of 1931 and the policy developments in this period of partial self-rule (1931-48). The extension of the franchise granted in 1931, in a sense, partially democratized the colonial state while at the same time presented the unelected local colonial executive—who had control of the purse strings—with significant problems of legitimacy. Social welfare policies, though accorded low priority during the war period (1939–45), except for the decision to provide a food subsidy for the whole country, were responsible in 1947 for the expenditure of approximately 56 per cent of total government expenditure. This represents nearly a 50 per cent increase since 1931 when it was only 24.5 per cent (Warnapala 1974).

Looking back over this period of self-rule (the late colonial state), it is difficult not to overestimate the importance of the 1931 constitutional reforms. The extension of the franchise, in a sense, partially democratized the colonial state while at the same time presenting the unelected local colonial executive — who had control of the purse — with significant problems of legitimacy. The evolution of social policy during this period is in no small way a product of this complex dynamic of enhanced democratization and the search for legitimacy. Moreover, the reforms promoted electoral competition in which welfare politics was to loom large and be regarded as one of the main legacies of colonial rule in post-independence politics. From this perspective, the social policies of this period laid the groundwork for the future political and social development in Sri Lanka.

Emergence of the Welfare State (1948–1970)

The Three Pillars: Education, Health and Social Security

The next and most decisive stage in the political and social evolution of Sri Lanka follows decolonization and profound constitutional changes that occurred at the end of World War II in 1945. Following criticisms of the 1931 constitution and partial self-rule, such as the limited executive powers enjoyed by the Board of Ministers due to the absence of financial powers; the overriding powers of the Governor and the adequacy of

representation of minority interests; the colonial government, in response to continued agitation for complete self-rule, appointed a Commission to report on further constitutional reform. This Commission—the Soulbury Commission (Soulbury 1945)—proceeded to recommend a system of fully responsible government under the Crown with a greater degree of autonomy than that permitted by the earlier 1931 constitution.

A new constitution based on the Soulbury Report was adopted in 1945 along with a firm assurance from the Colonial Office, of self-determination in the foreseeable future. After protracted negotiations between the Sri Lankan government and Colonial Office (Jeffries 1962), Sri Lanka was granted 'fully responsible status within the British Commonwealth of Nations' with a new constitution in 1948, modelled on the British constitution and a Westminster style system of bicameral legislature.[22] From the beginning of fully responsible self-government and electoral democracy in 1948, there were two dominant themes of competitive politics, which have continued to plague Sri Lanka as a democracy. One was built around ethnic minority issues and the other on the question of social welfare policies (Jayasuriya 2000). The achievement of self-government brought with it to the forefront, the historical legacy of the problems of a multi-racial or plural society. Minority issues were well into the fore in the first decade of Sri Lankan independence (1948–56), and in general, were characterized by an 'integrative secularism'. This strategy was based on 'responsive cooperation' and accommodation among the dominant élite, all drawn from the Western educated middle class. But, as Jeffries, one of the influential actors of the independence scenario observes, it was wishful thinking and 'an illusion' that 'the minority problems of Ceylon could and should have been solved with the grant of independence' (Jeffries 1962: 135).

However, it was 'welfare politics' which not only dominated competitive electoral politics in the first two decades of self-rule, but was able via the coalition politics of influential pressure groups to subordinate 'ethnic politics' to 'welfare politics'. Hence, the emergence of the 'welfare state', essentially a process of consolidating the welfarism of the pre-independence period (1931-48) of partial self-rule, was central to the maintenance of political and social stability in the first two decades of independence. As Gunatilleka (2000) observes, this was indeed, one of the positive attributes of 'the social welfare agenda in the late colonial era'. Granted that the essential programs and services of the welfare state

differ from country to country, it is clear that in the case of Sri Lanka the 'welfare state' emerged as a co-ordinated institutional system[23] only in the 1960 and 1970s. This occurred under several social reform oriented, left inclined coalition governments of this period. As in the industrial societies of the west, in Sri Lanka too, 'government protected minimum standards of income, nutrition, health and safety, education and housing are assured to every citizen as a social right' (Wilensky et al. 1985: 1).

In this regard, the foundations of the Sri Lankan welfare state, exemplifying the collective action for social welfare, are represented by *The Education Act of 1945* (Kannangara Report 1943); the establishment of the *Department of Social Services, 1948* (Jennings Report 1947); and *The Health Services Act of 1952* (Cumpston Report 1950). These major social documents and Acts relating to education, health and social services or welfare form the core of the welfare state, and warrant comparison with what T. H. Marshall (1973) refers to as the 'three pillars of the British welfare state', viz., the *Education Act* (Butler), *National Insurance Act* (Bevan), and *National Health Act* (Bevan). In public policy terms, the implementation of these several Reports established firmly the principle of collective provision for common human and social needs through state intervention. The importance attached to social welfare initiatives arising from these three Reports is revealed by the fact that during the first two decades of independence (1948–68) social expenditure which includes education, health, transport, food subsidization and public welfare assistance, hovered around 40 per cent of total public expenditure or 10-12 per cent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (Jayasuriya et al. 1985; Marga Institute 1974; Alailama 1995).[24]

First and foremost, the Kannangara Report (1943), perhaps the single most important social policy document in Sri Lanka, adopted a bold and radical approach to welfare by recommending a system of *universal* and *compulsory* free education from the Kindergarten to the University. This unique and memorable Report, now lost in the dim mist of social history, outlined what the erudite Left wing politician, Dr. N. M. Perera, in defending the proposal for free education from the Kindergarten to the University, described as 'amazing ... revolutionary objectives' (Perera 1944). These objectives were highly consistent with the pragmatic politics of the radical Left, more characteristic of Fabian socialism than Marxist revolutionary Left politics. This is further confirmation that welfarism in Sri Lanka was based on universalistic social policies and has been a distinctive feature of the Sri Lankan welfare state.

The Kannangara Report states that among the objectives sought by its far-reaching proposal were

> the prevention of unemployment, the raising of the standard of living of the masses, increased production, a more equitable system of distribution, social security of co-operative enterprise, etc. But none of these things can be fully realized without mass education. We are of the opinion that free education must come first and foremost (Perera 1944: 5).

Clearly, 'the dominant motivation for [free education] was the egalitarian ideology of removing inequities and inequalities' (Jayasuriya 1969: 91), and the leading proponents of this ideology were the radical left groups. However, as Jayasuriya (1969) perceptively observes, this was 'more a mirage than a reality' (p. 86) because eventually as a function of the implementation of the policy, the main beneficiaries were the middle class. Hence, subsequent policy developments as contained in the proposals for the establishment of a national system of education included other educational reforms directed towards increasing educational equity.[25] These refer to: changes in the medium of instruction in education from English into the national languages — Sinhalese and Tamil; the expansion of state run Central schools (first established in the pre-independence period) to include all provincial towns; the take-over by the State of denominational schools; and the expansion of higher education, all of which were intended to obtain greater equity.

The schools take-over originated partly from a Report by an independent Commission (Buddhist Committee of Inquiry 1956) appointed by a peak voluntary organization, the All Ceylon Buddhist Congress. As previously noted, the cultural nationalist movement, especially of the Sinhalese Buddhists, had been strong in its opposition to the preferential treatment accorded to Christian denominational schools (they received 75% of state aid), and were strong advocates of educational reform.[26] There was broad-based political support for these reforms mainly because of the equity argument inherent in this demand. This was also a political demand of the more secular Left oriented political parties. The underlying politics of these policies, a convenient alliance of interest groups, was in many ways, a direct and inevitable consequence of the electoral politics, characteristic of much of this period (1948-70).

Likewise, the language policies of the post-1956 era, demanding that English be replaced by the national languages—Sinhalese and Tamil—

also had broad-based political support, except for minority Tamil opinion. Language policies were clearly linked with the political pressures arising from earlier agitation for compulsory universal education and a measure of greater educational equality.[27] Whatever the later consequences of these policies, mainly as a result of making the language of the numerically and politically dominant group—the Sinhalese—the official language, language policy was politically and electorally a predictable outcome of the empowerment of the rural élite and the peasantry.

By virtue of the greater social mobility resulting from the policies of universal free education significant social groups, especially the rural élite were able to move into occupations previously monopolised by the Western educated urban middle class. It is, however, questionable whether the goal of greater equality of educational opportunity—in terms of guaranteed access to education as a 'public good' equally available to *all* citizens—was achieved as a result of these educational policies. Regional inequalities were mainly linked to the disadvantaged status of the plantation sector and the rural areas as well as the favoured position of urban middle class. This evidence, as documented by Jayaweera (1977a, 1977b) and others, shows clearly that the egalitarian objectives of these social policies in terms of distributive justice outcomes were only partially achieved.[28] These education inequalities

> reinforced a dualistic social structure consisting of a disadvantaged majority and a privileged minority divided by language, economic and social status (Jayaweera 1969: 8).

The second pillar of the Sri Lankan welfare state relates to the health services. Here, the key policy document is the Cumpston Report (1950), which led to *the Health Services Act* of 1952. Dr J. H. L. Cumpston, the architect of the Report, was a distinguished Australian public servant who as Director General of Health Services in Australia (1921–45), was responsible for the creation of the Commonwealth Department of Health, Australia. In Australia, Cumpston was 'a central figure in the development of collective responsibility for health care on a national basis' (Thome 1974: 348), i.e., the belief that health services should be readily available to all people. Although this Report did not have as great an impact as the Kannangara Report had on education policy, it was, nevertheless, highly influential in determining the future directions of health care policy, such as those relating to the allocation of resources and the organization of the

delivery of health care services. In fact, the funding allocation for the sector reached its highest – 7% approximately of government expenditure or 2% of GDP in the 1960s.[29] The influence of this Report may be gauged by the fact that there was a striking decline in mortality rates in the latter half of the 20th century (Nadarajah 1976).

The major achievement of the Cumpston Report was threefold: the abolition of private practice for doctors in the state sector; enabling the development concurrently of preventive and curative services; and, setting out the rationale for an equitable universal health service as a matter of right. Its most significant recommendation was the abolition of private practice for doctors in the public sector. Cumpston was emphatic on the need to abolish private practice and argued that no government can:

> justify the expenditure of public funds to provide a subsidy to a select group of doctors so that they can provide a private medical service to that exclusive group in a position to pay (sometimes large) fees (Cumpston Report 1950: 9).

This policy recommendation, fully implemented in 1972 (the 'Channelled Consultation' scheme of 1964 for specialist doctors in public service) was only an intermediate step. It was, however, regarded as being central to the establishment of a state-funded equitable system of national health care. Admittedly, the basic policy framework for health care was already well established as a result of the progressive introduction of Western medical services through a wide network of free medical institutions, including manpower for the health sector. According to one analyst, during the first two decades of independence, 'the number of medical care facilities exceeded demand' (Perera 1985: 100). The improved provision of health services along with other aspects of the social welfare system (e.g., autonomy of women, equality intra-household of food distribution and other health related behaviours) accounts for the increased life expectancy – from 35.3 (1900-2) to 70 in 1988 – for both sexes (Nadarajah 1976; J. C & P. Caldwell 1988)

The rapid expansion of health services should, however, be qualified by recognizing that Western medicine and cognate health services existed alongside a well-developed system of indigenous medicine, Ayurveda and Unani (Pieris 1999). This sector which catered to the medical needs of a sizeable section of the rural population had been relatively neglected by the state though it was an important part of services available for the

treatment of illness (e.g., mental health) (Carpenter 1988). The attempt to integrate these two systems of medicine was a health policy initiative of the post independence period, and constituted a key element of the nationalist politics that emerged in the heyday of the late colonial state (Simeonov 1975; Pieris 1999).

As Pieris rightly observes, the medical pluralism in Sri Lanka is 'closely related to the social, economic and political structure of the society ... [and one which provides] ... social, economic and political power to some members of society' (Pieris 1999: 50). This was another instance of electoral politics because indigenous physicians, mostly from the rural areas, represented a powerful interest group closely allied to the nationalist movement. The conflict between the western and indigenous health systems also mirrors the underlying tensions of the 'dual society', which were intimately associated with the collapse of the cultural ethos, so distinctive of the late colonial state. The medical pluralism of Sri Lanka reflected:

> The dualistic social structure consisting of a disadvantaged majority and privileged minority divided by language, economic and social status (Jayaweera 1969: 80.

The third pillar of the Sri Lankan welfare state is *the Social Services Commission Report* (1947) generally known as the Jennings Report after its Chair, Sir Ivor Jennings. It is worth noting that the membership of this Commission which originated from the pre-independence period was dominated by the colonial élite of the period. The members included a leading economist, prominent lawyer and a Roman Catholic clergyman, who was a leading educator, and it chairman and main architect was none other than Sir Ivor Jennings—a leading constitutional theorist, and later Vice Chancellor of the University of Ceylon and Cambridge University. In fact, Jennings met with Lord Beveridge, the architect of the Beveridge Report, in Britain, to discuss the mandate of the Commission. Although the Jennings Report (1947) gave serious consideration to the thinking underlying the logic and rationale of British social policy emanating from Beveridge, it did not necessarily adopt the rationale and thinking of the Beveridge policies.[30]

The Jennings Report, unlike the Kannangara Report (1943), was cast more in the form of an academic exercise in social analysis, planning, and reporting, and did not elicit much political interest.[31] The Jennings Report examined the questions of social policy relating to social security,

especially unemployment, financial distress, old age and disability and destitution, and endeavoured to formulate its policy responses in a manner relevant and appropriate to the 'dual economy' that evolved in the late colonial state. The main recommendations of the Report centred on a developing financially viable plan for social security of the wage earners in the commercial and public sector. This eventually led to proposals for several social insurance schemes (e.g., health, unemployment, and a national provident fund), all of which were expected to operate as contributory schemes based on employer and employee contributions.

These ideas related to social protection through social insurance, though influenced by the thinking of Beveridge in the UK, the Jennings Report did warn policy makers that income maintenance programs, based on social insurance, were costly and did not warrant immediate implementation. The insurance schemes which were subsequently adopted by the Ceylon government were targeted mainly on the large group of employees in the public sector. The latter were mostly from the urban middle class (roughly 6 per cent of the population) and, to a lesser extent were made up of the lower middle class and urban working class. These social security policies clearly had little relevance for the vast majority of the people living in a predominantly agricultural society, especially those living in rural areas (Savy 1974; Jayasuriya 2000). Nevertheless, Sri Lanka, unlike most other agricultural economies, did make an effort to provide some limited form of social protection for the farming sector by 'organised relief schemes to cushion the impact of a loss of crops and other natural disasters' (Savy 1972: 129). These crop insurance schemes formed part of the rural welfare package developed as a component of the consolidated welfare state in the 1960s (Moore 1985; Osmani 1988).

In retrospect, it is clear that the Jennings Report was a conservative social document which did little to establish a viable and effective system of social security in what was after all a peasant agricultural society. Furthermore, the Report failed to ensure that the Sri Lankan welfare state would serve as a guarantor against social risks such as those arising from unemployment, sickness, disability, and old age. In brief, what evolved later, following social policies evolved under successive governments of the late 1960s and 1970s, was a highly limited scheme of social security based on employer-employee contributions targeted solely at the wage-earning public sector (Jayasuriya et al. 1985). This was based on the Employees Provident Fund (EPF), established in 1958 and covering all

private and public firms, comprising the urban working class and public sector employees. Pension provisions existed only for the organized public sector employees.[32] In addition to the EPF, the wage earning working class, also benefited from labour welfare measures such as industrial safety and hygiene, workers' compensation, retirement gratuities and death donation schemes (Jayasuriya et al. 1985).

By these policies, social security and income maintenance for the poor (urban and rural), was to be achieved mainly through a more equitable distribution of income and other resources as well as the income support gained from the food subsidy (Osmani 1988). The food subsidy, costing the government nearly 20 per cent of all public expenditure or 5 per cent of GNP, came to be rightly regarded as a significant income supplement. There were also several forms of social assistance and relief programs such as drought and flood relief for those in rural areas and for the poor and needy, all of which were once again, cast in the form of the New Poor Law in Britain during the early part of the 20th century (Evans 1978).

Housing, Utilities and Social Services

Besides the social programs and services arising from these three major Reports, the other notable features of the Sri Lankan welfare state relate to: *Housing*, *Public Utilities* (e.g., transport, water, posts and telecommunications, and electricity), and the *Personal Social Services* catering for the needs of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups (e.g., aged, disabled, handicapped children and youth, needy families, sick and injured). The latter are 'personal' in the sense that these services tend to be individualized and involve a relationship between the provider and the beneficiary of the service. These services are recognized as a disparate category with amorphous boundaries and variously classified as care services, treatment programs or information services (Rein 1970).

The housing sector was relatively neglected in the early days of the welfare state and confined to the regulation of rental markets.[33] In the early years of independence, the establishment of the Ministry of Housing, 1953, and the *National Housing Act of 1954*, provided some limited assistance for private housing schemes. In addition, there were also minor benefits to the private sector through taxation and government assistance, all of which were confined to urban housing, mainly for middle and lower-middle income earners (Marga Institute 1986). Housing was rarely

considered to be an element of welfare politics and the ceiling on residential ownership introduced in 1973 was perhaps the most significant housing policy measure in this period. The housing sector was drawn more directly into the orbit of social welfare only under the neo liberal regimes of the 1970s, especially the 'Million Houses Development Program' which sought to provide low cost housing in the urban and rural sector.[34]

Unlike housing, the Public Utilities (water, transport, electricity, sewerage, etc.) were not limited by economic status, and treated as universal basic needs.[35] This is in sharp contrast to conventional welfare analysts in advanced industrial societies, who tend to regard this sector differently, treating the users of these services as consumers rather than as welfare beneficiaries (OECD 1985). However, in the context of a developing country, services associated with public utilities have a strong equity element and a redistributive impact. They should rightly be regarded as belonging to a package of universalistic welfare services, and listed as social expenditures in the National Accounts. Transport, although normally treated as an aspect of economic policy, also contained important social welfare policy overtones by providing, among other things, improved access to welfare services. Transport emerged as a key feature of welfare politics, following the nationalization of road passenger services and the port of Colombo, and formed part of the package of the social and economic reforms initiated by the reform oriented coalition government of 1956–60 in the consolidation of the welfare state.

The *Personal Social Services*, however, remained the most neglected area of social policy, mainly because these care services were customarily provided by the informal system of family and kin networks (Jayasuriya et al. 1985). Only in special circumstances were they subject to supplementation by acts of private charity and the voluntary effort of non-government organizations (NGOs). There are very few instances of 'free standing services' for special groups—such as the disabled, children, youth, or the aged—in need of rehabilitation, care and probation. The important role played by NGOs in relation to services for the physically disabled, the blind, deaf, and intellectually retarded, was recognized by the establishment of a Central Advisory Council on Social Services in 1946.[36] Legislative provisions to ensure the accountability of NGOs was not available until the 1980s (see *Voluntary Social Service Organization Act No 31*). These provisions also applied to personal social services, by requiring the registration of NGOs seeking access to public funds, or those channelled through foreign aid or international agencies.

Despite the active role played by the social service movement in promoting social reforms, which, as we have seen, were closely linked to the nationalist movement of the 1920s, voluntary organizations have rarely taken an advocacy role on behalf of disadvantaged and powerless groups. By and large, they have been reluctant to act counter to the self-interests of the membership of these organizations drawn largely from the affluent middle class and religious bodies. A notable example of this is found in the complacent attitude of Sri Lankan middle class to child labour, child cruelty and child domestic servants. No significant inroads were made into this problem despite the social legislation designed to regulate these social practices and the good intentions and generosity of voluntary workers (Goonesekera 1993). Regrettably, private charity often tended to legitimize social practices such as child labour (Jayasuriya 1968b). This incidentally stands in sharp contrast to the campaign against unfair labour laws waged by the Social Service League in 1915, and later by the Ceylon Workers' Welfare League in 1919 (Jayawardena 1972).

During the early days of welfarism, public welfare was conceived as a form of social care performed by two main government departments, viz., (a) the Department of Social Services, established in 1948, following a recommendation from the Jennings Report (1947); and, (b) the Department of Probation and Child Care, established in 1959, following the Hamlin Report on Children's Services (1957). Because the recipients of services offered by government departments tend to be devalued and stigmatized, these public agencies failed to function as professional social welfare agencies staffed by qualified staff (e.g., social workers) and catering for specific client needs. For most of the recent past, forms of organized public welfare services remained minimal and functioned as non-professional regulatory agencies and organizations rather than being involved in service delivery.

One of the main functions of the Department of Social Services was to oversee the regulation and control of schemes relating to a) the Poor Law Ordinance of 1939; b) social security schemes; and, c) a range of personal social services (e.g., services for the aged and infirmed, disabled and handicapped). To a limited extent, the Department was involved in service delivery in so far as it was responsible for making relief payments for designated groups (e.g., those suffering with tuberculosis and leprosy, widows, aged, and disaster relief). Since 1984, it also has had responsibility for the administration of the Workmen's Compensations Scheme.

The Department of Probation and Child Care has responsibility for the provision of welfare services for children and young people arising from social legislation such as the Children and Younger Persons Ordinance (1939) and the Vagrants Ordinance, the Orphanages Ordinance (1941) and the Adoption Ordinance (1941)[37]—legislation modelled on, if not an exact replica of, similar British social legislation (Midgley 1984). This legislation was mainly concerned with the treatment and rehabilitative functions arising from the administration of the juvenile justice schemes. Since 1975, this department has also taken over responsibility from the Department of Social Services for supervising pre-school services (e.g., crèches and early childhood education programs in the urban and rural sectors).

However, the Personal Social Services that evolved in this period, catering to the needs of disadvantaged and vulnerable groups (e.g., aged, disabled, handicapped children and youth, needy families, sick and injured) remained neglected as an aspect of public policy. They have up to now remained largely unchanged (Jayasuriya et al. 1985), and are, by and large, a patchwork of remedial services organized and maintained by the voluntary sector with some limited state assistance. Unlike in advanced western welfare state, the organized public welfare services failed to elicit much demand for collective intervention by the state because these were customarily provided by the informal system of family and kin networks.

The few services available, e.g., for the aged and disabled, were located in the capital city of Colombo or one or two large urban centres like Galle and Kandy. This again, highlights the urban bias of the welfare system in that the needs of the non wage-earning sector, the predominantly rural population, which constitutes the bulk of the population, are neglected by the formal and informal welfare sectors. The role of the state in relation to these care services has been that of a reluctant caretaker exercising regulation and control over others providing care and services. While the state may assist with emergency care and assistance, the main social responsibility continued to be with the family and kin networks.

Politics and the Welfare State

During the second and also well into the third decade, roughly from 1956 to 1970, of independent self government, competitive electoral politics, and welfare politics had a dominant and pervasive influence on all aspects of public life. During this time, welfare politics became entangled

with the new generation of nationalist politics (e.g., the youth insurrection of the 1970s, and the ethnic conflict) and contributed to the 'crisis of the welfare state'. (Jayasuriya 2000). The proponents of nationalist politics, exponents of cultural/ethnic nationalism, Sinhalese and Tamil nationalism, were drawn from the powerless, socially disenfranchised segment of the 'dual society'—those who did not belong to the Western educated urban centred middle class. It was a matter of political convenience that these forces also became allied with the organized working class. As a result, the politics of this era, in striving for a greater measure of distributional equity, sought to combine welfare issues with the demands of cultural/ linguistic nationalism.

A notable feature of the welfare policy strategy of the post-1956 era had been the package of rural policies as reflected in liberal credit facilities, land reform and rural amenities, including housing, all of which were beneficial to sections of the rural peasantry (Marga Institute 1974; Richards & Gooneratne 1980; Jayasuriya 1981; Moore 1985). These rural policies, introduced in the 1960s and 1970s, in addition to their economic rationale and consequences, helped to consolidate the Sri Lankan welfare state within an institutional framework of a package of economic and social policies targeted regionally and sectorally. They were also intended as trade-offs to offset the bias of welfare policies towards the urban sector. The main beneficiaries of these rural policies were clearly

> the new wealthy groups in village organisations [who were able to] deploy capital more effectively than others to maximise returns in agricultural operations ... [and exert] influence on the performance of all village level organisation (ARTI 1975).

These rural policies which had both economic and welfare components were specially relevant for the predominantly rural population in the Jaffna peninsula. This region is the 'homeland' of the Tamil people who were greatly dependent for their livelihood on the production of 'minor food crops, including bananas, tobacco, vegetables, potatoes, onions, chillies and fruit' (Moore 1985, 108). The predominantly rural Jaffna Tamils who had been previously disadvantaged by the educational reforms in the post-1956 era (not just language policies but also others such as district quota admissions to universities, standardization of marks, etc.) welcomed these rural policies as they offered some monetary compensation for the economic losses they suffered by becoming less competitive in the

labour market, especially in the professions and the public sector (Gunasinghe 1984). This was particularly significant because the representation of the Tamils in the public sector had 'always been proportionately higher than their demographic size' (Tambiah 1986: 78).

However, public sector employment which the Tamil community had come to regard as their main source of employment was no longer readily accessible because of the national language policies of the post-1956 era. Moore (1985) underscores this by arguing that 'it is the Jaffna Tamils who have borne the material brunt [of] the "Sinhalisation" of the state in both symbolic and material terms' (1985: 196). The economic benefits derived by the Tamil people from the rural social policies introduced in the 1960s were dramatically withdrawn when all import controls were removed as a result of the economic liberalization policies introduced in 1977, which included the removal of agricultural subsidies. Thus, with the fall in the price of minor food crops, agricultural production in the Jaffna district fell sharply and caused severe hardship (Moore 1985). This, therefore, suggests that in part, the ethnic accommodation of the immediate post-independence period, a concomitant of the 'dual society', was to a large extent held together by the Sri Lankan welfare state.

Reflecting on this period as a whole, there is no doubt that it was only in the post-1956 period of independence that numerous social measures became consolidated as a 'welfare state' (Government of Ceylon 1963). The distinctive features of the Sri Lankan welfare state which emerged, following the consolidation of numerous social measures in the 1960s, may be summarized as follows:

- universalistic social policies in the fields of health, education, public welfare, and the public utilities, including transport;
- an income redistributive rationale, including subsidized food as an income supplement, accounting for a high percentage of social expenditure relative to GDP (approximately 10-12 per cent of GDP);
- a social assistance model of social security and income maintenance;
- a limited system of 'personal social services', heavily reliant on private charity, benevolence and non-professional human services;

- a pronounced urban bias in the delivery of most welfare services and benefits; and,
- a package of compensatory rural policies.

The welfare politics that evolved during this period on the basis of the political alliance of nationalists and the radical Left, endeavoured to combine the interests of the peasant rural sector and the urban working class. It was this powerful alliance of interest groups which led to the consolidation of the Sri Lanka welfare state in the 1960s. We may also note in passing that the 'crisis of the welfare state', experienced in the 1970s and 1980s (Kelegama 1998; Jayasuriya 2001; Sanderatne 2001) fuelled by the fiscal crisis of the 1970s was also linked with the decline of welfare politics. Indeed, while this may have signalled a shift from *welfare* to *warfare*, they serve 'identical and complementary ends ... [in that they both] derive from the same roots, dynamics, values and ideology' (Gill 1977: 653).

The How, Why, and Wherefore of Social Policy

The Sri Lankan welfare state was, by any reckoning, in conformity with the understanding of the welfare state as public provision for the protection of its citizens from 'the consequences of want, ignorance or sickness' (Laybourn 1998: 4). The welfare state as it evolved in Sri Lanka was the product of social policy development under several decades of British colonial rule. This was closely associated with the process modernization through economic development and democratization.[38] It was a flourishing colonial economy, mainly based on commercial agricultural commodities, which created conditions of heightened economic security and well-being, and an entrepreneurial class, all of which were conducive to democratization, political reform, and welfarism. Democratization, importantly, through progressive constitutional reforms framed within the context of 'indirect' rule, uniquely associated with British colonization, provided the impetus to welfare reforms throughout the 19th century.

The democratization process itself was based on the assumption that 'the colonial state represented an absent ruling class' (Mamdani 1976) whose functions were exercised by the local indigenous bourgeoisie, a Western educated élite. The success of British colonial policy in Sri Lanka rested largely on creating and managing this local élite. Its policy was so

structured to ensure that this local bourgeoisie, a comprador élite, was a geographical extension of the metropolitan political state. Accordingly, one of the objectives of education policy development in the late 19th century was to equip this local élite with knowledge, skill, and competence to represent the ruling class as administrators. This was achieved by transplanting British cultural values and liberal political ideas and creating a local ruling class of 'brown sahibs' who helped to sustain British colonial interests. From the reproduction theorizing perspective, the colonial school system was oriented primarily to:

> The production of the right kind of labour power ... the school not only teaches basic skills, but also the rules of behaviour and attitudes appropriate for the positions in production the children are destined for, as workers or as agents of capital (Connell 1980: 35).

The ideology of British liberalism imposed on Sri Lanka in the early phase of colonial rule, similar to that in India, helped to shape the Sri Lankan political economy on the basis of three elements—*free trade*, *evangelicalism*, and *philosophical radicalism* (Stokes 1959). The laissez faire policies of free trade were central to the colonial economy, and at the same time, fostered an alliance with a local capitalist class. As in Britain, this was a qualified laissez faire which provided for a minimal role for the state in safeguarding society from disruption and institutional dysfunctional effects (crime and lawlessness, etc.). Evangelicalism, through the work of Christian missionaries mitigated the adverse effects of unbridled growth by legitimizing the 'civilizing mission' of colonial rule. The main function of missionary organizations was to provide social supports for colonial rule, enabling a greater degree of acceptance by the ruled.

Unlike in other colonial countries such as India, social reform, in Sri Lanka, as previously noted, was not paramount in the agenda of the Christian church. This policy strategy of the colonial Christian organizations was executed with active colonial government involvement in establishing a school system, vigorously promoted by Christian missionary societies. Christianization, mainly through education was not only an important avenue for social betterment and social mobility, but also directed towards cultural assimilation and co-optation of the local educated intelligentsia into the colonial culture and social structure. At the same time, the social antagonism towards Christian institutions fuelled the cultural nationalist

movements which emerged in the late colonial state, and were consolidated in the post independence period.

The third element — philosophical Radicalism — gave British liberalism a solid intellectual basis for articulating its philosophical and social commitments. Thus, in the Sri Lankan context, there is no doubt that the utilitarian thinking which guided the political reforms of 1833 had a lasting influence on all aspects of political and social development. The increased commitment to social interventions, clearly evident throughout the period of British colonial rule, especially from the late 19th century, was a direct consequence of the impact of the progressive ideas of the British liberal political culture on colonial administrators as well as the local elite. As a result, democratic ideas, values and institutions took firm root in the Sri Lankan polity.

The essential problem of colonial policy, from a British perspective, according to Hinden (1959), could be summed up as a 'simple alternative, imperialism or trusteeship, bread or freedom' (1959: 15). The evolution of Sri Lanka as a fledgling democracy during British colonial rule, exemplifies the skill with which the mix of material benefits from education, health and welfare were combined with freedom. It was, of course, a mix fraught with tensions and contradictions such that the success of mixing 'bread and freedom' may have contributed to the very end of colonial rule.

What is perhaps worthwhile noting is the remarkable similarity in the evolution of social policy in Britain and Sri Lanka. It is evident that the fundamentals of social policy in Sri Lanka have tended to mirror those in Britain from 1830 to 1914. Following Evans (1978), we can identify three periods in the development of a social interventionist position in British society and the economy. Interestingly, this general pattern of historical evolution of social policy in Sri Lanka — subject to some degree of cultural lag — is highly reminiscent of the trends in Britain. Thus, the period 1830–1870 in Britain, identified as the age of laissez-faire by Evans (1978), was pursued in the spirit of Benthamism and utilitarianism. The social policies of this period were tempered by the Benthamist credo of 'the greatest good of the greatest number' and by the utilitarianism of J. S. Mill. For Mill, collective action of the state permitted interference with personal freedoms and liberty so long as it was for preventing harm to others (Bruce 1961). This thinking was also markedly evident in the colonial

social policies in Sri Lanka, such as those that emerged following the Colebrooke–Cameron reforms of the 1830s.

The next period 1870–1895, which Evans (1978) terms 'the beginnings of collectivism', ushered in a new conception of society as one influenced by a 'social conscience' (Bruce 1961), and it was one in which welfare was seen as an alternative to utility. This shift in British social attitudes was also reflected in colonial social policy in that the state in both Britain and Sri Lanka began to modify its policies of non-intervention. For example, each government for a different reason—industrialization in Britain, and modernization in Sri Lanka—sought to intervene in the management and regulation of the process of industrialization or modernization. The introduction of factory legislation and particularly the Education Act of 1870 in Britain leading to free compulsory education in 1891 may be placed alongside the 'vague egalitarianism' evident in social reforms in Sri Lanka, such as those pertaining to education, the non-recognition of caste, and provisions relating to health and labour welfare.

The third period of social policy development in Britain in 1895–1914, according to Evans (1978), witnessed a heightened interest in welfare oriented public policies such as the New Poor Law and insurance against social risks, proposed by the British Liberal government of 1910–14. There were also other measures introduced by the Lloyd George Liberal governments of 1905–1914, such as the establishment of the School Medical Service, school meals, and the Children's Charter of 1908. Following on from these reforms, the National Insurance Act of 1922, which stands out as a landmark event in the development of the British welfare state, was a direct outcome of the ideology of *social liberalism*. This was a period marked by a 'a widespread stirring of social consequence, a "new consciousness of sin", as Beatrice Webb called it, of the moral obligation of the rich to the poor' (Bruce 1961: 142).

The influence of British 'social liberalism' also became evident in Sri Lanka, mostly after the far-reaching constitutional reforms of 1931. Following the introduction of universal suffrage leading to a semi-independent form of government with an elected representative legislative assembly, there was a sustained interest in social reform. As we have shown, what stands out was the dominance of welfarism in the electoral politics of this period. The compendium of social legislation that was placed on the statute books, the collection of social statistics and documentation of the incidence of social disadvantage, were all highly reminiscent of social

liberalism in Britain. (cf. the 'political arithmetic' of British poverty studies of Booth, Rowntree, and others as cited in Bruce 1961).

The more intriguing question is how does one account for this pattern of social policy growth in Britain and Sri Lanka. Considering the variety of interpretations offered to account for these policy initiatives (e.g., Laybourn 1998; Crowther 1988; Goldthorpe 1962), Goldthorpe (1962) identifies three main ways of accounting for the processes of social policy evolution. One view, originating from the classic work of Dicey (1996), suggests that what was most effective are the impact of 'big ideas' of great thinkers such as Chadwick, Bentham, J. S. Mill, Tawney, and Keynes. The ideas of these thinkers became critical in shaping law and policy, mainly by virtue of their influence on public opinion. Supportive evidence for this interpretation comes from the manner in which the thinking of colonial administrators was heavily influenced by utilitarianism as well as evangelicalism, which as a social creed was no less important than Benthamism.

Ideological influences were also markedly evident in Sri Lanka. Witness, for example, the powerful impact of Fabian socialist and Marxist ideas in the growth of the labour movement and radical Left politics in Sri Lanka. In short, the thinking of the local élite, the absentee ruling class, because of their anglicization or westernization, were well indoctrinated into the cultural ethos of their British overlords. It was ironical that in the long term these ideological forces helped to undermine British hegemony by giving intellectual and moral support in the struggle for self-rule and political independence.

The other interpretation of the processes of social policy evolution is more sociological. Thus, for example in Britain, it is argued that social policy initiatives arose out of an understanding of the social problems created by industrialization, such as urban poverty and social disorganization. The resultant sense of 'social conscience', generated a new political and social philosophy out of which evolved policy strategies requiring an active role by the state through measures of social intervention in combatting social problems. Social policy outcomes were therefore seen as 'social imperatives', practical ways of overcoming class conflicts and ameliorating social problems. Clearly, this functionalist interpretation of social policy development regards the collectivist action for social welfare as being governed by the needs of the society. In pointing to the limitations of this view, i. e., social policy as a sort of 'social imperative', Goldthorpe

(1962), offers a third point of view in accounting for changes and shifts in social policy development. He argues for a more refined functionalist interpretation on the grounds that we should take note of not only the needs of society but also the objectives and social purposes of individuals and groups.

Each of these interpretations is not mutually exclusive, and any specific account of the evolution of social policy would need to invoke one or more of these interpretations. Anne Crowther (1988) has presented a re-conceptualization of the nature and rationale of these processes of change by distinguishing between what she calls the 'pluralist' and élitist' models. The pluralist model is akin to Goldthorpe's refined functionalist interpretation which locates policy development within a democratic context. This is viewed largely as a way of resolving conflicts, an outcome of 'the conflict between classes and interest groups' (Crowther 1988: 12). By contrast, the élitist model, sees 'policy as determined largely by the interests of the economically dominant classes, usually well represented in the bureaucracy' (p. 12). Crowther argues sensibly that over time, social policy in Britain has not been one of 'either/or', but more a compromise between the pluralist and élites models. This is equally applicable to the Sri Lanka scene.

There is no doubt that the social and political institutions of Sri Lanka, including the welfare state of the 1960s lie firmly anchored to the social and political ideology of British colonialism. As Jupp rightly observes

> each institution, whether education, the law, parliament, national and local administration, was transplanted from Britain and depended for its entrenchment on the grafting of British culture and traditions upon the aristocracy and upper middle class (Jupp 1978: 219).

The Sri Lankan welfare state, as it evolved from early to late colonialism, reflects clearly the ideological influences from Bentham and J. S. Mill through to Keynes, Beveridge and the Fabian socialist style collectivism. These ideas were clearly in the forefront among the western educated élite who were largely responsible for social policy initiatives in the late colonial state 1931–70.

However, for some of these élite groups it was more a matter of strategic political and pragmatic convenience to promote measures for

greater equity and justice, than a question of being ideologically driven. James Manor (1989), in his biography of S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike—one of the leading Sri Lankan politicians of this period—underlines this clearly when he states that 'Ceylonese Ministers during the post-independence period of welfarism 'were not philosophically committed to redistribution of wealth' (Manor 1989: 195). They were, as he vividly puts it, 'paternalistic public benefactors'. The conservative politicians, members of the political élite who negotiated the transfer of political power from Britain to an independent Sri Lankan government in 1948, were somewhat ironically the strongest advocates of the growing radicalism, manifest as welfarism.

As Manor (1989) puts it, policies pursued by the Sri Lankan governments of the post-independence era were driven largely by the need to ' ward off attacks from the Marxist Left' (p.177). This was merely a political strategy of convenience, a way of using redistributive objectives of welfare policies (Jayasuriya et al. 1985) to their political advantage by accommodating the interests of the political disfranchised, the urbanized working class and rural peasantry. On the other hand, the leaders of the political Left in Sri Lanka, were more ideologically predisposed to pursue equity and justice. This was markedly evident in the approach of a leading Marxist politician's response to the proposal for free education (Perera 1944) as against that of the conservative Minister (C. W. W. Kannangara) who was its chief architect. The introduction of free education, along with universal compulsory schooling, contributing to increased social mobility, created a new educated class, a bilingual intelligentsia, who were destined to compete with the old political élite in the post-colonial era. This ranks, as perhaps, the most important determinant of social change in Sri Lanka in the latter part of the 20th century.

The 'alliance politics' of this era – the 1950s through to the 1970s was built around the 'welfare state' (Uyangoda 1999). Centre Left parties and the radical Left proved adept in using the electoral processes to gain political advantage by espousing welfare statist policies. Thus, the working class based Left wing political parties who had a strong ideological commitment to progressive social reforms, and a strong public sector in the mixed economy, combined with other less radical groups (e.g., those who represented the rural middle class interests) to enhance their dominance via the welfare state. In other words, the 'alliance politics' of nationalists and the Left (1956–65), strategically used the package of welfare policies—urban and rural welfare measures—to gain political ascendancy in the heyday

of 'welfare politics. Theorists such as Lakshman (1989) contend that the capitalist economic regime of late colonialism had to be tempered by welfarist politics in that 'the very sustenance of the bourgeoisie state required 'social welfarism' in order to keep the masses quiet and avoid revolutionary struggles' (Lakshman 1989: 110) This exemplifies, of course, the pluralist model of élite accommodation which sees political outcomes as a matter of competition between powerful interest groups.

Conclusion

In charting the evolution of social policy and the welfare state in Sri Lanka, this study identifies three distinctive features of British colonial legacy. First, the impact of the ideological milieu of British colonial policies in shaping the understanding of welfare policies as well as the worldview of colonial administrators and local political élites.[39] The late colonial state of the 20th century was especially influenced by the ideas of social liberalism and early Fabianism particularly as it related to notions of modernity and development. One of the key features of the late colonial state was that of the Sri Lankan polity becoming largely an agency of social development.[40] Clearly, the 'welfarist' understanding of the purposes of government, an egalitarian liberalism, had a continuing impact on the thinking of post-independence governments of all political hues in the first two decades.

Second, one of the central features of the late colonial state was its partial democratization—through the granting of universal franchise and limited indirect rule. At the same time, the political structure made the unelected colonial executive much more open to political contestation because of the restraints imposed on the exercise of executive authority limiting its legitimacy. In these terms, social policy development was the product of the complex interplay of partial democratization and the search for some degree of political legitimacy. Aspects of this unfolding political dynamic of welfare expansion, stoked by the weakening embers of the late colonial state, continued to reverberate even louder during the first two decades of independence (1948-70).

Thirdly, the relative autonomy of the late colonial state was reflected in the growth of a vibrant civil society in the last decades of colonial rule, the period of partial self-rule, leading to a radicalized working class, trade unions, and a range of nationalist/ religious organizations. Furthermore, as in India, this 'civil society' was 'a public sphere constituted through

patriarchal discourses' (Srivastava 1998:2). Inevitably, these influences from the 'civil society' put pressure on the state to expand its social commitments dramatically in the first two decades of independence from a piecemeal 'welfarism' to an integrated 'welfare state', an exceptional institutional structure for a 'developing society'.

The fracturing of the social justice rationale of these policies (e.g., the greater degree of social mobility, distributive justice and equity evident in the fall of income inequality in 1970), coupled with the sense of cultural alienation felt by the disempowered indigenous élite (e.g., the failed youth insurrection of the 1970s) vividly highlights the crisis of the welfare state and the collapse of the Westminster style political institutions in the 1970s (Jupp 1997). The deepening crisis of the welfare state and liberal democracy in the last two decades has brought to the fore the contradictions and tensions of a nation enmeshed in 'two cultures', and 'two societies'. The two cultures—that of the westernized and traditional or indigenous—with cross cutting linkages to all other social divisions, ethnic, cultural and regional, is probably one of the lasting legacies of British colonial rule. These 'two cultures' are now confounded with the 'two societies', a legacy partly of neo-liberalism and a declining welfare state, which has led to a sharp differentiation between the haves and the have-nots, the affluent rich and mendicant poor, capital and labour.

These dramatic social changes have witnessed the transformation of the Sri Lankan polity from *welfare* to *warfare* alongside a new political ethos in the post colonial era. The post colonialism which emerged in the 1970s was framed within a culture of an illiberal politics (1979–94), economic liberalism and the dominance of ethnic identity politics over the welfare politics of the earlier era. Although this new ethos was modified to some extent in 1996 by the restoration of the earlier forms of a liberal political culture, much uncertainty continues to surround the Sri Lankan polity in the context of globalization and the 'new politics' of 9/11.

Notes

1. Sir Charles Jeffries, a leading British civil servant in the Colonial Office, and former Deputy Permanent Under Secretary, had an important role to play in the development of colonial policy. He also had 'a great deal to do with the last stages of Ceylon's progress to independence' (Creech Jones, MP, Foreword to Jeffries 1962).

2. See Gooneratne (1992) who lends further support to regarding these two decades as a continuation of late colonialism, but in a state of crisis due to the clash between the metropolitan and local culture as well as other social and economic changes. See also Fernando (1990) who observes that there are obvious periods of transition in phases of political development and identifies 1977 rather than 1970 as the beginning of the new period.

3. See Russell (1982). Sri Lanka experienced no less than six different constitutions prior to the Donoughmore Constitutions in 1931. Since independence in 1948 it had three constitutions. See also Fernando (1999) and Edirisinha and Selvakkumaran (1999) on constitutionalism in Sri Lanka.

4. 'The spirit of utilitarianism sought to justify actions on the basis of contributions towards increasing human satisfactions and decreasing satisfactions (Sleeman 1973: 14) Utilitarians encouraged purposive social institutions, e.g., anti-slavery, factory legislation, improving public health, etc., the greatest good of the greatest number would be provided.

5. According to Cameron, Sri Lanka was 'the fittest spot in our Eastern dominion in which to plant the gem of European civilization, whence we may not unreasonably hope that it will hereafter spread over the whole of these vast territories' (quoted in Jeffries 1962: 29).

6. One is reminded here of the fact that in Britain the school leaving age was raised to 14 in 1918 by the Fisher Education Act (Sleeman 1973).

7. See de Souza's (1974) and Srivastava (1998) for sociological studies of Indian public schools as élite institutions of secondary education. Srivastava analyses the model, Doon School, regards it as 'an important site or construction of the "modern" Indian citizen, ... a public space for the differentiation between two kinds of intelligentsia, culturally and linguistically. These studies bear comparison with the analysis of colonial education in Sri Lanka, especially in the late colonial state.

8. See Bandarage (1983) for an exposition and critique of the dual economy/dual society thesis in the theorizing of the modernization school as applied to Sri Lanka.

9. See Ondaatje (1984) for a vivid description of the life style of the anglicized élite who adopted Western fashions of dress and other aspects of Western social life. See also Ames (1973).

10. See the *Report on the Employment of Ceylonese in the Public Service*, 1918.

11. In England, the first training school was established in 1860. Thus, it took 'only 18 years for Sri Lanka to follow suit (Uragoda 1987: 144).

12. According to Uragoda, 'the first Health Unit in Sri Lanka, for that matter in Asia, was established in ... 1926' ... these health units undertook the usual duties of a

public health department in a tropical country ... [and was a fundamental departure from similar units in other colonies]' (Uragoda 1987: 163.

13. The leader of the Ceylon Labour Union, A.E. Goonesinghe was 'a close protégé of the British Labour Party' (de Silva 1981: 424), and was also a close associate of Dr Drummond Shiels, a Labour Party MP who was to be a member of the Donoughmore Commission of 1929 (Jayawardena 1972).

14. The reference to the Buddhist revival of the early 20th century as 'Protestant Buddhism' originates from Gombrich and Obeysekere (1988). See also Malalgoda 1975; 1977). This anthropological interpretation is makes a distinction between traditional and practised Buddhism; and it is one which is highly contested (e.g., Holt 1990). Recent work (Illiah 2000) has suggested that the social teachings of doctrinal Buddhism were also evident in the theory and practice of all the Buddhist traditions. See also Bond (1992).

15. In the 1970s the Sinhalese Buddhist Nationalist movement was led by the more bilingually educated élite who were also splintered between moderate radicals and ultra-nationalist traditionalists. See Jayawardena (2000).

16. Ramsay MacDonald, the Prime Minister of the first Labour government in Britain, visited Ceylon in 1926 (Jayawardena 1972).

17. Kearney (1971) observes that the Donoughmore Commission in recommending the franchise reform cited the 'backward character of social and industrial legislation' as an indication of the need for a drastic widening of the franchise (p.4). Incidentally, the Secretary of State for the Colonies who approved the recommendations for franchise reform was none other than the prominent Fabian socialist leader, Sidney Webb, later Lord Passfield.

18. See unpublished MS, *Social Legislation in Sri Lanka*, edited by L. Jayasuriya available from the Central Council of Social Services, Sri Lanka.

19. Pieris (1964), quoting from an article by Sir Ivor Jennings in *Political Quarterly* 1946, observes that for Jennings, the 'colonial university [was] not merely a university' it is also National Gallery, British Museum, Burlington House, Bloomsbury, Chelsea, Royal Society, London Library, Drury Lane, and much more besides'. In brief, it was to be a centre for transmitting the western tradition of language and culture and serve as an important site for the dialogue between the liberal intelligentsia.

20. Some scholars have argued that the sharp fall in mortality rates found in the 1940s and 1950s was mainly due to the control of malaria through the spraying of DDT. This is questioned by others such as Sarkar (1957) and Meegama (1967) who draw attention to the overall impact of improved preventive and curative health care services, alongside the other benefits of the social welfare system, (e.g., better nutritional status, education for women)

21. Social assistance as a form of social security is defined by the ILO as a 'service or scheme which provides benefits to persons of small means granted as of right in amounts sufficient to meet minimum standards of need and financed from taxation' (ILO 1942, 84).

22. Some constitutional theorists maintain that the Westminster model—"the majority way, the minority say"—works satisfactorily only where the party system, in particular

two parties, are divided on political and economic issues. This certainly was not true of Sri Lanka where parties were divided more on sectarian interests, e.g., religion and ethnic lines, etc. It was this thinking which led to the rejection of the Westminster model in the 1978 constitution of the Second Republic (Wilson 1980).

23. See Government of Ceylon (1963) for a succinct account of the complex array of social and economic policies that constituted the Sri Lankan welfare state at its peak.

24. The Finance Minister of the first independent government, who was later destined to be the first President of Sri Lanka as a Republic, the late Mr J.R. Jayawardene, claimed in 1948 that 'free Ceylon may justly and proudly call itself a social service state' (quoted in Pieris 1977: 25).

25. Approximately 5 per cent of GDP was spent on education and this compares favourably with many advanced Western industrial countries. For details of educational reforms see Jayasuriya (1969).

26. The Report, *Betrayal of Buddhism* Report (Buddhist Committee of Inquiry 1956) pointed to 'the disadvantageous position of Buddhism' (de Silva 1993b), the religion of the majority. According to de Silva (1979), 'Buddhist opposition to Christian mission schools had a long history' (1979: 475).

    The schools take-over was achieved by the Assisted Schools and Training Colleges Act No. 5 of 1960, along with supplementary legislation by which all schools, except a few, were vested in the Ministry of Education (de Silva 1979). Peiris comments that 'as a consequence of these reforms ... the role of private organisation ... had been marginalised' (Peiris 1993: 197).

27. See de Silva (1993a) for a good overview of the politics of language policy.

28. A notable example is the plantation sector, consisting mainly of Indian Tamil labour which has been denied the benefits of egalitarian educational policies, largely because of their anomalous citizenship status (Kodikara 1965).

29. See World Bank (1998) for a succinct summary of Sri Lanka's impressive record in health outcomes which were mainly due to the policies in the heyday of welfarism and consolidated under the welfare state of the 1950s and 1960s. See also Anand & Kanbur (1991) for statistics on the health sector.

30. It is reported that Sir Ivor Jennings had discussions with Beveridge in the UK before finalising the Report of the Commission on Social Services.

31. *The Economy of Sri Lanka* by Sir Ivor Jennings (Jennings 1948), was in fact based mainly on the information collected by the author in the course of his work on the Report of Commission on Social Services.

32. The Seers Report (1971) provides a concise outline of the social security provisions of the Sri Lankan Welfare State in the 1960s and 1970s. This Report also summarises the Draft Social Insurance Bill recommended by the Tiruchelvam Committee Report of 1969.

33. Rent Restriction Ordinance of 1942, and the Rent Act of 1948 which went through several amendments before radical changes were introduced by the 1972 Act to limit landlordism.

34. See Special Report on Housing Development (Economic Review 1975).

35. This has changed with privatisation of energy, e.g., electricity and water.

36. One of the earliest surveys of the NGOs was carried out by Jayawardene (1964) at the request of the Central Council of Social Services. For a more recent survey see the Report of the Ministry of Planning and Implementation (1984).

37. Statutory provisions affecting the states and protection of children are embodied in over 50 statutes which provide for care and protection which include custodial care and forms of support in cash and services. Schemes for the implementation of these statutory provisions are non-existent or very limited.

38. The term 'modernization', popularized by Daniel Lerner, is generally understood as referring to 'the changes brought about in a non western country by contact, direct or indirect' (Srinivas 1968: 50). Often, 'modernization' is also used interchangeably with 'westernization' (Srinivas 1968).

39. One cannot 'understand adequately the view of those who write about social welfare policy without also taking account of their social values as well as their social and political ideas'. (George & Wilding 1976: 7).

40. See Foreign and Commonwealth Office (1971).

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A PALEOLITHIC PRESCRIPTION

by
T. W. Wikramanayake

HIPPOCRATES (c. 450 BC)

> *Positive health requires a knowledge of man's primary constitution and of the powers of various foods, both those natural to them and those resulting from human skill. But eating alone is not enough for health. There must also be exercise, the effects of which must likewise be known. The combination of these two things makes regimen, when proper attention is given to the season of the year, the changes of the winds, the age of the individual and the situation of his house. If there is any deficiency in food or exercise, the body will fall sick.*

The Need for a Paleolithic Prescription

The aim of this paper is to create an awareness of one of the effects of globalization on countries like Sri Lanka, many of which were listed by Dr. J. B. Kelegama in the Dr. N. M. Perera Memorial Lecture, 2000. I refer to the social and cultural consequences of a spread of western culture in the form of fast foods, coca cola and affluent life styles. In pleading for a more traditional life style, especially in the form of food and drink and physical activity, I have the support of a host of scientists in the West as well as in the East who are encouraging resistance to the more objectionable aspects of the western life style and promoting a Paleolithic Prescription. Why this endeavour? During the past two decades it has been realised that certain diseases tend to appear in clusters. There has been an alarming increase in these diseases in affluent countries during the past 15 years. Smaller but significant increases have been noticed in developing countries and poor societies as well. These conditions, grouped under the term "Metabolic Syndrome" by the WHO, include the Deadly Quartet, dyslipidaemia, resistance to insulin, obesity and pressure elevation (DROP). How can the increase in these conditions in both industrialised and developing countries be explained? Is the fault in our genes or in the environment to which we expose our genes, or both?

One explanation - the Thrifty Genotype Hypothesis - is that our biology is more suited to a lifestyle of the pre-agricultural period and not to the western lifestyles.

The Thrifty Genotype Hypothesis

Individuals living in harsh environments with an unstable food supply would maximise their probability of survival if they could maximise storage of energy. Genetic selection tends to favour energy-conserving genotypes in such environments.

Our genotype is very similar to that of our ancestors of the Paleolithic period, about 40,000 years ago. Their genotype reflected the circumstances under which they lived, and the genotype of these hunter-gatherers,(foragers), with their intermittent, sometimes fast-or-famine alimentation, would have minimized renal loss of glucose, and maximized the storage of any energy intake over energy expenditure. Their relatively low intake of carbohydrate would have resulted in a minimum secretion of insulin, sufficient for synthesis of glycogen and fat and for preventing breakdown of glycogen and fat till times of need, e.g., for fight or flight.

Genes are made of DNA and proteins. DNA carries the genetic message, from one generation to the next. The mutation rate for nuclear DNA is about 0.5% for a million years. During the 10,000 years since the dawn of agriculture there can be less than 0.005% of change. The modern human is, therefore, nearly identical with pre-agricultural humans. Residents of affluent, industrialized countries may be viewed as hunter-gatherers displaced over a period of 40,000 years, to a foreign and even hostile environment and exposed to psychological, nutritional and physical stresses of "Space Age" existence. The genes that helped humans to survive in a world characterized by high activity demands and regular food shortages are now a liability in an environment with ample food supplies and energy expenditure reductions. The environment has become toxic. A toxic environment refers to aspects of lifestyle that promote an unhealthy eating and activity pattern with increased portion sizes, reduced physical activity, a hyperactive mouth and a hypoactive foot. The discord between our basic biology and our present life style has resulted in the emergence of the major degenerative disorders, which produce 75% of all mortality in industrialized countries.

Similar adverse changes in disease patterns are seen in developing countries and the problem is expected to be more severe here than in the west within about 10 years.

The Paleolithic Lifestyle

Although it is unlikely that modern humans will revert to a Paleolithic or early agricultural period lifestyle it is instructive to consider differences between THEN and NOW.

Analysis of the nutrition properties of wild game and uncultivated vegetable foods, evaluation of archaeological remains, and studies of subsistence of present day hunters and gatherers have permitted the comparison of the "average" Paleolithic diet with the "average" Western diet. Although there is no universal subsistence pattern among the present-day foragers, because diets vary greatly with latitude and season, it is possible to generalize about the life-styles of a typical hunter-gatherer.

Physical activity: Hunting and gathering is hard work, especially for the women. Some women have been estimated to walk about 6 km per day (or 2400 km annually) while carrying equipment, gathered material and a child. In any one-day the foraging woman would have gathered 7 to 10 kg of plant food. The child will be carried about 7800 km during the first 4 years of life. The man would spend a similar amount of energy during the hunt. Age-matched physical fitness (measured as a maximal oxygen uptake of an individual) has been found to be about one-third higher for foragers than for present-day N. Americans.

Reproduction: Reproductive events are risk factors related to cancers among women. The prevalence of cancer is lower among foragers, be it cancer of the breast, ovary or uterus.

The girls reach menarche later (at about 16 years), and usually give birth earlier (by about 19 years), the interval between menarche and the first birth being about 3 years. In the West and Sri Lanka at present this interval may be 10 and even 20 years.

Foragers have more children and nurse each child longer, for about 3 years and more intensely. Menopause among foragers is reached about 5 years earlier.

Paleolithic humans are known to have been as tall as those in modern affluent societies. They also led a nomadic life that necessitated vigorous physical activity. Skeletal remains show that Paleolithic man had a lean body mass much higher than among Western societies today. Physical demands during the early agricultural period were also strenuous.

It is only after the Industrial Revolution that productivity came to be dissociated from human energy expenditure. Industrialized farming reduced the daily work expenditure by 50%. The height, robustness and unavoidable physical activity of pre-agricultural humans necessitated a higher dietary energy intake than indulged in at present.

Carbohydrate: Although the total amount of carbohydrate eaten by a forager would have been about the same as that of present N. Americans, the bulk of the carbohydrate would have been derived from fruit and vegetables. The little grain eaten was in the form of whole grain or lightly pounded grain. Refined flours were unknown and wild honey took the place of refined sugar. The modern American consumes over 50 kg. sugar and sweeteners/year/head. Their vegetable and fruit intake is low. Even vegans eat 2 1/2 times the amount of vegetables and fruit consumed by omnivores.

Micronutrients: Fruits, roots, legumes, nuts and other non-cereals pro vided 65 to 70% of the subsistence base, consumed within hours of being gathered, with minimal or no processing, often uncooked. Such a diet would provide a high average content of vitamins and minerals, much in excess of the currently recommended dietary allowances, and plenty of non-nutrient phytochemicals.

Fat: The Paleolithic diet has been estimated to have provided 20 to 25% of the dietary energy as fat. The cholesterol intake would have been about 480 g per day. The fatty acids that tend to raise blood cholesterol are myristic (CM_{14}) and palmitic (C_{16}), both saturated acids, found in meat, dairy products, coconut and other palm oils. They formed less than 6% of the total energy in the Paleolithic diet.

Trans fatty acids are absent in the Paleolithic diet, except for a small amount found in milk. Game has less fat than modern, commercial meats (4.2 g/100g vs. 200 g/100 g) and less C_{14} and C_{16} acids (0.99g/100g vs. 5.0g/100g fat).

The ratio, poly unsaturated to saturated fatty acids (P/S ratio) in Western diets is 0.4. and 1.4 in the Paleolithic diet. The higher the ratio the lower the blood cholesterol level. Increasing the cholesterol intake by 200 mg/day raises the total blood cholesterol level by 8 mg/100ml. The adverse effects of a high cholesterol intake by the forager is apparently offset the high P/S ratio of the fat intake.

Foragers consumed far more dietary fibre than is found in the "civilised" diet.

Protein: 30% of energy in the Paleolithic diet (2.5 to 3.5 g/kg body weight/ day) is derived from protein, as against 12% (or 1 g/kg/day) in modern diets. Chimpanzees, gorillas and baboons consume 1.6 to 5.9 g protein/ kg/day. Epidemiological data link a high protein diet with cancer of the breast and colon, and with arterial disease. The forager's diet is low in fat and very high in fruit and vegetables, circumstances that would offset a high protein intake.

THE THRIFTY PHENOTYPE HYPOTHESIS

The alternate hypothesis, proposed by Hales and Barker (1992) is that most of the metabolic syndrome is programmed *in utero.* Intra-uterine undernutrition leads to low birth weight and low weight at the end of the first year, which increase the risk of the metabolic syndrome in later life. When Wordsworth wrote "The child is the father of the man" he neatly summarised the general theme, presently accepted by many nutritionists, that factors affecting the foetus and the young have long-lasting effects, and are important causes of later diseases such as diabetes mellitus, hypertension, stroke and ischaemic heart disease.

Such a hypothesis is supported by epidemiological studies. Reduced birth weight, thinness at birth and low weight at the end of the first year of life, are strongly associated with increased susceptibility to type 2 diabetes mellitus and insulin resistance in adult life. This relationship is found to be enhanced by obesity.

The effect of low birth weight is independent of social class, being detrimental even in those of higher social classes. Seven year old children in the UK show a higher plasma glucose concentration after an oral glucose load in relation to their thinness at birth. In India, 30 min glucose and insulin concentrations were highest in those of lowest birth weight. Such

relationships are seen in a wide variety of different populations around the world.

There is one human "experiment" that supports the hypothesis. At the end of the World War II, the Germans when retreating from Holland carried away or destroyed all food supplies. The worst affected was the area around Amsterdam, when food availability fell to less than 25% of what had been available during the War. This famine lasted 3 or 4 months, till the advancing Allied Forces were able to bring food and other requirements. There were women, in their first, second or third trimester of pregnancy who were near starvation during this short period.

Their offspring have been followed during the past 50 years and compared with those born either before the famine or conceived after the period of deprivation. The prevalence of glucose intolerance was greater among those who had been deprived during foetal life and had low birth weights (LBW).

In other studies, LBW infants have been found to have reduced pancreatic islet cell mass and low insulin content of pancreas and cord blood.

Similar adverse changes in disease patterns are seen in countries like Sri Lanka, in persons migrating form rural to urban areas, and among rural women who have worked abroad for a few years and adopted a different lifestyle.

Thus, countries like Sri Lanka have a double burden to bear, namely, one of undernutrition of pregnant and lactating mothers and of preschool children, as well as an increasing prevalence of "diseases of affluence" in middle and later years. Strategies for reducing under nutrition have been in existence for decades, but pursued only half-heartedly, inadequately funded and with low political commitment. The need for action in this field is realised and will not be discussed here.

What will be discussed below will be actions needed to reduce the risks of developing the Metabolic Syndrome, in order to extend the productive life of the population and reduce the enormous cost of supporting the large number of diabetics, hypertensives, etc, we are likely to have in the next decade or two.

ACTIONS TO BE TAKEN

Central to the Metabolic Syndrome is Obesity, and efforts to control obesity will also lead to reducing the prevalence of the other components of the syndrome, such as diabetes, heart disease and hypertension.

Genetic engineering? The components of the syndrome represent disturbances of complex metabolic systems in which various genetic components are normal genes with unknown ramifications. Until these are well understood, action in terms of gene therapy will not be possible. Gene therapy is feasible for monogenic disorders, when genetic engineering (a conscious effort to improve the genome) might be considered.

What is needed here is "culture engineering".

Culture engineering

By culture engineering is meant an effort to develop, in cell dimensions, the environment in which the human genome finds its optimal expression. This concept has been referred to as "euphonics".

For prevention of obesity, diabetes and ischaemic heart disease, the euphonic approach is the "Paleolithic Prescription". In the interests of health, in the 21st century there should be a return to aspects of the Paleolithic Prescription that provide an objective background against which we could consider modifications in our current lifestyle.

If we accept the Prescription, certain initial decisions have to be taken:

A. Which populations to target, in the interests of efficiency and cost-effectiveness?

   i. All inclusive, general population approach, similar to the campaign against cigarette smoking or alcohol consumption.

   ii. Target the predisposed, especially children of parents that have the metabolic syndrome.

   iii. The preventive approach, focussing on a particular phenotype, e.g., obesity. which is easily diagnosed and could result in diabetes or hypertension.

B. What constitutes an acceptable and feasible Prescription in contemporary society? An over ambitious programme might demand unacceptable lifestyle modifications, or an unacceptable impact on the food industry.

C. At which age to implement the Prescription? There are benefits of restricting dietary energy intake in early life, as obesity and food intake patterns are familial.

Controlling the environment

Society is unlikely to return to a hunter-gatherer lifestyle. Efforts have therefore to be directed towards preventing the toxic environment acting as a risk factor.

One principal action is health education, of the school child and of the general population. However, health education alone is insufficient. People need opportunities for good eating.

The Food Industry should be encouraged to

i. reduce advertising energy dense foods directed at children. Energy-dense food distribution in schools should be limited, especially in urban areas.

ii. develop tasty, nutritious, high-fibre, low-energy foods

iii. reduce or eliminate advertising fast foods, candy, soft drinks, sugared cereals.

The Government should:

i. subsidise vegetables and fruits grown locally.

ii. Levy a special tax on energy dense foods, beef, ham and chicken Burgers, KFC, pizzas.

Changes in diet

1. We should return to the rice diet of the pre-World -War II era: rice flour for hoppers, string hoppers, pittu and roti, rice and curry for lunch and /or dinner, rice flour in any other food prepared for dinner, noodles and pasta of rice and kurakkan flour. The subsidy on wheat

flour should be removed to reduce the gap between prices of rice flour and wheat flour.

2. Usė the wide variety of yams available in the country, to supplement energy intake from rice, and make greater use of starchy fruits such as jak and bread fruit.

3. Eat a variety of vegetables and plenty of green leafy sambals, mallumas and curries, with as many servings of vegetables as of rice.

4. Eat more of fruits such as nelli and guava, which are richer in vitamin C than any other fruit, local or foreign.

Physical Activity should be encouraged by

i. introducing mandatory exercise programmes in schools,
ii. by designing highways and roads to induce safe walking and cycling.
iii. Encouraging cycling to school and work; subsidised bicycles,
iv. providing community recreation centres,
v. insist on buses stopping only at halting places,
vi. encourage walking down stairs, by having lifts stopping only at every third floor on the downward journey.

Encourage self-monitoring of one's life-style. The subjects keep daily records of their food intake, physical activity and of their body weight. Such records provide information that help then to identify components of their behaviour that may be detrimental to their health.

For exercise, any activity is better than none. Exercise could be programmed: aerobic exercise (walking, running, hiking, swimming) engaged in for a set period of time (20 to 110 min) at a relatively high intensity level that is planned.

Lifestyle activities involve being more active during one's daily routine:

taking stairs instead of the lift or escalator,
standing while telephoning,
putting away remote controls,
getting off a bus a stop earlier,
making several trips upstairs,

going out for entertainment rather than sitting in front of the TV,
moving during commercials and
washing car.

Here energy expenditure is increased without concern for the intensity of the activity.

The implementation of the "euphonic approach" to the metabolic syndrome or diseases of affluence will require personal discipline in societies that are increasingly hedonistic. There are no "medical miracles" and "quick fixes" that require no effort on the part of the recipient.

The need for self-discipline in many other aspects of human behaviour is increasingly evident. How we undertake to manage these syndromes will indicate how well we cope with the larger issues of population and resources. If we cannot summon the self-discipline to improve our personal health, it is unlikely that society can summon the discipline to meet the many problems created by expanding populations and diminishing resources.

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SOME DIALECTIC ELEMENTS FOUND IN PALM-LEAF MANUSCRIPTS

by
A. Lagamuwa

The main objective of this research is to have a cursory glance at the secret languages in which ancient Sinhalese Palm-Leaf Manuscripts and other documents of Sri Lanka were composed. The paper is to review when, why and how the composition of manuscripts in mysterious languages in the early period, was transformed in the later periods to be written on the palm-leaf manuscripts.

Mankind has been using various strategems from time immemorial to pursuade others to their point of view.[1] Language occupies a prominent place among them.[2] According to historical sources[3] the 'Yakshas' and '*Nāgas*' (tribes of devils & cobras) who lived in Sri Lanka prior to the advent of King Vijaya[4] had used primitive languages for their communicative purpose. Scholars are of opinion that stanzas such as:

"පණමත පණ අප්පකුපිත ගෝලීචලනග්ග ලග්ග පඩිවිංවම්"
"Panamatha pana appakupitha golichalanagge lagga padiviṁvaṁ"

"දසසුනාත දප්පණේසු එ ආදි සතනු දලං ලුද්දං"
"Dasasunātha dappanēsu e ādi sathanu dalaṁ luddaṁ"

In Kāṇṭhabharaṇam's come from the language of Yaksha while clauses such as

"දායිමාලේ ඉන්සේ දාපුදායි මාලේ"
"Dāymālē insē dāpudāy māle"

in Dharmapradipikā[6] are found in the language of Nāgas.

It is not certain as to the sources from which these dialects have been derived. Some say that it is the Tamil language[7] while others believe that 'Helabasa'[8] (Sinhala) is the source. However, literary sources point to the use of these dialects for composition of various texts. It is said that king 'Rāvanā'[9] who is supposed to have lived in Sri Lanka around 1800 of

the Pre-Buddhist Era had earned the title 'Dasis' (Ten Headed) on account of his scholarship and the title Thriliṇgabhāshāchārya'-(a person educated in Thriliṇgabhāshā') for excelling in 'Thriliṇga Language'[10]. According to *Rajavaliya*[11] king Rāvanā's language[12] has been identified as the Theliṇgu Language and the works[13] attributed to him are *Kumārathantra, Artha Prakāsha, Nandi Prakāsha, Udisthantra* and *Shivathāndava-Sthothra.*[2] These works pertain to the field of indigenous medicine and may have been Palm-Leaf Manuscripts. If so they may have been treated as books written in secret code on account of the mystic language of composition.

The other linguistic modes[14] have been used from ancient times in the expression of human emotions. The body language (Kaika Bhāshāva) is one of them. The body language for instance is one in which a person expresses himself through different parts of the body. 'Symbolic Language' (Lākshanika Bhāshāva) is another similar method.

The characteristics of this linguistic medium are the use of various signs, symbols and objects for expression of ideas. *Srī Maddandacharya* as well as *Raguvamsa*[15] have made use of this medium of expression. Another form of body language is the language of Hand Signs (Hastha Mudrā Bhāshāva) The basic feature in this medium is that the letters in the Sinhala alphabet are assigned to different parts of the body and words were produced by touching each different part. This is a mode of expression commonly used by the deaf, the dumb and the blind. Hence they are also known as the 'Deaf Language' (Badhirā Bhāshāva) 'the Blind Language' (Anda Bhāshāva) and the 'Dumb Language' (Muga Bhāshāva). 'Mystic Sign Language' (Bhūtha Mudra Bhāshāva) was one in which letters were produced by means of fingers and words were obtained by touching the relevant parts of fingers.

As all these modes of expression enabled the expression of ideas through activities such as body movements, signs, symbols and miming, they fall into the class of body language. Since this language has been comprehensible to none other than those who had excelled in it. There is extensive information available on the subject. However, this brief account would suffice for the purpose.

Regarding the duality (Dvirūpathāva)[1] of languages, there is evidence to support the existence of confidential dialects peculiar to certain communities or group of people and these dialects[16] were not comprehensible to the majority of people except those who had excelled

in them. Hence the varieties of languages and the dialects such as the Yakshas, the Väddās, the Rodiyās, the Kandyan Nobility, the Infants, the Underworld groups, the Bhikkus, the Fisherfolk, the Kākas, the Prethas and the Elephants are based on factors including nationality, community, ethnicity, caste, class, profession, vocation, status and age. Although they have been spoken dialects, they have been used in writing too. For example the dialect of Yakshas used in the spoken form in the performance of rituals such as 'Bali' , 'Thovil', 'Suniyam' (Black Magic) and in incantations and talismans, served the needs of their documentation as well. These dialects may be treated as being secretive languages to a certain extent.

Although a large number of palm leaf manuscripts[17] from the 13th century onwards are well preserved in museums, libraries, temples and in private collections in Sri Lanka, various difficulties are encountered in their utilisation. The main difficulty lies in the secrecy of dialectic elements found in the ola manuscripts.

In ancient times the composers of these documents mainly used secretive languages as a device to safeguard the mysteries they contained. Not only were these documents composed in secretive language to preserve their mysteries, they were also known by secret titles. Such compositions carrying secret titles are to be seen in various depositories in the country. For instance, several Palm-Leaf Manuscripts on indigenous medicine[18] belonging to the 16th - 18th centuries, found in Kandy, Ratnapura, Matara and Hambantota Districts, carry secretive titles such as,

"කඹුළු කඩුප්පුවා"
"Kambulu Kaduppuwā" (The stick used to beat the drum).

"වෙදරාළගෙ මෝ"
"Vedarālage Mō" (Native Doctor's Mother)

"සමසක් පිපෙන මල්"
"Samasak Pipena Mal" (Flowers which bloom for six months)

"භූමි අවතාර"
"Bhūmi Awathāra" (the incarnations of the earth)

"පටබැඳී ආරච්චිල"
"Patabändi Ārachchila" (the Headman so named by the villagers)

These manuscripts contain methods of treatment and drugs for snake venom, dislocation of limbs, fevers, diarrhoea, jaundice and rabies.

Another device used in preserving the secrecy of contents in the manuscripts was that of jumbling the order of pages. Although the manuscripts were given page numbers in an ascending order, parts of an entry pertaining to a matter contained in the first part of the manuscript were interspersed in the middle or/and at the end of the manuscript. There may be other matters in between. In case such an entry is either an incantation of a form of treatment, none could trace it unless one had an accurate knowledge of it. Apart from such devices, authors prevented any harm to themselves and the society in general by passing on their compositions, either to the most trusted pupils or to their male offspring.

This research was undertaken with the main objective of reviewing documents in the secret languages referred to above so as to facilitate the utilisation of palm-leaf manuscripts written in various languages. This will really facilitate many who are debarred from access to them on account of having no knowledge of mystic languages.

Many of the ancient Sri Lankan scholars used contemporary Prākrit, Sinhala, Pāli, Sanskrit and Tamil works which were well known in their manuscripts. The majority of them still extant are in Sinhala or Pali. Most of the Sanskrit manuscripts are written in Sinhala script. A few written in Tamil are also available.

Moreover, there are manuscripts written in languages like Burmese, Cambodian, and Teliṇgu in many places. It is quite clear that the manuscripts are varied in terms of language as well as the subject. However, most of them can be treated as Buddhist texts. There is a certain amount of similarity between the palm-leaf manuscripts and the Inscriptions[19] of Sri Lanka. The subject matter, script, style and symbols used in inscriptions are common to the contemporary manuscripts[20]. A review of ancient manuscripts point to the gradual evolution of the language and script. Although the language of 13th century manuscript of 'Visuddimagga' available in the library of Peradeniya of is similar to that of contemporary inscriptions, the language and scripts of 18th century manuscripts[20] are quite different. However, irrespective of the language and script, anyone who has a knowledge of contemporary languages, will be able to comprehend and make use of these texts as they are composed in languages which are well known.

From ancient times some manuscripts and other works have been written in secret languages unknown to the majority of the society and they were incomprehensible to those other than the authors and those well versed in such secret languages. Only a handful who were engaged in this field could acquire proficiency in those languages, because it was a valuable form of preserving knowledge in the hands of the teacher (Gurumustiya). Many of the documents done in secret languages pertain to subjects such as indigenous medicine[18], incantations, astrology, letters and documents pertaining to state affairs, war and espionage, talisman and entries about treasures. This may have been a device of safeguarding the confidential nature of these subjects which were of great importance to society. So that they were exclusively in the hands of those who dealt with them. Neither the practitioner nor the society will benefit from charm and talisman or medication unless administered by veterans in these fields. Loss of lives, plunder of archaeological objects and monuments as well as robbery of wealth can be the outcome of the possession of documents pertaining to buried treasures and properties by dubious characters. Thus the encoding of these works in confidential languages may have been prompted by the noble objective of sefeguarding life, wealth and society. This is also the reason which made teachers treat such mystic arts as a special preserve without even handing them over to their pupils or children.

Even when it was very necessary, teachers handed over such secrets only when they were nearing death in their old age, after satisfying themselves about the recipient, conduct and at the cost of exacting. promises. They may have felt that the prospect of interment of their valuable knowledge with their death was a beter alternative than the possible damage caused to society by handing them over to unsuitable persons. It is quite clear that from the very ancient times palm-leaf manuscripts have been documented in secret languages. *Mahāvamsa* relates the incident of Prince Uttiya who had a clandestine relationship with the queen of king Kälanitissa sending her a love-letter through a person disguised as a buddhist monk or imposter (Shramana Prathirupaka)[3]. It is possible that the letter may have been written in a confidential language. Further, the method of treatment of bone fractures in human body and the medicines are mentioned in an old ola-leaf manuscript[21] on indiginous medicine in the following manner.

(Transcription and Transliteration)

"විල් නොබු ලවඩ නොබු රවලැඩ ලාක	නොබු
යදුක් ලසඟ යාගන් ගෙහ දේය	නොබු
නොක් හැපි ගයා නබ්බුහ රිඟ දැහ	මුබු
වප්හි ලසප හෙප ඉහුරඟ ලුයඩ	යබු"

"Vil nobu lavada nobu ravalada lāka	nobu
Yaduk lasanga yāgan geha dēya	nobu
Nok häpi gayā nabbuha ringa däha	mubu
Vaphi lasapa hepa ihuraga luyada	yabu"

"හික් පොතු කහට පොතු සහ කැට කැල	පොතු
මඟුල් කරඳ, මාදං, දෙවගේම	පොතු
පොල් පැණි දමා පත්තුව සිඳ ගැව	යුතු
හන්දි කරන වෙන අවුසද කුමට	මතු"

"Hik pothu kahata pothu saha käta kēla	pothu
Mangul karanḍa mādan devagēma	pothu
Pol pani damā paththuva sinda gēva	yuthu
Handi karana vena awsada kumata	mathu"

(Translation)

Make a paste of the barks of Roxb (odina wodier), bastard teak, Indian beech and black plum, and then mix it with sweet coconut. Afterwards fry the paste and apply. What other medicines need to join fractured limbs?

A palm-leaf manuscript of incantations which renders an incantation in a correct form, states in a secret language the benefit one could derive from it as:

"ඕං නීළ කිඩවිෂ භක්ෂ නේස්වාහඃ"
"On neela kidavisha bhaksha nesvāhah"

"තුකබ් යබුඩ රිසිදි ලැහුබඩ ගෙපු"
"Thukab yabuda risindi lahu bada gepu"

(Administer chanted betel leaves orally to those who have swallowed poison)

There is evidence to show that a considerable number of manuscripts and other documents pertaining to varied fields had been

written in mystic secret languages. The noble feature in them is that a secret language other than the one they were written in is employed to present their interpretation. Hence it is necessary to study secret languages used to paraphrase palm-leaf manuscripts written in another secret language in order to utilise them as well as to acquire knowledge of the secret language of composition. One secret language in which palm-leaf manuscripts had been written is known as the Talipot-Leaves Language[22] (Thalapath Bhāshāva).

The following verse shows how another secret language is used to explain the letters and words employed to interpret the message.

(Transcription and Transliteration)

"සිවුදිග කොන් අටකි ත්‍රි සුලත් තුනකී
මුදු සතකි ඊපිට යන නැව් දෙකකී
පත්‍ර සයකි අතුපස ගිය එක කඳකී
මේ සන්නේ නොවරදවා කියන් සකී"

"Sivu diga kon ataki thrisulath thunakī
Mūdu sathaki ēpita yana nävu dekakī
Pathra sayaki athupasayana eka kandakī
Mē sanne novaradavā kiyan sakī"

(Translation)

Friend, Explain what this is? Eight corners in four directions and three tridents. Two ships sailing in seven seas. One trunk with five branches and six leaves.

The implicit meaning of this verse is completely different to its over meaning. The meaning of this verse is explained by another verse different to the original.

(Transcription and Transliteration)

"සිවි අට තුන හත දෙක හය නියම දැන
පසලහ එකක් ගැනගෙන අකුරු අට කින
කිව් ගණනින් නොවරදවා එකිනෙ කින
රහස් කරන තල්පත ලිය මෙම ලෙසින"

"Sivu ata thuna hatha deka haya niyama dana
Pasa langa ekak ganagena akuru ata kina
Kivu gananin novaradavā ekine kina
Rahas karana "thalpatha" liya mema lesina"

(Translation)

Know the figures, 4, 8, 3, 7, 2 and 6 correctly and count number which is close to the figure 5 and eight letters and by learning talisman which is in the books and the "Mala Pata" well. Write on the secret palm-leaf (Talapata).

According to this verse talipot leaves language or Thalapath Bhāshāva is known as a secret language obtained by the division of the sentence into groups of eight letters. The order of letters from one to eight are then mixed up and the arrangement of groups of eight letters produce a distorted sentence. Accordingly, a lengthy incantation or any other writing in occult sense should first be grouped into divisions of eight letters. Then the letters of each group starting from the 4th letter followed by 8th, 3rd, 7th, 2nd, 6th, 5th and the 1st produces the correct sentence and sense. A sentence from thalapath language arranged in this manner is as follows.

(Transcription)

"මුළා වූ රජු නාහිමිගේ රහසක් යැයි සිතා මාහිමි උණු තෙලෙහි ගිල්වා මරුමුවට පත් කළේ, තම සොයුරු ශ්‍රමණ ප්‍රතිරූපකයකු ලවා අගමෙහෙසියනට එවුන තලපත නිසා මැයි".

(Transliteration)

"Mulāvū raju nāhimigē rahasak yay sithā māhimi unu thelehi gilvā marumuwata path kalē thama soyuru shramana Prati rūpakayaku lavā aga mehesiyata evuna thalapatha nisāmay."

(Transcription of the secret sentence)

"හජුවුමුමිනා රළායික් හගේ සියසර තෙළහි තාලේණු මිමාමු මල්හි වරුවා ගිමලේත්ට සෝත කපරු මරුහො පණ ශ්‍රයාග වාකුක ටෙ අලයෙවුටය හෙම එන සිමැති පතයි සාතල"

(Transliteration)

"Hijuvumuminā ralāyik hagē siyasara theuhi thālenu mimāmu malhi varuvā gima lēthta sōtha kaparū maruho pana shrayuga vākuka me alaye vutaye hema ena simani pathay sāthala".

(Translation)

Even though the palm-leaf letter (Talapata) had been sent through a disguised monk (imposter) to the queen by the king's brother, the misguided king thinking that it was a secret of the high priest killed him by drowing him in hot oil pot.

The recognition of secret language, illustrating the manner of rearranging the occult languages in palm-leaf manuscripts is an ardous task calling for lengthy explanations. However, it is opportune that the occult languages in which manuscripts were written should be illustrated in a simple comprehensible language.

The language of script sign language (Akshara Madrā Bhāshāva) is an example of simple comprehensible language used to write manuscripts. The characteristic feature of this language is the use of the first letters of very well-known words, and this is a feature common to modern languages too. Literary evidence points to the use of this language in both writing and speech. Buddhist Literature states that the four letters du, sa, na, so stood for king Bimbisara's four relative Imps (Prethas) in the time of the Lord Buddha[6]. The Buddha had said that the four letters represented the four first words of the four lines of stanzas (gāthā,).

(Transcription)

"දුජ්ජීවිතං අජීවිම්හ... සටිඨිං වස්සසහස්සානි... නත්ථි අන්තො කුතො අනෙතා... සොහිනුන ඉතොගන්ත්වා..."

(Transliteration)

"Dujjeevitan ajeevimha,... Sattin Vassasāhassanī,... Naththi anthō Kuthōantho,... Sohinuna itho ganthvā.

Thus the language of script signs which found its way into the old palm-leaf manuscripts had been extant. This sign language is found in the following verse contained in Manuscript of Astrology.

(Transcription)

"මේ වෘමික සිංකතු වෘධ ම කුං මී
මුධ සබසුශක නිධක ආ ව්‍යාඃ
ඵා වෛ වෛ ජ්‍යෙ ආ ශ්‍රා
භා ආ කා මා පෞ මා චෛ ව"

(Transliteration)

"Me Vru mi Ka sim Ka Ku Vru dha ma kum mi
Mu dha sa ba su sha ka ni dha ka ā vyah
Phā chai wai jeya ā shrā
Bhā ā kā mā pau mā chai va"

Although puzzling at a glance the first line of the composition stands for the 12 zodiac signs.

(Translation)

"මේෂ, වෘෂභ, මිථුන, කටක, සිංහ, කන්‍ය, තුලා, වෘශ්චික, ධනු, මකර, කුම්භ හා මීන."

Mēsha, Vrushabha, Mithuna, Kataka, Sinha, Kannya, Tulā, Vrushchika, Dhanu, Makara, Kuṃba and Meena."

(Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarious and Pisces)

The second line shows the 12 Bhāwas of the astrology.

(Transcription)

"මූර්ති, ධන, සහජ, බන්ධු, සුත, ශත්‍ර, කලත්‍ර, නිධන, ධර්‍ම, ආය සහ ව්‍යාය".

(Transliteration)

"Mūrthathi, Dhana, Sahaja, Bandhu, Sutha, Shathra, Kalathru, Nidhana, Dharma, Karma, Āya, Vyāya".

The last two lines devote the 12 months.

(Transcription)

"ඵලාගුණ, වෛත්‍ර, වෛශාඛ, ජ්‍යෙෂ්ඨ, ආෂඪ, ශ්‍රාවණ, භාද්‍රපද, ආස්වීනී, කාර්තතික, මාගසිර, පෞෂ, මාඝ"

(Transliteration)

"Pālaguna, Chitra, Vishāka, Jeyshtha, Ashadha, Shrāvana,
Bhādrapada, Āschini, Karthathika, Magasira, Pōusha, Maga.

(Translation)

March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October,
November, December, January, February

The 'Letter Language' (Akshara Bhāshāva) is also an important language in which manuscripts were written. The main feature of this language was the use of consonants without vowels. The 'Kombuwa' (කොම්බුව - ෙ), Ispilla (ඉස්පිල්ල - ි), Pāpilla (පාපිල්ල - ු), Elapilla (ඇලපිල්ල - ැ), are omitted. Vowels are used in their place. Instead of the symbol ' ් ' (හල්ලකුණ = Hallakuna), the letter "Iru" (අ)has been used. The formulae form of this secret code is as follows:

(Transcription)

"අ යනු ඇලපිල්ල ඉස්පිල්ලට ඉ යනු
එ යනු කොම්බුවට පාපිල්ලට උ යනු
සඅ යනු ඇදට අල්ලකුණට ද යනු
ලියනු මෙලෙස අක්ෂර බස යැයි කියනු"

(Transliteration)

"Ayanu älapilla ispillata iyanu
Eyanu kombuwata pālillata uyanu
Iruyanu ädata al lakunata dayanu
Liyanu melesa akshara basa yay . kiyanu"

(Translation)

Write in this way, A for Alapilla, I for Ispilla,
E for Kombuva, U for pāpilla, Iru for Ädaya and
Iluv for Allakuna, then call it Akshara Basa

The chanson verse

(Transcription)

"තමාවරද නොදිස්නේ - මෙරමා දොස්ම දිස්නේ
නුවන් බැහැර නහමත් - තමා මුත් නොදක්නේ කිම්"

(Transliteration)

"Tamā varadasa nodisnē - meramā dosma disnē
Nuwan bähära nahamath - thamāmuth nodaknēkim?"

(Translation)

One doesn't see his own faults, - but sees the faults of others. Having you eyes of your own-why don't you see your own faults.

When rendered in this code it reads as follows.

(Transcription)

"තමඅ වරද නඔද ඉසඟනඑ - මඑ රමඅ දඔසඟමදඉස නඑ
නළවනඟ බසෘ හසෘ නහමතඟ - තම අමළතඟනඔදකඟනඑකඉමඟ"

(Transliteration)

"Thamaa varada naoda isafanae - mae ramaa daosafamada isanae
Nauwana fa bauru havru nahamathafa - thamaamauthafa - naodakafanaekaimafa"

Repeating Letter Language (Punarākshara Bhāshāva) is another secret language. In this the rule folowed is that of the letters combine to each other. The formulae had been laid down as follows.

(Trnascription)

"අ - ඕ, ක - ද්‍ර, ග - තා, ඤ - ණ
ඉ - ඌ, ච - ධ, ජ - ටා, ප - බා
ඒ - ආ, න - රා, ස - යා, වා - ම
ශා - ලා, හ - ළ. පුනස්සරං"

(Transliteration)

"A - ō, ka - dra, ga - thā, gna - na
I - ū, cha - dha, ja - tā, pa - bā
E - ā, na - rā, sa - yā, vā - ma
Shā - lā, ha - la, punassaram"

Accordingly, 'ō' is repeated after 's' and "ā" after 'ā'. The rest of the letters remain unchanged. An example is given below.

(Transcription)

"පේරාදෙණිය විශ්වවිද්‍යාලයේ පුස්කොළ පොත් සංගමයක් තිබේ."

(Transliteration)

"Pērādeniya Vishvavidyālayē Puskola Poth Sangamayak Thibe."

(Translation)

There is an association of palm-leaf manuscripts at the University of Peradeniya. When rendered in this code it reads as -

(Transcription)

"බේනාරකෙඤිසා මිල්මා මිකාහසේ බුය්දොහ බෝග් යංතාවාසාද්ගිපේ"

(Transliteration)

"Bēnākegneesā milmā mikyahase buydoha bōg yanthā vāsādgipē"

Ugna Language (Ugna Bhāshāva) is also known to have been a secret language with one another. The code used twelve pairs of letters with letters U-gna (උ-ඤ) as the 12th pair which explains the name given to this language. The formulae is as follows.

අ - ඉ	ච - ජ	a - I	cha - ja
ස - ර	ට - ඩ	sa - ra	ta - da
ව - හ	ත - බ	va - ha	tha - ba
ල - ක	එ - ඔ	la - ka	e - o
ය - ම	ප - න	ya - ma	pa - na
ද - ග	උ - ඤ	da - ga	u - gna

Accordingly, 'I' follows 'A' and 'A' follows 'I'. Ispilla,

Papilla, älapilla, kombuwa and hallakuna (ි, ු, ා, ෙ, ්) are used in the normal way.

i. e. The statement-

(Transcription)

"අපේ පැරණි අත්ලිපි අප විසින් රැකගතයුතු අගනා වස්තුවකි".

(Transliteration)

"Apē pärani ath lipi apa visin rëkagathayuthu aganā vasthuwaki."

(Translation)

"Our old manuscripts are a treasure worth preserving by us."

When rendered this statement into a mystic form in this code it reads as:

(Transcription)

"ඉනේ නැසැපි ඉබ් කිනි ඉන හිරිප් සැලැදබමුබු ඉදපා හර්බු හලි".

(Transliteration)

"Inē nasapi ib kini ina hirip saladabamubu idapa harbu hali".

Numeral language (Aṇka Bhāshāva) is another secret language built up by arranging the letters in the Sinhala alphabet in the form of numbers. This secret language had been used in writing palm-leaf manuscripts in a mystic manner. One important feature in it is that the numbers had been given symbols such as Ispilla, Pāpilla, Kombuwa, Alapilla and Hallakuna. According to the formulae 25 letters had been used.

අ - 1	ක - 6	ඩ - 11	බ - 16	ව - 21
ඉ - 2	ග - 7	ත - 12	ම - 17	ස - 22
උ - 3	ච - 8	ද - 13	ය - 18	හ - 23
එ - 4	ජ - 9	න - 14	ර - 19	ළ - 24
ඔ - 5	ට - 10	ප - 15	ල - 20	අං - 25
A - 1	ka - 6	da - 11	ba - 16	wa - 21
I - 2	ga - 7	tha - 12	ma - 17	sa - 22
U - 3	cha - 8	da - 13	ya - 18	ha - 23
E - 4	Ja - 9	na - 14	ra - 19	la - 24
O - 5	te - 10	pa - 15	lm - 20	am - 25

i. e. the statement.

(Transcription)

"අබාවයට ගොස් ඇති ලංකාවේ පුස්කොළ පොත් ලේඛන කලාව පුනරුත්තාපනය කිරීමට දිරි දෙමු".

(Transliteration)

"Abāwayata gos äthi laṇkāwē puskola poth lēkana kalāwa punaruththāpanaya kireemata diri demu".

(Translation)

Let us support the revival of the art of palm-leaf manuscripts of Sri Lanka, which is dying out. When written in this code it reads as follows:

(Transcription)

"1 16ා 21 18 10 ෙ7ා 22 1ැ 12 20 25 6ා ෙ21 15 22 ෙ6ා 24 ෙ15ා 12 ෙ20 6 14 6 20ා 21 15 14 19ැ 12 12ා 15 14 18 ේ 19 17 10 13 19 19 13 19 13 17"

(Transliteration)

Akis Language (Akis Bhāshāva) is a secret language with long sentences. In order to make lengthy clauses a word with 2-5 letters are placed with each of the letters in the alphabet used here. Even the symbols such as kombuwa, ispilla, pāpilla, allakuna and älapilla are given a word each. Since the word Akis is used with in this code in which a word is added to each letter, the language is known as the Akis Language. The formulae is as follows:

(Transcription)

අ - අකිස්	ක - ක්‍රවැයිස්	ත - තාකුරු	ය - යසිස්	ෙ - දිස්කොස්තු
ඉ - ඉස්කි	ග - ගද්‍ර	ද - ද්‍රවයිස්	ර - රයිස්	ා - අක්‍රදා
උ - උබු	ජ - ජංකි	න - නාද	ල - ලයිස්	් - ද්‍රෙංසු
එ - එන්ද්‍ර	ට - ටංකි	ප - ප්‍රදේස්	ව - ව්‍රංගු	ු - කුපු
ඔ - ඔන්ද්‍ර	ඩ - ඩංකි	බ - බ්‍රංගු	ස - සයිස්	ි - ඉස්කි
		ම - මයිස්	හ - හාදුරු	ං - ද්‍රොංසු

(Transliteration)

a - akis	ka - kravays	tha - thakuru	ya - yasis	ෙ - diskosthu
I - iski	ga - gadra	da - dravays	ra - rays	ා - akrada
u - ubuja - janki	ha - nada	la - lays	් - drensu	
e - endra	ta - tanki	pa - prades	va - vrungu	ු - kupu
o - ondra	da - danki	ba - brangu	sa - says	ි - iski
		ma - mays	ha - haduru	ං - dronsu

i.e. the statement.

(Transcription)

"ක්‍රි. ව. දහතුන්වන සියවසේ සිට රචිත අගනා පුස්කොළ පොත් අප ජාතිය සතුව තිබේ."

(Transliteration)

"Kri. wa. dahathunwana siyawase sita rachitha aganā puskolapoth apa jāthia sathuwa thibe".

(Translation)

"Our nation is in possession of valuable palm-leaf manuscripts dating from 13 century A. D."

When this is rendered in Akis code it reads as,

(Transcription)

"ක්‍රවැයිස් ඉස්කි වුංගු ද්‍රවයිස් හාදුරු තාකුරු කුපු නාද ද්‍රොංසු ව්‍රංගු නාද සයිස් ඉස්කිකා යයිස් ව්‍රංගු සයිස් දිස් කොස්තු ද්‍රෙංසු සයිස් ඉස්කි ටංකි රයිස් වංකි ඉස්කි තාකුරු අකිස් ගද්‍ර නාද අන්‍ද්‍රා ප්‍රදේස් කුපු සයිස් ද්‍රෙංසු ක්‍රවැයිස් දිස්කොස්තු අක්‍රදා ලයිස් ප්‍රදේස් දිස්කොස්තු අක්‍රදා තාකුරු ද්‍රෙංසු අකිස් ප්‍රදේස් ජංකි අක්‍රදා තාකුරු ඉස්කි යයිස් තාකුරු කුපු ව්‍රංගු තාකුරු ඉස්කි බ්‍රංගු දිස්කොස්තු ද්‍රොංසු"

(Transliteration)

"Kravays iski vrungu dravays hāduru thākuru kupu nāda drensu urungu nāda says iski yays vrungu says diskosthu

drensu says iski tanki rays chanki iski thānuru akis gadra nāda akradā predēs kupu says drensu kravays diskosthu akrada lays predes diskosthu akradā thākuru drensu akis predēs janki akradā thakuru iski yays thakuru kupu vrungu thakuru iski brangu diskosthu drensu".

The 'Sakara Language' (Sakāra Bhāshāva) may be considered as the easiest secret language in which palm-leaf manuscripts were written. It does not use a special formulae for the alphabet. In its style of writing the letter 'Sa' (ස) of the Sinhalese script follows each of the letters in a word. Hence it is known as the Sakāra Language.

i.e. the Statement.

(Transcription)

"අපට අයිතිවිය යුතු ලංකාවේ ඉතා වටිනා පැරණි පුස්කොළ පොත් විශාල ප්‍රමාණයක් විදේශීය කෞතුකාගාරවල සහ පුස්තකාලවල ඇත."

(Transliteration)

"Apata Aythiviya yuthu lankāwē ithā watinā parani puskola poth vishāla pramānayak vidēsheeya kauthukāgārawala saha pustakatavala ätha."

(Translation)

Many valuable ancient palm-leaf manuscripts which should have been in our possession are found in foreign libraries and museums.

When this is coded in the Sakara Language it reads as:

(Transcription)

"සඅසපසට සඅසයිපතිසවිසය සයුසතු සලසංසකාසවේ සඉසතා සවිසටිසනා සපැසරුසණි සපුසස්සකොසළ සපොසත් සවිසශාසල සප්‍රසමාසණසයසක් සවිසදේසශීසය සකෞසතුසකාසගාසරසවිසල සසසහ සපසස්සතස්කාසලසවිසල සඇසත."

(Transliteration)

"Saasapasata saasaysathisavisaya sayusathu salasan
Sakasawe saisatha savasatisana sapasarasani
Sapusassakosala saposathā savisagāsala saprasam
Sanasayasak savisadesaseesaya sakausathusakasga
Sarasawasala sasasaha sapusassathasakasalasawasala saasatha'

'Amha Language (Amhā Bhāshāva) is also an ancient language used in Sri Lanka. This is also a language which leads to long sentences. Each of the letters starting with "A" is loaded with a word ranging between 2 - 6 letters. It is known as the 'Amhā Bhāshāva' as the first word of the first letter of the alphabet is Amhā. The word given to each letter starts with the same letter. However, it is notable that all words are 'Pāli' (Māgadhī) words. All Pali words have Sinhala meanings, but the letter of the word is of more significant than them meaning of the Pali word. The formulae of the Amha code along with the meanings of Pali words are as follows:

(Transcription)

අ - අමෙහ
ඉ - ඉමසමිං
උ - උච්චෝ
එ - එසෝ
ඔ - ඔජෝ
ක - කරොති
ච - චතතාලීස
ජ - ජම්බීරං
ට - ටඩක
ඩ - ඩසසති
ත - තථා
ද - දසසනං
න - නත්ථි
ප - පඨමං
බ - බන්ධු
ම - මයහං
ර - රජජං
ල - ලබෙ
ව - වනතු
ස - සත්ථා
හ - හනත්වා
ං - ඉතිඛෝ
ළ - උහෝ
ඍ - අයමපිච
ා - යථා
ෙ - එවං
ෟ - අගෙහා
ෘ - දීඝං

(Transliteration)

a - amhē = we/our/to us
i - imasmim = this
u - uchchō = tall
e - ēsō = he/it
da - dasathi = stings
tha - thatha = so
da - dassanam = sight
na - naththi = no

o - ōjō = elan
ka - karōthi = does
ga - ganthva = having gone
ja - chaththalisa = forty
ta - tanka =
la - labē = receives
wa - wanthu = may (he live long)
sa - saththā = Religious Leader
ha - hanthvā = having destroyed
ා - ithikō = in this manner
ෘ - ubhō = both
ෟ - ayampicha = even this
ෲ - yathā = in the same way
ෳ - ēven = like that
ෟ - aggō = leading
ෲ - deegan = long

pa - patamam = first
ba - bandu = relatives
ma - mayham = mine
ya - yasmin =from something
ra - rajjan = state

A statement written in Amhā code and its paraphrasing in Sinhala is given below.

(Transcription)

"බන්ධු උභෝ දසසනං උභෝ වන්තු සත්ථා ඉතිඛෝ නත්ථි අග්ගෝ සත්ථා ඉතිඛෝ වනතු අග්ගෝ සත්ථා යසමිං පඨමං සත්ථා අග්ගෝ පඨමං නත්ථි සත්ථා අග්ගෝ වනතු අයම්පිච නත්ති අග්ගෝ එවං නත්ථි සත්ථා ඉතිඛෝ යසමිං පඨමං සත්ථා අග්ගෝ පඨමං සත්ථා අග්ගෝ මයහං යථා තථා ලභෙ එවං අග්ගෝ අමෙහ ලභෙ උභෝ වනතු ඉතිඛෝ බන්ධු උභෝ දසසනං උභෝ දසසනං හනන්ථා මයහං පඨමං උභෝ සත්ථා අග්ගෝ එවං කරොති යථා ලභෙ අග්ගෝඑවං පඨමං යථා තථා අග්ගෝ වනතු ලභෙ ලභෙ ඉතිඛෝ වනතු ඉතිඛෝ අග්ගෝ යසමිං".

(Transliteration)

"Bandu ubho dassanan ubho vanthu saththā ithikho naththi aggo saththā ithikho vanthu aggo saththā ithikho yasmin pataman saththā aggo patamannaththi saththa aggo vanthu ayampicha naththi aggo even naththi hanthvā ithikho aggo

myhan yathā thathā labhē ēven aggo amhē labhē ubho vanthu ithikho hamthva yatha rajjan evan yasmin aggo dassanan ithikho bandhu ubho dassanan ubho dassanan hamthva myhan pataman ubho sathva aggo evan karothi yatha labhe aggo evan pataman yatha thatha aggo vanthu labhe labhe ithikho vanthu ithikho aggo yasmin".

(Transcription)

"බුදු වසින් සිවිසිය පස්පණස් වැන්නෙහි මාතලේ
අළුවිහාරයේදී බුදු දහම පුස්කොළ පොත්වල ලිවීය."

(Translation)

"Buddha Dharma was committed to writing in palm-leaf manuscripts at Alu Vihāra in Matale in the 455th year of the Buddhist era."

When we closely examine the alphabet of these secret languages it is obvious that the 'Mahaprānas' and 'Sangnakas' are very limited in these languages[21].

Very often the scripts used to belong to the pure Sinhala alphabet[21]. The absence of mixed Sinhala testifies to the age of the language. The scripts of secret languages are associated with the "Brāhmī" alphabet[19] (scripts) as the Brāhmī script had made its way into the secret codes through the pure Sinhala script. Hence, there is a mutual relationship between the inscriptions and the art of palm-leaf manuscripts.

It is noticed that some inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts contain words and symbols used in secret languages. For instance the word of greeting "Siddham" (සිද්ධම්) used to begin inscriptions[18] and ola-manuscripts[13] has entered in the abbreviated form of "Si" (සි) into some inscriptions (Thōnigala Inscription) "Sidha" (සිධ) (Vihāregala Inscription)[23] and into some manuscripts. The words "Swasthi" (සවස්ති) and "Subhamasthu" (සුභමස්තු) are used similarly. This is in accordance with the secret code of letter symbols. At the same time there are symbols like "Dharmachakra" "Swasthika" the "Sun" and the "Moon" in both inscriptions and palm-leaf manuscripts. The soursce from which they are derived is known as the "Lākshanika Language". Thus in an examination of ancient written secret languages it is evident that there is a close parallel between the letters and the language and the style of writing in inscriptions

and palm-leaf manuscripts[23]. A deeper research into the secret languages in which, manuscripts and inscriptions have been written may yield more information on the relationship between them.

As discussed above, it is quite obvious that in the writing of ola-leaf manuscripts in Sri Lanka several secret methods and languages have been used. Since these languages are not in use, one finds it difficult to understand the contents and make use of the same for other purposes. However, it is clear that the fundamental sources for the study of these languages are included in the manuscripts in a mysterious way by the writers.

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A STORY ABOUT *VAS-DOS* AND MASKOIDS[1]

by
Sankajaya Nanayakkara

My intention in this essay is to interpret the cultural phenomenon of eye, mouth and thought poison and a particular strategy resorted to by Sinhala Buddhists to counter the effects of the above. In this essay I also attempt to shed some light on a particular aspect of the Sri Lankan social character.

According to Sinhala Buddhists, *dosa* or misfortune can result from natural or supernatural agents. In the category of supernatural are included *yaksa* (demons), *preta* (ancestral spirits) and *deva* (gods). Another important agent in the supernatural category is a*s vaha* (eye poison), *kata vaha* (mouth poison) and *ho vaha* (thought poison). The above three elements are interrelated and are commonly known as *vas- dos.* Any of the above stated agents could be the proximate cause of misfortune. But the ultimate cause of misfortune for the Sinhala Buddhists is the *karma dosa* or bad *karma.*

Jealous glances, malicious talk, ill will are examples for eye poison, mouth poison and thought poison, respectively. Such *vas -dos* can bring ruin to the victim in the form of illness, family quarrels, loss of wealth, bad luck, etc. According to one informant, on seeing a prosperous house, if a person feels sad that he does not possess such a house and envies the residents of that house, the house and the residents of that particular house would be the victims of *vas -dos.* The Sinhala word *hullanava* brings about the essential meaning of the concept of *vas -dos. Hullanava* means envy at the success of others. The "paranoia" of envy of others directed towards oneself or one's family is an entrenched feature of the Sri Lankan psyche. And the idea of *vas-dos* finds sustenance in this particular paranoid ethos that envy produces. This real or perceived situation of threat can be illustrated with a story told by a university lecturer to me. But this is an extreme example. Whether this story is an urban legend or a matter of fact is uncertain. A lecturer at a certain university in Sri Lanka

1. A mask like object not intended to be worn.

received a scholarship to pursue postgraduate studies in a foreign university. During his going away party he got sick and was admitted to hospital. In a matter of hours he died. The cause of his death was poisoning. According to this particular lecturer, somebody has put poison into his drink. These types of "somebodys" who just can't stand the success of others is a common feature of the Sri Lankan social discourse. Envy is idealised in the Sinhala culture. In the classical Sinhala literature one comes across a notion known as *guru mustiya.* This means that the teacher does not give all his knowledge to the student out of envy. The teacher retains "a handful of knowledge" as *guru mustiya* about which the student is unaware of.

The belief in *vas -dos* cuts across class lines as well as religious lines. Apart from Sinhala Buddhists, I have come across Muslims and Roman Catholics in Sri Lanka who entertain the notion of *vas-dos*. I will come back to this issue at a later point in the essay.

Kapferer's description of the effects of *vas -dos* is more specific. According to him, evil thoughts held by others against a victim can cause mental turmoil and madness (1991:72). Malicious talk like evil thoughts can activate Suniyam (the sorcery demon) and result in marital and family discord, failure in business and loss of wealth. The evil eye attracts the attention of Riri *yaka* (blood demon) and Suniyam. This results in irritating rashes, skin boils and open sores (Kapferer 1991:72).

According to one local narrative, *vas -dos* has an intimate relationship with Devol *deviyo*, a deity in the Sinhala pantheon and his seven *yaksa* servants. Devol *deviyo* came to Sri Lanka from the Malabar Coast and was well versed in sorcery and magic. Devol *deviyo* and his seven *yaksa* servants effect *vas dos.* There are certain instances where specifically composed verses known as *vas kavi* are sung before deities, especially Devol *deviyo* seeking *vas -dos* on intended victims. But certain practitioners, especially in the Sabaragamuwa province, who specialise in "cutting" or removing the effects of *vas- dos* do not recognise the relationship between *vas -dos* and Devol *deviyo* and company. And also, it is occasionally believed that Dala *yaka* or Gara *yaka* causes *vas -dos* on people as a result of envious glances, ill will or utterance of malicious speech.

The Paranoid Ethos

There are certain people in communities who are feared for their capacity for *vas dos*. These people are to a certain extent similar to the Azande witches that Evans-Pritchard (1937) studied. Some informants emphasise physical attributes such as physical deformities, leucoderma and the possession of extra teeth to identify such persons. Another way to identify such "jinx" is through experience. For example, if a certain person said a particular child is beautiful and that child fell sick later on, that particular person who made the earlier comment would be identified as jinx in the community thereafter. It seems that a person's sex does not predetermine the association with a jinx label. But there is a tendency to look for jinx among women. Such a predisposition makes sense in a society such as the Sinhala society where women in general are considered impure and hence highly vulnerable to evil influences. Furthermore, there is also a tendency to look for jinx in one's own immediate community of residence or place of work. Many cultures are reluctant to accept the universe as a random phenomenon and hence the persistence of narratives that explain misfortune. In many instances such narratives absolve us from the responsibility for our misfortunes. Unlike more abstract causes of misfortune such as *karma dosa*, accusations of *vas -dos* or sorcery are more concrete. In the Sinhala Buddhist society where overt inter personal hostility is discouraged, latent inter personal hostility is expressed through the idiom of *vas dos* and sorcery. In this cultural context, to a certain extent, it is legitimate to feel hatred towards people who cause one harm and destruction and the idiom of *vas -dos* serves as an outlet to one's aggression.

Generalising on a large number of peasant societies, George M. Foster invented the concept of "the image of limited good" by which he means peasants tend to think that all life enhancing resources are scarce and finite and one person's achievement of these resources means another's loss (quoted in Barnouw 1985:43). The consequences of such a world view are constant mistrust of others, envy, anxiety, suppressed resentment and gloominess. The Sinhala word *kuhaka* is used to denote the unwholesome or treacherous nature of the people with whom one has to deal with on a daily basis. To assume this particular image of limited good as an attribute unique to peasant societies would be a mistake. There are peasant societies that lack constant mistrust of others, envy and gloominess (Barnouw 1985:43-

44). The perception of limited good and its accompanying consequences can be found in non-agrarian settings, as in urban Sri Lanka. What generate such a world view are the actual material conditions of existence of a community. The general condition of poverty in the Sri Lankan society and its stagnant economy lead to an intense competition for available few resources. This intense competition results in the fragmentation of communities on the basis of "paranoia" of envy. According to Kapferer, "those who are most likely to activate the sorcery demon are those outside the household and immediate range of kin (but not necessarily) and with whom one is drawn into competition and conflict" (1991:76).

Measures Taken To Counter *vas-dos*

There are a number of practices in the Sinhala cultural repertoire to counter the effects of *vas -dos*. Some of these include the wearing of amulets, chanting of *mantra*, recitation of *seth kavi* or benedictory verses, exposure to the smoke of salt and dried chillies (which is a practice unique to the Sri Lankan Roman Catholic tradition), the performance of ceremonies such as, *Garayakuma*, and the ritual of lime cutting. The lime cutting ceremony is relatively an inexpensive minor ritual that lasts about two to three hours and a commonly sought remedy to counter the effects of *vas -dos*. I know of a Muslim gem merchant in the Ratnapura district of Sri Lanka who seeks the services of a practitioner specialised in this ritual to cut lime for him once every week. For each lime cut on behalf of him, this particular Muslim gem marchant feels a kilogram of dead weight lifted off his head. When people who mine gems in the Ratnapura area, which is famous for precious stones in Sri Lanka, are out of luck, it is a common practice to undergo this particular ritual. A particular practitioner that I know of who is well known for his skills in lime cutting in the Ratnapura district receives on average about four to five clients per day.

In the usual lime cutting ritual, the practitioner chants a magical verse commonly known as a *mantra* before some limes (*Citrus aurantifolia*). Sometimes a *mantra* of this nature is uttered one hundred and eight times, a magical number that makes such *mantra* potent. Afterwards, he cuts lime one by one in different areas of the house and later above the heads of the residents of that particular house, the victims of *vas- dos*. The practitioner utters a specific verse or verses for each lime cut. Afterwards, he sings the authority and

virtues of the Buddha and the gods while fanning the clients with a mango (*Mangifera indica*) branch and demands the *vas -dos* to flee the bodies and the household of the clients.

Maskoids

Most of the scholars who have studied Sri Lankan masks such as, John Callaway, Heinz Lucas, Otakar Pertold and Siri Gunasinghe, to name but a few, have exclusively focused their attention on two groups of Sri Lankan masks; masks related to *tovil* or exorcist ceremonies and masks related to folk dramas known as *kolam* and *sokari.* The antiquity of the mask use in Sri Lanka is an open question without a definitive answer. According to Pertold, Sinhala masks are similar in structure to the masks found in Tibet, Bali and Burma (1973:45). One prominent distinction between the older and the more recent masks of Sri Lanka is that the older masks are richly carved with all important details of the mask carved, while in the more recent ones, the carving is restricted to what is absolutely necessary (i.e. eyes, nose, etc) and all details are rendered in painting (Pertold 1973:45). Furthermore, before being painted, the older masks were usually covered with a layer of fine clay mixed with water. Natural pigments were used for colours and *dorana tel* or *balsamum gurjunal* of the *Dipterocarpus* tree was used as a varnish after the application of pigments (Herold 1992:165). In more recent masks, we find synthetic varnishes and artificial paints which lack that relatively dull and earthy colour of the older masks.

The use of colours in painting masks is to a great extent set by tradition. Generally, the colours red, yellow, blue, green, pink, white, brown and black are used to paint the faces of masks. These colours are traditionally associated with different categories of beings that are symbolically represented through the masks. For example, the face of the Gara *yaka* mask is most often painted in green. Like faces, different details of the masks have traditional colour associations. Eyeballs, fangs and teeth are always painted in white. All the ornaments such as earrings are painted yellow. Lips, tongues and gums, especially in *yaksa* and *raksa* masks are painted in blood red. The cobras of the headgear or the ones that protrude from the ears, nostrils and mouth in *yaksa* and *raksa* masks are most often painted in green, yellow, crimson red and ash colour. Hair, iris, moustaches, beards, cobra heads, and wrinkles are usually painted in black.

Wrinkles are also painted in yellow against a red or green background.

The Maskoid is an adaptation of a true mask. It's a mask like object not intended to be worn. In many Sinhala Buddhist houses one can observe at the entrance of the house, on the outer wall, a maskoid belonging to the *yaksa* or *raksa* category hung in order to prevent the effects of *vas -dos*. Even though many Muslims and Roman Catholics subscribe to the notion of *vas -dos*, it is indeed very rare one comes across a makoid hung to prevent the effects of *vas -dos*. This is a practice unique to Sinhala Buddhists. Moreover, the practice of hanging makoids belonging to *yaksa* or *raksa* categories is not prevalent in all Sinhala Buddhist households. Even though such houses lack maskoids, they nonetheless believe in *vas- dos*. The practice of hanging maskoids to prevent the effects of *vas -dos* cuts across class lines. One can observe this particular phenomenon in a rural Sinhala Buddhist peasant household as well as in an upper middle class Sinhala Buddhist household in an urban setting. For example, I observed a house located on Park Road, an exclusive residential area in Colombo, which prominently displayed a number of Gara *yaka* masks around the house. And this particular house belongs to a Western trained physician. This practice of hanging maskoids is conspicuously lacking in Sinhala Buddhist proletarian quarters, may be after all, they have nothing to lose.

According to certain informants, the appropriate maskoid to be hung is a Gara *yaka* (Plate 1). There is an association between Gara *yaka* and ritual purification. But one comes across maskoids that belong to *raksa* category (Plates 2, 3, 4 and 5), a category of elaborate and beautiful masks used in *kolam*. According to the oral tradition, unlike the *yaksas*, who are the embodiment of non-Buddhist virtues such as, lust, pollution and irrational violence, *raksas* are semi-devine benevolent beings. But the terrifying attributes that are common to *raksa* masks like protruding eyes, rolling tongues, fangs, and coiled cobras tend to diminish the benevolent character. And as always, there are anomalies as shown in plate 6, which is problematic with regard to identification. There are also many instances where one finds "crude" maskoids as shown in plate 7, where a face is drawn on a black coloured earthenware pot. According to many older informants, the practice of hanging maskoids to prevent *vas -dos* is a recent cultural phenomenon. During earlier times, they claim an ash pumpkin (*Benincasa hispida*) was hung to "cut" or prevent *vas- dos*. This

particular practice can still be observed (Plate 8). If such an ash pumpkin turns rotten, it is a bad omen and indicates the presence of *vas -dos*. The expectation is that it will fall onto the ground after it dries up without turning rotten. Such an omen indicates the lack of *vas -dos*.

Many of the informants that I interviewed were not sure of the identity of the maskoids that were hung in their houses. There are curios shops in many large towns in Sri Lanka where one can buy these types of maskoids. At one shop in the town of Balangoda, in the Ratnapura district, even the owner was not certain of the identity of the maskoids that were on sale. But what he emphasised as the most important attribute that made a maskoid suitable as a preventative measure against *vas- dos* is the number of cobra hoods in the headgear of the maskoid. According to him, that number should be either seven or nine. Many informants seem to recognise the importance of this particular attribute even though they were ignorant of identity of the maskoids hung in their houses.

The prices of these maskoids range from fifty to several thousand Sri Lankan Rupees. But most of the maskoids hung in houses fall below five hundred Sri Lankan Rupees. On average, the size in terms of height of these maskoids range from three to twenty four inches. Only soft woods such as, rukattana (*Alstonia scholaris*), lunumidella (*Melia dubia*), pihimbiya (*Filicium decipiens*) and godakaduru (*Strychnos nux-vomica*) are used to carve masks and maskoids in Sri Lanka. This is mainly due to the ease of carving softwood. And there seems to be a strong domestic market demand for maskoids of this nature.

The objective of hanging a maskoid at the entrance of a house is to "cut" or to prevent *vas- dos*, sorcery and all kinds of misfortune. According to the cultural logic, by having a maskoid hung at the entrance of the house, on the outer wall, the attention of the onlooker is attracted first by the maskoid and not by the house. As a result, the quality of the state of mind of the onlooker changes and hence prevent *vas -dos* on the house and its residents. It is also believed that the general prosperity of the household increases as a result of such maskoids. Generally, a Gara *yaka* or *raksa* mask is hung when a new house is being built, when one is most vulnerable to the effects of *vas –dos* and may continue the practice afterwards for a long period of

time. Sometimes, a structure is built around to cover the house that is being built from the view of outsiders to prevent *vas -dos*. Another common practice is to install a muppet in a prominent location in the structure that is being built (Plate 9). It performs the same function as the maskoid.

The ideas governing the use of maskoids in the Sinhala Buddhist context has a certain affinity with the ideas related to the use of masks among the Dogon people of Mali and Burkina Faso. The Dogon believe that their masks are capable of defusing and transferring dangerous sacred powers (Bowen 1998:145). In a somewhat similar way, Sinhala Buddhists believe that the maskoids hung have the potential to absorb *vas -dos* and spare the house and its residents from its effects.

A Great Tradition and a Little Tradition?

What is termed as Protestant Buddhism by Gananath Obeyesekere and Richard Gombrich (1988) emerged in the latter part of the nineteenth century in a context of conflict between the Sinhala society and British colonialism. One salient feature of this particular brand of Buddhism is the de-emphasis on public ceremonies and rituals and an emphasis on the importance of inner life or what happens inside one's mind (Gombrich and Obeyesekere 1988:216). Salvaging Buddhism from "primitive" spiritism and the emphasis on the rationality of Buddhism became top priorities of the agenda of Protestant Buddhism.

Gangodavila Soma is a Buddhist monk who came to the limelight in recent times. He is an outspoken critique of "un-Buddhistic" practices of Buddhists and is a living embodiment of the tradition of Protestant Buddhism in Sri Lanka. According to him, Buddhists should avoid the practice of hanging maskoids since this is not a "proper" Buddhist practice. Instead, Buddhists should have pictures of great Buddhist *arahats* like Sivali in their houses. According to the Sri Lankan Theravada Buddhist tradition, the great Buddhist *arahat* Sivali is a symbol of prosperity. A house that has a picture of great *arahat* Sivali will never go hungry is a common understanding among the Sinhala Buddhists. Many responded to the call of venerable Soma, prominently the urban middle class Sinhala Buddhists, who are always in search of a Buddhist champion to feel

secure. Venerable Soma characterises "traditional" maskoids as inauspicious. According to him, the "demon" maskoids generate unpleasant thoughts in people who enter a house that has such a maskoid hung at the entrance. Such unpleasant thoughts generate negative vibrations and bring ruin to the house and its residents. The narrative of "culture brokers" like venerable Soma is in conflict with the narrative of the vast majority of "lesser" Sinhala Buddhists, which holds that such maskoids prevent *vas-dos* and bring prosperity to the household and its residents. Many households that I visited had alters for Buddha, Buddhist *arahats* like Sivali and many deities which venerable Soma classifies as Hindu deities who are not suitable for worship by Buddhists. These households also had *raksa* or Gara *yaka* maskoids hung at the entrance to the house. The "little tradition" is less concerned about religious purism and more about pragmatism. I asked a middle aged Sinhala Buddhist rural woman what she thought of venerable Soma's ideas on maskoids. She said, "venerable Soma appealed in his talks not to indulge in so called superstition. Even though we listen to his talks, we are not going to change our religion." By religion, she meant "their" version of Buddhism.

My objective in this essey was to interpret a cultural notion which has wide currency among the Sinhala Buddhists in Sri Lanka, known as *vas -dos* and a particular strategy taken to counter the effects of *vas -dos*. By *vas -dos*, Sinhala Buddhists mean three interrelated elements; eye, mouth and thought poison. Through this interpretation, I also made an attempt to shed some light on a particular aspect of the Sri Lankan social character.

Vas-dos is based upon the paranoid ethos that envy produces. The concept of *vas- dos* cuts across class and religious boundaries in Sri Lanka. This particular notion of *vas -dos* has roots in the general condition of poverty and the stagnant economy of Sri Lanka.

There are many strategies to counter the effects of *vas -dos*. One such strategy exclusively resorted to by the Sinhala Buddhists is the hanging of maskoids at the entrance to a house. At recent times, this practice has come under fire by Protestant Buddhists based in urban areas in Sri Lanka. But there is resistance and what constitutes a proper Buddhist practice continues to be contested.

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1. Garā *yakā,* one fang missing. Wood, painted. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka. Height 10 in.

2. A *rāksa* maskoid (maru *rāksa* ?) of wood, painted. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka. Height 19 in.

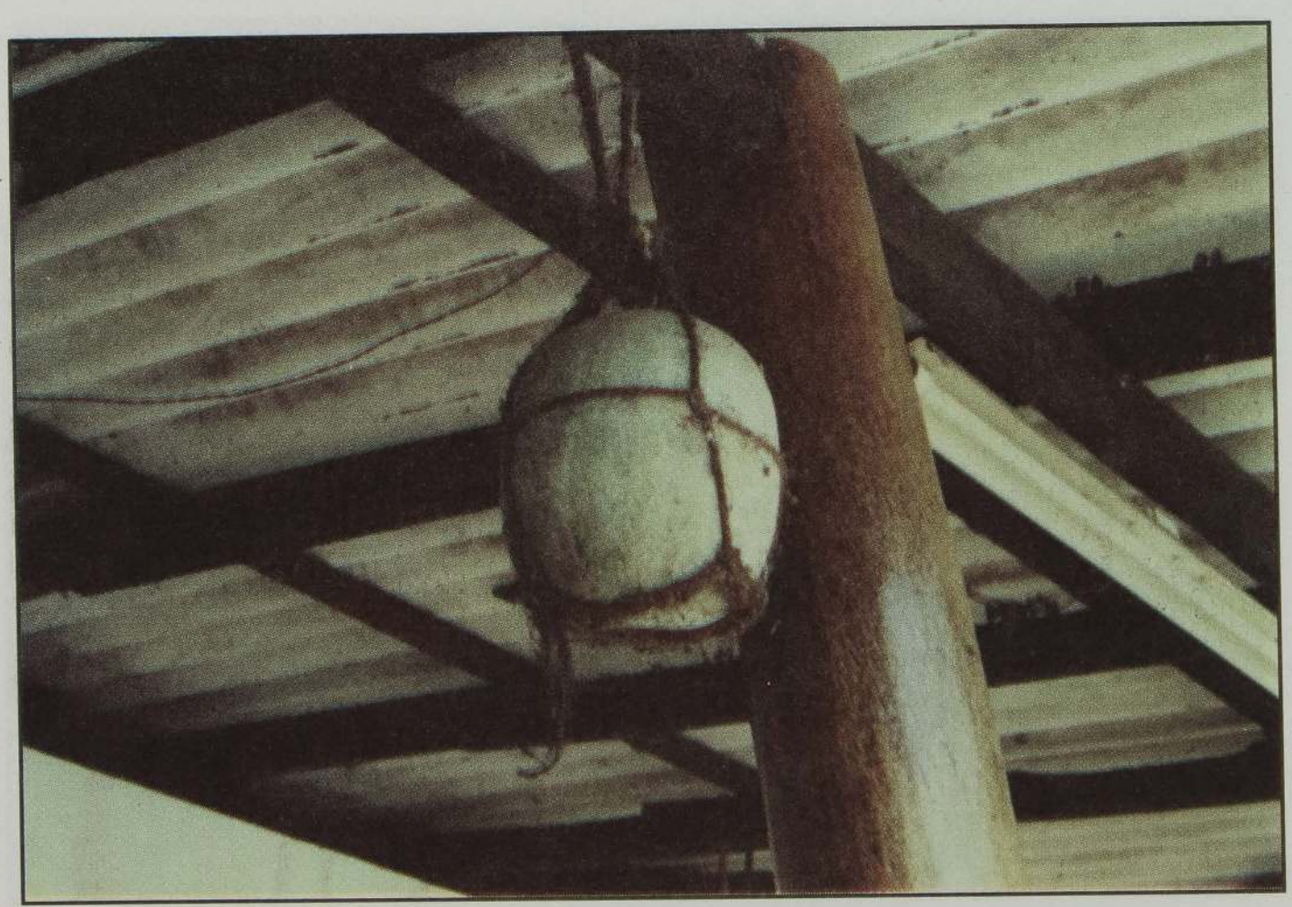
3. Nāga *rāksa.* Wood, painted. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka. Height 18 ½ in.

4. Nāga *rāksa.* Wood, painted. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka. Height 12 in.

5. Nāga *rāksa.* Wood, painted. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka. Height 8 in.

6. Kana Sanniya ? Wood, painted. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka. Height 8 in.

7. A "crude" maskoid. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka.



8. An ash pumpkin (*Benincasa hispida*) hung to "cut" *vas-dos*. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka.

9. A muppet or *pambaya* installed to "cut" *vas-dos*. Sabaragamuwa province, Sri Lanka.

Index of Sanskrit and Sinhala Words

NOTES AND QUERIES

THE CASCADE SYSTEM OF HIRIWADUNNA TANK: DETAILS ENSHRINED IN FOLK MEMORY

by
Somasiri Devendra

The following excerpts from notes made in 1959 are presented here as it is felt that they need to be recorded. They are presented without editing as editing may affect the flavour of the narrative: I have, however, added headings.

The village of Hiriwadunna, where these notes were made, is located on the Dambulla-Trincomalee road some miles before it reaches Habarana. Its "purāna" village was below the bund of the *Hiriwadunna wewa* and the newer L. D. O. allotments bordered the main road.

In 1957, the dry zone was subjected to torrential rains and flooding, and many tanks bunds were breached, making many stretches of paddy fields unfit for cultivation for some time. The public raised much money to supplement state funds for rehabilitation. Ananda College, where I was teaching then, itself collected a considerable sum and the Social Services Department encouraged the College to take over custodianship of a village, rehabilitate and improve it. While this was taking place teachers would, from time to time, take students from the upper forms on field trips to the village to supplement their academic knowledge with first hand experience. By the time the rehabilitation was over,Ananda College had established a new school there, the first in the village, as a longer-lasting contribution.

On these trips with our students, we would spend the nights probing the older villagers' memory banks for their knowledge on any aspect that occurred to us. The following notes were made on such a trip, with the intention of finding out how twentieth century rural colonists perceived the past histoiy of the lands they were settled on. According to the villagers, they had been settled on their properties by Freeman and one of the oldest - who said he was one of the original colonists - said that he remembered H. C. P. Bell who was then old. This would have made their village date back to the early twentieth century. Their view of the past, therefore, did not spring from centuries-old tradition, but from a mix of remembered

history, myth and evolving legends. (They were familiar with the *Mahāvamsa,* with which they checked their original narrations to us, later admitting they were mistaken and offering us a revised version.) The history, as they perceived it, is recorded here in both versions.

Importantly, however, they did have some knowledge of the "cascade" system of tank irrigation. This was in 1959, long before our irrigation engineers awoke to such a system, but these villagers were fully aware and, in fact, could trace the flow of water to their own tank from the source to its eventual disposal beyond their village tank. I believe that this information is worth recording. Unfortunately, I had misplaced my notes for over 40 years, and it is only this year that I found them. I have referred this information to Mr. D. L. O. Mendis, who is researching this area and would like either him or any other irrigation engineer to check the plausibility of the flow described by the villagers. I lack the knowledge to do so. Whether facts prove it correct or not, I believe the fact that the villagers knew of the existence of such a thing as a "cascade" is important in itself.

The village had been a monastery site in earlier days. Led by the villagers, I went in search of the ruins, found and sketched them. Apart from the remains of buildings - pillars, steps, balustrades, moonstones and guardstones - there was a stone cistern at ground level, built of four slabs of dressed rock slotted into each other, three of which were yet erect while the other had fallen down.

We are, now, farther away in time from my informants of those days than they were from Freeman and Bell. The country has changed a great deal and, apart from the description of the water-flow, the other value of this narrative is a reflection of the way life used to be in a backward dry zone village nearly 45 years ago.

THE NOTES

(made at Hiriwadunna Rural Development Society building, 17.4.59)

ORIGINS OF THE VILLAGE

The village was first established by a *sitāna,* (= a rich man) during the time of the Sinhalese Kings. Soon after that, this tank breached. We don't know what happened. Our people came here after that from various places, repaired the breach and settled down. We know only the history

of our people. No details known of the time of the Sigiriya kings. Our people were from *Galēgoda, Molligoda, Rātwatta, Ëhëlēpola, Këppetipola, Morakäwa Walauwas*. Probably *Rājādhirājasingha* lived at this time. This was *Seneviratna Adikāram's* area.

After the breach, people came from: *Kändavala* (no one here now), *Ambanpola* (no one here now), *Ikilivatta* (no one here now), *Hāduwa* (one person only - not here now), *Dehigomuva* (one person), *Mahadamana* (one person), *Koswatta* (one person) and *Galagomuva.* One person who came was *Kadirahāmi* from...? *Kumjārasingha* was from a *Brāhmana* family.

Henarat Mudiyanse. Married from another village. Not many relationships with other villages. Marriages are only between relatives, even if it is between different villages.

Kathigänäwa. A battlefield of the Sigiriya kings. Located in front of the tank.

Galakīl. A compound of medicines and stone, used for fusing stone.

1917 (1927?). Freeman was Government Agent. He gave land to the present village. 15 or 20 acres. He gave 15 but the surveyor found 20 within the boundaries. Till the 1957 floods, most people lived in the *purāna* village.

There is the *Satipaṭṭāna Bhāvanāva* on five gold plates and *dhātu denamak* enshrined in the old dagoba *("lindahan karalā").* Once a year they offer 5 *hāra* of *kiribath* and five *malvaṭṭi.* This is traditional, but not carried out to the letter. This is taken in a *pātraya.* It must be on a Wednesday, Saturday or a Monday. It must be in February, March or April or New Year, but there is no specific date. All the villagers go.

This area belongs to *Aiyanāyaka deiyo.* The villagers go to the place with *Kaludäkada deiyo. Minneriya deiyo* said that no devils will attack this village this year as the god will protect this damaged village. So there is no need (for the ceremony?) this year.

In the earlier days, when the gods were not propitiated, a man would die when the tank filled and another when the fields ripened. Out of (every ?) ten children in the village, seven died. Then they started this custom. It is only within living memory that the children of the village

prospered. It was last performed - not this year or last year- but in 1957. It has been postponed twice now. It is very expensive. About 50-60 have to be fed.

Collect 50 *sēru* of rice. 60 is collected at 2 from each. Coconuts, about 60 (same division). About two bottles oil. About two pounds (or more) sugar. 6 *sēru* of paddy. *Bulat* 150 (100 for the ceremony alone). *Puvak* 150 (same). *Hakuru bävak.* About 4 *Kurumba.* Two *dawul* drummers. A good *hangaleyā* to *hangala bandiṇḍa.* This is a decorative dress, like a series of flowers, worn round the waist. A *hangala häṭṭe* must be worn. It is like a skirt and blouse: the skirt billows out beautifully.

The offerings are taken in procession. There is a cloth over the offerings. Drummers play. The *hangaleyā* and drummers are paid. *Gallinda Kapumahattayā* is the one who goes into a trance *(āvēsa venavā).* This is a traditional person. He performs the ritual. This is all. On the journey, he leads the procession, in a trance. On the return, he comes last, having come out of the trance.

Vandulē poth. A book written by the man who hides a treasure, for his own guidance. The man who finds it is a lucky man.

THE CASCADE SYSTEM

This was part of the *Sigiri väva* scheme. From *Puvakgaha ulpotha* in *Amban ganga* the water came to *Vävalu Väva.* From there to *Nuwaragala Väva. Fr*om there to *Polättäwe Ihala väva (Maha väva).* From there, part goes to *Minnēri väva* (along the *Kiri Oya)* This is the water from *Vävala.* From *Ihala väva* the old *Yōda Ela* does not flow because of the water going to *Minnēri väva.* From *Polättäwe* the water should come to *Sigiri Maha väva.* From there the overflow comes along *Sigiri oya* to this tank *(Hiriwadunna).* From here it goes to *Habarana väva.* From there to *Hurulu väva* along the *Yān oya.*

HISTORY - (original narration)

Kāssyapa came to Sigiriya after killing his father. Then *Mugalan* was at Anuradhapura. *Mugalan* got angry when he heard of his father's death. One can't be sure what will happen when two kings fight So, to cheat his brother, he dug a mud hole *60 riyan* deep. This was fall of water. He filled it with mud. This was done secretly and he built a false road over it. Then he sent a letter to *Kāssyapa* that he would meet him in battle

at this spot on a particular day. No place was named: but only the place where they would meet face to face. *Mugalan* delayed on the way, till *Kāssyapa* came to the place, on elephant back, with his army. Now both were racing. *Mugalan* put the mud hole between them and turned his elephant back when he saw *Kāssyapa. Kāssyapa* thought that this was in fear and came on faster and fell into the hole. Then *Mugalan* shot *Kāssyapa* with an arrow (this was in the *danuddara silpa kāle).* He sent *Kāssyapa's* army back to Sigiriya. Without following on to Sigiriya, *Mugalan* went back to Anuradhapura. He left Sigiriya untouched. Sigiriya degenerated slowly as time went on.

HISTORY - (corrected version)

Dathusena had two sons, *Kāsyapa* and *Mugalan,* and a princess. The princess was married to another prince before *Kāsyapa.* (She was second to *Kāsyapa* in the family). Then *Kāsyapa* married. He became King (at the same time as when the father was reigning). King *Dātusena* built *Tisā Väva.* He spent a lot of money. The sister's husband was a drunkard and *Kāsyapa* criticized his father for his choice. Because of this, *Kāsyapa* walled up his father at the Anuradhapura Palace. Then *Mugalan* ran away in fear. He lived with an Uncle *(Māmā)* who was a monk. The Ministers were angered. The Army was also against *Kāssyapa.* (They agreed on the former story of the *Tisā Väva)* So, leaving Anuradhapura, he found the isolated (by men) peak of Sigiriya and resided there with his *gollo panguwa.* He built a city there. Built walls, four sentry posts, *diya agala,* etc. *Mugalan,* who was with the monk, was educated by him. When he was 16 the Anuradhapura residents searched for him and gave him the Anuradhapura throne. During his reign he tried to find the whereabouts of his brother. He sent scouts in all four directions. Those who went south found the place secretly. They carried back the news. Then *Mugalan* prepared the army and the ministers and secretly dug the hole.

Kāsyapa committed suicide rather than be killed by *Mugalan.* His army retreated. *Mugalan's* army pursued and massacred them at *Kätigänäwa* - hence the name. Some escaped up to Sigiriya. Mugalan took the dead body and went with his army to Sigiriya and buried him and built a big *sohona.* Then he returned.

He thinks - can't remember - that the fresco ladies are *diviyanganāvo.*

Pidurangala - Lot of treasure buried here from the temple. There are more Buddha images on the other side - the slopes of this place. Huge sleeping Buddha. Pond (perpetually full). On the top there is a rope pattern along the edge of the rock, in a square. This is a sign of a *nidhahana.*

They say there is a *māligāwa* in the rock and the entrance to this is protected by bees. *Wadunnāgala* (modern *Pathulgaswela)* - is a rock close by. At the foot of the rock there is a water hole - the other end of the rock is below ground. A wall-like rock meets this rock. The meeting point is cracked and a long corridor cave is exposed. His (the narrator's) *grandmother* could remember a time when the cave was clear enough to be seen. She had seen, at the far end, after looking long, *paṭa redi vananava.* This is said to be the treasure of *Sirivaddana siṭāno.*

(End of historical narration)

Miscellaneous information

Treasure under the earth was taken by a *sāstarakārayā* named *Wëlimuvapotāne Gurunnānse* who could read *gal-nāgara* (inscriptions). He was able to find the location from the *vandulē poth.* A Brāhmana from India who married from a *walauwa* in Kurunegalle, *Hingurakgoda Gurunnānse,* had also learnt to read the letters.

The oldest villager, who had come to settle down here, *Hirivadunne Liyanagedara Banda* had seen H. C. P. Bell at Polonnaruwa when Bell was an old man. The other old villager was *Hirivadunne Ranhāmige Punchirāla,* who had been born in the village. One giant would place two stones in a pingo, with two stones in each end and take them to *Lovāmahāpāya* in Anuradhapura, at 12 noon.

Thīndukulama (now *Thoombikulama)* is a tank between here and *Galakadawala,* This is the very last tank. Tamils were settled there by king Dutugemunu, or may be Mahasen or even king Sri Wickrama (because he was a Tamil). He posted a garrison there and got the Tamils to cultivate paddy, etc. Most of the paddy was made into a *Veendahana* called *goyidūva.* This was in the *ätulpätta* of the tank. All the implements used were also buried intact. There are many ruins close by. The King's main treasure, *Mahā Nidahana,* was buried north of the tank. It has been dug for several times but has not been found. There is a stone bed by the treasure.

THE GALLE TOWER OR EDWARD'S PILLAR

by

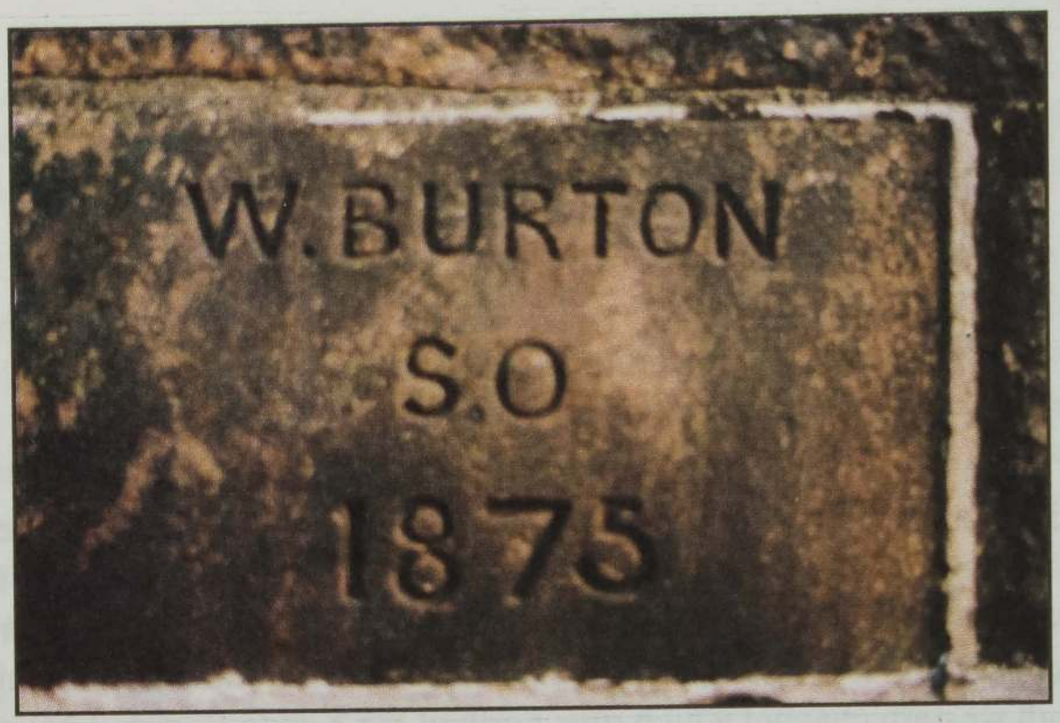
Hemantha Situge

The Galle Tower or Edward's Pillar [6^0. 01^1. 06^{11}N, 80^0. 14^1. 36^{11}E] is a landmark in surveying that crowns the legandary Rhumassala peak from the by gone colonial era. F. H. de Vos in 1908 has written the following record on this tower. Thus: "Edwards Pillar is the grey column on Buona Vista. It formed a leading mark with a white wall to guide ships through western channel which runs north of the Kadda Rocks. I believe P. W. D. used to rig scaffolding when it needed repairs".[1]

This tower is found on 245 contour, according to two early maps entitled Approaches to Galle Harbour and 'Galle Harbour' surveyed by Commander B. T. Somerville H. M. Surveying ship "Sealer" in 1907 as Galle Tower (Edward's Pillar). It is also noteworthy that there has been another white tower on the watering point in a height of ten feet.

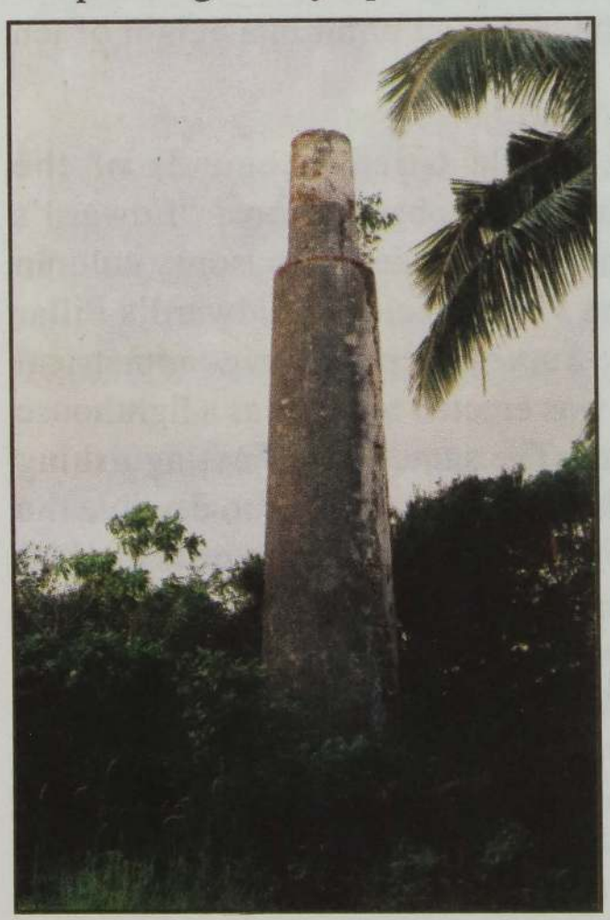
J. A. Will Perera in his article titled "Legends of the Rhumassala" has made some interesting observations: "Edward's Pillar - at the highest point of Rhumassala kande is a masonry column blackened with age, resembling the victoly column. Edward's Pillar was erected by Mr. Edward of the Survey Dept. for trigonometrical work. The common belief is that it was erected to serve as a lighthouse or beacon or look out in time of war. The same idea of extinguishing the real lighthouse and lighting this beacon - some say to deceive the enemy. I am positive as to no such use war ever made of it in 1914 war or the last war. The modern search light and nautical instruments enable every vessel to find its way through the most dangerous place or in war time. The column is about forty five to fifty feet in height and appears to sway."[2]

Today this Galle Tower or Edward's Pillar is dilapidated and left to the ravages of nature. A hitherto unrecorded inscription inscribed on the pedestal of this landmark is cited below:



Inscription on the Galle Tower

Obviously it is W. Burton the surveying officer who erected this landmark in 1875 at the Rhumassala hill. This tower is a trigonometrical pillar used during the early colonial days of the Surveyor General's Department of Ceylon. The Surveyor General's Department of Ceylon was promulgated by a proclamation in Point de Galle in 1800 August 2nd and was the first department in Asia, to celebrate the 200th year anniversary in 2000.



The Galle Tower

Ferguson's "Ceylon Directory Calendar and Compendium of useful information for 1880-81" has enlisted the Buona Vista or Rhumassala peak as a trigonometrical altitude station. In this directory, this station is recorded as 'Top of Galle Tower or Gibson's Hill near Galle Harbour'. The altitude above the sea in feet is 281.4 and on the ground of this station 249.4 feet.[3] Also this account substantiates then this tower was not known as the Edwards pillar.

Gibson's Hill was named after William Carmicheal Gibson the English first Master Attendant of the Galle Harbour (1796) who lived in this hillock. Also he was instrumental in naming this peak Buona Vista i.e. panoramic view.

An unpublished map found at the Divisional Office of Surveyor General's Department in Galle, drawn by surveyors. R. B. Young and Winzer in 30. 08. 1890 on the allotments K and A2 to D2, Sheet No. 023/ 1321 (31, No. 36), SP i.e. Southern Province, Talpe Pattu, Galle. (of primary plan No. 1141, Lot 8991) records this tower as a Trig. station, i.e. Trigonometrical station. The Field Book of R. B. Young in Unawattone surveyed on, 2. 1. 1910 indicates from Watering Point in an angle of 87.1° is Galle Tower. The other two points of survey associated with this tower in trigonometrical survey are records of interest. They are viz. *Kurundukanda* near *Labūduwa*, (6.04°.24"N,80°.13'48"E-294' in height) and *Hindelnattu* near *Moraketiya* (6.12°. 42" N, 80.24°. 12" E-1344' in height). It was only in 1885 February 7th that preliminary steps were taken to connect Ceylon with Great Trigonometrical Survey of India. This data sheds more light on this tower. Thus it is evident this landmark tower was erected a decade before the above mentioned event. Therefore, it is apparent that this tower was a masonry survey column, which was subsequently used as a trigonometrical station.

However, in Major Gen. John Frazer's map of Island of Ceylon in 1862 records that there is a column named Edwad's Pillar near the watering point. This map was drawn to connect with the 'great survey of India by John Arrowsmith in 1862'.[4]

It is apparent therefore, that there is no basis to state that Galle Tower was erected by Mr. Edward, also I could not glean any literature as to why this pillar was called as the Edward's pillar. I postulate that the tower to be named after Edward is a misnomer.

It whets our curiosity to know that there has been one of the earliest English lighthouses in the island mounted on the Unawatuna Point which is few yards away, bordering the sea in 1878. The foundation that is still found on this spot further supports this account. The Government Administration Report in 1878 has stated that the beacons estimated cost was Rs. 2,454.39 but it was completed at a cost of Rs. 79,895.[5] What fate befell to this lighthouse is not known but it is not found in the two maps cited above. This adduces credible

evidence that the lighthouse has not even lasted three decades. The Unawatuna Point for the sea farer or for the navigator was known as Point de Galle. Thus for the one who access to the Galle Harbour this Unawatuna Point is the most conspicuous that could be easily sighted from the sea.

Dr. R. L. Brohier describes this pillar over sixty feet in height as the Edward's Pillar resembling the Victory Column in Colombo[6]. Today the tower is not that height, evidently the upper portion would have collapsed. Also it is interesting to note that because of this landmark the hillock was also known as the *Kulunu Kanda*[7] literally means the tower peak or the pillar peak.

The present position of the tower is pitiable. There is a wide crack running almost from base to top of the tower. It will not be very long before it collapses. Urgent repairs are vital. Also several large blocks of dressed granite forming the base have been surreptitiously removed. The tower should be restored to preserve for posterity such a significant landmark so deeply associated with the town of Galle.

Acknowledgements

Mr. S. Kodikara, Superintendent of Surveys, Galle District, for providing me with unpublished cartographical details. Mr. Anura Wellala for his excellent photographs. I record my thanks to all of them.

Notes

1. De Vos, F. H. Old Galle., *Journal of the Dutch Burgher Union,* 1(3): 120-39, 1(4): 171-89, 1908
2. Perera, J. Will., Legends of Rhumassala, *Times of Ceylon -Annual 1958,* no pagination
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4. Brohier, R. L., & Paulusz, J. H. O., *Land Maps and Surveys,* vol. 2, 1951, p. 59.
5. *Government Administration Report,* 1870, p. 14
6. Brohier, R. L., *Seeing Ceylon,* Lake House Investment Ltd. 1964, p. 57-8.
7. Iyer, S. ed., Errata, *The Ceylankan,* May, 2002 , p. 4, Also vide: Fake lighthouse, *The Ceylankan,* Jan. 2002, p. 5.

TOPONYMY

Kochchikade

Kochchikade is a well-known place name in the Western Province. One **Kochchikade** is situated within Colombo city limits and the other is a few kilometers north of Negombo.

According to C. Dickman, B. M. Gunasekera and J. Ferguson the term *Kochchiyar* in Tamil is used to name immigrants from Cochin. Cochin is a famous city/port in the Malabar coast of South India. In the Malayali language *Kochchi* means 'a small place'. This has been misspelt and mispronounced by the Portuguese in their documents i.e. *Cuchin, Cochim* and *Cochin*. In Portuguese the first letter or the sound '**K**' changes to '**C**' and the end nasal sound '**N**' added to it. According to *Hobson-Jobson* this is a common phenomenon of the Portuguese influence as in the case of *Atjeh* in Sumatra as *Achin* or *Acheen*. The Dutch too continued this style of writing in their documents. So did the British and it is now a standard term.

Accordingly, the people of Cochin who arrived and settled down here were called *Kochchi*. The Tamil word *Kadai* is an equivalent to *Bazaar* (Persian word) such as *New Bazaar = Alutkade,* meaning market place. *Kadai* is a place where the traders are gathered. Thus, the combination of *Kochchi* and *Kadai* originated the usage of **Kochchikade** to denote the settlements of immigrants from Cochin.

The famous St. Thomas Church in Colombo north is called **Kochchikade Palliya** originally built by the Portuguese. The present structure has been considerably renovated in early British times. This church is more or less exclusively for the use of the Christian *Chitties* of Colombo. The term *Chitty* appears to have been used to distinguish theirs from other arrivals from Malabar. Within the church there are memories of many of the names of early arrivals such as the Ondaatjes Melhos, Morgappas and Mardappas belonging to old Colombo *Chitty* families. The church gave the name to the street round the corner *San Thome Weediya,* now commonly known as *Gintumpitiya or Gintupitiya.*

K D P

BOOK REVIEW

TRADITIONS OF SRI LANKA - A SELECTION WITH A SCIENTIFIC BACKGROUND.

C. G. Uragoda, pp. 319, viii, illustrated, Vishva Lekha, Ratmalana, 2000.

The knowledge of the past has come down through innumerable human minds, and in the process has become refined. Some of these traditions, which are "opinions, beliefs and customs ...handed down from generation to generation" may have a scientific reasoning. As its name implies, such traditions have been collected and are discussed in this book. Dr. C. G. Uragoda says in the preface to his book that "so far there has been no single publication in Sri Lanka that has addressed the issue of tradition from a scientific perspective. Neither have I come across such a book from any other country". This seems to be an 'auxiliary science' which the author has presented to the reader.

Dr. Uragoda is certainly qualified to carry out research and write a book of this nature. He has vast experience gathered in the field of medical and non-medical research, which has resulted in numerous publications on nature and human environment in Sri Lanka.

This book has a connection with the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka. In 1990, the author delivered his Presidential address to the Society on "A scientific basis for some traditions and practices in Sri Lanka". Thereafter he came across many more such traditions with a scientific support, and this fact prompted him to write this book.

The 'material the author recounts in this book is either his personal observations or scientific investigation by others. In the process of analysis, he has referred to every possible occasion where a scholar has expressed any views regarding his subject matter. The long list of references at the end of the book, many of which are little known and difficult to obtain, vouch for the large amount of research that has gone into this work.

The Traditions of Sri Lanka is a handsome publication printed on quality paper and with a large lettering which makes it easily readable. A few colour photographs, related to subject matter, illustrate the book.

The book is divided into 25 chapters covering a broad spectrum of topics. These include time and tide; irrigation and rice; chena and millet;

nitre caves, blowholes and Rupaha marble; the *madara* tree and other rarities; water-holes and caves; palms; turtles' dugong and squids; iron and steel; snakes; and boats and fishing. Dr. Uragoda cites many instances where man's previous knowledge and his physical attributes have a real scientific meaning.

Average Sri Lankans are acquainted with many of the traditions in this book. In their day-to-day life, they take no serious note of them. They tend to ignore them on the assumption that they are unworthy of further study. Here we should not forget that Newton's law of gravitation was established on the question, why should an apple from a tree fall to the ground.

This book contains hundreds of interesting traditions which were later found to be based on scientific fact. An example is the *kumbuk* tree. Traditionally, ash from the bark of the tree or its wood has been used to white-wash walls of buildings or as a medicine given to pregnant women or patients with fractures or as an accompaniment in betel chewing. Subsequently, it has been scientifically proved that this ash contains a very high proportion of calcium and this makes the traditions scientifically correct.

Another example is the occasional poisoning that occurs on eating short-eats made from the flour of cycas or *madu* seeds. It is caused by a water-soluble poisonous chemical found in the seeds. In Uva, where cycas grows in the wild, people used to keep overnight a bag of cut seeds against the current of water irrigating a paddy field. Unknowingly, this tradition washed away the poison, thereby making the flour safe.

It is interesting to note that when one refers to Dr. Uragoda's discussion on the traditions associated with the thermal spring at Mahapëlëssa near Sūriyawëva, he will realise how the author brings out the subjective finding made at different levels to a scientific conclusion. The conclusions drawn in 1908 by the acting Principal Mineral Surveyor that the water at Mahapëlëssa contained a fairly large quantity of common salt was confirmed by researchers in 1986. The latter found that the water contained the highest concentration of sodium and chloride found in any thermal spring in the country. The author connects these results to the story of Sri Lankan elephants He even explores beyond this point and touches on the story of Sinbad the Sailor, raising curiosity in the minds of the reader as to "where elephants go to die".

A heap of elephants bones found at Mahapëlëssa by Dr. R. L. Brohier posed the question whether these bones would have been of elephants who came to enjoy some property in the water of Mahapëlëssa during the last days of their lives. It is a known fact that elephants are fond of salty water, and presumably this may have been the reason for their attraction to Mahapëlëssa.

How this story connects with that of Sinbad the Sailor is interesting. "Sinbad made altogether seven voyages to different parts of the world each starting from his native Baghdad. His last two voyages took him to Serendib (Sri Lanka). In the story of the seventh and final voyage there is a reference to the legendary burial place of elephants.

"Sinbad was returning from his second visit to Serendib when he was captured and sold as a slave in an unknown island. His master employed him to shoot elephants with bow and arrow for the sake of their ivory. One day he was ordered to climb a large tree and keep watch for elephants, when a herd surrounded him. A large elephant then wound his trunk round the tree and uprooted it. Picking up Sinbad, he carried him on his back. Having walked for a long time, he finally threw Sinbad off his back and walked away with the rest of the herd 'So I rested a little and my terror subsided; and I found myself among the bones of elephants. I knew therefore that this was the burial place of elephants, and the elephant had conducted me to it on account of the teeth."

"The island on which this incident took place was not Serendib, but considering that it occurred while returning from Sri Lanka, the story appeals to be a replica of a local tradition. As Tennent comments, the original story of Sinbad the Sailor 'embodies the romantic recitals of the sailors returning from the navigation of the Indian seas in the middle ages'. It may, therefore, be assumed that the Arabs who regularly touched at Sri Lankan ports in the pursuit of their trade would have picked up this local tradition which eventually found its way into *The thousand and one nights.*

Similar interesting descriptions are to be read regarding Nitre Cave, Ritigala, Rumassala, Nittëwo and several other accounts in this book. Anyone who reads this book once, I am sure, will be delighted to read it again because of Dr. Uragoda's gifted style of writing.

A handsome complement must, therefore, be paid to the author for the very innovative use of source material. An "auxiliary science' of this

nature is considerably difficult to deal with. Dr. Uragoda has been successful in presenting the reader with a useful combination of tradition and culture through this work. Last but not the least, it should be recorded here that Sri Lanka is rich in human tradition and the folklore as embedded in these traditions. May we leave it for his next treatise.

K D P Paranavitana

THE LION AND THE SWORD: AN ETHNOLOGICAL STUDY OF SRI LANKA, Vol. I.

Asiff Hussein, pp. 189, Illustrated, Author, Colombo, 2001.

There is a wealth of information in this text. The topics of language and race are thoroughly dealt with. But at certain times to the point that the non-specialist general reader may loose interest in it. We should be grateful to Hussein for bringing to our notice the colonial anthropological, historical and linguistic sources, which he has relied upon to compose his narrative. But his uncritical use of these colonial images of "us" is problematic, to say the least. Deconstruction of colonial knowledge sources cited in Hussein's text in order to understand the colonial cultural and political milieu that produced this knowledge would be an exciting thing to do. This particular book gives the reader a wealth of information, especially on issues such as languages and racial affinities of the people of Sri Lanka. A major weakness of the book is that it lacks a clear and coherent argument.

In this review I will focus my attention on a contentious issue in Hussein's narrative. According to Hussein, Sinhala people *as a fully formed nation* migrated to Sri Lanka from the eastern parts of India. This must be the reason why he considers "Vaddas" as the aboriginal folk of Sri Lanka. The above view is incorrect. The ethnogenesis of the Sinhala nation took place in Sri Lanka. In other words, the Sinhala nation is a made in Sri Lanka product. It formed as a result of amalgamation of tribes in Sri Lanka. This particular amalgamation took place between the tribes who were resident on the island and the tribes that arrived on the island. The story of Kuveni's union with Vijaya symbolises the above stated process of amalgamation of tribes and the formation of the Sinhala nation. The metamorphosis was complete during the reign of king Pandukabhaya.

In this light, to consider the "Vaddas" as the aboriginal folk of Sri Lanka is baseless. "The exotic aboriginal Vadda" is a construction of the colonial anthropological project. It is unfortunate that Hussein has toed this line. The "Vaddas" are part and parcel of the Sinhala nation. Racially or culturally the so-called "Vaddas" do not consistently differ from their Sinhala brethren. Furthermore, Language is considered as a powerful boundary marker of an ethnic group. With regard to the "Vaddas" there is no evidence to indicate that they had a language of their own in the distant past. Historically they have been using Sinhala as their language with some minor adaptations.

These adaptations are so minor that the "Vadda" speech does not even qualify as a dialect of Sinhala.

To the credit of the author, he discusses (but only in passing) certain instances of cultural integration and miscegenation between the "Vaddas" and the Sinhalas. This is what he should have developed in chapter one but unfortunately had failed to do. Instead what we see in chapter one is an attempt at "othering" of "Vaddas" vis-a-vis Sinhalas.

In order to understand the dynamics of ethnicity, the author subscribes to a methodology that was invented by 18th and 19th century European scholars of language. It is a simple method whereby language is equated with nation or ethnicity. This must be the reason for the overemphasis on language found in Hussein's text. "Language families" are arbitrary constructions of 18th and 19th century European scholarship. To trace common decent to diverse nations on the basis of such highly arbitrary categories as "language families" is incorrect. The "proof" that Sinhala language is structurally related to the so called Indo-European family of languages does not negate my argument that the Sinhala nation was historically born in Sri Lanka as a result of amalgamation of tribes resident in the island and the tribes that arrived in the island. Some rudimentary forms of the language what we call Sinhala must have been brought here by groups who arrived in the island. But the Sinhala language emerged as a result of a synthesis of languages that prevailed in the island and the languages that came to the island with groups of migrants. Even the scholars who subscribe to the theory of Indo-European connection of Sinhala acknowledge the significant presence of "non-Aryan elements" in the Sinhala language.

Hussein has done an excellent job in synthesising information from a very diverse and a large number of sources, some of which are extremely hard to access in these times, to compose his narrative. The book is full of information. It is also a very good guide to colonial (as well as neo-colonial) anthropological, historical and linguistic sources.

Hussein's narrative lacks dynamism. It seems the narrative is frozen in time. It lacks the contemporary developments in the subjects of his discussion. May be the dynamic picture of the subject areas he has discussed in this volume will be found in volume two of *The Lion and the Sword.* At a time of cultural homogenisation, Hussein's contribution to the celebration of local identities is commendable.

Sankajaya Nanayakkara

CORRIGENDA
J/XLV

I The Annual Lecture Schedule published under proceedings is replaced with Lecture Schedule for 1998/99 appearing on proceedings page ii of the present issue.

2. The Heading of the Statement of Accounts should be corrected as "31 December 1998".

3. The Proceedings published in above number have been recast, edited and published in the following pages.

4. The Article by A. P. S. Galapata was published subject to inclusion of Editor's comment: "The writer has maintained his own style without bibliography or references".

Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka
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1998/99

Date	Lecturer	Subject of Lectuer
1998		
30 March	Mr. Rex I. de Silva FZS, AMIAP.	Some Aspects of the Marine Biology of Sri Lanka
25 May	Mr. P. Miriyagalla BSc. (Cey), National Consultant (UNDP/ILO)	History of Mauritius with Special Reference to Ehelepola Adikaram
29 June	Mr. L. K. Karunaratne Architect	A Lost Legacy - Timber Architecture of Sri Lanka
27 July	Mr. C. R. Withanachchi BA (Special), Research Assistant, IFS	Pre-Historic Settlements in the Western Foothills of Sri Lanka (Sinhala)
31 August	Dr. A. S. W. Tammita Delgoda BA, MA, PhD (Lond) ICAS (UK)	Ridi Vihare
28 September	Prof. W. M. K. Wijetunga BA (Hon) Cey., MA, PhD (Lond)	"Wanted". A Military Historian
26 October	Mr. Frederick Medis F. C. S. A. (Hony)	Numismatic and Archaeological Evidence for the Existence of an Ancient International Trade Zone in the Tissamaharama Area during the First Century AD
30 November	Dr. R. M. M. Chandraratne MA, PhD, Research Scholar, Poona	Archaeo-Zoological Evidence for the Subsistence Pattern of the Early Iron Age with

		Reference to the Salgahawatta Excavations, 1987/88 (ASW and ASW 1) in the Citadel, Anuradhapura
28 December	K/s Wilfred M. Gunasekara First Special Representative of the Library of Congress in Sri Lanka	Local Government in Early Ceylon and the Headman System

1999

25 January	Mr. Sam Wijesinhe BA, LLM, Barrister-at-Law	Sir Ponnambalam Ramanathan
22 February	Hon. Justice Dr. A. R. B. Amarasinghe PhD	Our Legal Heritage

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Dr. K. Arunasiri, BA Horn (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. Corn. 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.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Minutes of the 154th AGM (156th year) of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka

1. **Date and Time:** 31st March 2001 at 3.00 p.m.

   Venue: Auditorium, Mahaweli Centre
   96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha
   Colombo 07.

2. **Present:** Mrs. N. K. Abeyratne, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Prof Wimal Balagalle, Dr. K. Arunasiri, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, D. M. P. B. Dassanayake, Mr. J. A. D. Lanerolle, Mr. W. L. P. de Mel, Mr. B. S. de silva. Dr. R. K. de Silva, Dr. R. H. de silva, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. V. R. de Silva, Mr. C. A. de Vos, Mr. L. H. R. P. Deraniyagala, Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra, Mr. Tissa Devendra, Mr. W. L. N. Dias, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Mr. Desmond Fernando (PC), Mrs. Edith Fernando, Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera, Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunesekera, Mrs. Therese Gunasekera, Ms. H. M. Y. V. K. Herath, Mr. J. Hewage, Mr. M. A. Hussein, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Mr. W. A. Jayawardene, Dr. Mrs. Kusuma E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Karunaratne, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Mr. P. Kulatilake, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya, Mr. R. C de S. Manukulasooriya, Mr. Frederick Medis, Dr. L. P. Mendis, Mr. D. Miriyagalla, Prof. N. Mudiyanse, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, Prof. Mrs. R. Paranavitana, Mr. U. Pathirana, Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris, Mr. D. G. A. Perera, Mr. J. A. Perera, Mr. P. H. Premawardene, Dr. P. G. Punchiheva, Prof. M. Rohanadeera, Mr. Henry Samaranayake, Mr. H. G. Samaraweera, Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne, Mr. H. V. Situge, Mr. W. A. Somadasa, Mr. L, Sugunadasa, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. D. V. Thambugale, Mr. S. Tlilakasena, Dr. C. G. Uragoda, Prof. Vini Vitharane, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. C. Wellappili, Wg. Cdr. R. M. Wickremesinhe, Prof. C. Wickremagamage, Mr. R. Wijedasa. Mr. M. K. D. Wijeratne, Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha, Mr. H. W. Dissanayke, Mr. D. G. B. de Silva, Mr. L. K. Karunaratne, Mr. A. P. S. Galapata, Mr. C. Weligamage, Mr. Nimal Saratchandra, Mr. D. P. W. Karunatilake, Mr. M. H. Gunaratne and Mr. S. H. M. Jameel.

3. **Meeting:** The Meeting was called to order by the President Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake with required quorum of 30 present.

4. **Notice of the Annual General Meeting**
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, President in the Chair called on the Hony. Jt. Secretary to read the notice convening the meeting who duly read it.

5. **Welcome Address by the President**
The President Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake expressed his warm welcome to the members present at the AGM of the 156* year of the Society. He said that the activities earned out during the year are summarized in the Annual Report of the Council for 2000. There are seven Committees functioning under the auspices of the RASSL and some of their reports carried considerable details.

He also said that as promised at the previous AGM, he had paid special attention to the Library during the last year. The books in the Library were inventorised and individual reports were completed for approximately 6000 titles. The air conditioners, which were fixed in the Library had not been functioning for a considerable time and action has been taken to repair one unit and put it into working order. The rest of the units will be repaired one after the other in due course.

The Journal No. 43 has been issued and No. 44 just released a week ago. He stressed the need to reintroduce history to the school curriculum and said that the RASSL could play a vital role in that respect.

He also said that financially, the Society had to depend on the Government Grant of Rs. 600.000/- However, the Society could manage within the income satisfactorily over the expenditure.

6. **Condolences**
Hony. Jt. Secretary, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana announced that he had been informed of the death of Mr. Eardly Gunawardene and the deaths of the following members were reported during the year. Mr. N. Sri Cumarasinghe, Mr. P. Weerasinghe, Dr. Anton Atapattu and Puravidya Chakravarti Mr. Douglas D. Ranasinghe, Mr. W. M. W. de Silva.

The House observed two minutes silence in honour of the deceased members.

7. Excuses

Hony. Jt. Secretary, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana announced that the following members have intimated their inability to attend the AGM. Mr. Ananda Chittambalam, Mr. S. L. M. Shafi Marikar, Mrs. Ishvari Corea and Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty.

8. Confirmation of the Minutes

The Minutes of the 153rd AGM (155" year) of the RASSL were confirmed on a motion proposed by Mr. Frederick Medis and seconded by Dr. K, Arunasiri subject to the following correction.

At the end of the last para (page 33 of the Administration Report); Add: after "Mr. Gunasekera", the words "The amendment was proposed by Mr. A. Denis N. Femando and seconded by Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremesingha".

9. Business Arising from the Minutes

Lt. Cdr. S, Devendra stated that the Minutes of the last AGM prepared by Hony. Jt. Secretary, Mr. Methsiri Cooray had not met with the Council's approval and as such at the request of the Council he prepared the draft minutes utilizing the recorded tapes in addition to the earlier draft. He said that he was thus unable to ensure the correctness of the matters voiced by various speakers although they had been recorded in tape.

On Resolution I - Code of Ethics

Speaking on the Resolution I

Mr. A. Denis N. Femando said that the amendment proposed by Mr. Frederick Medis was not seconded; therefore it was against the law. However, the amendment had been put to the vote. This procedure was incorrect, and therefore, Mr. Medis's amendment was *ultra vires* to the RASSL Constitution. The following comments ensued on the issue.

Mr. Frederick Medis said that this Assembly had the authority to consider any amendment to a resolution whether it was with or without notice.

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake proposed that the house delete words *ultra vires*.

Mr. Methsiri Cooray was of the opinion that the matter was placed before the House. Therefore, the House had to consider whether to adopt it or do otherwise.

Mr. A. Denis N. Femando said that the President had urged that it be put to the house. He also said that there was no record to that effect.

Mr. Desmond Femando said such a proposal must be accepted unless the House decided otherwise. Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha stated that if a Resolution is before the House, and if the proposer and the seconder agree, it could be taken up for discussion.

Rev. Fr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya suggested that the past Presidents should get together and study the matter as to what amendments are to be adopted. This suggestion was formally proposed to the House by Mr. Hemantha Situge and seconded by Mr. M. G. Samaraweera. Accordingly the proposal was accepted by the House.

10. Annual Report of the Council 2000/2001

Hony. Jt. Secretary, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana tabled the Annual Report of the Council for 2000/2001 which had been previously circulated among the members.

Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra questioned why the report of the Finance, and Administration Committee was so brief and why the report did not contain a summary of the activities carried out during the year. He said it was insufficient as all that it contained was an attendance list.

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake explained that the activities handled by the Finance and Administration Committee were mainly financial matters and they are reflected in the Audited Statement of Accounts.

Rev. Fr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya referring to the Library Committee said that neither the RASSL nor the members were here to meet today if not for the books in the Library. All precautions should be taken to safeguard the Library. He further said that the decision to stop the lending of books be re-considered. At the same time he suggested that the Council explore the possibilities of issuing photocopies of old books using modern methods such as scanning, etc. He suggested that the Society should help the researcher as much as possible.

Mr. A. Denis N. Femando requested to keep the library open on Saturdays and Sundays, for the members who are busy during week days and for those who are residing outside Colombo.

Mr. D. G. A. Perera said that he had handed over two valuable volumes to the then President Mr. A. Denis N. Femando for which he had not received even an acknowledgement. Later he had inquired from the then Editor, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva. None of them responded positively even after a lapse of two years: He said he is unaware whether the books have gone to the collection in the Library or to private hands.

Mr. A. Denis N. Femando said he too had given two papers and one of them was the text of Dr. R. L. Brohier Memorial lecture and both have got lost. Even after two years he could not find them. He further said that there is evidence that books of the RASSL Library are being systematically robbed and obviously is an inside job as both Index Cards from the General Index as well as the Author Index have been removed in the instance of the book "lbn Battuta's Travels translated by Rev. Samuel Lee. "This I investigated after I requested Mr. M. S. M. Aboosally, life Member of the RAS to refer it, but the Librarian had stated that it is not there. This could be one of many books lost and has to be investigated," he said.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala requested the Council to reconsider lending of books.

Mr. Ashley de Vos said a solution to the problem could be found once the inventorisation of books is over. A proper inventory has to be completed first. He requested the Council to expedite the inventorisation of books in the Library.

Mrs. Edith M. Femando said that she would arrange a donation of Rs. 275,000/= for the preservation of books and for improvements to the Library. She also suggested that the text of the Annual Report be modernized with some graphics in it.

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake said that the suggestion was well taken and noted for action by the Council to be elected today.

The Annual Report for 2000/2001 was accepted proposed by Mr. D. Miriyagalla and seconded by Mr. Desmond Fernando. P.C.

11. Audited Statement of Accounts - 2000

Hony. Treasurer Dr. K. Arunasiri tabled the Audited Statement of Accounts for 2000, which has been circulated among the members in advance.

Mr. D. Miriyagalla questioned why the depreciation value of items like, typewriter, pedestal fan and other similar equipment has not been indicated properly in the statement.

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake stated that the matters pointed out by Mr. Das Miriyagalla were very important and will be communicated to the auditors.

The Audited Statement of Accounts for 2000 was adopted proposed by Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremesinghe and seconded by Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe.

12. Resolution

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake said that there is only one resolution received to be considered at the AGM today. The resolution is printed on page 17 of the Annual report. The title of the resolution reads "proposed resolution for RASSL AGM 2001 Office Bearers / Council Members". It is proposed by Mr. Ashley de Vos and seconded by Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremesingha (dated 26.02. 2001).

The Resolution was placed before the House by the President for discussion. At the request of the House, the proposer Mr. Ashley de Vos read out the text of the resolution. After reading the resolution Mr. Asheley de Vos said that he would wish to add an extra item after item No. 3, which should indicate as item No. 4. The new item (No. 4) reads as follows.

"4. No member shall propose or second more than two nominations for consideration at any Annual General Meeting.

This resolution be adopted with immediate effect".

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake then opened the resolution for discussion.

Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha speaking first said that the very first sentence of the resolution "the RASSL is stagnant" is a wrong statement. The RASSL is active, that is why we are here today. He further said that this resolution deals with several points, which have much relevance to the RASSL Constitution. He welcomed new blood coming into the Council. This Resolution has been drafted with fine sentiments. However, passing a Resolution of this nature would not achieve the objectives of the Society. He said he was unaware

of any demarcation of lifetime of members into sections in any Society. Wisdom cannot be decided according to age of a man. This resolution suggests that all elected office bearers of the Society shall be below 75 years of age and wish to enforce with immediate effect. Since the resolution affects the RASSL Constitution, he said, it should be reworded and reformulated. In his opinion, the contents of the resolution should have been in the form of an amendment to the Constitution than a resolution. Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha was not agreeable with the resolution.

Mr. Ashley de Vos stated that Mr. Sam Wijesinha was quoting from a wrong Constitution that is now not valid. Further, as there were a number of Constitutions floating around, the RASSL should before the next meeting, print the version that has been approved by the General body and distribute it to the Membership.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala expressing his views said that this is the first time that he came across a resolution dividing the members of the Society by age. He said that the provisions are already embodied in the Constitution for youth to take part in the activities of the Society. He questioned how the Society could decide whether a person of 35 years of age is better than one of 75 years of age. All members are equal at enrolment after paying due subscriptions. Therefore, they all have equal rights. He regretted introducing any form of discriminative elements to grow among the membership of the Society. He said that he cannot support the Resolution.

Mr. D. G. B. de Silva was of the opinion that according to the resolution it is understood that the Society is not sufficiently active. Some articles published in the RASSL Journal are not of quality. The Society is an open one and categorizing members into different age groups is not in harmony with its objectives. He said that it is not correct to divide members into age groups and suggested the Resolution be reformatted and submitted at a future meeting.

Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra said that action has already been taken to enroll young people to the Council at the initiative of Prof. M. B. Ariyapala. The intention of the resolution was obviously to go further ahead with the intake of more young people to the Society.

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando said even in the public service there is an age limit of 60 years. He was of opinion that no young people would be drawn to the Society according to the present system.

Certain sentences of the RASSL Constitution have been surreptitiously removed from the Constitution. Therefore, a change is essential.

Mr. Bandula Silva said that if this resolution is adopted it will be *ultra vires* to the RASSL Constitution, as it affects certain sections of the Constitution. Any categorizing of members according to age is not at all acceptable.

Mr. D. V. Tambugala said that age limit is immaterial and this resolution does not mean anything. Any sort of discrimination of members is unacceptable. Therefore, he said he was against the resolution.

Rev. Fr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya stressed the need for young blood coming into the RASSL. This august assembly has the right to accept or reject any resolution. In his opinion the resolution had nothing to do with fundamental rights. It is a Society which formulates its own rules and regulations. He suggested to redraft the resolution and submit it at a future meeting.

Mr. D. G. A. Perera said that the resolution cannot be accepted the way in which it had been submitted.

Wg. Cdr. Rajah M Wickremesingha said that he was in the Council only four years and there he observed some administrative problems, which affect the progress of the Society. He explained that it was why he seconded the resolution.

At the end of the discussion the resolution was put to the vote by show of hands. There were ten members in favour of the resolution and 44 against. The resolution, therefore, was not carried.

Mr. Ashley de Vos stated that the resolution even though defeated generated the required debate. It is hoped that the RASSL will take some action to ensure that more active and interested members are brought into the Committee.

13. Election of Chairman *Pro-tem*

The President, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake proposed and invited Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera to function as the Chairman *Pro-tem*. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake vacated and Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera took the chair.

14. Election of the President

The Chairman *Pro-tem*, Mr. R, G. G. O. Gunasekera announced the two nominations received for the post of the President. He said that election of the President will be by secret ballot and a duly prepared ballot paper will be issued to each member present at the meeting on submission of the ticket issued at the entrance. He requested the members to put the marked ballot papers into the ballot box placed in front of the Chairman *pro-tem*.

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando raised a point of order stating that Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake is not entitled to be a contestant to the Post of President as he had been found guilty by a Court of Law. However, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake stated that he had appealed against the sentence and the *Pro-tem* Chairman proceeded with the election.

At the end of voting the votes were counted by the Chairman *pro-tem* assisted by Prof. Chandra Wickramagamage and Prof. (Mrs.) Kusuma E. Karunaratne. Results declared were as follows:

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	25
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe	48
Votes Spoilt	01
Total number of ballot papers issued	74
Total number of members present	78
Obviously four persons had left before voting time	
Total number of ballot papers prepared	100

The Chairman *Pro-tem* declared that Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe has been elected to the post of President.

15. President Elect Takes the Chair

The President elected took the Chair, thanked the members for placing confidence in him and proceeded with the Council of the Meeting.

16. Election of Office Bearers

1. Vice Presidents (2)

The President announced that there are two posts of Vice Presidents and only two nominations have been received. He added that under section 29 (b) of the RASSL Constitution the nomination of Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema was null and void as he was not present at the AGM. Accordingly only Dr. K. D. Paranavitana was declared as elected Vice President.

He then invited the House for nomination to one post of Vice President. Accordingly, the name of Lt. Corn. S. Devendra was proposed by Mr. Hemantha Situge and seconded by Mr. A. Denis. N. Fernando. In the absence of any other nomination the President declared Lt. Corn. S. Devendra elected Vice President.

2. Hony. Jt. Secretaries (2)

The President announced that there are three nominations received for two posts of Jt. Secretaries.

Mr. Methsiri Cooray announced that he was withdrawing his nomination. In the absence of any other nominations the President declared that Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickremasinghe and Mr. R. Wijedasa have been elected Hony. Jt. Secretaries.

3. Hony. Treasurer

The President announced that there is only one nomination to the post of Hony. Treasurer.

In the absence of any other nomination the President declared Dr. K. Arunasiri elected as Hony. Treasurer.

4. Hony. Librarian

The President announced that there is only one nomination for the post of Hony. Librarian; that was Mrs. Ishvari Corea.

Mrs. Ishvari Corea had informed her inability to be present at the AGM, as she was out of the Island. She had however, given her consent to accept the post of Hony. Librarian. The President explained to the House that she had contributed much to the improvement of the RASSL Library, especially by conducting the verification of books. He suggested that Mrs. Corea be continued in the position of Hony. Librarian for the next term as well. Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando seconding the President's suggestion stated that Mrs. Ishvari Corea had done a good job as Hony. Librarian and we should continue to have her as Hony. Librarian

The House agreed to the suggestion and Mrs. Ishvari Corea was elected as the Hony. Librarian.

5. Hony. Editor

The President announced that there are two nominations to the post of Hony. Editor. Dr. K. D. Paranavitana tabled a letter of withdrawal of nomination for the post of Editor by Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake

In the absence of any other nominations the President declared Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne elected Hony. Editor.

17. Election of Council Members

Category (a)

The President announced that thirteen nominations have been received for twelve positions under the above category of Council Members. Out of these candidates, No. I Mr. Sydney C. Perera and No. 10 Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty have been disqualified under section 29(b) of the RASSL Constitution. Dr. K. Arunasiri, candidate No. 7 has been elected Hony. Treasurer.

The President declared that the following candidates have been elected to the council without contest.

1. Dr. G. S. B. Senanayaka
2. Mr. D. Miriyagalla
3. Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekera
4. Mr. Frederick Medis
5. Mr. Asiff Hussein
6. Mr. Ashley de Vos
7. Mr. Desmond Fernando PC
8. Prof. M. Rohanadeera
9. Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha
10. Mr. Methsiri Cooray

The President invited the House to nominate two persons to the remaining two positions.

Accordingly, the name of Prof. (Mrs.) Kusuma E. Karunaratne was proposed by Mr. Frederick Medis and seconded by Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris. The name of Mr. Hemantha Situge was proposed by Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando and seconded by Lt. Cdr. S. Devendra.

In the absence of any other nominations the President declared that Prof. (Mrs.) Kusuma E. Karunaratne and Mr. Hemantha Situge are elected to the Council under category (a).

The President announced that there are four nominations received under category (b) out of whom Prof. Kapila Abeywansa has been disqualified under section 29(b) and Mr. R. Wijedasa was elected to the post of Hony. Jt. Secretary.

Accordingly, the President declared that Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris and Mr. A. P. S. Galapata have been elected to the two positions in the Council under category (b).

18. Election of Auditor

M/s Wickremasinghe, Dayananda & Co., was re-elected auditors of the Society for 2001 proposed by Mr. Ashley de Vos and seconded by Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris.

19. Vote of Thanks

The President Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe proposing the Vote of Thanks said during the last term less academic matters were discussed in the Council. No attention was paid to the research areas such as folklore and similar subjects. He said that he would endeavour to have a series of lectures recorded, edited and published. He also would try to generate some funds for the activities of the Society. He welcomed the innovative ideas from the new Council while adopting the paiticipatory concept. He thanked the out going President and Council and the Staff of the RASSL office for 'the excellent work they have done during the last year.' Finally, he thanked all those who participated in the AGM.

Das Miriyagalla
R. Wijedasa
Hony. Jt. Secretaries

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe
President

02.01.2002

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

The ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the 155th year of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, will be held on Saturday, 25 March, 2000 at 3.00 p.m. at the Auditorium of the Mahawali Centre, 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 07.

AGENDA

1. Notice of the Meeting
2. Welcome Address by the President of the RASSL
3. Condolences
4. Excuses
5. Confirmation of the Minutes of the AGM of the 154 year
6. Confirmation of the Minutes of the SGM held on 25 October, 1999
7. Business Arising out of the Minutes
8. Annual Report of the Council for 1999/2000
9. Audited Statement of Accounts, 1999
10. Resolutions
11. Election of Auditor
12. Vote of Thanks
13. Photograph - Dress for the Photograph Suggested:

    National / Safari / Lounge Suit.
14. Tea

MONTHLY LECTURE SERIES
1999-2000

Month	Lecturer	Title
1999		
April 26	Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera	Where did Lourenco de Almeida Land in 1506: Is it Colombo or Galle?
May 31	Deshamānya Dr. Vernon Mendis	The British Occupation and Conquest of Sri Lanka 1795-1815
June 28	Mr. D. G. B. de Silva	Ibn Batuta's Bhatthala'-Puttalama: A Discourse on the seat of Āryachakravarthi
July 28	Mr. L. K. Karunaratne	Mihintale, Royal Park and Monastery
August 30	Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake	Wars of National Liberation in the 19th Century
September 27	Prof. M. W. J. G. Mendis	Projects and Prospects in the New Millennium
October 25	Prof. Kusuma Karunaratne	A Comparison Between Significant Sinhala and Japanese Proverbs
November 29	Prof. M. H. F. Jayasuriya	"Vaijayanthatantra": A Lesser Known Treatise on Sri Lankan Arts and Crafts
December 27	Wg. Cdr. Rajah M. Wickramasinghe	Symbols on Ancient Sri Lankan Coins
2000		
January 31	Mr. Srilal Perera	The Tāla Sāstra of the Kandyan Drum
February 28	Mr. M. H. Gunaratna	National Shipping and Ports Policy of Sri Lanka in the 1st and 2nd Millenniums AD

COUNCIL MEETINGS

Thirteen Council Meetings and one Emergency Meeting were held during the period. Attendance of members is as follows.

		Attendance (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. Uragoda	,,	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
Kulasuri 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

New Members

During the period under review 04 Resident Ordinary Members, 12 Resident Life Members and 01 Non-resident Life Member were enrolled. 08 members were transferred from Ordinary to Life Membership.

As at February, 2000, the Society had 559 members on roll, consisting of the Patron, 01 Honorary Member, 65 Resident Ordinary Members, 455, Resident Life Members, 22, No-Resident Life Members, 03 Non-Resident Ordinary Members, and 14 Institutional Members.

Condolences

It is with deep regret that we record the death of the following members of the Society during the year 1999/2000.

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)

FINANCE AND ADMINISTRATION COMMITTEE (F&A) 1999-2000

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 I st of January 2000 with the appoinment of Miss R. K. M. T. Indrani.

Methsiri Cooray
Hony. Jt. Secretary

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE (PC)
1999-2000

	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)
1999-2000

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 members and others to the library	488
No. of library books borrowed by members	201
No. of periodicals received as donations	36
No. of periodicals recived 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 comuputer 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. Indrani and Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya, Administrative Secretary.

Ishvari Corea
Hony. Librarian

TOPONYMY COMMITTEE (TC)
1999-2000

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) 1999-2000

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. Senanayaka is in the press and the printing will be completed in a months time. The *Anguttara Nikaya* translation by Prof. Kapila Abhayawansa was com-pleted 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 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 Buddasasana 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

EXHIBITION ON THE WRITTEN WORD: THE LITHIC RECORD

The following members of the Society participated in the project: President RASSL, (Chairman), Messers Lakshman de Mel, D. G. B. de Silva, Ashley de Vos, L. K. Karunaratne, Das Miriyagalla, P. H. Premawardhana, Lt. Corn. S. Devendra, Dr. Lorna Devaraja, Dr. Malini Dias and W S Karunaratne (on invitation).

The Committee, has worked out the overall plan, the exhibits and display formats have been identified. It is expected to hold the Exhibition sometime in mid-2000.

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. Corn S. Devendra, Mr. Methsiri Cooray and Mrs. Kamalika Peiris.

GENERAL OFFICE

Personnel

The new post of Stenographer cum Data Entry Operator was filled, and vacant post of Assistant Librarian was filled.

Equipment

The CPU of the Society's computer was replaced, as the existing system brokedown. Vide F and A Committee Report on p. 10.

A new Computer with E-mail and Internet facilities was purchased Vide p. 13. of the Report.

A new telephone extension and a bicycle was provided for the office, Vide Report of the F and A Committee on p. 10.

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 Senenayake 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

REPORT 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 Giant of Rs. 600,000/= The Hony. Treasurer on behalf of RASSL wishes to thank 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.

Dr. K. Arunasiri
Hony. Treasurer

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1999

	Schedule	1999 Rs.	1998 Rs.
CURRENT ASSETS			
Stocks of Books		559,636.49	261,121
Accounts Reveivable	01	23,030.67	52,324
Cash & Bank Balance	02	63,633.84	134,888
		646,301.00	448,333
LESS: CURRENT LIABILITIES			
Accounts Payable	03	16,890.00	34,635
Net Current Assets		629,411.00	413,698
Property, Plant & Equipment	04	985,489.83	900,929
Library Book	05	525,195.92	434,838
Investments	06	2,007,042.09	2,102,085
		4,146,138.84	3,851,549
REPRESENTED BY			
Accumulated Fund	07	3,417,593.69	3,14,1845
Specific Fund	08	729,545.15	709,705
		4,147,138.84	3,851,549

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.

Treasurer Treasurer

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1999 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, 1999.

Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co.
Chartered Accountants

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
INCOME & EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

	Schedule	1999 Rs.	1998 Rs.
INCOME			
Government Grant		600,000.00	600,000
Donations & Other Grants	09	7,500.00	37,500
		607,500.00	637,500
MEMBERS SUBSCRIPTION			
Life Membership Fees		34,350.00	27,500
NF Subscription -Current Year		14,334.39	11,850
-Prior Years		2,523.37	900
-In Advance		250.00	1,550
Entrance Fees		1,213.00	1,715
Non-Resident Membership Fees		10,668.00	5,355
		63,338.76	48,870
OTHER INCOME			
Sales of Journal		51,159.10	109,114
Photocopy Income		8,545.00	5,394
Sundry Income		465.00	-
Interest Income	10	113,898.83	211,549
Fines for delay in return books		431.00	244
Net Income from-Kankavitharani		1,709.57	177
-Dhammapadatthakatha		1,335.64	-
		177,544.18	326,479
Total Income		848,382.94	1,012,849
Less-Expenses		567,665.92	860,133
Excess of Income Over Expenditure		280,717.02	152,716
Less: Taxation for the year		-	12,439
Balance C/F		280,717.02	140,277

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
FINANCIAL NOTES
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

1. ACCOUNTING POLICIES

(a) Basis of Accounting

These financial statements have been prepared under the historical cost convention in accordance with generally accepted accounting principles applied on a basis consistent with that of the preceding year.

(b) Stock of Books

These are stocked at cost.

(c) Property Plant & Equipment

Property, Plant & Equipment are shown, in the financial statements at cost. Society does not provide depreciation for property, plant & equipment

(d) Gratuity

No provision has been made in the financial statements for libilities under the Gratuities Act No. 12 of 1983.

(e) Taxation

Provision for taxation is based on the interest income on the basis that the Association is an approved charity.

2. STOCK OF BOOKS

Kankavitharani (959 Books)	250,912.76	261,121
Dhammapadathakatha (987 Books)	308,723.73	-
	559,636.49	261,121

3. During the year the Society has changed its policy for interest income on receipts basis where as in the previous year interest income was taken on accrual basis. Interest income is shown in the account as interest received leess interest receivable as at 1. 1. 99.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

	1999 Rs.	1998 Rs.
Expenses		
Staff Salaries, Allowances & Overtime	256,011.21	215,839
Staff Tea Expenses	17,747.00	15,490
Printing Expenses - Journal XLI, XLII	95,964.28	73,160
- Constitution	14,515.20	-
- A. G. M. Report	13,172.61	13,959
Letter Head, Post Cards & Others	-	8,423
Stationery & Postage	30,650.75	23,208
Sundries	23,602.37	20,847
Telephone	21,823.78	15,380
Audit Fees	7,500.00	6,000
Bank Charges & Overdraft Interest	968.30	1,568
Service & Repairs Charges- Photo Copier	26,966.25	24,482
Professional Charges	-	3,375
Advertisement	17,679.12	4,750
Repairs & Maintenance	39,396.55	144,667
Book Binding Charges	-	8,800
Travelling	1,668.50	1,472
Gratuity	-	20,500
Repairs of floor polisher Hoover	-	6,693
Tiles & Tilling Expenses	-	251,521
	567,665.92	860,133

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

SCHEDULE: 04 Property plant & Equipment	Balance at 01.01.1999 Rs.	Additions (Disposals) Rs.	Balance at 31.12.1999 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	194,601.95	5,765.00	200,366.95
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	3,399.00	17,549.00
Sundry Assets	2,863.00	-	2,863.00
Partitioning of Library	85,810.00	-	85,810.00
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	34,000.00	152,089.00
Fax Machine	19,950.00	-	19,950.00
Paper Cutter	7,000.00	-	7,000.00
Microphone Sets	103,696.88	37,297.00	140,993.88
Bicycle	-	4,100.00	4,100.00
	900,928.83	84,561.00	985,4899.83

SCHEDULE : 05 Library Books	1999 Rs.	1998 Rs
Balance at 01. 01. 1999	434,837.70	373.761
Additions during the year	90,358.22	61,076
	525,195.92	434,837

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

SCHEDULE : 01 **Accounts Receivable**	**1999** **Rs.**	**1998** **Rs.**
Interest Receivable	10,000.00	43,653
Income Tax Over paid	9,020.00	4,661
Mrs. D. Kottegoda - Flowers of Sri Lanka	4,009.75	4,010
	23,030.67	52,324

SCHEDULE : 02 **Cash & Bank Balance**		
Cash in hand	7,533.46	5,206
Cash at Bank - Sampath Bank A/c No. 000160001250	56,100.38	129,683
	63,633.84	134,888

SCHEDULE : 03 **Accounts Payable**		
Telephone Charges	1,890.00	1,210
Audit Fees - 1997	7,500.00	7,500.00
- 1998	7,500.00	-
Siedles (Pvt.) Limited	-	25,925
	16,890.00	34,635

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

SCHEDULE: 06 Investments	1999 Rs.	1998 Rs.
Funded Investment Savings Account		
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-61233	74,021.49	67,623
N.S.B -1-0002-01-61217	106,029.98	96,865
N.S.B -1-0002-01-54601	49,493.68	45,216
	229,545.15	209,705
Other Investments		
Sampath Bank		
Savings A/c No. 60004813	270,673.69	542,269
Savings A/c NO. 60002683	827,123,25	670,411
Fixed Deposits		
N.S.B. - A/c No. 500014807015	179,700.00	179,700.00
Arpico Finance Company Ltd.	250,000.00	250,000
	1,777,496.94	1,892,380
	2,007,042.09	2,102,085

SCHEDULE : 07 Accumulated Fund		
Balance at 1. 1. 1998	3,141,844.67	3,001,568
Add: Excess of income over Expenditure during the year	280,717.02	140,276
Error Correction	(4,968.00)	-
	3,417,593.69	3,141,845

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

SCHEDULE: 08	1999	1998
Specific Funds - Investment	**Rs.**	**Rs.**
Chalmers Oriental Text Fund		
Balance at 01.01.1999	67,623.42	61,417
Add: Interest during the year	6,398.07	6,206
	74,021.49	67,623
Chinese Records Translation Fund		
Balance at 01.01.1999	96,865.23	87,976
Add: Interest during the year	9,164.75	8,890
	106,029.98	96,865
Society Medal Fund		
Balance at 01.01.1999	45,215.91	41,067
Add: Interest during the year	4,277.77	4,149
	49,493.68	45,216
Atthakatha fund	500,000.00	500,000
	729,545.15	709,705

SCHEDULE: 09		
Donations & Other Grants		
Donation: M/s. Aitken Spence Co. Ltd.	7,500.00	7,500
Mrs. P. De Silva	-	30,000
	7,500.00	37,500

SCHEDULE: 10	
Interest income on fixed deposit & salary accounts	
Fixed Deposit - N. S. B.	6,738.75
- S. M. & I. B.	3,203.00
Sampath Bank - S/A No. 100160002683	62,764.30
Sampath Bank - S/A No. 100160004813	41,192.78
	113,898.83

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1999

SCHEDULE : 11	1999
Salaries & Allowances	**Rs.**
Mr. R. M. Weerakoon	45,600.00
Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya	66,200.00
Overtime & Incentive payment	14,695,21
Mr. Janaka P. Sampath	29,500.00
Miss Luckmali Pathirana	39,500.00
Miss S. T. Weeraratne	21,000.00
Miss. R. K. M. T. Indrani	11,250.00
Mr. Tusitha M. Geekiyanage	28,266.00
	256,011.21

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA. 154TH YEAR ABSTRACTS OF COUNCIL MINUTES 1999/2000

Council Meeting : 29th March 1999
Present : President Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva and 19 members.
Excuses from 2 members.

The President welcomed members and expressed the hope that all council members would assist him in concentrating on the academic activities of the Society.

The president proposed organising an exhibition on "The Written Word". The Council approved the proposal and decided to form a committee for the purpose. The president also proposed a publication on the theme, 'The Scientific Heritage of Sri Lanka' to which the council agreed.

The following committees were elected:

Finance and Administration committee
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva - Chairman
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
Mr. Sam Wijesinha
Mr. Desmond Fernando
Justice S. J. D. de S. Wijeratne
Wg. Cdr. Rajah Wickramasinghe
Mr. Susantha Fernando
Mr. K. Arunasiri
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana - Convenor

Publications Committee
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatileke - Chairman
Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema
Dr. C. G. Uragoda
Lt. Com. Somasiri Devendra
Mr. Ashley de Vos
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake
Mr. K. Arunasiri
Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake - Hony. Editor & Convenor

Library Committee
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe - Chairman
Ks. Wilfred M. Gunasekara
Mr. Frederick Medis
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
Dr. S. Gunasinghe
Mrs. Kamalika Peiris
Mrs. Ishvari Corea - Hony. Librarian & Convener

The composition of the *ad hoc* committees
Toponymy and Translation of *Atthakathas* to stand.

Council Meeting : 26th April 1999
Present : President and 19 members. Excuses from 2 members.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala said that the Council had been improperly constituted since according to the Constitution four members should have been members of the Society for less than three years from the date of enrolment. So that two members elected at the last AGM who have been in the Society for more than three years should retire and make way for two members with less than three years. Mr. Sam Wijesinghe said that the relevant clause on the 3 year rule had not been brought to the notice of the general body at the time of election and that it was a bonafide mistake which could be rectified. It was decided to summon a special council meeting to decide on the matter.

The schedule of monthly lectures were approved by the Council.

It was decided to publish notices of monthly lectures in the *Ceylon Daily News* and *Island* newspapers. It was also decided to discontinue sending notices of monthly lectures to members since the printed schedule of lectures is sent to the membership and notices are being published in the newspapers.

Council Meeting : 10th May 1999 (Being a continuation of the meeting held on 26th April)
Present : President and 20 members. Excuses from 2 members.

The following were appointed to comprise the *ad-hoc* Committee on the

Exhibition on Inscriptions.

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva - Chairman
Mr. Ashley de Vos
Dr. Mrs. Lorna Dewaraja
Mr. L. K. Karunaratne
Mr. Methsiri Cooray

Lt. Cdr. Somasiri Devendra said he would like to be associated with the project, especially in connection with Arabic inscriptions.

A committee to examine and report on the necessary amendments to the constitution of the RASSL was appointed and comprised the following:

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva - Chairman
Mr. Sam Wijesinha
Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
Mrs. Kamalika S. Pieris
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana (Convenor)

The Publications Coommittee was requested to update the list of numbers of remaining copies of the RASSL Journals in order to dispose of the excess copies by discount sale.

Council meeting : 31st May 1999
Present : President and 15 members. Excuses from 6 members.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake were appointed to the *ad-hoc* Committee on the amendments to the RASSL constitution.

The Council decided to translate *Paligathas* into Sinhala while retaining the Pali text and approved the appointments of Prof. Kapila Abewansa as a member and Dr. K. D. Paranavitana as Treasurer of the committee.

Request of Mrs. D. Kottegoda for approval to reprint the book *The Flowers of Ceylon* under the auspices of the RASSL granted, subject to conditions laid down in the first print.

Council Meeting : 21st June 1999
Present : President and 16 members, Eccuses from 4 members.

Two minutes silence was observed in honour of Mr. R. N. J. Arthanayaka

and Mr. W. T. J. Mendis. It was decided to include the monograph on toponymy prepared by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya in the Journal of the RASSL and off prints to be made available for sale to the public. Request of Dr. H. N. S. Karunatileka for authority from the Council to discuss with the relevant officers of the Colombo Municipal Council the issue of the land occupied by the Mahaweli Centre. Approved.

Council Meeting : 26th July 1999
Present : President and 16 members. Excuses from 5 members.

It was decided to organize a sale of past issues of RASSL Journals, once a list of Journals remaining unsold has been prepared. Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe suggested that a RASSL Journal in Sinhala be published which the Council decided to refer to the Publications Committee.

Council Meeting : 30th August 1999
Present : President and 15 members. Excuses from 5 members.

Two minutes silence was observed in memory of Dr. Nandadeva Wijeskera, a former President of the Society.

The council decided that the excess copies of RASSL Journals with less than 100 copies be priced at Rs. 75/= and where more than hundred are available at Rs. 50/=

It was also decided that the 1995 Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume be priced at Rs. 200/= and advertised.

Council Meeting : 27th September 1999
Present : President and 16 members. Excuses from 4 members.

Mr. Frederick Medis was requested to make arrangements to get a software for diacriteal marks installed in the RASSL computer.

The Council approved the purchase of the Catalogue of the Nevill Collection of Sinhala Ms. in the British Museum by Mr. K. D. Somadasa.

Council Meeting : 25th October 1999
Present : 18 members with Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake Presiding. Excuses from 3 members.

Mr. Frederick Medis announced that would has begun on the study of place-names in the *Sandesa Kavyas*.

The suggestion of Prof. M. B. Ariyapala to present the published translations of the Atthakatha to the Mahahayakas of the four Nikayas was accepted.

Council Meeting : 29th November 1999
Present : President and 15 members. Excuses from 3 members.

The Council adopted a vote of condolence for Mr. Mervyn Casie Chetty, a longstanding member and former Vice-President of the RASSL.

A committee to report on the compilation of a work on the Short History of Sri Lanka to be undertaken by the Society was appointed and comprised the following members.

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva - Chairman
Mr. Desmond Fernando
Lt. Com. S. Devendra
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
Mr. Methsiri Cooray

The Council agreed to the proposal of the President that the RASSL send a memo to the Minister of Education regarding the subject of teaching of history in schools.

Council Meeting : 27th December 1999
Present : President and 15 members. Excuses from 1 member.

Decision taken to re-design the membership enrolment application.

Council agreed that the proceedings of the Sub-committees could be carried out even with the attendance of one member.

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe announced that 400 pages of the Sumangala Vilasini had been translated and the rest would be completed in six months.

Council meeting: 31st January 2000

Present: President and 14 members excuses from 6 members

The Council adopted a vote of condolence for Mr. Peter Jayasuriya,

longstanding life and council member of the society.

The following were appointed as members of the reconstituted committee on the History of Sri Lanka.

Mr. G. P. S. H de Silva (Chairman)
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilaka
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayaka
Lt. Com. S. Devendra
Ms. Kamalika S. Pieris (Convenor)

The Council decided to appoint Miss K. T. Indrani as Assistant Librarian.

Council Meeting : 28th February 2000

Present: 16 members with Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake presiding excuses from 5 members.

The Council decided to stop lending books with immediate effect and consider the entire collection of books and journals in the library as reference material.

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe announced that Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama would chair the *Atthakatha* Translations Committee with effect from February 2000.

The Council appointed a sub-committee comprising of the following members to study the draft schedule of lectures for the year:

Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilaka (Chairman)
Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe
Dr. G. S. B. Senanayaka
Mr. Methsiri Cooray

LIST OF MEMBERS
Admitted During the period between 31. 05. 1999 and 28. 02. 2000

LIFE

Abayasiri Silva, K.,	36, Denver Crescent, Mulgrave, Victoria Australia 3170.	L/600
Amerasinghe, Dr. A. R. B.,	30/5, Bagatelle Road, Colombo 03.	L/596
Cooray, M. H. V.,	Department of Botany University of Peradeniya Peradeniya	L/585
Dissanayake Perera, Mr. R. C. W.,	42/3 Second Lane, Rawathawatta, Moratuwa.	U/595
Gamalath, S. K.,	82/4, W. A. Peiris Mw., Uyana, Moratuwa.	L/586
Guneratne, U. A.,	17/27, Wijayaba Mw., Nugegoda.	L/592
Jayawardena, Dr. A. S.,	"Bank House" 206, Bauddhaloka Mw., Colombo 07.	L/597
Menon, S.,	High Conunission of India 36-38, Galle Road Colombo, 03.	L/584
Roberts, Michael,	Woodlark Grove Adelaide 5052, Australia.	L/593
Thambugala, D. V.,	71/4, Gregory's Road, Colombo 07.	L/590

Uswattearachchi, Dr. G.,	410/82, Bauddhaloka Mw., Colombo 07.	L/598
Wickramasinghe, W.,	384, Serpentine Road, Colombo, 08.	L/591
Wickramasinghe, Y. M.,	447/1, Seafield Estate, Mawathagama.	L/604
Wijemanne, W. M. H. S. R.,	47, Riverdale Road, Aniwatta, Kandy.	L/599
Wijeratne, M. K. D.,	Bopetta, Urapola (WP).	L/594

ORDINARY

Galapatha, A. P. S.,	39, Padukka Road, Godagama, Meegoda.	0/327
Gunaratne, M. H.,	7B, Bellantara Road, Dehiwala.	0/329
Jameel, S. H. M.,	4C, Summit Flats, Keppetipola Mw., Colombo 07.	0/328
Wijewardene, P. R.,	133, Dharmapala Mw., Colombo 07.	0/330

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