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*The object of the Society is to institute and promote inquiries
into the History, Religions, Language, Literature, Arts,
Sciences and Social Conditions of the present and
former peoples of the Island of Sri Lanka and
connected cultures*

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CONTENTS

<p>R. M. Sherman, B.A. (Econ) (Virginia) Diplomat, U.S. Embassy American contacts with Ceylon in the 19th century—An introduction to their impact.</p>	<p>.. 1</p>
<p>Palitha Weeraman, B.A. Hons (Lond), Former Director, Cultural Affairs Pōruwa Ceremony in Southern Sri Lanka</p>	<p>.. 9</p>
<p>Somapala Jayawardhana, B.A. (Lond) Ph.D. Kelaniya A survey of literature on the sacred bodhi tree at Anuradhapura.</p>	<p>.. 23</p>
<p>W. M. Karunadasa, B.A., LL.B. (Cey.) M.A. (Lond), Ph.D. (Col.) Attorney - at - Law Conservatism and Radicalism in Sri Lanka's non-aligned politics in the 1970's and beyond</p>	<p>.. 53</p>
<p>D. P. M. Weerakkody, B.A. Hons (Cey.) Ph.D. (Hull) Falsa et Dubia: on some alleged references to Sri Lanka in Greek and Latin texts</p>	<p>.. 73</p>
<p>Kusuma E. Karunaratne, B.A. (Hons) (Cey.) M.A. (Essex), Ph.D. (Col.) ; Professor, of Sinhala, University of Colombo; & L. A. D. A. Tissa Kumara, B.A Hons (Col.); Lecturer සිංහල විකිත්සක අභිවාර විධි පිළිබඳ විමර්ශනයක් සිංහල වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍ය ඇසුරෙන්.</p>	<p>.. 91</p>
<p>D. G. A. Perera, B.A. (Lond), Dip. in Education (Cey) Consultant I.F.S, Kandy Locating Mahatittha—The real site of the great emporium of ancient Tambapanni.</p>	<p>.. 110</p>
<p>Wimala Wijayasooriya, B.A. Hons.; M.A. (Perad) Pracīna; Pandita; Professor of Sinhala, Sri Jayewardenapura, University කෘෂි වාරි කර්මාන්ත ඉතිහාසයේ නොවිසඳුණු ගැටලු කීපයක් (මිණිපේ ලිපිය ඇසුරෙන්)</p>	<p>131</p>
Book Reviews	
<p>Somapala Jayawardhana, B.A. (Lond), Ph.D. (Kelaniya) <i>Reflections on Tibetan Culture: Essays in memory of Turrel V. Wylie, Eds. Lawrence Epstein & R F Sherburne</i></p>	<p>160</p>
<p>Nandasena Ratnapala, B.A. Hons (Cey.), M.A, (Cey.) D.Phil (Gottingen), Ph.D., D. Litt. (Sri Jayewardenapura) <i>Souvenirs of a forgotten Heritage by Gamini de S Punchihewa</i></p>	<p>164</p>
<p>Lorna Dewaraja, B.A. Hons (Cey), M.A. (Cey), Ph.D. (Lond) <i>Water in Culture: the Sri Lankan Heritage by J. B. Disanayake</i></p>	<p>168</p>
<p>Annual Report 1990 / 1991</p>	<p>.. .. . 173</p>
<p>Auditors Report. 1990</p>	<p>.. .. . 180</p>
<p>Statement of Accounts. 1990</p>	<p>.. .. . 180</p>
<p>List of Honorary Members</p>	<p>.. .. . 190</p>
<p>List of Life Members</p>	<p>.. .. . 190</p>
<p>List of Ordinary Members</p>	<p>.. .. . 198</p>
Proceedings	
<p>143rd AGM, 24th March 1990</p>	<p>.. .. . i</p>
<p>Minutes of Council Meeting, April, 1990 - March, 1991</p>	<p>.. .. . vii</p>
<p>Publications added to the Library</p>	<p>.. .. . xLix</p>

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SASANKA PERERA



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1992

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THIS afternoon, I wish to speak to you about the history of relations between the United States and Sri Lanka, or Ceylon as it was formerly called. I will focus on the contributions of several Americans who played significant roles in Sri Lanka's development. As you will see, they covered a wide spectrum, from education and religion to commerce and diplomacy.

The first recorded American contact with Ceylon came in January 1788, eight years before the arrival of the British, when an American ship called at Galle to take on water. This ship's name and captain are not recorded; however, in December 1788 a brig appropriately named "America" under Captain Lawless called at Galle on a voyage from Bengal to Malabar. The first recorded U.S. ship to visit Colombo was the "Henry" under Captain Crowninshield, aged only 17, in August 1789. He later went on to become Secretary of the Navy under two American Presidents.

What initially attracted the American ships to Ceylon was spices, particularly cinnamon. Yankee clipper ships from New England entered the spice trade from the East Indies and Ceylon shortly after winning independence from Britain. How could these upstarts compete against the established monopolies of the British and Dutch East India Companies? In an early example of the entrepreneurial that was to forge America's development, the Yanks were able to load up spices in the Indian Ocean, carry them back to Boston, off-load what was needed in the U.S., sail to London, and still sell their cargo more cheaply than the British ships. As the U.S. grew, its ships and whaling vessels increasingly found Galle and Colombo, as well as Trincomalee, good ports to conduct business, load cargo, and take on provisions—and occasionally even stay, as we shall see.

II. American Missionaries

The next American contact had a major impact on Ceylon, particularly in the Jaffna area. In 1813 Samuel Newell, a missionary with the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (a Protestant Congregationalist group organized in 1810 and based in Boston, Massachusetts), arrived accidentally in Ceylon. The Board had failed in an attempt to establish a mission in Calcutta due to British hostility and Newell was on his way home when the ship made an unscheduled stop in Colombo. He found

Governor Brownrigg very sympathetic to an American mission (even though war was again on between the U.S. and Britain), and Newell made a positive recommendation to the board that a mission be established in Ceylon. When the war with Britain ended in 1814, the Board concurred in the establishment of a Ceylon mission and the first four missionaries, three with wives, arrived early in 1816. They found British missions already active in much of southern Ceylon and so they decided to establish the American mission in Jaffna, arriving in Tellippalai in October, 1816.

The mission prospered. Boarding schools were set up and in 1823 a central boys school (the Colonial administration expressly prohibited it from being a full college) was established at Vaddukodai, under the direction of Dr. Daniel Poor. The 200th anniversary of Dr. Poor's birth was celebrated by Jaffna University just recently in June 1990. In 1824 a central girls school was established in Uduvil, the first such institution for women in the Indian ocean region. The founders of the girls school were Rev. and Mrs. Miron Winslow, who had arrived in December 1819. They remained in charge until 1833, when Mrs. Winslow passed away, and Rev. Winslow returned to the U.S. with their three daughters. And it came to pass that in 1956, then Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, their great grandson, paid a brief visit to Ceylon to visit the grave of his ancestor and see where they had labored for so many years so far away from home.

Unfortunately short-sighted men on the Board in Boston decided to end English instruction in missionary schools in 1856, opting instead for vernacular instruction, and the boys school at Vaddukodai was closed. As English was then the official language in Ceylon, and quite necessary if one wanted to advance in the Colonial Administration or social structure, parents with such aspirations for their children had to go elsewhere for an English-based education (much as what happened after 1956). However, during this period, the mission's medical clinic under Dr. Green was very active and quite successful in combatting diseases, particularly cholera.

Eventually English was reinstated as the medium of instruction in the mission's schools and in 1872 the buildings at Vaddukodai returned to life as the home of Jaffna College, the first institution of

higher learning in northern Ceylon, with Rev. Hastings as the first President. The American mission continued its activities in Ceylon until 1947 when its role was taken over by the Jaffna diocese of the Church of South India. The College continued in operation (with an American as its President until 1966) up to 1974, when the Government took over the College to incorporate it into the newly formed Jaffna University". All undergraduate instruction was taken over by the university, and the secondary school was permitted to continue at a new location. However, the Vaddukoddai campus was returned to Jaffna College in 1977, where it continues in operation today, still with substantial support coming from benefactors in the U.S.

III. Diplomatic Relations

On the diplomatic front, the U.S. first established relations with Ceylon in 1850 when a Scotsman, John Black, was appointed Commercial Agent in Galle. Mr. Black held the position for 12 years, and he later died in Galle, where his gravestone may still be seen. The Agency was moved to Colombo in 1870 and upgraded to a Consulate in 1874. In 1877 my great great grandfather, William Morey, was appointed as the first American-born U.S. Consul in Ceylon, a position which he held for 30 years. He had arrived in Colombo in June 1861 as second mate on a small clipper ship, the "Grey Feather." The ship was returning after a voyage from New York to Sydney and had not actually intended to call at Colombo, but Mr. Morey, then aged 24, suffered some sort of injury or illness on board, and as the book *Twentieth Century Impressions of Ceylon* put it, "Mr. Morey was brought ashore in a dying condition." However, he recovered and decided to remain, becoming Manager of the Cargo Boat and Wharf Improvement Company (an early precursor to the Port Cargo Corporation) for eight years. He then became an auctioneer, Commission Agent, and Farrier until 1880, when he retired from active commercial life. One of the houses he occupied during that time is still in use as the Walauwa Restaurant at the Corner of Dawson Street and Union Place on Slave Island.

From 1866 to 1872 he was also active on the horse racing track on Galle Face Green during the annual meets in September. He was particularly successful from 1868-1870 in a partnership with a Britisher, Harold Newman of Kandy, known as the "Centaur's."

Mr. Morey was the driving force in the partnership and in 1869 ten of the fifteen winners that year were from his stables, including the prestigious "Governor's Cup". His two most famous horses were "Darkie" and "Arion," and he also raced successfully in India and even Australia. He was one of the first to import horses specifically for racing purposes and thus contributed to the growth of the sport. The Assembly Rooms, opened in 1872 and used later by the Colombo Club, in front of the Taj Samudra Hotel, served as the grandstand for many years, until the venue was moved to the Havelock Race Course in 1893; where horses racing continued, save for a brief interruption during World War II, until 1964, when the ban on the importation of horses took its toll. That ban has now been lifted and the Sri Lanka Turf Club, first formed around 1849, sponsored two horse races at the January 1990 meet in Nuwara Eliya, with the promise of even better things to come in 1991.

Mr. Morey married a Sinhalese girl, Francina Perera, in 1866 at Christ Church, Galle Face, and they had four children. They visited the U.S. on three occasions, the first in late 1866, making Mrs. Morey almost certainly the first Sri Lankan lady to visit the U.S.....although by no means the last. She died in 1901 and he passed on in 1908. They are buried in the General Cemetery, Kanatte, where the monument erected in their honour still stands in the Anglican section.

The Consulate office at that time were located in Chatham Street in Fort; and the office remained, at shifting locations, in the Fort until 1948, the last site being the Australia House building on York Street. The Consulate became an embassy upon Ceylon's independence, at which time it moved to 44 Galle Road, Kollupitiya, the former home of former President J. R. Jayewardene's maternal grandparents. Then in 1984 the embassy moved further south on Galle Road to its present site adjacent to the British High Commission. Given this connection, I have been very pleased and honored to have been assigned to Sri Lanka as the American Consul beginning in June 1988.

I have also discovered what is probably a direct link from the present embassy back to Mr. Morey, besides myself. As many of you know, the Post Office box for the American embassy is Box 106. In the 1921 Times of Ceylon "Green Book," I found a numerical

listing of P.O. boxes in Colombo which showed clearly that at some point, probably the 1880's, the British had reorganized the boxes alphabetically, so that boxes 1-15 went to people or firms whose last name began with "A," boxes 16-25 to names beginning with "B," etc. Of course over time, there would be slippage and by 1921, the American Consulate, as it was then listed, which should have been in the A's, had a much higher number. But it turns out that boxes 93-110 were assigned to names beginning with "M," and box 106 falls precisely where the name Morey would have been in the alphabetical listing. So Box 106 is the box originally assigned to William Morey as the U.S. Consul.

IV. Mercantile Affairs

Another interesting American Connection with Ceylon was occasioned by the arrival from the U.S. of two brothers, Edward T. and Anthony A. Delmege. The brothers had been river boat captains on the Mississippi and then made a fortune running guns and cotton through the Northern blockade on behalf of the Confederacy during the American Civil War. With the South's defeat in 1865, they decided to find a more hospitable climate for their activities and ended up in Galle. Edward became a partner in the mercantile firm of A.T. Reid and Co., which reorganized as Delmege-Reid and Co. in 1866, with Anthony as an assistant. By 1875 the firm had relocated to Colombo, although Edward was still listed as the U.S. Consular agent in Galle as late as 1877. The firm was involved in a wide range of business activities and held the agency for several large British shipping and insurance concerns. Unfortunately, in 1892 the brothers had a falling out and in a long court battle, Edward retained control of Delmege-Reid. However, Anthony quickly established a new partnership known as Delmege-Forsyth, and wrested much of the old company's business from his brother. Both companies were still active in the 1930's, but today only Delmege-Forsyth survives, now as part of Lewis-Brown and Company. Delmege-Reid apparently folded during World War II.

I have been able to find out only very little about the brothers' families and ultimate fate. According to Ferguson's Directories, they spent much of the time after 1900 "in Europe." Edward is last listed as a partner of Delmege-Forsyth in 1917, suggesting he died shortly thereafter. Anthony was still listed as Governing

Director of Delmege-Reid as late as 1931. Anthony apparently had at least one son, as in 1914, J. C. R. Delmege is listed as an assistant in Delmege-Reid, and in 1917 he is shown as Captain of the Fifth Regiment in the Munsters Fusiliers, on active service. And in 1921 there is a listing in Ferguson's for James O'Grady Delmege, living in Ireland. Also, "Mercantile Lore" by Sir Thomas Villiers, provided a further commercial link for the Delmege family. In 1878 James Forbes married Caroline Delmege, sister of Anthony and Edward; and in 1881, he founded Forbes and Walker in partnership with George Walker. Due to this connection, Delmege-Reid and Forbes and Walker had a close working relationship for many years. James and Caroline had four sons, including Sir Charles Forbes, born at "The Hut" at the corner of Maitland Cres. and Gregory's Road in 1880, who went on to become Admiral of the Fleet for the U.K. in 1940. So the Ceylon-American influence spread in all directions. If anyone can shed any further light on the Delmege family, I would be grateful.

V. The Buddhist Revival

One final American I would like to highlight, and by no means the least important, is Henry Steele Olcott, co-founder with Mme. Blavatsky of the Theosophical Society and strong supporter of the Buddhist revival in Ceylon. Born in 1832, he served with distinction as a Colonel in the Union army in the Civil War, but by 1874 he had developed a strong interest in eastern philosophy. As recorded in his six volume work "Old Diary Leaves," between 1880 and 1898 he visited Ceylon over 20 times, and certainly several more times before his death in Madras in 1907. Col. Olcott helped make Buddhism much more accessible to the average Sri Lankan—he wrote the first Buddhist Catechism, which set out clearly and simply the basic tenets of Buddhism. He was responsible for the basic shape of the Buddhist flag, now the international symbol of Buddhism everywhere. He also saw the need for developing an educational system based on Buddhistic principles and was instrumental in founding the system of Buddhist schools, in particular Ananda College (1887) and Musaeus College for Women in Colombo. As the Registrar General, Mr. P. Arunachalam said in 1901, "Of late years, thanks to Col. Olcott, the Buddhist community has awakened from its lethargy and made great advances in the spread of instruction. There are now Buddhist schools throughout the island, under the management of the Theosophical Society founded

by him, and really good work is done by them." His unique contribution to Sri Lanka is recognized today by the fact that his statue, in front of the Fort Railway Station, is the only non-Sri Lankan statue still on public display in Colombo.

VI. Conclusion

The people I have just mentioned were by no means the only Americans who visited Ceylon and were enchanted by the island the Arab traders called Serendib. Andrew Carnegie, the founder of U.S. Steel Corporation, and the novelist Mark Twain both visited Ceylon in the 19th century and extolled its virtues in their travelogues. I have recently been in contact with Henry Catto, the present U.S. Ambassador in London, and who some say may become the next Director of the U.S. Information Agency, whose great grandfather was born in Ceylon in 1864, as was mine. But whereas my great grandfather was born in a house on Glennie Street, Mr. Catto's was born to a Scottish coffee planter near Teldeniya.

Even today, Americans remain active in the business community, providing ideas and helping stimulate economic growth. The United States is also providing assistance to Sri Lanka's development through our AID program, focusing on agricultural growth in the Mahaweli region. Sri Lanka has also found a receptive market in the U.S. for many of its products, particularly textiles and ready-to-wear clothing; and American-style service clubs, such as Lions, Rotary, and Kiwanis have become quite popular here. The United States and Sri Lanka have a long and mutually beneficial relationship, which I hope to see continued for many years to come.—Thank you.

THE PŌRUVA CEREMONY IN SOUTHERN SRI LANKA

By

PALITA WEERAMAN,

PŌRUVA is a Sinhala word which means a platform of low height made of boards or planks. The Sinhala word for a plank is “padara” or ‘pōruva’. The term ‘*magul pōruva*’ which means ‘fortunate platform’ is the term that denotes a wedding platform or bridal dais. (‘*Po*’ in ‘*pōruva*’ is pronounced like ‘*po*’ in the word *potent*).

The ceremony of marriage is performed on a *pōruva* called in Sinhala ‘*pōruve sirita*’. The ceremony thus performed is one in which a Sinhala Buddhist young man and a Sinhala Buddhist maiden are married in accordance with certain customary rites coming down from antiquity. Though the ceremony is one performed for the marriage of a Buddhist couple, the ceremony is not a Buddhist one, not surprisingly either, because Buddhism does not deal with ceremonies touching the lay life. However, there is a record of the early twentieth century¹ to show that in the North Central Province, *bhikkhus* have chanted the *Mahāsamaya Sūtra* after the tying of the nuptial thread, to which I shall refer later in detail. The *Mahāsamaya Sūtra* is supposed to be very popular among the *Devas* because it is a long recitation of the names and grandeur of the *Devas* who came to see the Buddha and his Arhat disciples who had come to Kapilavatthu, the capital of the Buddha’s father’s kingdom, and were residing in the great park nearby. So this procedure may have been adopted to attract the *devas* to the wedding—house. This digression from the orthodox non-involvement of *bhikkhus* in lay affairs is only an exception to prove the rule, succinctly stated by the Buddha in the *Karaniyametta Sutra* in the words: “*Kulesu ananugiddho*” which mean “do not hanker after lay families.” The *Poruva* Ceremony appears to have been a ritual to the Sun and the Moon for fertility in marriage in pre-Buddhist times. It has come down to us, apparently, through Hinduism,

which appears to have existed in Sri Lanka before the introduction of Buddhism into this country, in the third century B.C. Naturally, as there were no Buddhist rites regarding marriage, the Buddhists continued the old practices but adapted them to fit in with Buddhist beliefs. This adaptation is seen in the similarity of some parts of the ceremony with parts of the marriage ceremonies of both North and South India, which I shall note at the relevant places of this paper. As surmised in this paper later, we may have inherited some of the Vādda culture too in the performance of the *Pōruva* Ceremony.

From ancient times, the form of marriage has been the giving-away of one's daughter to a man to be his wife by following certain rituals in the presence of witnesses. To this day, in most parts of India from where the Sinhala people too have come, there is no civil ceremony of marriage performed by a Registrar of Marriages. Such is not required in their law. There is no law requiring the registration of a marriage in what was termed our Low Country in British times, marriage "by habit and repute" being as valid as a registered marriage, but paradoxically in Sinhale (the name by which the Kandyan Provinces were called by us after the occupation of the Maritime Provinces by foreign powers), where no registration of marriages ever obtained, registration of marriages is required under a law of 1870. Be that as it may, to the Buddhist the real marriage ceremony has always been the *Pōruva* Ceremony.

The Sinhala word for marriage is 'āvāha-vivāha'. It means the taking over of someone and the separation of someone from one place to another. These words apply to the taking over of a woman and her separation from her home, respectively. It is interesting to note that in the case of a *binna* marriage (where the man goes into residence with the woman in her parents' home) the 'āvāha' is by the woman and the 'vivāha' is that of the man! It is also interesting to note that the term for marriage in Thailand is 'āvāha vivāha', just like ours, because of the strong affinity of the Thai language to Pali, thanks to the prevalence of Buddhism in that country from ancient times. The colloquial Sinhala word for marriage is 'kasāda', which has come to us from the Portuguese whose married soldiers were known as 'kasados'. A classical expression for marriage, one that is now coming into use in formal wedding invitations, is 'atinat gānīma. The words mean 'taking

the hand with the hand'. The ancient way of giving a daughter in marriage was that of the father placing his daughter's palm on that of the groom, as stated in the classical poem called the *Kāvya-sēkharaya*, written in the Kotte Period of our history, and also in the poem called the *Kusa Jātaka Kāvya* of a century later. This procedure is mentioned also in the account of the wedding of Princess Chandrāvati alias Ulakuḍaya Dēvi (which latter name is mentioned in the *Kāvya-sēkharaya*), daughter of King Parakramabahu VI of Kotte, to Prince Sundara Pandya, son of the Mandalika (apparently the King's representative) at Ambalantota. The ceremony began with a recitation of the very long pedigrees of the bride and groom, both of royal blood, "who are standing holding hands" on the *Magul Pōruva*, vide Paranavitana's monograph entitled "*Ulakuḍaya Bisovage Vivāhaya*".

The epic poem called the Ramayana (of India) too mentions this procedure, showing that this has been the ancient customary form of marriage in India too. King Janaka of Ayodhya placed his daughter, Sita, in front of Prince Rama and said: "This my daughter shall be your lawful companion (*sahadharmachāri*); desire her and take her hand with yours. The fortunate one, devoted to her husband, shall follow him for ever like the shadow. Henceforth sharer of thy virtue be she, prince, thy faithful wife", and Prince Rama "then held the maiden, hand embraced in loving hand."² De Queyroz in his account of Portuguese Ceylon³ refers to the placing of the right hand of the bride and that of the groom one on the other. The handing over of the daughter in this way was followed by the father pouring water over the couple, as is seen in the Ramayana where the father of Sita pours water purified by the recital of hymns on the couple. In the Suchi Jataka (No. 387),³ the father called his daughter and in the midst of the assembly, saying: "this maiden is suitable for you", he poured water on the couple and gave her away. I shall, at the appropriate place, show how the ancient rites of the taking of hands and the pouring of water are being continued in the modern *Pōruva* Ceremony.

The marriage ceremony is performed in India too among the Hindus on a platform. Perhaps, the idea was that the ceremony should be witnessed by all the guests, especially because proof of the marriage depended on the statements of the witnesses of the

marriage. The size of the *Pōruva* is given in the *Yasodara Aṣṭaka* as “*diga solos pulula pasalos*” i.e. sixteen (cubits) long and fifteen (cubits) broad. A cubit is the length from the elbow to the end of the middle finger. Today the *pōruva* is about eight by six feet. The affinity of the ceremony to the worship of the Sun and Moon and to the custom of paying respect to the Earth Goddess (*Mahikāntāva*) is shown in the verses that used to be sung in the past to the effect that the Sun resided in the canopy of the *pōruva*, the Moon in the curtains, and the Earth Goddess in the floor cloth of the *pōruva*.⁴ These three items (the *viyana* or canopy, the *tira* or curtains and the *pāvāḍa* or floor cloth) were considered essential parts of the *pōruva*. But now the singing of the verses is omitted and the *Pōruva* often has no canopy or curtains. The holy fire round which Rama and Sita walked hand in hand and which is an essential part of the Hindu *pōruva* ceremony proves that the ceremony was a ritual of Sun worship. The Buddhists have adopted the rituals of “taking hands” and pouring water but have omitted the fire, obviously, because it is un-Buddhistic to worship any god.

Before coming to the stage of the *pōruva*, much is done to fix up the marriage. Firstly, the horoscope of the man is sent to the woman’s parents to be compared with that of the woman; and if the horoscopes are found to agree then the woman’s horoscope is sent to the man’s parents for an independent comparison by an astrologer selected by the man’s parents. These comparisons are made to determine whether the personal temperaments, intellectual levels and, most important of all, the sexual tendencies of the two points to a happy married life. In days when courtship was taboo, this comparison was very useful for making a decision on whether the proposal should be proceeded with or not. The next step is that of the proposed suitor, his father and a few other male relatives visiting the girl’s home to enable the man and the woman concerned to meet as well as enable the man’s side to assess the social standing and financial position of the girl’s parents. Then a similar visit is paid by the father and some male relatives of the girl to the man’s home to make the same assessment. These visits are called “*geval doraval bālīma*” (seeing houses and compounds). If both parties approve of the proposal the groom to-be goes by appointment to the girl’s house with a “*nākāt patraya*”—a document stating the auspicious times for the performance of each of the steps involved in the wedding such as the opening of the wedding reception hall (*magul maḍuva*) by a close friend of the bride’s family,

who is also considered a fortunate person. He opens it by partaking of some food inside the hall and giving a cash present to the bride's father. This act is called "*magul maḍuva alevi kirīma*." The other events for which auspicious moments are indicated in the *nākāt patraya* are the time for the bridegroom's departure for the wedding-house and the direction in which he should set out, the time at which the bride and the groom should step up the *Pōruva*, the direction in which they should look when doing so, the time they should alight from the *Pōruva*, the time they should leave for the bridegroom's house and the direction in which they should set out.

It was the custom in the South, up to the forties of the twentieth century, for the bride's parents, if they were a leading family in the village, to keep Open House for several days before the wedding day, feeding on each day only the members of one caste and that without the normal differentiations in the way of entertaining them. Even those who would be given only mats in the big man's house on other days would, on this day, be accommodated on chairs and at tables as honoured guests.

On the wedding day, before leaving for the *Pōruva* Ceremony, the bride and bride-groom, each in her or his house, would fall on her or his knees and placing the five points of the body on the ground (the knees, the elbows and the forehead) worship her or his parents. This form of worship is called "*pasanga pihituvā vāndima*". This is the way in which Buddhist devotees worship the Buddha, the Dhamma and the Sangha. They thereby take leave of their parents to enter a new life as well as express their gratitude to the parents for the parental care extended to them up to that time.

When the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house, his feet are washed by a younger brother of the bride. If the bride-groom is wearing shoes, only a few drops of water are sprinkled on the shoes as a token of washing. The bride-groom drops a ring, usually one of gold, into the basin of water as a gift to the person who performs this rite. This act of washing the feet is a token of unreserved acceptance of the bridegroom into the bride's family circle.

Before this act of welcome, up to the early twentieth century, the bridegroom was prohibited at the gate of the wedding house from entering the premises by the recitation of certain verses called

“*Tahanci Kavi*” to which one of the bridegroom’s party replied, also in verse, whereupon the bridegroom and his party were admitted into the garden. This prohibition was called the “*Kadulu Tahanciya*” (the prohibition at the gate). There were similar prohibitions from stepping on the *pāvāḍa* (the foot cloth) called the “*pāvāḍa tahanciya*”, from entering the *magul maduva*, called the “*madu tahanciya*”, from using the water jug (*kendiya*) called the “*kendi tahanciya*”, from eating betel (*bulat*) called the “*bulat tahanciya*”, and from stepping up the *Pōruva*, called the “*pōru tahanciya*”. “*Tahanci*” means prohibition. Counter verses were sung by one of the groom’s party to each of these prohibitions as well, whereupon each prohibition was deemed to be cancelled. This custom is supposed to be a symbolic representation of the struggle which ensued when, in ancient times, a young man captured his bride and ran away with her like young Lochinvar of Scotland. The *tahanci* stage is said to have been one of great merriment, with the bridegroom finally declaring that the entire reception hall and everything in it and the bride belonged to him. This custom has no parallel in Hindu marriages. It has come to us, perhaps, from the *vāddās* among whom the custom of capturing the bride after a struggle is said to have obtained, in ancient times. Professor Wilhelm Geiger, the famous translator of the *Mahāvamsa*, has declared after his researches that the *Vādda* language is a pre-Dravidian language that has come to Sri Lanka from South India. So this custom of *Tahanci* too is perhaps reminiscent of an ancient pre-Dravidian custom. Though this custom is not observed in Southern Sri Lanka now, it is still said to be observed in *Satara Kōrale*, *Uva* and the North-Central Provinces.⁵

After the bridegroom’s feet are washed, actually or symbolically, he and his parents and other relatives who have accompanied him are conducted on *pāvāḍa* preceded by dancers and drummers up to the *pōruva*. The bridegroom and his relatives stand to the right of the *Pōruva* as it stands facing the guests and await the bride. She is led by her father to the left of the *Pōruva*.

The *Pōruva* should be set up to face the east or the south. These are considered the propitious directions. One should sleep with the head only in one of these directions. At the four corners of the *Pōruva*, four large pots (*kalas*) are placed with flowers of the coconut tree placed in their mouths and four tiny earthen lamps

on these flowers. The flowers placed in the pots outside the *Pōruva* of Princess Yasōdara and Prince Siddhartha according to the Yasodara Ashtaka were *Maha-Rukmal* obviously because coconut flowers could not be put into a description of a wedding in the extreme north of India. The words in the Ashtaka are: “*Sivkona pūrna ghaṭa maharukmalin sarasā*” (having decorated the large pots at the four corners with flowers of the *Maharuk*). In Sri Lanka, the flowers of the coconut tree are considered propitious. The floor of the *Pōruva* is covered with a new mat; and two pestles, used for pounding paddy, are placed at the two ends of the mat. Husked rice is spread over the mat. A husked coconut and betel leaves are also placed on the mat. Rice, coconut and betel leaves are considered tokens of fertility. The mat is then covered with a new white cloth to serve as the *pāvāḍa* (foot cloth) of the couple.

The ceremony begins with the lighting of the tiny oil lamps at the four corners of the *Pōruva*. The father of the bride or other elder of the bride’s family calls upon the assembly to join him in reciting the *Saranāgamana*, (expression of belief in the Buddha, Dhamma and Sangha) and the *Panca Sila* (the five precepts). Where a knowledgeable elder of the bride’s side is not available, a professional conductor of the ceremony is entrusted with the task of guiding the principal participants in the ceremony.

At the appointed time, the maternal uncles of the bride and bridegroom formally help them to ascend the *pōruva*, each uncle holding the right hand of his niece or nephew, as the case may be. Maternal uncles are the right persons to do this as dictated by the customs of matriarchal society such as ours has been in ancient times. There is a special reason for the maternal uncle to assist his nephew or niece, as the case may be formally, in getting up the *pōruva*. It is the maternal uncle’s customary right to have his niece or nephew, the bride or bridegroom, as his daughter-in-law or son-in-law, respectively. So by assisting her or him to get up the *pōruva* he is giving his tacit consent to her or his marrying a person other than his son or daughter, as the case may be. Where his son or daughter is marrying his niece or nephew, as the case may be, his assisting his niece or nephew as the case may be, to mount the *pōruva* is an act of approval in conformity with custom. The most acceptable marriage according to custom is that between the child of a brother and the child of a sister. This is called an

“*avāssa*” (essential) marriage. Marriages between children of two brothers or of two sisters are taboo even today, especially in the village. Such children are regarded as being children of the same parentage, wherefore marriage between children having that relationship would be incestuous, according to custom, though not according to our law. In Sinhala, the children of brothers or of sisters are “*sahōdara*” or “*sahōdari*” whilst children of a brother and a sister are “*massinā*” or “*nānā*” according to whether they are male or female, respectively. In English, they are all first cousins. Similarly, the brother of the father is “*mahappā*” or “*bāppā*” depending on his being older or younger than the father, respectively. The brother of the mother is “*māmā*”, with the addition of “*loku*” or “*bāla*” according to age, respectively, among the *māmās*. The sister of the father is “*nānda*”, whilst the sister of the mother is “*loku amma*” or “*bālamma*” according to whether she is older or younger than the mother. In English all these persons are uncles or aunts according to their sex.

When the bride and bridegroom have got up the *pōruva*, they greet each other with folded palms and turn in the direction faced by the *Pōruva*. This greeting is a very meaningful act as it signifies each person’s wish to marry the other. In India, immediately the couple mount the *pōruva*, the bride garlands the groom and the groom returns the compliment. This garlanding is reminiscent of the ancient rite of “*svayamvara*” (one’s own choice), an occasion when a princess was given an opportunity of making her own choice among suitable princes invited to a tournament of the martial arts by her father, the King. The *svayamvara* of Sita gave her the opportunity of choosing Rama. It will be a very colourful development if the bride and groom greet each other with garlands as they mount the *poruva*, here too.

Immediately the couple turn towards the assembly of guests, the bride standing on the left of the groom, the latter drops a handful of silver coins on the floor cloth of the *pōruva*, as a token payment to the washerman for providing the floor cloth from the gate to the *pōruva* etc. and for being in attendance to perform odd jobs. The other articles on the *pōruva* are also for him at the end of the ceremony. The couple then hand over a sheaf of betel leaves to a responsible person for keeping it on the top of the *pōruva*, or if that is not possible on some high place within the hall or room in which

the ceremony is being held. This is a symbolic invitation to the tutelary deity (*iṣṭa devatā*) to be present. Next they drop seven sheaves of betel leaves on the floor of the *pōruva*, as a symbolic invitation to the Earth Goddess (*Mahī-Kāntāva*) to be a witness of the marriage. This custom may have emanated from the legend of the Buddha calling upon the *Mahī-Kāntāva* to confirm that he had completed the performance of all the *Pāramitās* (perfections) required for the attainment of Full Enlightenment, (*Sammā Sambodhi*), when challenged at the foot of the Bodhi Tree where he attained Buddhahood, by Māra, the Evil one. In reply, the Buddha touched the earth and an earthquake followed signifying confirmation. This incident is depicted in the images of the Buddha in the “*bhūmi sparsa mudrā*” (posture of touching the earth with his right hand extended over his right knee). Custom demands that besides these unseen witnesses, there should be at least five persons present as witnesses of the marriage. Perhaps, the number five has been chosen to be in line with the number of persons constituting the “*Pancāyat*” (the Five Elders) of every village in India from ancient times and our “*gam sabhāva*” (village council) which also originally consisted of five Elders. In accordance with the custom, that demands the presence of witnesses, sheaves of betel leaves are presented, with their stalks pointing towards the receivers, to the parents of the groom and his elders and then to the elders of the bride’s relatives. The couple jointly hand over the betel and bend low in obeisance before the elders with folded palms. Finally, the bride gives a sheaf of betel to the groom and bends low with folded palms indicating her accepting him as her future lord and the groom gives a sheaf of betel to the bride to indicate his acceptance of her as his wife.

Next, the bridegroom ties a necklace round the bride’s neck, also in acceptance of her as his wife, He next presents articles of clothing to her as well as wraps a white cloth round her waist. This part of the ritual is called “*tāli pili āndavīma*”. “*Tāli*” means necklace and “*pili*” means cloth. The white cloth is meant to be used by the bride to prove her virginity, white being the colour of purity. That only a virgin may stand on a *Pōruva* is a rule rigidly honoured in regard to the *Pōruva* Ceremony. Today, the wrapping of a white cloth is substituted by the wrapping of a costly saree at weddings of affluent and westernized folk, but this is still the most sacred part of the *pōruva* ceremony in orthodox society, such as is

found in the village more than in the town today. The next step is the exchange of wedding rings. This is in addition to the exchange of rings at the engagement of the couple, at which notice of marriage is given by the bride. The bridegroom, first puts a ring on the bride's left ring-finger and the bride then puts a ring on the groom's left ring-finger. The exchange of wedding rings is not an ancient custom. It has, perhaps, come to us from the Portuguese.

Then comes the *pièce de resistance* of the entire ceremony, namely, the giving away of the bride in marriage by her father. If the father is not living or not well enough to attend the wedding, the ancient custom has been for the eldest brother of the bride to do this, and if there is no brother either, then her father's brother and if such a person is not available, the husband of the mother's sister, who, too, is a *bāppa* or *mahappa* (younger or elder brother to the father) by marriage, the tradition being, quite logically, that it is only the father who could give his daughter away in marriage, and, therefore, that in the father's absence his substitute should be one who stands in parallel degree of relationship. That this is the ancient custom is proved by the account of King Janaka giving his daughter in marriage to Prince Rama as well as by the accounts in the Sinhalese classical poems, *Kāvyasēkharaya* and *Kusa Jātaka Kāvya*, and the (prose) *Sucih Jataka*. Today, it is often the maternal uncle who does this, due to a misunderstanding of the traditional role that the *māma* has as the person who has to assist the niece or nephew to get up on the *pōruva*, due to which the eldest *māma* is often referred to as the "*pōruva hiṭavana māma*" (the maternal uncle who puts the niece or nephew on the *pōruva*). Sometimes, respect for tradition is so little that a complete outsider, just because of his high standing in society, is invited to perform this part of the ceremony. Sometimes, the professional who conducts the ceremony is so ignorant of tradition that he does the giving away of the bride! However, this scantiness of respect for tradition does not obtain in the orthodox society of the village, and it is they who constitute the majority of the people. So the proper *Pōruva* Ceremony is, happily, not in danger of extinction. Among the Hindus too, the orthodox tradition is that it is the father who gives the daughter away in marriage.

The symbolic giving away is done in two steps, namely, the tying of the fingers and the pouring of water on them. Water and earth being the eternal verities, the water so poured and the earth

on which it eventually falls are intended to be the two lasting witnesses of the giving away. First, the father ties the right small finger of the bride and the left small finger of the groom together with a white thread, usually a '*pirit nūla*' (a thread over which select sermons of the Buddha have been chanted by bhikkhus earlier) and second, the father pours water over the tied fingers, reciting three Pali stanzas, viz.

*“Bhavatu sabba mangalam
Rakkhantu sabba dēvatā
Sabba Buddhānu bhāvena
Sadā sotthi bhavantu te*

The second stanza contains the same words except that "*Buddhānu*" is replaced by "*Dhammānu*". The third stanza contains the same words except that "*Dhammānu*" is replaced by "*Sanghānu*". The meaning of the first stanza is: "May all blessings be upon you. May all *dēvas* protect you. By the protective powers of all the Buddhas may safety ever be yours." The meaning of the second stanza is the same except that "*Dhamma*" replaces "Buddhas" and the meaning of the third stanza is the same except that "*Sangha*" replaces "Dhamma".⁶

The tying of the fingers is apparently a development of the practice of placing the palm of the bride in the palm of the groom, the "*atinat gānīma*" which I have mentioned earlier. Whilst the *Kāvyaśekhara* and the *Kusa Jātaka Kāvya* mention only the placing of the bride's palm in that of the groom by the father, De Queyroz³ says that the two right hands of the bride and the bridegroom were placed one on the other and the two small fingers were tied with a thread. Whilst also neither the *Ramayana* nor the "*Ulakuḍaya Bisovagē Vivāhaya*", referred to earlier, mentions the tying of the fingers, the explanation in poetic prose of the *Yasodarā Aṣṭaka*, which describes the marriage of Princess Yasodarā to Prince Sidhārtha, who later became the Buddha, mentions the tying of the small fingers of the couple thus: "*eran pirit hūya gena dedenāge desulāngilla bānda*". This means: "having tied the small fingers of the two with a golden thread over which *pirit* had been chanted". This *aṣṭaka* may not be more than two hundred years old. So the practice of tying the fingers may have been introduced into the ceremony only after the time of the *Kāvyaśekhara* and the *Kusa*

Jātaka Kāvya and the marriage of Princess Ulakudaya Dēvi but before the end of the Portuguese era, for, otherwise, De Queyroz would not have mentioned it. The practice of pouring water appears to be of very ancient origin. As stated earlier, the practice has been mentioned in the Ramayana and the Suchi Jātaka. De Queyroz³ says that after the tying of the fingers, some water was poured over the two fingers out of a pitcher. The *Yasōdhara Aṣṭaka* says: “*eran kenḍikāven ata pānvat koṭa*” which means “having poured water on the hands out of a golden pitcher.” In ancient times, the pouring of water by the giver of anything valuable into the open, palms, brought together of the receiver was the symbolic act of transfer. For instance, when the merchant prince Anātha Pindika offered an Arāma (residence for bhikkhus) to the Buddha, he poured water on the open palms of the Buddha as the act of transfer.

With the pouring of water over the tied small fingers of the couple, the process of marrying them to each other is over. The marriage has now taken place. It is now the time for blessing the couple.

The first item in this regard is the chanting of *Jayamangala Gātha* by a bevy of unmarried girls. This is the usual composition of the “choir” today although there is no prohibition on persons of either sex whether single or married from chanting these verses. These verses are a part of the “*Maha Pirita*” chanted by bhikkhus. The first eight verses of the nine verses which comprise the *Jayamangala Gātha* are called in the ninth verse by the term “*Jayamangala Aṣṭha Gāthā*” perhaps to be in line with the *Aṣṭaka* (eight lined verses) that follow. These eight verses mention some of the “victories” of the Buddha, such as his defeating the great debater, Sachchaka, in debate, and then invoke prosperity and good fortune for the couple by the power of the truth of these statements. Thus, the recitation of these verses is a *satyakriyā*. Then comes the most interesting part of the blessing, namely, the recitation of *Mangala Aṣṭaka*, verses of eight lines, hence called “*Aṣṭaka*”, (eight), invoking the blessings of the deities on the couple—of *Visnu*, mentioned in the *Maha vamsa* as the guardian of Sri Lanka, and other *dēvas*. There are also *Aṣṭakas* which are recitations of the attainments of the Buddha by the power of the truth of which statements blessings are invoked on the new couple. All these recitations are *Satyakriyā*, invocations of the power of truth. These verses are in Sanskrit, but after each

of them is recited, the meaning of each is recited in poetic Sinhala-prose. These recitations are well worth listening to but very few of the guests at urban weddings do so. This however, is not so at village weddings, where more people imbued with traditions of local culture assemble than those at urban weddings. In village weddings, and they are the more in number, the *Pōruva* Ceremony takes pride of place whilst the civil ceremony is treated as a mere legal formality. In the not distant past, the recitation of *aṣṭaka* was a very interesting part of the *pōruva* ceremony. Many a person from both the bride's and bridegroom's parties would recite *aṣṭaka* in unannounced competition for many hours late into the night. Incidentally, it is only since about the nineteen thirties that *pōruva* ceremonies came to be performed in the day time. Hindu weddings are always held in the night, usually after 10 p.m., because propitious astrological hours are supposed never to occur in the day time as said by a famous astrologer, called *Baraṇa Ganitaya*, who lived up to the early part of the twentieth century. He declared that when he is no more, people will have weddings even during the day,—an unheard of thing in his generation. According to this statement, almost all the Sinhala Buddhist weddings are being held at unpropitious hours.

After the *Aṣṭaka* recitations are over, the bridegroom makes a present of a web of cloth to his mother-in-law as an expression of his gratitude to her for bringing up his wife, her daughter, He also presents a cloth to each of the maternal uncles who put them up on the *pōruva*.

Thereafter, the father of the bridegroom holds the right palms of the couple in his palms, brought together, and helps them to get down from the *pōruva*, whilst reciting this benediction:

Sabbītiyo vivajjantu Sabba rōgō vinassatu
Mā te bhavattvantarāyo Sukhī dighāyukō bhava

Note: the first 'i' of 'sabbitiyo' and the 'i' of 'sukhi' and 'dighayuko' are long; all the 'o' are long; all the 't' are pronounced like 'th' in 'thought'; the last 'o' of 'bhavattvantarayo' and the 'a' of 'dighayuko' are long. Unlike in the transliteration of Sinhala words, I have kept to the standard spelling of Pali words when they are written in Roman letters.

The meaning of this stanza is: “may all misfortunes be warded off, may all ailments cease, may no calamities befall you, may you live long in peace.” It is the father of the bridegroom who should do this, because it is his symbolic receiving of them into his house-hold.

The traditional *Pōruva* Ceremony ends here. The reasons for the various steps of the ceremony show that it is a most meaningful one.

Simultaneously with the stepping down of the couple from the *pōruva*, a husked coconut is split in two with an axe, usually by the washerman. Some interpret the future of the couple’s wedded life from the way the coconut gets split. If both parts of the coconut come to rest with their kernel facing upwards and the parts are more or less equal in size, the marriage will prove to be a great success; if either the female part of the coconut, i.e. the part with the eyes in it, or the male part is resting with its kernel turned down, then the corresponding party will die first; if one part is much smaller than the other, that party will be subservient to the other, and if the smaller part is the female part, nobody will feel sorry, except those fighting for Women’s Lib!

A new but wholesome development in regard to this ceremony is that the couple next proceed to light a standing brass oil lamp to signify their resolve to jointly strive to keep the home fires burning

I now venture to give you a free translation of the *Viṣṇu Aṣṭaka*: “May Sri *Viṣṇu*, a Buddha in the making, who, using the great intelligence acquired by him by practising generosity and observing moral precepts, in the past, protects us well in accordance with the five great Dharmas, and who performs the ten Meritorious Acts in full measure, be pleased to drive away all dangers and all evils from this couple and make a happy marriage for them.”

Notes: The five great Dharmas are: *sraddhā* (devotion); *silā* (virtuous conduct); *śruti* (learning); *chāga* (generosity); and *paññā* (wisdom).

The ten Meritorious Acts are: the practice of liberality (*dāna*), the observance of morality (*silā*), meditation (*bhāvanā*), sharing merit (*pattidāna*), accepting merit (*pattānumodanā*), helping the aged (*veyyāvaccā*), paying respect to those deserving it (*apacayana*), preaching the Dhamma (*desanā*), listening to the Dhamma (*sravana*) and rectification of views (*ditthuju*).

A SURVEY OF LITERATURE ON THE SACRED BODHI TREE AT ANURADHAPURA

By

SOMAPALA JAYAWARDHANA

The Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura, planted by the great king Devanampiyatissa (307 BC-267 BC) in 307 BC, has been looked after ever since as one of the most valuable treasures of the nation. This is evident from the wide range of literature that has developed on the Great Tree. Of these, the earliest works seem to have been composed in Sinhalese, the language of the land. This view is clearly supported by the Ven. Upatissa, the author of the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* wherein he says that his work is a translation of an original text in Sinhalese.² To quote him: “*pubbe Sihaḷa-bhāsāya ṭhitam*, formerly maintained in Sinhala language” and “*Laṅkāvāsīnam’ atthāya Sihaḷa-bhāsāya ṭhapitam Mahābodhivaṃsam*, the History of the Great Bodhi Tree recorded in Sinhala language for the benefit of people in Lanka.” The problem of identification of this original work referred to above has been a subject of an exhaustive discussion elsewhere.³ Prof. G. P. Malalasekara says that there is no means of ascertaining whether the *Sihaḷa Mahābodhivaṃsa* referred to above was identical with the *Mahābodhivaṃsakathā* mentioned in the *Vaṃsatthappakāsanī*, the *Mahāvamsa Tikā*.⁴ The relevant quotation is “*Mahābodhim pūjissanti Laṅke’tasmin narādhipa, paccatthikā na himseyyum esā sambodhidhammatā’ti Mahābodhivaṃsakathāya vuttehi*” which means, “O Great King, the Great Bodhi Tree will be venerated in Lanka where there will be no enemies to injure; this is the regular phenomenon of the enlightenment; this has been said in the *Mahābodhivaṃsakathā*.”⁵ He says that Geiger identifies this *Mahābodhivaṃsakathā* with the *Mahābodhivaṃsa*. However, Malalasekara differs and holds the view that the reference is to the Sinhalese original mentioned in the introduction to the *Mahābodhivaṃsa* in spite of the fact that the latter does not carry the quotation found in the *Mahāvamsa Tika*.⁶ Ven. Walpola Rahula has expressed the

view that at that time there were only two forms of literature as Pali, signifying the *Tipitaka* and *atthakathā*, encompassing all the other literary works.⁷ This interpretation seems to support the view taken by Malalasekara.

The earliest extant literary work on the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura is the *Mahābodhivamsa* (*MBV*) written in elegant Pali.⁸ It begins with the usual salutation to the Buddha, namely, *namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa*. The text proper commences with the popular Pali stanza, “*yassa mūle nisinno’va sabbārivijayam aka, patto sabbaññuta’ñ Satthā vande tam bodhipādapam*”, meaning, “I worship the foot of the Bodhi Tree under which was seated the Buddha when he attained enlightenment overpowering all evil”. In this introductory section the author says that the history of the Great Bodhi Tree was formerly recorded in Sinhala language for the benefit of the people of Lanka and that he is going to compose the same in Pali language, alternatively known as Magadha, in which the teachings of the Buddha are preserved, to make it easily understandable to the people all over the world. The *MBV* has twelve chapters. They are: (1) *abhisambodhikathā*, containing the story of the Buddha Dipankara followed by an account of the existence of the Bodhisatta under each subsequent Buddha until his birth as Prince Siddhattha Gotama and the story of his present life upto the enlightenment at the foot of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Buddhagaya; (2) *Ānandabodhikathā*, planting of the Anandabodhi by Ven. Ananda at the entrance to the Jetavanārāma; (3) *Dasabala-parinibbāna-kathā*, story of the passing away of the Buddha; (4) *paṭhama-saṅgīti-kathā*, account of the first council; (5) *dutiya-saṅgīti-kathā*, narrative of the second council; (6) *tatiya-saṅgīti-kathā*, history of the third council; (7) *Laṅkāvatarāṇa-kathā*, arrival of Ven. Mahinda in Lanka; (8) *nagarappavesana-katha*, story of entering the city (of Anuradhapura); (9) *Mahāvihāra-paṭiggahaṇa-kathā*, account of the acceptance of the Mahāvihāra; (10) *Cetiyaḡirivihāra-paṭiggahaṇa-kathā*, story of the acceptance of the vihara at Mihintale; (11) *dhāt-vāgamana-kathā*, receiving of the Sacred relics of the Buddha and (12) *dumindāgamana-kathā*, account of the bringing of the Southern Branch of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Buddhagayā in India. The last chapter deals with the planting of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura and mentions the eight places each honoured with a sapling. They are (1) Jambukola-paṭṭana, (2) Tavakka-brāhmana-

gāma, (3) Thūpārāma, (4) Issara-samaṇā'rāma, (5) Paṭhamakacetiyaṭṭhāna, (6) Cetiya-pabbata, (7) Kācaragāma and (8) Candanagāma. These places are mentioned for the first time in the *Samantapāsādikā* written by the Ven. Buddhaghosa during the reign of King Mahanama (407-429).⁹ They are repeated in the *Mahāvamsa* composed by Ven. Mahānāma during the days of King Dhātusena (459-407).¹⁰

The *MBV* does not mention the name of its author. The acknowledged tradition, as Strong says, is that Ven. Upatissa is the author.¹¹ This tradition seems to have come down from very early times for it has been recorded in the *Māhabodhivamsa-granthipada-vivaranaya* written during the twelfth century that Ven. Upatissa is the author of the *MBV*.¹² The text is silent about its date too. It has generally been accepted as belonging to the tenth century. Malalasekara has pointed out that both Wickramasinghe and Geiger have accepted the tenth century as the date of the compilation of the *MBV*.¹³ He adds that this was written at the request of Ven. Dāthānāga identified by Wickramasinghe and Geiger to have been appointed to preach *abhidhamma* by Mahinda IV (975-991). This request of Ven. Dāthānāga has again been referred to in the *Madhurārtha-prakasanī* written by the most Ven. Saranankara during the eighteenth century. Its main source seems to be the *Samantapāsādikā* while the *Nidānakathā* and the *Mahāvamsa* too have been consulted. It has been pointed out that this text has been greatly influenced by the Sanskrit *kāvyas*.¹⁴ However, the *MBV* or the History of the Great Bodhi Tree has right through been much venerated by all. This is become evident from the existence of numerous subsidiary works based on it.

There exists, still in manuscript form, a subcommentary by the name *Bodhivamsa-tika (BVT)* written in Pali.¹⁵ According to the catalogues one ola-leaf copy consisting of 374 leaves is found at the British Museum while another in Burmese character is located at Vijayabimbarama, Piladuva, Matara. Ever the Ven. Ratmalāne Dharmārāma has said that the copies of this subcommentary are very rare.¹⁶ This must be belonging to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. It has been pointed out that the *Dharmapradīpikāva* contains quotation from the *BVT*.¹⁸ This clearly indicates that the *BVT* is anterior to the *Dharmapradīpikāva*. Also, this has been quoted as one of the sources in the *Cūla-bodhivaṇṇa*.¹⁹

The *Mahābodhivamsa-granthipada-vivaranaya*²⁰ (*MBVGV*) is a commentarial work in Sinhalese. This has been composed to explain the difficult terms of the *MBV*. The author remains anonymous. Ven. Ratmalāne Dharmārāma who edited the text has expressed the opinion that this may be a commentary by a contemporary of Gurulugomi.²¹ He has pointed out a large number of quotations taken from various Sanskrit texts such as the *Raghuvamśa*,²² the *Jānakīharaṇa*,²³ the *Kādambari*,²⁴ the *Meghadūta*²⁵ etc. Also, a view based on the similarity in the language, style, descriptions and method of exposition of the *MBVGV* and the *Dharmapradīpikāva* has been expressed by Dr. C. E. Godakumbura that these two works are by one and the same author or at least that they belong to the same school.²⁵ The text does not contain the date of its composition. It is generally considered to belong to the twelfth century.

The *MBVGV* is a unique glossary composed in a style mixed with Sanskrit words and idioms. It begins with the usual veneration to the Buddha (*namo tassa Bhagavato Arahato Sammāsambuddhassa*) followed by the popular Pali stanza, *yassa mūle nisinno'va rabbārivijayam akā, patto sabbannutaṃ satthā vande taṃ bodhipādāpaṃ*", meaning, "I worship the foot of the Bodhi Tree under which the Buddha was seated when he attained enlightenment overpowering all the evils".²⁷ The commentator thereafter goes on to discuss the five points which were customarily discussed by the ancient authors. These refer to the name of the text, its object, author, extent and usefulness. Here, the commentator records the name of the author of the *MBV*. This information is very important for supporting the tradition which maintains that Ven. Upatissa is the author of the *MBV*.²⁸ Next, he gives his explanations.²⁹ He begins with the first stanza. His comments on the introductory verse are exhaustive. He says that the verse has two meanings, namely, (1) *samudayārtha* or *piṇḍārtha*, concise meaning, and (2) *avayavārtha* which again has been subdivided into (i) *vyutpattyārtha*, etymological meaning, and (ii) *padārtha*, verbatim meaning. The discussion goes into great details of each word in the stanza. These comments on the different words include such details as the category of the words, its meaning, its case, its etymology, its synonyms, its various shades of meanings etc. Thus the word 'yassa' has been explained as a noun (*nāmapada*) in the fourfold division of words (*caturvidha-pada*). The verb 'vijayam' has been traced back to √*jī*, to

win (*ji, jaye*).³⁰ An example of a discussion on a word is, “*vande yana tanhi ‘vadi, abhivādanastutyoh’ yana dhātuya. Praṇāma keremi yana arthayi. Praṇāma trividha ve; kāyapraṇāmaya vākpraṇāmaya manahpraṇāmaya. Ehi aparimitā’sāh dhārana-guṇagaṇā’viskaraṇa-prīti-prāmodya-bahumāna manahpraṇāma ve*” (p. 7), meaning, “the verb ‘vande’ is from the root \sqrt{vand} , to worship (*vadi, abhivādanastutyoh*). It means, ‘I worship’. Worship is threefold as bodily worship, worship by words and mental worship. In this instance it means mental worship which is boundless, uncomparable, full of various virtues, pleasant, joyful and full of great respect.” Finally, the commentator gives a Sinhalese paraphrase word by word (*pa-dārtha*) which helps the student to grasp the significance of the verse. This method of offering threefold explanations does not go beyond the introduction. Henceforth the author gives verbatim translations with suitable explanatory notes here and there. Sometimes, a quotation is added to support the interpretation. An example of the general pattern is, “*vividha, anekaparakāra vū* (diverse), *sikhari, parvatayangē* (of rocks); *sata, siyen* (by hundred); *samujjalām, diliyenu vū* (glittering); *neka, no-ek* (different)” (p. 17).

The value of the *MBVGV* lies in the wealth of information it offers for research in the diverse fields of linguistics, history and sociology relating to ancient Sri Lanka. Its grammatical explanations are very useful to form an idea about the early development of grammatical studies in Sinhalese. It is one of the earliest Sinhalese texts to employ such grammatical terms as *nāma*, noun (p. 6), *dhātu*, root (p. 6), *samāsa*, compound (p. 6), *karma*, accusative (p. 6), *nipāta*, preposition (p. 6), *napuṃsaka*, neuter (p. 7), *ekavacana*, singular (p. 8), *samānārtha*, synonym (p. 11), *tulyārtha*, synonym (p. 14), *nairuktikavidhi*, accident (p. 24). Also, it traces the Pali words back to Sanskrit roots; e.g. *janitam, jani, prādurbhāve* from \sqrt{jan} , to be born; (p. 8); *dassayissam, $\sqrt{dṛś}$ śir, preksaṇe*, from $\sqrt{d, r}$ ś to see (p. 9); *dahana, daha, bhasmīkaraṇe*, from \sqrt{dah} , to burn (p. 15). Although the text is full of Sanskrit borrowings still it has preserved a large number of very old words which are freely used even today; e.g. *āsa*, eye (p. 61), *utum*, noble (p. 38), *kiri*, milk (p. 37), *taṇa*, grass (p. 59), *tamāgē*, of oneself (p. 31), *davasa*, day (p. 47), *nātum*, dancing (p. 41), *nuvara*, city (p. 56), *pirisidu*, pure (p. 38), *piḷu*, cripple (p. 41), *poda*, drop (p. 32), *bāvin*, because (p. 63), *mal*, flowers (p. 61), *raḷa*, wave (p. 64), *vāli*, sand (p. 60), *sudu*, white (p. 37, 60) and *siyahu*, all (p. 31). Some of these words seem to be original Sinhalese words;

e.g. *mal*, flowers. The commentator very often gives synonyms, antonyms, similes and metaphors to make clear the sense of a term. For example, “*nimittaya kāraṇaya hetuya yanu tulyārthayi*” (p. 14), meaning, “object, cause and reason are synonyms.” An instance of antonyms is “*He paḷala sāṭa yojana, diga dahasak yojana*” which means, “it is sixty *yojanas* wide and one thousand *yojanas* long” (p. 21). A series of similes can be seen in, “*ākāsaya sē ananta vū, pas pāḷo sē vipula vū, diya polō sē gāmburu vū*” (p. 14) meaning, “endless as the sky, extensive as the earth and deep as the ocean”.

An instance of historical significance could be noticed in the passage, “*Virabāhu Janapadam, Vijaya rajahaṭa dā Kevin nam yakinna baḍa hot Virabāhu kumara viśūyen Virabāhu nam Janapada; hē pāsulu Vilbā Janapada nam vī*” (p. 154), which means, “Virabāhu Janapada, the region in which Prince Virabāhu, born of Kuveni, a demoness, by king Vijaya lived, came to be known as Virabahu Janapada; later, it became Vilbā Janapada.” This refers to the famous episode of Vijaya and Kuveni. This may be helpful for any study of historical topography of ancient Sri Lanka. This is equally true of all the last six chapters. Sometimes, a change of a place name has been accommodated in the text. “*Issarasamaṇārāme, Isurumaṇu Vehara; he dān Kasungiri Vehera tan vī*” (p. 153), which signifies, “*Issarasamaṇārāma, Isurumaṇu Vehera*; it is now the place where Kasungiri Vehera is situated.” The text records that the site of the Brazen Palace (Lovāmahāpāya) had earlier occupied the three important sites of Sirisamāḷaka, Maharimāḷuva, Nāgamāḷaka, or Nāmaḷuva and Asokamāḷaka or Hopalumaḷuva. (p. 140). It gives the names of the ancestors of the great king Duṭugāmunu down to Mahānāga, a brother of Devanampiyatissa (307 B.C.-267 B.C.) (p. 142).

The text has an interesting reference to three Sinhalese commentaries in the passage, “*aṭṭhakathāyaṃ, Mihiṇḍu mahaterun meraṭavāḍi kala tatkālavartīnaṭa avagama vanu sandahā Sinhala bhāsāyen tubū aḷuvā trayehi*” (p. 143), meaning, “in the three commentaries that had been made for the understanding of the people living at that time by the Ven. Mahinda on his arrival here”. This is very important both from the point of view of history as well as sociology. Ven. Mahinda had to preach in the language of the land, that is Sinhalese. Furthermore, he had to make available the relevant literature also in Sinhalese. This was done on the demand of the

society. No progress could be achieved without reference to the society. The passage definitely says that Ven. Mahinda had made available three commentaries in the Sinhalese language. The identification of these three commentaries is not easy. Dr. E. W. Adikāram says that it is not possible to know the number of works meant by the term *Sihala-aṭṭhakathā*.³¹ But he includes the *Maha-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccariyaṭṭhakathā* and the *Kurundi-aṭṭhakathā* in it. According to Dr. Walpola Rāhula also the three principal commentaries were the *Mahā-aṭṭhakathā*, the *Mahāpaccariya-aṭṭhakathā* and the *Kurundi-aṭṭhakathā*.³² These assumptions are based on the introductions of Ven. Buddhaghaosa. The *Samantapāsādikā* mentions these very three commentaries.³³ The *Sumangalavilāsini* refers to the bringing down of the commentaries by Ven. Mahinda and maintaining the same in Sinhalese.³⁴

The illustrious Sinhalese author Gurulugomi has compiled the *Dharmapradīpikā* (DHPD) or *Mahābodhivamsa-parīkathā*,³⁵ also a sub-commentary on the MBV. The name of the text as well as the author is given in the colophon: “*Guruḷugōmin visin karana lada Dharmapradīpikā nam Mahābodhivamsa-parīkathā nimi*” (p. 353) which means, “here ends the DHPD or Mahābodhivamsa-parīkathā written by Gurulugōmi.” Further, this statement is supported by Sanskrit stanza that precedes as: “*Prakāsayanti saddharmam dipayanti ca satpatham, vibhātu bhānuvad bhānor iyam Dharmapradīpikā*” (p. 353), meaning, “this DHPD explains the Buddhist doctrine and shows the righteous path; let it shine like the rays of the sun”. This name has been given even in the *Amāvatura*,³⁶ the other work by the same author. Its colophon says, “*Guruḷugōmin visin karana lada Amāvaturu nam purusadamyā sārathī pada-varṇanā nimi*” (p. 307), which is, “here ends the *Amāvatura*, the commentary on the term *purusadamyāsārathī* written by Gurulugōmi.” Another work that quotes this name is the *Sidat-sañgarā*³⁷ written during the reign of king Parakkambahu II (1236-1272) where it has been cited as an example of *nipātana* (accidence). Also, the *Nikāya-samgrahaya*³⁸ written in 1396 mentions Guruludāmi, a slightly different form of the name, in a list of writers who composed various paraphrases, glossaries and treatises. Ven. Dharmārāma who edited the text has noted that there is no record as to the exact date of Gurulugōmi. Further, he has pointed out that as there are several quotations from the *Jinālaṅkāra* written in 1700 BE (1157 AC) this must have been composed afterwards.³⁹ The problem of deciding the exact or closest date within these two known dates, the upper and the

lower, has been a subject of several discussions. The passage quoted by Dr. P. B. Sannasgala in support of his view that Gurugōmi lived during the reign of Nissamkamalla (1187-1196) or a little later definitely refers not to Nissamkamalla but to the maternal ancestor of Vijaya.⁴⁰ The relevant passage must be considered in its proper context. If it is taken at least as, “*Kāliṅga cakravartihugē anvayehi upan rāja kanyāva baḍa hot simhayahaṭa dā Siṅhabāhu nam rāja kumara*” (p. 55), meaning, “prince Simhabahu, born of the lion and the princess descending from the lineage of the universal king of *Kāliṅga*” would clearly indicate that it refers to a king of *Kāliṅga* who flourished long before Nissankamalla. Furthermore, as Gurugōmi has mentioned his name in the text itself there is no reason for him to leave out the name of his patron if he had any. Therefore, the contention of Dr. Sannasgala is untenable. Dr. Godakumbura’s view that it would be safer to place Gurugōmi in the latter part of the twelfth century seems to be more acceptable.⁴¹

The *DHPD* is a sub-commentary not on the *MBV* but on some terms selected from that text. Thus, two hundred and five terms have been explained in great detail. Some of these discuss the doctrinal points. The author himself calls it a book on the teachings of the Buddha. “*Mē karmayangē vibhāga Dharmapradipikā nam Mahābodhivaṅśa-parikathāyen dannēya. Hē Buddha-dharmaya, mē Buddha-caritaya*” (p. 138), meaning, “the details of expositions on the *karma* could be learnt from the *DHPD* or *Mahābodhivaṅśa-parikathā*. It deals with the teachings of the Buddha while this treats the life of the Buddha.”⁴² The discussion on the terms *dāna* (liberality) runs into twenty printed pages (pp. 90-110).⁴³ It deals with the different aspects of alms-giving and contains numerous quotations from Pali texts and refers to various *suttas* such as *Dakkhinā-vibhaṅga-sutta* and *Velāma-sutta*. This discussion is summed up with the Pali stanza, “*sabhā-dānam dhammadānaṃ jināti, sabbam rasam dhammaraso jināti, sabbam ratim dhammaratī jināti, tanhakkhaya sabbadukkhaṃ jināti*” (p. 110), meaning, “the gift of *dhamma* excels all other gifts, the taste of *dhamma* surpasses all other tastes, delight in *dhamma* exceeds all other delights, extinction of craving conquers all forms of sufferings.”⁴⁴ Similarly, the expositions on the terms, “*dahana-parigatā viya kuñjaro vana-gahanā gehā nikkhamitvā*” (p. 110), meaning, “having left home just like an elephant leaving a forest that has caught fire”, extends a little over twenty nine pages. In this section the author deals with such good qualities as

sraddhā or faith, *śīla* or religious observances, *śruta* or learnings, *tyāga* or liberality, *prajñā* or wisdom, *pañca-sīla* or five precepts, *uposatha-sīla* or higher precepts etc. and describes the consequences of evil actions. He has drawn copious illustrations from various Buddhist texts, both Pāli and Sanskrit. Some of these have been traced back, by Ven. Dharmārāma, to Pānini, Candragomin, Sri Harṣa etc.⁴⁵ The *Jinālaṅkāra* and the *Jātakamālā* too have been quoted. Dr. Godakumbura too has traced some more works and writers.⁴⁶ These indicate the extent of learning that was prevailing in Sri Lanka during the twelfth century.

The style of the text has been dealt with by several scholars.⁴⁷ The author seems to have employed three different styles: (i) pure Sinhala which is free from Sanskrit or Pali influence, (ii) highly Sanskritic Sinhalese with a large number of words borrowed from Sanskrit, and (iii) *miśra* Sinhala or the intermediate style which is popular among the average people. All these three styles could be seen in the *DHPD*. A very good example for the pure style is the story of prince Kālinga (pp. 296-302). This story has almost entirely been written in a language with the least number of Sanskrit *tatsama* words. The discussions on the doctrinal points are presented in a highly Sanskritic language; e.g. “*nirvāna dhātu dvividha vē: sopā-dhiśeṣaya, nirupadhiśeṣaya*” (p. 312), meaning, “*nibbāna* is twofold as the passing away with the aggregates of existence still remaining and the passing away without the aggregates of existence still remaining.” An example of a sentence composed in the mixed language is, “*ekalhi dhamsak pavatvannaṭe Isipatan vaḍina Buduhu Upaka nam digambarayak-haṭa vana vāḍa dāka nuba telen nogos poḷō telen vaḍit*” (p. 241), which means, “at that time the Buddha, who was on his way to Isipatana to preach the *Dhammacakkapavattana-sutta*, saw in advance the benefits that would accrue to Upaka, a naked ascetic, did not go through air, but went on foot along the path”. The importance of the last style lies in the fact that it has come to stay as the popular language of almost all the average men of letters. Its richness in vocabulary has definitely given it a prominence over the other two. It is versatile in that it can adjust itself to suit any subject. In the past it has been successfully used to describe the highly sophisticated views of various religious leaders contemporary with the Buddha as well as the most difficult doctrinal points of Buddhism. Also, it has been the language used in various secular writings such as medicine, astrology etc. Further, it is indispensable for presenting the vast fields of modern sciences and technologies to the Sinhala readers.

A very important linguistic development noticeable in the *DHPD* is the fourfold division of words given under the discussion on the very first word 'yassa'. This fourfold division, found for the first time in the *Śākalya's Padapāṭha* of the *Rgveda*, classifies the words into four categories as *nāma* (noun), *ākhyata* (verb), *upasarga* (prefix) and *nipāta* (preposition). The author does not stop with this and proceeds to offer his definitions of each of these categories. "*Ehi nāmapada nam sarvārthayan namannen nāmapada nam vē*" (p. 1), meaning, "here a word is called a noun because it shifts the various meanings"; "*kriyāvācakapada 'ākhyāta' nam vē*" (p. 1), meaning, "those words that denote actions are verbs"; "*kriyādyotaka-pada 'upasarga' nam vē*" (p. 1), meaning: "those words which assist the verbs are called prefixes"; "*Pādayangē ādyantamadyayehi nipatita vū vicitrārtha padayō 'nipāta' nam vet*" (p. 1), meaning, "those words which fall at the beginning, in the middle or at the end of words and add diverse meanings are called prepositions". Each definition is followed by a Sanskrit stanza. The stanza quoted in support of the definition of noun mentions not only the singular and the plural but also the dual which is found in Sanskrit and not in Sinhala. However, it has to be pointed out that this is the first time that these grammatical points are discussed in a Sinhalese text. Like the *MBVGV* the *DHPD* too traces the Pali words back to Sanskrit roots some examples are: *lakṣaṇa* to *lakṣa darśanāṅkayoḥ*, from $\sqrt{\text{lakṣ}}$, to show, mark (p. 14); *Bhagavān, bhaja, sevyam* (p. 30), from $\sqrt{\text{bhaj}}$, to serve; *śīla, śīla samādhau* (p. 126), from $\sqrt{\text{sil}}$, to observe; *saraṇa sṛ, hiṃsāyām* (p. 181), from $\sqrt{\text{sṛ}}$, to go against. Some of the popular words that are found even in the present day language are: *ata*, hand (p. 1), *asuval*, such and such (p. 101), *āviditi*, walks (p. 8), *obana*, appropriate (p. 4), *kaṇḍulu*, tears (p. 69), *kasalagoḍa*, dunghill (p. 324), *tuṃbasa*, ant hill (p. 113), *dedaṇa*, two knees (p. 7), *nāmeti bends* (p. 8), *patula/patla*, foot (p. 4), *piduru*, straw (p. 113), *pirisidu* pure (p. 173), *porova*, axe (p. 127), *pulun*, kapok (p. 6), *bima* floor (p. 4), *rōma*, bodily hair (p. 8), *lom*, bodily hair (p. 8), *lip*, hearth (p. 99), *vaḍu-riyana*, carpenter's cubit (p. 339), *viḷum*, sole (p. 5). The language is full of similes and metaphors. An interesting simile is, "*atsoṇḍehi diya gena mahagaṅga diya hā upamā karannak-hu seyin*" (p. 15), meaning, "like comparing the water in the trunk of an elephant with the water in the main river". This seems to be a simile drawn from the experience of a man living by a main river like the Mahaveli. Some examples of metaphors are, "*vuvan piyum*" (p. 299), lotus-like face, '*net nil mahanel*' (p. 300), blue lilies-like eyes

and “*patul taṃburu*” (p. 301), lotus-like feet. Another important feature is the exhaustive definitions followed by examples. Some words so treated are *artha*, benefit, wealth, reason, wisdom, power, desire, meaning, repulsion (p. 55), and *dhūma* (p. 237) with seven definitions as incense (*gandha*), hate (*krodha*), desire (*tr̥ṣṇā*), doubt (*vitarka*), lust (*kāma*), discourse (*desanā*) and smoke (*dhūma*).

A very interesting and important incidence recorded in the *DHPD* throws light on the historical, sociological and legal aspects of ancient Sri Lanka. This took place during the days of King Saddhatissa (137-119 BC). One day, Ven. Kalubuddharakkhita, who was seated under the *kalutimbiri* tree (*Diospyros melanoxylon*) at Mihintale, was delivering a sermon on the *Kālakārama-sutta*. As a large multitude of people had already arrived, the king had to stand at the extreme end of the gathering. The sermon went on for the whole night. When, in the following morning, the Ven. Elder closed the sermon, the king expressed his great satisfaction with the words “*sādhu sādhu*” (very well, very well). Immediately the Elder recognised the king and asked, “when did you come?” The reply was, “I came almost at the commencement.” “You have accomplished a very difficult task by keeping standing the whole night.” The dialogue continued further and finally the king, who was extremely happy, said: “*siyak yodun Lakdivhi rājyaya topa vahansēṭa demi, dinmi*” (p. 52), meaning, “I give you the kingdom of Lankā which is one hundred yojanas in extent, I gave it.” The elder returned the kingdom back to the king and requested him to govern it justly and peacefully. This is a historical incidence that has been recorded elsewhere as well.³⁷ Ven. Buddhaghosa has preserved for us the whole story. These texts clearly and definitely say that the entire kingdom of Lanka was donated by the king to the Ven. Kalubuddharakkhita, that is to the Buddhist order. As recorded in the *Samantapāsādikā* and the *Mahāvamsa* etc. the kingdom had earlier been offered to the Sacred Bodhi Tree immediately after its arrival at Jambukola-paṭṭana in nāgadipa, modern Jaffna. Thus the right of ownership of the land, according to these ancient records, lies with the Buddha-sasana and any transfer without the concurrence of the Buddhist Order seems to be null and void. Another significance of this important event shows the prominent place given to the religious discourses (*dhan-na-desanā*). The social distinctions were of no regard. All those who took part in a religious function were treated equally. Even the king had no special place. He had

to wait at the extreme end of the large gathering of people. Everyone took a special care to maintain the serenity of the occasion. Another instance which says that Ven. Maliyadeva delivered sixty discourses on the *Chachakka-sutta* at sixty different places such as Tissamahārāma and Situlpavva in the south, Lovāmahāpāsāda and Mihintale in the north, Kelaniya in the west and Dighavāpi in the east. An outstanding definition of great historical consideration is, “*Siṃhalayanāṭa nivāsa-bhūmi vū dvīpaya Siṃhala-dvīpa nam viya*” (p. 55), meaning, “the island that gave shelter to the Sinhalese came to be known as Siṃhala-dvīpa.” This shows that this island of Lankā was also known by the name Siṃhala-dvīpa. The importance of this definition lies in the fact that it was this name of Siṃhala-dvīpa that has given rise to a series of other names such as Siṃhala and Siṃhalē in Sinhalese, Salike of Ptolemy, Serendib or Serendivi of the Arabs, Ceylon of the English and Ilām in Tamil.⁴⁸

The comment on the term, “*thuti-maṅgala-gītehi*” (p. 342), giving the sense of, “with the auspicious verses” refer to an incidence that gave rise to three charms. When King Dutugamunu commenced the construction of the great *stupa* Ratnamāli, the task of procuring the Buddha’s relics for enshrinement in the *stupa* was entrusted to Ven. Sonuttara who possessed psychic powers. As he was bringing in the relics secured from the *nāgas* the elders asked, “what is this?” The reply was, “*dāyi māle*”, meaning, “these are relics brought by me”. Immediately these words become a charm for men. Secondly the people shouted, “*dā nāge*”, meaning, “the relics appear”. This too became a charm for women. Finally the *nāgas* appealed, “*in se, in se*”, which says, “please give us also a portion of the relics”. This turned to be a charm for women giving birth to children. Needless to emphasise the importance of this information, the kind of which is very rare in our classical texts, for any study of the society of ancient Sri Lanka. Therefore this is a golden opportunity for us to form an idea of the popular beliefs that were prevailing those days in our society. This is an instance which clearly shows that even during the Anuradhapura and Polonnaruva periods, the Sinhala Buddhists in times of distress very often resorted to various forms of popular practices for relief. A description of sociological interest could be noticed in, “*yam kalek-hi rajjuruvo adharmiṣṭa vedda, rajun adharmiṣṭa vū kala rājapuruṣayo adharmiṣṭa vet. Rājapuruṣayan adharmiṣṭa vū kala brāhmaṇa-grhapatihu adharmiṣṭa vet. Brāhmaṇa-grhapatīyan adharmiṣṭa vū*

kala nigamavāsīhuda janapadavāsīhudu adharmiṣṭa vet” (p. 218), which says, “when the king become unrighteous, the king’s officers become unrighteous. When the king’s officers are unrighteous the brahmins and the leading citizens become unrighteous. When the brahmins and the leading citizens are unrighteous the countrymen and the villagers too become unrighteous.” The philosophy underlining this passage is extremely relevant for the progress of any society. This stresses the common sense that corruption starts at the top and reaches the lowest stratum of the society and ruins the entire society. The social status enjoyed by women seems to be depressing. The comments on, “*chinnam me gihi-bandhanam*” (p. 141), meaning, “my worldly bond was severed” are very exhaustive and extend over thirteen pages (pp. 141-154). Over twenty five birth stories of the Buddha have been cited to highlight the unfaithful character of women. The administration of a country by a lady has been condemned (p. 147). The lay disciples seem to have enjoyed a prominent place in the society. The diverse aspects of the life of a lay disciple have been treated at length (pp. 179-187). As the devout Buddhists were harmless the king could easily maintain law and order. Thus the Buddhist ethics played a very important role in the day to day affairs of the society.

The *Siṃhala-bōdhivamśaya* (SBV)⁴⁹ the *Sinhalese History of the Bodhi Tree*, is a translation of the MBV. The name of the text is given in the colophon as, “*Siṃhala-bōdhivamśaya nimi*” (p. 133), signifying, “here ends the *Siṃhala-bōdhivamśaya*”. The last paragraph contains the name of the author. It is, “*Dvitiya Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu maha rājottama tema.....Kirti Sri Meghavarṇa rājādhirāja Kalyāṇi-vihārādhīpati vū.....Vilgammula Maha Sthavira-pādayan vahansē samīpayāṭa pāmiṇa.....mūlābhāsayen pravṛtta vū Bōdhivamsabhidhana prasiddha prabandhaya svabhāṣāyen kaḷahot yehekāyi ārādhanaṅ kaḷēya. E rajatumā visin samārādhita vū sēk mē Bōdhivaṅśa kathāva svabhāṣāyen liyavā mastaka prāpta koṭa vadāḷa sēka*” (pp. 132-133), which runs as, “Pandit Parākramabāhu II approached Ven. Vilgammula Mahathera, who was the incumbent of the Kalyani Vihara that had been built by Kirti Sri Meghavarṇa, and respectfully invited him to undertake the translation into the indigenous language the famous chronicle, the *Bōdhivaṅśa* which was in Pali. Thus, on the invitation of the king, the Ven. Elder

completed this translation of the *Bodhivaṃsa* into Sinhalese to make it easily accessible to all the people.” The invitation is referred to even in the introduction as, “*dvīpa-cakravartī vū Deveni Paṇḍita Parākramabāhu maharajjuruvangē ārādhanāven*” (p. x), meaning, “on the invitation of the great king Pandit Parakramabahu II, who is the lord of the entire island.” The king referred to is Parakramabahu IV (1303-1330) of Kurunegala. The author is credited with two more works, namely, the *Anāgatavamśaya* and the *Sūrya-śatakasanyaya*.⁵⁰ The colophon to the latter gives more details about the author. It runs as, “*saṭbhāṣā-paramēśvara, tripiṭaka-vāgīśvara, Sri Rājaguru Galaturumula mahā svāmipādayangē pradhāna śiṣya vū, Sri Parākramabāhu Vilgammula maha thera sēmin visin paḷamu Mayura nam mahā kavihu visin kaḷa Sūrya-stotra-śatakayaṭa amutu kaḷa artha-vyākhyānayayi*” (p. 54), meaning, “this is a new commentary, on the *Sūrya-śatake* composed earlier by the great poet Mayura, written by the great thera Sri Parakramabahu Vilgammula, the chief disciple of the great elder Galaturumula who was well versed in the six languages, expert of the *Tripitaka* and the king’s counsel”. Also, an inscription set up by the author at *Kitsirimevan Kelani Vihara* and dated 1876 of the Buddhist Era, that is 1333 AC., gives his name as Vilgammula.⁵¹

Of special interest is the claim of the author that he is a descendent of a family known in Sinhalese by the name “*Gaṃtalā Karaṃbavalān*”.⁵² The Pali equivalent of this family name occurs at the closing stanza of the *Buddhippāsadani* as “*Gaṅgāṭākiya-Karambavaḷa*.”⁵³ The *Kitsirimevan Kelani Vihara* inscription set up in the 1887th year of Buddhist Era by Ven. Vilgammula himself mentions his lineage by the name “*Gaṅgāṭalā Karaṃbavalān*.”⁵⁴ Further, he says that he is the tenth in the line of succession from the reign of *Kitsirimevan*. *Karaṃbavalāna* has been included as one of the regions situated within the Northern Country known as *Pihiti*.⁵⁵ Although the first member of this family name, *Gaṃtalā*, *Gaṅgāṭalā* or *Gaṅgāṭāka* has been identified as modern Kantale⁵⁶ the second member *Karaṃbavalān* or *Karaṃbavaḷa* cannot be so identified. The name *Vilgammula* has been taken as the Sinhalese equivalent of the Pali name *Sarogama* or *Sarasigama*⁵⁷ mentioned in the *Abhidhānapadipikā* of the Ven. Moggallāna who was residing at the *Jetavanārama* built by King Parakramabahu I (1153-1186) in *Polonnaruva*.⁵⁸ It has been pointed out that it is not known how and when this great seat of learning arose.⁵⁹

In contents the *SBV* closely follows the *MBV* with a few additional descriptions. Thus, like the *MBV*, it contains all the twelve chapters, namely, (i) *Abhisambodhi-kathā*, the story of enlightenment, (ii) *Ānandabodhi-kathā*, planting of the Anandabodhi, (iii) *Dasabala-parinibbāna-kathā*, passing away of the Buddha, (iv) *Prathama-saṅgīti-kathā*, the first council, (v) *Dvitiyasaṅgīti-kathā*, the second council, (vi) *Tṛtīya-saṅgīti-kathā*, the third council, (vii) *Laṅkāvataraṇa-kathā*, the arrival of the Ven. Mahinda in Sri Lanka, (viii) *Nagarapravesa-kathā*, entering the city, (ix) *Mahāvihāra-pratigrahaṇa-kathā*, acceptance of the Mahāvihāra, (x) *Cetiyaḡiri-vihāra-pratigrahaṇa-kathā*, acceptance of the Cetiyaḡirivihāra at Mihintale, (xi) *Dhātvāgāmana-kathā*, introduction of the Buddha's relics, and (xii) *Dumindāgāmana-kathā*, arrival of the Bodhi Tree. The text in brief deals with the life of the Buddha, the history of Buddhism upto the end of the third council and the establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka together with the planting of the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura.

A noteworthy feature is the expansion of, “*itaresaṃ pana catunnain phalānaṃ bījehi jāte dvattimisa taruṇamahābodhipādape samantā dipavāsīnam hitāya sukhāya yojane yojane vihāre patitthāpesi*” (p. 162), meaning, “the thirty two young bodhi plants born of the seeds of the other four fruits were planted at temples each at a distance of a *yojana* for the benefit and well-being of all the residents of the island” to, “*itiri phala satara denāgē bijuvaṭin aṭa aṭa bāgin upan detis phalaruha śrīmahābōdhīn vahansē aturen Malvāssā Vehera ek phalaruha bōdhiyakda esēma Tantrimāla nam vehera ekakda pihitiyēya. Muhudubaḡa Mahājallika nam kevulgama ek bōdhiyakda mesema Kottiyāramada Polonnaruvehida Matale Rusigamada Ruhunurāṭa Māgamada Vilvalada Mahiyaṃganayehida Sēruvila samīpayehi nayingē Vilgam Veherada Uva Badullē Mutiyaṃganayehida emarata But-hala Happōru Veherada Ruhunurāṭa Situlpav Veherada Tamḡalu Veherāṭa baṭahira dik-hi vū Vanavāsa Veherada Vāligama Veherada Paragodāda Mīddēgamada gaṇegamada Kotmale Pusupīṭiyehida Māyāraṭa Vaturēda Beligalada Bellanvilada Vaṇduravada Vāṭṭāramada Rajamaha Vihārayehida Sulugallēda Rāsvēruvēda Kaṭiyāvehida Giribā Veherehida Yāpav Sundaragiri-pavvehida Kasāḡalu Veherehida Āmbalava Rahatḡal Veherehida ek ek bōdhiyakdāyi*” (p. 212), which gives the idea of, “thereafter, the seeds of the remaining four fruits

gave rise to thirty two bodhi saplings, by way of eight each. These were established one each at Malvāssā Vehera, Tantrimāla, Mahājallika, a fishing village by the sea, Kottiyārama, Polonnaruva, Rusigama in Matale, Māgama in Ruhuna, Vilvala, Mahiyāṅganaya, nāgas' Vilgam Vehera near Sēruvila, Mutiyāṅgaṇa at Badulla in Uva, Happōru Vehera at Buttala, Situlpav Vehera in Ruhuna, Vanavāsa Vehera to the west of Taṅgalu Vehera, Vāligam Vehera, Paragoḍa, Māddegama, Gaṇegama, Pusulpitiya in Kotmalē, Vatura in Māyārata, Beligala, Bellanvila, Vaṅdurava, Vattārama, Rajamaha-vihāraya, Sulugalla, Rāsveruva, Katiyava, Giriba Vehera, Yapahuva, Kasāgalu Vehera and Aṃbalava Rahatgal Vehera." This is the earliest record that gives the names of these thirty two sites each honoured with a bodhi sapling. However, it is not clear how these details were obtained for inclusion in this text. Perhaps he has embodied a tradition that was popular in his day. The list as it is given here seems to have no sequence at all. Māgam in Ruhuna and Situlpav in Ruhuna are separated by five other sites located in unrelated regions. Similarly, Kasāgalu Vehera in the south has been placed between Yāpahuva and Aṃbalava Rahatgal Vehera found to the north of Kurunegala. Besides, some of these sites cannot be identified at all. To this category fall Mahājallika, Māddegama, Gaṇegama, Vaṅdurava, Sulugalla, Katiyāva and the site in Polonnaruva. The site simply named Rajamaha Vihāraya without a village name and placed between Vattārama and Sulugalle evades any attempt at identification.

The *SBV* has been written in the *Miśra Sinhala*. This style, as we have already noted in our discussion on the *DHPD*⁶² has since that time come to stay as the most powerful and convenient form of expression among the majority of Sinhala writers. The numerous texts that have been composed after the *DHPD* and before the *SBV*, namely, the *Butsarana*⁶³, the *Daham-sarana*,⁶⁴ the *Saddharmaratnāvaliya*,⁶⁵ the *Pūjāvaliya*,⁶⁶ the *Thūpavaṃśaya*,⁶⁷ the *Ummaggajātakaya*,⁶⁸ the *Pansiya-panas-jātakapota*⁶⁹ etc., would clearly corroborate this. As an example for the style we can consider the second dialogue between Ven. Mahinda and king Devanampiyatissa. It is: "tavada, e mihiñdu mahaterun vahansē 'maharaja, topagē, nāyo ādda'yi vicārā, 'svāmini, bohō dena ātā'yi kī kalhi 'maharajjuruvani, topagē nonāyot ādda'yi vicārā, 'svamīni, nāyanṭa,

vaḍā nonāyo bohō vēdā'yikī kalhi, 'topagē n āyanut non āyanut hāra an kisi kenek, maha rajjuruvani, āddā'yi vicāla sēka. 'Svāmini, depak-ṣayen venva siṭiyem mama ma vēdā'yi kī kalhi, 'yahapata, maha rajjuruvani, itā nuvanittava, praśna visarjanaya kaḷa niyā yahapatā'y-praśamsā koṭa, 'rajjuruvō dharmaya dāna gannaṭa samarthayōya'yi dāna Mādum-sañgiyehi Cullahatthi-padopama sūtrānta dēsanāva koṭa sataḷis dahasak puruṣayan hā samaga rajjuruvan saraṇa-śīlayehi pihiṭuvū sēka" (p. 95),⁷⁰ meaning, "moreover the Ven. Mahinda said, 'great king do you have relations?' The reply was, 'Ven. sir, I have many'. 'Great king, do you have non-relations? 'Ven. Sir, the non-relations are far more numerous than the relations'. Finally to the question, 'do you have any one other than your relations and your non-relations?' 'Ven. sir, I do not belong to either side, was the answer. 'Very well, great king, you are wise and you answered the questions intelligently'. The Ven. Mahinda praised the king and came to the conclusion, 'the king can grasp dhamma'. He delivered a religious discourse on the *Culla-hatthipadopama-sutta* of the *Majjhima Nikāya* to the king and his retinue of forty thousand people and converted them to Buddhism." However, this simple style is very often overshadowed by long sentences replete with *tatsama* words borrowed from Sanskrit. This attitude on the part of the author seems to have been influenced by the *MBV* itself for the latter has been composed in the ornate Sanskrit style of the *Kādambarī* and the *Ranghuvainśa*.⁷¹

The *MBV* has a Sinhalese verbatim translation called the *Madhurārthaparakāśanī* (*MAP*) written by the most venerable Valivita Saranankara sangharaja. This was undertaken on the invitation of King Viraparakrama Narendrasimha (1707-1739) of Kandy. The text says that it was composed in the year 2262 of Buddhist Era, that is 1719. The *Saddharma-sārārtha-samgraha*, written in 2269 BE, 1726 AC, mentions, "*Madhurārthaparakāśanī nam vū Māhabodhivamsārtha vyākhāna, Munigunālamkāra, Abhisambodhi-alamkāra'di vū dharmaparbandhayanudu upadavā*", which is, "he wrote such religious compositions as *Madhurārthaparakāśanī*, a commentary on the *MBV*, the *Munigunālamkāra* and the *Abhisambodhi-alamkāra* etc." and gives the date of its composition as the year 2269 BE, 1726 A.C. This is further supported by the *Saṅgharāja-sādhu-cariyāva* which says, "*sāmaṇera kala visi varuṣayēdi upadavana lada*

Saddharma-sārārtha-samgrahaya, *Abhisambodhi-alamkāraya*, *Madhurārtha-prakāśanī nam vū Mahābodhivaṃsa Sannaya*”, meaning, “the *Saddharma-sārārtha-saṅgrahaya*, the *Abhisambodhi-alamkāraya* and the *Madhurārthaprakāśanī*, a commentary of the *MBV*, composed in the twentieth year when he was still a novice”.

The *MAP* begins with an exhaustive discussion on prosody leading to the identification of the metre of the opening verse. This introductory passage composed in a language mixed with many a *tatsama* words borrowed from Sanskrit very clearly displays the wide knowledge the author had acquired on the subject. This really is praiseworthy if viewed in the correct perspective in spite of the fact that this is considered a dark age. The language employed is *Miśra Sinhala*. The *MBV* text, “*kati nu kho bhane cetiyāni*’ti. ‘*Tīni, Ānandā*’ti. ‘*Katamāni bhante*’ ti. ‘*Sārīrikam pāribhogikam uddesikan*’ti. ‘*Sakkā pana bhante tumhesu dharantesuyeva cetiyam kātun*’ti. ‘*Ānanda, sārīrikam na sakkā kātun. Tamhi Buddhānām parinibbuta kāleyeva hoti. Uddesikam avatthukam. Tam pana manamattakena hoti. Buddhehi pana paribhutto bodhi tesu dharantesu parinibbutesu*’pi cetiyam’eva’ti. ‘*Bhante tumhe cārikam pakkantesu Jetavanavihāro appaṭisaraṇo hoti. Manussā pūjanīyatthānāni na labhanti. Mahābodhito bījam āharitvā Jetavana-vihāradvāre ropāpemi, bhante*’ti. ‘*Sādhu, Ānanda, ropāpehi. Evam sante Jetavane mama nibaddhavāso viya bhavissati*’ti”, appears in the *MAP* as, “*svāmīn vahansa, caityayō kopamanekdā*’yi kiyā (mehi kho yanu nipāta mātrayaki) (taman/ visārada bāvin) Budun puḷuvut-hu. (Ekalhi Budu raja tema) (caityayō) tun denek-huya’yi vadāḷa sēka. ‘*Svāmīni, kavara tun deneh-hudā*’yi vicāḷa sēka. ‘*Śārīrikaya, pāribhogikaya uddēsikaya*’yi vadāḷa sēka. ‘*Nuba vahansē jīvamāna kal-hima caityayak vanāhi karaṇṭa piḷivandā*’yi vicāḷa sēka. (Ekalhi Budu raja tema) *Ānandayeni, śārīrika caityaya karaṇṭa nopiḷivana. (Budungē śārīrika dhātu pihituvā kaḷamanā vū ē śārīrika caityaya vanāhi Sarvajñavarayangē parinirvāna kālayehi vannēya. Budun udesā guṇa sandahan koṭa karana satkārayaṭā hētu vūyē uddēsika nam veyi. E uddēsika caityaya vanāhi avastukaya, sitin guṇa saṅdahan kirīm mātrayakin veyi. Sarvajñavarayan visin pāribhoga karana lada bōdhiya vanāhi e Sarvajñavarayan divaman kalhidu pirinivi kalhidu caityayama vannēya*’yi vadāḷa sēka. (Ekala Ānanda sthavira tema) ‘*Bhāgyavat vū Samyak-sambuddha Sarvajña-rājottamayanan vahansa, ē loka svāmī vū nuba vahansē danav sārīsarā vādi kalhi Devram Vehera (kusal karana satvayaṇṭa) piḷisaraṇa novannēya. Manusyayō*

pudaṅṭa nisi sthānayaṅk nolabat. (Eheyin) svāmin vahansa, Srī Mahābodhiyen biju vaṭak genavut Devram Vehera doraṭu samīpayehi ropanaya karavamdā'yi vicāla sēka. (Ekala Buduhu) yahapata, Ānandayeni, rōpanaya karavava. Esē āti kalhi Jētavanayehi magē nirantara vāsāyēk men vannēya'yi vadāḷa sēka", which means, "Ven. sir, how many are the *cetiyas*?" (here the word *kho* is only a particle). (as he was wise he inquired from the Buddha). (Thereupon the Buddha said) 'the *cetiyas* are three.' He asked 'Ven. Sir, what are these three?' The Buddha said, 'they are corporeal, belonging to use and memorial'. 'Ven. Sir, is it possible to create a *cetiya* while you are still living?' To this inquiry, the Buddha said, 'Ananda, it is not possible to build a *cetiya* now with bodily relics. That will be only possible after the passing away of the Buddha. A monument built in memory is without an object. That *cetiya* exists only in mind. The Sacred Bodhi Tree is a *cetiya* both when the Buddha is living and after the passing away of the Buddha.' (Thereupon Ven. Ananda said, 'Ven. Sir, when you are on visits in the regions the Jetavanarama is of no assistance to the people (performing merits). There is no object worthy of paying homage. Therefore, may I, Ven. Sir, obtain a seed from the Sacred Bodhi Tree and get that planted near the entrance to the Jetavanārāma?' (The Buddha) said, 'very well, Ananda, get it planted. When that is done it will be as good as my presence at the Jetavanārāma'.

The *Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya (SLBV)*, the *Minor Chronicle of the Bodhi Tree*, is a short work that continues the history of the Sacred Bodhi Tree as far as the reign of Rajadhirajasimha (1781-1798). The name of the text is given in the introduction, first in Pali as, "*Cūla-bodhivamsa ṇ Sīhaḷa-bhāsato*", meaning, 'the *Cūla-bodhivamsa* in the Sinhalese language' and thereafter in Sinhalese as, "*Srī Laṅkādvīpavāsīṅṭa melova paralova vāḍa piṇisa Sīhaḷa bhāṣāyen mama mē Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya purākrata ativistaraya hāra atisamkṣēpayen kiyam.*", which gives the idea of, "for the well-being of both this world and the next world of the people of Sri Lanka I, leave out the details written in the old days and, state in brief this *Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya.*" These two quotations, the first in Pali and the next in Sinhalese, contain the name of the text according to each language. Thus the Sinhalese word '*suḷu*' (minor) becomes '*cūla*' (minor) in Pali. The author has merely translated the Sinhalese name '*Suḷu-bodhivamsaya*' as '*Cūla-bodhivamsa*' in the Pali verse. This is understandable for he cannot use a Sinhalese word in a Pali

stanza. Therefore it is very clear that the name of the text given by the author is the *Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya*. However, this problem of the name of the work cannot be considered settled until a consensus is made on the two names given in the colophon which says, “*Siṃhala bhāsāven mē Cūla-bodhivamsaya karana ladi. Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya nimi*”, meaning, “this *Cūla-bōdhivamsaya* was written in the Sinhala language. Here ends the *Suḷubōdhivamsaya*.” Thus the colophon gives both the Pali and the Sinhalese names. This leads to a doubt in the mind of readers. The author, perhaps, had in his mind the introduction which contained both these names and included the same information in the colophon also without reflecting on the language involved. The author was very clear in his mind when he says, “*Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya nimi*”, signifying, “here ends the *Suḷubōdhivamsaya*.” Therefore, we can safely conclude that the name given by the author to this Sinhalese text is *Suḷu-bōdhivamsaya* and the author’s Pali version of this name is *Cūla-bodhivamsa*.

It gives an account of the places where shoots from the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura were planted. This list includes not only the forty sites found in the *SBV* but also several new places. This additional information deals with thirty five sites with plants obtained from the Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura and planted and nine villages where plants from the Anandabodhi were planted. Further, it mention six more sites with Bodhi plants. Also, it mentions the different craftsmen who accompanied the Bodhi Branch to Sri Lanka and explains the services assigned to each. A very important historical fact contained in this work is that one guild of these craftsmen, namely that of wealthy merchants, was given the *Seṭṭikulam Pattu*, present *Chiḍḍikulam Pattu*, in Vavuniya.

The name of the author as well as the date of compilation is given in the colophon which says: “*Srī Rājādhirājasimha nam maharajānan raja pāmiṇi sat van turaṅga varṣayehi sangha namāti tārakā samūhayangen gāvasi gattā vū Malvatu nam vihārā namāti ākasā talayehi vāsaya karanā vū. Attaragrāmeśvara nuvaṇāti Bhaṇḍāra Rājaguru nam parama nāmadvayak āti paṇḍitottamayangē śiṣya vū Sumaṅgala nam bhikṣūhu visin Pāliyehi tubū kramaya gene svakiya vū Siṃhala bhāsāven mē Cūlabōdhivamsaya karana ladi. Suḷubodhivamsaya nim.*”, meaning, “in the seventh year of King Rajadhirajasimha, Ven. Sumamgala, who was living at the Malvatu

Viharaya which was like the sky full of the stars-like the *saṅgha*, and who was a pupil of Pandit Attaragama Bhandara Rajaguru, rendered the Pali text into this *Cūlabodhivamsa*. Here ends the *Sulubōdhivamsa*.” Thus the text very clearly says that the *SLBV* was written by Ven. Sumamgala, a pupil of Attaragama Bandāra and that it was composed in the seventh year of king Rajadhirajasimha (1781-1798), that is 1788. The author’s other text written during the reign of Kirti Sri Rajasimha (1747-1781) has been referred to in the *Saṅgharāja-sādhucariyāva as*, “Bandāra Mahatmayāgēma śiṣya vū Milinda-praśnaya Eḷu kaḷa Hīnatikumburē Sumamgala”, giving the sense of, “Hīnatikumbure Sumamgala who translated the *Milinda-praśnaya* was a pupil of Bandāra Mahatmayā”. It gives the author’s full name.

The *SLBV* mentions the *Samantapāsādikā* as one of the sources. Further, the author says that he followed the Pali text. When we go through the text we see that the author has followed neither the *MBV* nor the *SBV*. As he says that he is only giving a summary of the history of the Sacred Bodhi Tree but covering a long period, he has been very careful in selecting material for his work. Thus he has dropped the first few chapters, namely, the life of the Buddha and the three councils and continues the history of the Bodhi Tree as far as possible. The text begins with the usual salutation to the Buddha followed by a Pali stanza, giving the purpose and the name of the text. After repeating the same in Sinhala, he begins the text proper with the details of obtaining the Bodhi branch by King Asoka. Its despatch to Sri Lanka, its arrival at Dambakoḷapatuna and how it was received by King Devānampiyatissa, the honours accorded by the king, bringing the Bodhi Tree to Anuradhapura and planting the same at the Mahameghavana, the places honoured with the forty saplings, thirty four sites later honoured with the Bodhi plants, the different craftsmen who accompanied the Bodhi Branch, taking a branch of the Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura to Pātaliputra, planting of the saplings obtained from the Ānanda-bodhi etc. are treated in the text. These contents clearly show that the author has considerably deviated from the Pali text.

The *Cūla-bōdhivamsa* (*CBV*) also continues the history of the Sacred Bodhi Tree beyond the *SBV*. In contents and format this work is similar to the *SLBV*. This work does not give the name of its author, nor does it has any clue as to the date of its compilation.

There is neither internal nor external evidence contained in the text to show the name and the date of its author. This may be a work of an anonymous author of the Saranankara school and hence may be assigned to the early eighteenth century. It refers the reader to the *Pāpiliyānvata* for details on the Bodhi Tree at Papiliyana. Two more sources mentioned in the text are *Bodhivaṃsa-ṭīkā* and the *Daham-gātamālā*.

The *CBV* begins with the salutation to the Buddha, “*namo tassa Bhagavato arahato Sammāsambuddhassa*”, followed by the stanza, “*yassa mūle nissinno’va sabbāri vijayam akā, patto sabbañ-nutam Satthā vande taṃ bodhipādapaṃ*”. This is followed by the usual five questions and answers dealing with the definition of the term bodhi, its owner, its benefits, the people who worshipped the Bodhi and the places honoured with its saplings. This introduction includes the story of planting of the Ananda-bodhi near the entrance to the Jetavanarama and the offers of King Asoka and King Devanampiyatissa. The text thereafter gives the details of its arrival at Dambakolapatuna and receiving the same by Devānampiyatissa who brought it to Anuradhapura and planted it at the Mahāmeghavana. The next sections contain the names of the eight sites and the thirty two sites where bodhi saplings were planted. Finally the booklet gives the names of thirty four places later honoured with bodhi shoots and the names of the villages where the shoots from the Anandabodhi were planted. The text ends with an exhortation asking its readers to look after the bodhi trees well. The book unlike the *MBV* has no chapters. Nevertheless it seems to have two sections of which the first ends with the words, “*pañca-phalaruhabodhi-kāṇḍaya nimi*” (p. 18), meaning, “here ends the section dealing with the bodhi plants born of the five fruits.”

The language of the *SLBV* as well as the *CBV* could be explained as the popular style of Miśra Siṃhala, that is Miśra Siṃhala with Sanskrit *tatsama* words which are orthographically incorrect. Some examples are: *purākrata* for *purākṛta* (formerly done), *nervāṇaya* for *nirvāṇaya* (*nibbāna*), *prathivi* for *pṛthivi* (earth), *savindhavayan* for *saindhavayan* (Sindhu horses), *rājjaśrīn* for *rajyaśrī* (royal state), *kumāravoruṇṭa* for *kumarāvaruṇṭa* (to the princes), *hradaya* for *hṛdaya* (heart) and *pāttraya* for *pātraya* (bowl) from the former and *vraḥṣa* for *vṛkṣa* (tree), p. 1, *praṣṇa* for *praśna* (questions), p. 1, *svamīpayehi* for *samīpayehi* (in the vicinity), p. 16, *gavurava* for *gaurava*

(honour), p. 20, *draṣṭi* for *dyṣṭi* (view), p. 24 and *saila* for *śaila* (stone), p. 25 from the latter. Further, both these texts possess two styles, one with long sentences full of long compounds and the other in short sentences free from Sanskrit influence. Two examples for the former are: “*tribhuvana-bhavanaika-tilaka-sakalajñeya-sāgara-pāragatā*’ *sesa-gunaratna-mandirāyamāna vū tilōguru-sarvajñarājōttamayā nan vahansē mahābhnikman nikma bōmāñda pahala vū vajrāsanayehi śrimahābōdhiyaṭa piṭa di vāda hinda*” from the *SLBV* and “*tribhuvanaika-tilakasakalajñeya-sāgara-pāragatā*’ *sesa-gunaratna-mandirāyamāna deviyaṅṭat loku devi vū tilōguru-Budurajānan vahansē mahat vū udāratara divyarājjasriyak vāni vū siyalu sampattiyen yukta rājjasriyada divyāṅganāvan vāni vū satalis dahasak rājabiso-varunda satara-mahat-dvīpayāṭa adhipati vannā vū cakravarti rājjayada hāra vadārā mahābhnikman nikma bōmānda karā pāmiṇa etānhi polova palāgena pāna nāgi vajrāsanayehi Srimahā-bōdhiyaṭa piṭa di vāda un kala*” from the *CBV*. The latter style could be seen in the two examples: “*Ruhunurata Sagam Vehera ek srimahābōdhiyak pihīṭiyēya. Vilvala ek srimahābōdhiyak pihīṭiyēya. Devenipātissa maharajānangē mal vū Cūlābhaya nam raja Mahiyamganayehi tun vāni vū tisriyan usa silā caityaya bandavā ek phalaruha-srimahābōdhiyak caityāsannayehi pihīṭuvā lū sēka. Ek bodhiyek nayinnē Velgam Vehera pihīṭiyēya. Ek phalaruha-srimahābōdhiyek Mutiyaṅgana Vehera pihīṭiyēya. Ek bodhiyek But-hala Happōru nam Vehera pihīṭiyēya*” from the *SLBV* and “*Ruhunuraṭa Māgam Vehera ek srimahā-bōdhiyek pihīṭiyēya. Vilvala ek srimahābōdhiyek pihīṭiyēya. Devenipātissa maharajānangē mal vū Cūlābhaya nam maharajāno Mahiyaṅganayehi tunvāniva tisriyan usa silā caityaya bandavā ek phalaruha-bōdhiyek caityāsannayehi pihīṭuvā lū sēka. Ek bōdhiyek Sēruvila svamīpayehi nayinnē Vilgam Vehera pihīṭiyēya. Ek bōdhiyek Mutiyamgana Vehera pihīṭiyēya. Ek bōdhiyek But-hala Happōru nam Vehera pihīṭiyēya*” from the *CBV*. These examples clearly show similarities as well as dissimilarities. The quotations from the *CBV* have additional phrases such as “*deviyaṅṭat loku devi vū, mahat vū udāratara divyarājjasriyak vāni vū siyalu sampattiyen yukta rājjasriyada divyāṅganāvan vāni vū satalis dahasak rājabisōvarunda satara-mahadvīpayāṭa adhipati vannā vū cakravarti rājjayada hāra vadārā*” and “*Sēruvila svamīpayehi*”. A close examination of the passages quoted would reveal that the language of the *SLBV* is superior to that of the *CBV*. The additional phrases found in the latter definitely bear witness to this. Further, this shows that the latter seems to have been composed after the former.

In addition to the eight works so far discussed there exist still in manuscript form thirteen classical texts on the Sacred Bodhi Tree. These, according to the *Laṅkāvē Puskolaṭapot Nāmāvaliya*, compiled by Mr. K. D. Somadasa, are: (1) *Bodhi-kathā*,⁸³ in Pali on one silver plate; (2) *Bodhivaṃsa-aṭṭhakathā*,⁸⁴ a Pali text; (3) *Bodhivaṃsa-kathā*,⁸⁵ a Pali work; (4) *Bodhivaṃsa-gaṇṭhipada*,⁸⁶ (5) *Bodhivaṃsa-gaṇṭhipada-sannaya*,⁸⁷ (6) *Bodhivaṃsa-gāthā-sannaya*,⁸⁸ (7) *Bodhivaṃsa-pada-varṇanāva*,⁸⁹ (8) *Bodhivaṃsa-parikathā-sannaya*,⁹⁰ (9) *Bodhivaṃsa-varṇanāva*,⁹¹ (10) *Bodhivaṃsa-purāṇa-sannaya*,⁹² (11) *Bodhimaṇḍala-pūjākathā*,⁹³ (12) *Madhurārtha-dīpani-bodhivaṃsa-sannaya*,⁹⁴ (13) *Mahābodhivaṃsa-sannaya*,⁹⁵ Pali and Sinhalese, fifty one folios.

Further, the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura has always been a source of great inspiration to numerous folk poets of the Kandyan period. This is evident from the existence of a number of ballads belonging to this time. Most of these works are still in manuscript form. None has been subject to an exhaustive study. Although such an examination is clearly outside the scope of the present paper yet an attempt is made here to collect as much information as possible to facilitate any future study. The list given below contains the names of twenty eight works. Most of these have been culled from various catalogues such as the *Laṅkāvē Puskolaṭapot Nāmāvaliya (LPN)*, parts 1-3, compiled by Mr. K. D. Somadasa, the *Catalogue of Palm Leaf Manuscripts in the Library of the Colombo Museum, Vol. I (CPLM)*, edited by W. A. de Silva, *Sinhala Verse (SV)*, collected by Hugh Nevill and edited by Dr. P. E. P. Deraniyagala and the *Simhala Kavya Samgrahaya, Matara Yugaya* edited by Dr. N. B. M. Seneviratna and few other works. Of these works, only three have so far been printed.

The ballads referred to above are: (1) *Jayamahabōdhi Vandana*,⁹⁶ consisting of hundred and sixty eight verses dealing with the respective Bodhi Trees of the twenty four previous Buddhas and the planting of the saplings sprung from the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura; (2) *Bōdhi Āgamanaya*,⁹⁷ a short poem describing the arrival of the Bodhi Branch in Sri Lanka; (3) *Bōdhi Pihīti Kathāva*,⁹⁸ a short description, in prose, of the Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura; (4) *Bōdhi Maṇḍala Pūjā Kathāva*,⁹⁹ probably a prose work describing the numerous offerings made to the Sacred Bodhi Tree; (5) *Bōdhi Maṇḍala Vistaraya*,¹⁰⁰ also a prose work; (6) *Bōdhi Rōpaṇa Uḷela*,¹⁰¹

dealing with the planting of the Bodhi Branch; (7) *Bōdhi Vandanā*,¹⁰² a short poem composed in adoration of the Bodhi Tree; (8) *Bōdhi Vandanā*,¹⁰³ another poem having the same name as the previous one, but consisting of both Sinhalese verses and Pali stanzas for reciting when worshipping the Sacred Bodhi Tree and composed by Banagala Pinca; (9) *Bōdhi Vandanā Kāvya*,¹⁰⁴ a poem meant for pilgrims; (10) *Bōdhi Vandanā Gāthā*, a collection¹⁰⁵ of Pali stanzas used to recite in adoration of the Bodhi Tree; (11) *Bōmāṇḍa Alankāraya*,¹⁰⁶ composed by Ven. Dambagalle who was living at the Piyangalu Vehera at Kotasara of the Vavgam Pattu in Vellassa, describing the history of the Buddha and the establishment of the Bodhi Tree at Buddhagaya and containing seventy verses; this has been written in the year 1741 of Saka era (1819 AC); (12) *Bōmāṇḍa Alankāraya*,¹⁰⁷ another poem bearing the same name as the above, invoking the blessings of the Buddha on an anonymous minister and having sixty verses plus six verses on the Indra Gurula Bali and four, on God Mihindu; (13) *Bōmāṇḍa Alankāraya Hevat Himāla Vistaraya*,¹⁰⁸ printed in 1887 by D. J. Vikramaratna and consisting of one hundred and seventy verses; (14) *Bōmāṇḍa Nagara Vistaraya*,¹⁰⁹ a prose work; (15) *Bōmāṇḍa Nuduru Sthānaya*,¹¹⁰ (16) *Bō Mula Upata*,¹¹¹ a poem of two hundred and fifty four verses, describing the succession of the Buddhas from Tanhankara to Kassapa and the respective Bodhi Tree of each followed by the story of Sumedha and the life of prince Siddhartha upto the enlightenment, arrival of Ven. Mahinda, bringing in of the Southern Branch of the Bodhi Tree and containing verses in honour of the sixteen great shrines of Sri Lanka; (17) *Bō Vāṇḍima*,¹¹² (18) *Mahābōdhi Alankāraya*,¹¹³ (19) *Mahābōdhi Varṇanāva*,¹¹⁴ edited by Ven. Gintota Medhankara in 1876; (20) *Laṅkā Bōdhi Vastuva*,¹¹⁵ a long poem of 400 verses, written by a grandson of Rajaguru Mudali, dealing with the history of the Great Bodhi Tree at Buddhagaya, the three visits of the Buddha to Sri Lanka, arrival of Vijaya, history of Sri Lanka upto the reign of Devanampiyatissa (307 BC-267 AC), establishment of Buddhism in Sri Lanka and the arrival of Bodhi Tree; (21) *Lak Bō Hālla*,¹¹⁶ a historical ballad dealing in eighty five verses with the story of the Sacred Bodhi Tree, Abhayagiriya, Thuparama, Lovamahapaya, Mihintale and Ruvanvalisaya; (22) *Sri Mahābodhi Kīrtiya*,¹¹⁷ a poem consisting of two hundred and seventy six verses and printed, but missing the title page; (23) *Srī Mahābōdhiya Piḷibaṇḍa Kavi*,¹¹⁸ (24) *Srī Māhabōdhi Hālla*,¹¹⁹ by an unknown poet,

describing in sixty verses the Bodhi Tree; (25) *Sirimābō Kavi*,¹²⁰ a poem by Lokuru Nayide of Tambugala in Kotmale, meant for pilgrims; (26) *Sirimābō Vāndīma*,¹²¹ a short poem in adoration of the Bodhi Tree; (27) *Sirimabo Vistara*,¹²² consisting of seventy five verses, relating the history of the Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura and giving description of Samanala, Mahiyamganaya, Hunnasgirikanda, Santanagala, Taligala, Alagala, Dematagomuvakanda and Anuradhapura and invoking the eight places of worship in Anuradhapura; (28) *Sirilak Bōm īnda Alamkāraya*,¹²³ a short poem of seventy verses describing the virtues of the Buddha and the Sacred Bodhi Tree and the glories of the Great Shrines of Anuradhapura and Mihintale.

In this brief survey of the literature that has developed over the years on the Sacred Bodhi Tree at Anuradhapura, we have noted forty nine works by various authors living at different times. The languages used are Sinhalese and Pali. These are either in prose or verse. The very old text *BVT*, still in manuscript, has only two copies. Even the *MBV* published about a century ago has been out of print for a very long time. The large collection of ballads, numbering twenty eight and which is a very important source for both historical and sociological studies of ancient Sri Lanka, is yet to appear in print.

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78. cp. *SBV*, ed. Sannasgala, pp. 45-46, the corresponding passage running as, "Taman vahansē visārada bāvin 'svāmini, caitya kopamanekdā'yi Budun piḷivisi sēka. Evēlehi Buduhu 'Ananda sthvirayeni, caityayō tun deneka'yi vadāḷa sēka. 'Svāmini, kavara tun denekdā'yi vicāḷa sēka. 'Sāririkaya, pāribhogikaya, uddesikaya'yi vadāḷa sēka. 'Svāmini, numba vahansē jivatva vāda hindadima caitya karanta piḷivandā'yi vicāḷa sēka. 'Ananda sthvirayeni, sāririka caityaya karannaṭa nopiḷivana. Budungē sāririka dhātu pihituvā kaḷamanā vū ē caityaya vanāhi Budun pirinivi kalhi vannēya. Budun udesā guṇa saṅdahan koṭa karana satkārayaṭa hētu vū pratimā uddesika caitya nam veyi. E uddēsika caityaya avastukaya. Sitin guṇa sandahan kirima mātrayakin vannēya. Budun visin prayōjana viṅdini lada bōdhiya vanāhi e Sarvajñayan vahansē vidyamāna kalhidu pirinivi kalhidu caityayama ve'yi vadāḷa sēka. Evēlehi Ananda mahaterun vahansē, 'svāmini, numba vahansē sārisarā vādi kalhi mē Jētavana Mahāvihāraya kusal kāmāti satvayaṅṭa piḷisaraṅṅa noveyi. Manusyayō pidiya yutu sthānayak nolabati. Esē heyin Sri Mahabodhiyen biju vaṭak genavut Jētavana doratuva samipayehi rōpanaya karavamda, svamini'yi vicāḷa sēka. Evēlehi Buduhu, 'yahapata, Ananda sthvirayeni, rōpanaya karava, esē kalhi Jētavanayehi magē nirantara vāsayaḷ men vannēya'yi vadāḷa sēka."

78. This is still in manuscript.
79. *Simhala Milinda Prasraya*, ed. W. Ratanasaratissa, Negombo, 1900, pp. 797-99.
80. *Saṅgharaja-sadhucariyava*, ed. Henpitagedara Piyananda, Colombo, 1954, p. 40.
81. *Cūla-bodhivamse*, ed. W. G. Don Andrayas, Colombo, 1871; *Cūla-bodhivamsaya*, ed. Don David Karunaratna, Kegalle, 1923.
82. *Sinhalese Literature*, p. 121; *Simhala Sāhitya Vamsaya*, pp. 287-288. The latter indicates that the CBV may be a work belonging to the end of the Kotte Period, that is mid-sixteenth century. This date based on the statement, "Kotte nuvara Parakramabahu maharajano bodhipujava balavat lesa pavatinta sailatalayehi kotava tibeda" (p. 25), which means, "King Parakramabahu of Kotte has put up an inscription urging the people to continue the bodhipujas vigorously", seems to be too early.
83. *LPN*, 3.
84. *LPN*, 1, No. 516.
85. *LPN*, 1, no. 225.
86. *LPN*, 1. nos. 151, 214, 222, 325, 359 etc.
87. *LPN*, 1, nos. 365, 616.
88. *LPN*, 2, no. 373
89. *LPN*, 1, no. 663.
90. *LPN*, 1, nos. 160, 285, 587, 710
91. *LPN*, 1, no. 385.
92. *LPN*, 1, no. 351.
93. *LPN*, 1, nos. 263, 519, 541.
94. *LPN*, 1, nos. 121, 354, 382, 513.
95. *LPN*, 3.
96. *Simhala Sāhitya Vamsaya*, p. 585.
97. *CPLM*, no. 823.
98. *CPLM*, no. 824.
99. *LPN*, pt. 2.
100. *ibid.*
101. *LPN*, pt. 3.
102. *CPLM*, no. 832; *LPN*, pt. 1.
103. *CPLM*, no. 833; *LPN*, pt. 1.
104. *LPN*, pt. 2.
105. *CPLM*, no. 834.
106. *SV*, no. 11; *CPLM*, no. 1828; *Simhala Sahitya Vamsaya*, p. 585.
107. *SV*, no. 240; *CPLM*, no. 836.
108. Verse no. 167 giving the date of its composition is:
- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| " <i>Sirimat Sugat varusen dedahasa</i> | <i>piruna</i> |
| <i>Tesiyak desāta avurudu tavat gata</i> | <i>vuna</i> |
| <i>Sāka nāt pāmiṇi varusehi naga nam</i> | <i>vana</i> |
| <i>Mē potat kara nima vi e maha yati</i> | <i>pemina "</i> |
109. *CPLM*, no. 2319.
110. *CPLM*, no. 2380.
111. *SV*, no. 280.
112. *LPN*, pt. 3.

113. *LPN*, pt. 1.
 114. A copy is available at the Sinhala Dictionary Office.
 115. *SV*, no. 227; *CPLM*, nos. 1892, 1893.
 116. *SV*, no. 513.
 117. The full name is: *Sri Mahabōdhi Kirtiya Hevat Anuradhapura Vandaanva*.

E.g.

v. 1	“ <i>Set siri dāna</i>	<i>Sugat</i>
	<i>Sat haṭa deva me</i>	<i>sāpat</i>
	<i>Met kuḷuṇu guṇa</i>	<i>yut</i>
	<i>But saraṇa mama gatimi</i>	<i>yahapat ”</i>

v. 26	“ <i>Ran payak raju kerevāya</i>	<i>bō</i>
	<i>Ranvan payaṭa novadinavā</i>	<i>bō</i>
	<i>Gal kappa vālimaluva kaḷa</i>	<i>bō</i>
	<i>Uda vālimaluvaṭa vādama kaḷa</i>	<i>bō</i>

118. *LPN*, pt. 1.

119. *SV*, no. 19.

120. *Sinhala Kāvya Samgrahaya, Matara Yugaya*, ed. Dr. N. B. M. Seneviratna, Colombo, 1964, has only seventeen verses. Some verses are (pp. 213-214):

“ <i>Siddha Srīma Bodhi sami Anurapuraye pihiṭi</i>	<i>balayeni</i>
<i>Suddhasuvanda mal pahan dummala obaṭa pūjā kele</i>	<i>sāmini</i>
<i>Vādda nodi me karapu pavkam notibunat yayi gevi</i>	<i>itikini</i>
<i>Siddha vi api karapu sāma pin ranpote māda adama</i>	<i>liyamini”</i>

121. *CPLM*, no. 1484.

122. *SV*, no. 667; *CPLM*, no. 1485.

123. *SV*, no. 508.

CONSERVATISM AND RADICALISM IN SRI LANKA'S NON-ALIGNED POLITICS IN THE 1970'S AND BEYOND

By

W. M. KARUNADASA

SRI LANKA, a founder member of the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) emerged on the conservative¹ side of the movement during 1969-70, mainly because of the foreign policy approach of Dudley Senanayake's United National Party (UNP) government. This image was, however, swiftly changed after the General Election in May 1970, where the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) dominated United Front (UF) under the leadership of Mrs. Bandaranaike emerged as a 'radical state' within the NAM. Again at the July 1977 General Elections, Senanayake's successor Mr. J. R. Jayewardene as the leader of the UNP re-incarnated its traditional party image moving away from radicalism to conservatism.

The conservatism of the UNP and the radicalism of the SLFP are of equal significance in identifying the internal and the external milieu of Sri Lanka's foreign policy. The point that needs special emphasis here is the fact that although the radicalism of Mrs. Bandaranaike and the conservatism of Mr. Senanayake and Mr. Jayewardene were the outstanding landmarks, of the foreign policy adopted by their individual governments, the genesis of conservatism first occurred during the latter part of the Senanayake government (1965-70), and the radicalism of Mrs. Bandaranaike (1970-77) was born in response to the conservatism. Again Mr. J. R. Jayewardene (1977-83) responded to radicalism and renewed the conservatism of Senanayake. In spite of the conservative-radical division in foreign policy manifestations, both the UNP and the SLFP governments maintained the continuities of the non-alignment² though they differed in their political approaches.

One of the most important things in identifying the conservative-radical approaches in Sri Lanka's foreign policy, is to draw special attention to the latter part of Dudley Senanayake's

government. Firstly, because it was during Senanayake's time that the non-aligned member states began to show their identities either as conservatives or as radicals. What was characteristic with the non-aligned radicals was their insistence for 'hard line', militant action in fighting against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism. In contrast, the conservatives were the 'soft liners', who preferred to maintain the 'status quo' in the NAM's struggle against all manifestations of dominations and hegemonism.

Secondly, it was during the same time that the conservative radical division began to emerge in Sri Lanka's electoral politics. Specifically on the eve of the General Election of 1970, the political coalition of Mrs. Bandaranaike pressed for revolutionary measures with a view to 'wipe out all vestiges of colonialism and imperialism'.³ On the contrary, the UNP government of Dudley Senanayake, which was then increasingly dependent on the West,⁴ having no firm commitment to socialism, was evidently reluctant to betray the West by taking a strong anti-Western tilt in its policies.

It was for concurrent influence of such external and internal factors that the Senanayake government had been compelled to follow a conservative line in its foreign policy. As a precondition to initiate discussions on conservatism and radicalism, it is necessary to make a brief survey of facts, which speak of Senanayake government's orientations towards conservatism.

Conservatism of Senanayake⁵ : From Belgrade 1969 to Dar-es-Salaam 1970

After five years of strict silence of the non-aligned nations since the second summit in Cairo 1964, Tito's attempt to call for a Third Summit hardly indicated any positive hopes when the forty four member nations assembled in Belgrade July 1969. The negative response for holding a third summit at the Belgrade Consultative meeting was mainly accountable to the emerging divisionism within the NAM on radical and conservative lines.⁷ This division became more prominent in two major areas. Firstly, in the area of strategy. Secondly, in the area of colonial and imperial issues.

In the former, the major question was whether the non-aligned nations should hold a third summit,⁸ which implicitly asked whether the non-aligned nations should follow the traditional

strategy of conference diplomacy in dealing with the colonial and imperial issues. In the latter, the major issue was whether the colonial intervention and imperial subjugation should be allowed to continue in the same old spirit, especially in Vietnam, Palestine and South Africa.

On both issues, conservatives supported the idea of the old strategy of conference diplomacy and restricted their attention to the colonial and imperial issues.

Belgrade 1969 apparently provided a good breeding ground for the non-aligned to give birth to their conservative or radical identities. Sri Lankan delegation at Belgrade, identifying it as a conservative state argued mostly in favour of the conservative views.⁹ Specific instances needed to be quoted to indicate the areas where Sri Lanka argued for the conservatives.

Firstly, on the question of holding a Summit, Sri Lanka expressed its firm support in favour of the idea, along with Indonesia, Tanzania, Somalia and the Democratic Republic of Congo. On the contrary, it opposed the radical views advocated by Algeria, Yemen, Tunisia, and such other like minded states which opposed the idea holding a third summit.

Secondly, on the question of colonialism in Asia, Africa, and the Middle East, the Sri Lankan delegate, the Secretary to the Ministry of External Affairs, Mr. G. V. P. Samarasinghe, made a notable remark indicating Sri Lanka's attitude over the colonial issues. Specifically on the question of Vietnam¹⁰ he said that the people of Vietnam should be allowed to determine their internal affairs rather than attacking the American imperialism in Indo-China. Explicitly, Mr. Samarasinghe disagreed with the radical view that the colonial powers should withdraw from Vietnam.

At Belgrade, 1969, it was certain that Sri Lanka held the conservative views¹¹ and opposed the view expressed by the radical states. It was with this conservative image that Sri Lanka called for an ad-hoc conference of Asian non-aligned states in Colombo, March 1970.

The Colombo Meeting (March 1970)

The Colombo Meeting of foreign secretaries of Asian non-aligned countries¹² was held in between two important meetings of the non-aligned, the Belgrade 1969 and the Dar-es-Salaam 1970—mainly on the initiative of the Senanayake government. What was expected from this special ad-hoc meeting, according to the official sources¹³, of Sri Lanka, was to place the emphasis on Asian priorities within the NAM. It drew special attention to the economic priorities rather than to the political priorities.

What was distinct with the Colombo meeting was that it was attended by almost all the nations in Asia,—India, Indonesia, Cambodia, Laos, Malaysia, Nepal, Singapore, and Sri Lanka, except Burma and Afghanistan. Representatives were chosen at the level of foreign secretaries apparently with the organisers' view to influence their respective governments. There was of specific agenda at the meeting nor were any records maintained of the proceedings. Thus, the delegations were at liberty to discuss issues of international and regional significance.

Though the Colombo initiative did not bring any positive outcome, the Asian representatives at the meeting were convinced of the need of 'not taking positions but harmonising the Asian views'¹⁴ The latter statement made at a press briefing by the Chairman of the Colombo Meeting, sharply pointed out the fact that the Senanayake government had no intention of taking a hard line on international issues.

Nevertheless, the outsiders viewed the Colombo initiative as Sri Lanka's, claim for a greater role in non-aligned activities. This thinking became evident from the press reports which repeatedly said that the Colombo meeting is not a prelude to Asian Heads of States meeting.¹⁵ Even so a recent British scholar, assumed, that Sri Lanka was one of the claimants to act as host for a Third Summit.¹⁶ However, it would be more accurate to say that Senanayake government was acting on pressure from some unspecified corners, firstly, because of the timing of the conference—just two days before the dissolution of the government.¹⁷ Secondly, because of the promises of western aid for the Mahaweli Development Scheme,⁸¹

Dar-es-Salaam Consultative Meeting 1970

Colombo's participation at Dar-es-Salaam was made at the height of domestic electoral tension,¹⁹ where the conservative-radical division came to the forefront in the electoral political programmes of the UNP and the SLFP. Further, Colombo's presence at Dar-es-Salaam after its lead role at the Colombo ad-hoc meeting loomed large for a greater conservative stand, because of the very crisis of the electoral politics. Senanayake government seemingly wanted to show its affiliations with the West.

Unlike in Colombo, it was unavoidable to carry over the conflicting issues to the consultative meeting at Dar-es-Salaam. The major divisive issue which manifested at the meeting was the question of membership. It asked the members whether the non-aligned movement should be opened to the radicals, revolutionaries and liberation movements.

Attended by fifty member nations and six national liberation movements, the question open for debate at the plenary session was whether the exiled Sihanouk government of Cambodia, the Provisional Revolutionary Government (PRG) of South Vietnam and the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) should be given member status or observer status at the conference. Such questions posed positive response from the radicals and negative response from the conservatives.

On the membership issue, Sri Lanka's stand is quite easy to identify with the views expressed by the conservative states. For instance, on the question of Cambodia, the main issue was whether the imperialist backed Lon-Nol government or the socialist backed ex-Sihanouk government should be given the legitimate representation of the Cambodian seat at the conference. Sri Lankan delegation²⁰ expressing its positive support for the Lon-Nol government pointed out the fact, that it is a matter of principle that the NAM should be represented by the government of that country but not another claimant. In short, Sri Lanka basically stressed the fact that the non-aligned should not change its criteria in favour of the ex-Sihanouk government.

What was significant at Dar-es-Salaam was the debate that followed after Sri Lanka placed its point of view on the question of Cambodian representation. Twenty two countries indicating on

conservative and radical lines addressed the conference either in favour of it or against the ex-Sihanouk government. The outcome was the postponement of taking a decision on Cambodian representation.

On the question of admitting the PRG of South Vietnam as a full member, Sri Lanka was the first Asian nation which vehemently opposed the PRG's admission.²¹ Disagreeing with the views expressed by Yugoslavia, Somalia, Syria, and Cuba, Sri Lanka again emphasized the need to follow up non-aligned principles rather than changing its criteria. This was another instance which demonstrated the traditional conservative outlook of the Senanayake government²² and also a place where Senanayake government indicated its unspoken antipathy to radical elements entering the NAM.

At the end of the preparatory meeting Sri Lanka's stand received a high appraisal in the western news media. Quoting from the western sources, Sri Lanka's major English daily, under a front page caption 'Bouquet for Ceylon' reported that 'Ceylon's position at Dar-es-Salaam earned a high commendation from the international political and press circles'.²³

The West's appreciation of Sri Lanka's stand at Dar-es-Salaam indicates clearly that the Senanayake government supported the conservative fraction of the NAM. This was true of its earlier stands at Belgrade and Colombo.

Radicalism of Mrs. Bandaranaike : From Lusaka (1970)—to Colombo Summit (1976).

The shifting of political power from Senanayake (UNP) to Mrs. Bandaranaike (SLFP) at the General Election 1970 marked the beginning of a new era in Sri Lankan politics. The radicalism of Mrs. Bandaranaike began to unfold from the very outset of her electoral victory, which placed her in a 'quasi-dictatorial position'²⁴ within the democratic political system. The government's intention of taking a revolutionary oriented militant line in both internal and external policies was first made known to the House in the Governor-General's speech.²⁵

What was said in respect of foreign policy is of crucial interest as far as the political image of the new government was concerned. The extension of diplomatic recognition to certain revolutionary states which had been either postponed or rejected by the previous governments was the first measure that created a new image of the United Front (UF) government. For instance, full diplomatic recognition was extended to the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Provisional Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam.

The second measure was the suspension of diplomatic and other relations with the government of Israel, until they conformed to the UN resolution of 1967 and withdrew its armed forces from the occupied territories.

Thirdly, the UF government pledged to take further measures in removing all imperialist agencies which operate in Ceylon. Initially, the American sponsored Asia Foundation,²⁶ and the Peace Corps²⁷ had been removed. What actually occurred at the end of the policy pronouncement is of further interest to clarify the political image of the new government. On the one hand, there was an inflow of radical leaders like Madam Bing of the PRG²⁸ and the PLO delegates visiting Sri Lanka.²⁹

Also there was an outflow of government parliamentary delegations to North Korea, Moscow and East Germany.³⁰ On the other hand there were news reports of disappointing relations with Israel,³¹ West Germany,³² the United Kingdom and the United States of America.³³

Such instances amply demonstrated the fact that the image of Mrs. Bandaranaike's government, in contrast to the image of the previous Dudley Senanayake government, received a high appraisal from different quarters i.e. from the revolutionary states, while cooling off its relations with the Western countries. In other words, Sri Lanka under the regime of Mrs. Bandaranaike was identified as a 'radical state', soon after its formation.

The Lusaka Summit 1970

Marshal Tito could materialise his initiative in calling for a third non-aligned summit, only after the compromise he reached with the African radical leadership.³⁴ What the radicalists of the NAM wanted to do in the early 70s, as enumerated by the Algerian President Boumediene particularly after the G-77 (1967), was to fight against imperialism through a core of hardline radical states of the Third World.³⁵ The emphasis placed by the African radical leaders in respect of the NAM incidentally found a similar expression in the domestic policy of Mrs. Bandaranaike, where she was influenced to join the African radicals in non-aligned politics.

The Lusaka Summit (1970) was held at the height of the colonial oppression in South Africa, Namibia, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Rhodesia. More than any other region in the world, colonialism in Africa denied the rights of the national liberation, independence, territorial integrity and human equality. Moreover, colonial subjugation was in continued existence in the Middle East where Palestine became the main battleground of the colonialists and anti-colonialists. Asia, too, engaged in long drawn battles, particularly in Indo-China.

Mrs. Bandaranaike, with a fresh mandate to combat colonialism and imperialism, having already taken radical measures at home, looked forward to better demonstrations of its anti-colonial attitudes in Lusaka. She had been given instant recognition when she was chosen as the elected Vice-President of the Summit. This 'status', it is not wrong to assume, was accorded to Mrs. Bandaranaike, mainly in appreciation of the radical stand taken in domestic policy, rather than on grounds of seniority.

Even before the beginning of the plenary session of the conference, Sri Lanka's views on divisive issues sided with the radicals. For instance, on the question of a Cambodian seat at the Conference, Sri Lanka supported the Sihanouk government in exile.³⁶ In her address to the Summit, Mrs. Bandaranaike in a strongly worded speech³⁷ stressed the political need to seek united action against all forms of colonial manifestation and imperialism all over the world.

Making specific reference to the problems in Asia, Africa and the Middle East, Mrs. Bandaranaike vehemently opposed Western imperialism particularly in South Africa, Palestine and Indo-China. What is more, American imperialism in Vietnam was condemned by naming the United States as the aggressor in Vietnam.³⁸

Further, the conference was told that her government extends solidarity and support for all national liberation struggles, opposes all forms of oppression; condemns the minority rule; apartheid and racial discrimination; demands the withdrawal of foreign troops from Indo-China; urges immediate settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict and proposes that the Indian Ocean be declared a nuclear free zone.

The political sentiments of Mrs. Bandaranaike were further expressed in relation to the western economic assistance. Quoting from her own country's experience she said that western aid is designed to use the politically motivated economic pressure with a view to bend the small non-aligned countries. The conference was further told that the member countries should resolutely oppose such pressure, if they wish to follow independent foreign policies. In an effort to convince the member nations of Sri Lanka's radical stand, she took pains to enumerate the measures she had taken in both domestic and foreign policy. Moreover, she did not fail to outline the unfavourable effects of those measures, which came particularly from the West. What is more, Mrs. Bandaranaike emphasised the urgent need for 'self-determination'—a rhetoric of the radicals—in combating Western economic imperialism. In short, Mrs. Bandaranaike urged all the non-aligned nations to take the hard line in their common struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism.

Notably, after the Lusaka speech of Mrs. Bandaranaike, aid flows from the West had shown a sharp decline which gradually began to deteriorate in the subsequent years, particularly until the end of the regime in 1977. Jayewardene, then the Leader of the Opposition continuously maintained the point that it was mainly due to the non-aligned foreign policy adopted by Mrs. Bandaranaike.³⁹ This is a positive fact which indicates that the UF government was not accommodated by the West, apparently because of its strong anti-Western stand in non-aligned politics.

The next occasion where Sri Lanka's radicalism was exposed to the outside world was the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting held in Singapore, in February 1971. There, Mrs. Bandaranaike joined the African and Carribean radicals once again in deploring the British initiative of proposed arms sales to South Africa.⁴⁰ Further she condemned the racist policy of South Africa, where she disagreed with the views expressed by the British Premier Mr. Heath. Moreover, on the question of Vietnam and Cambodia, Mrs. Bandaranaike expressed the same degree of anti-colonial sentiments which were demonstrated at Lusaka. China's admission to the UN and Sri Lankan initiated Indian Ocean Peace Zone proposal was canvassed by Mrs. Bandaranaike at the Singapore meeting. What was interesting at the Commonwealth gathering was, mainly her appeal to the radicals, to unite in gross antipathy to the West and its satellite states.

Again at the UN General Assembly in October 1971, Mrs. Bandaranaike⁴¹ made a further exposure of Sri Lanka's strong opposition to Western colonialism, by repeatedly endorsing the radical views expressed earlier on Vietnam War, Israel's illegal occupation of Arab territories, colonial oppression of South Africa, Portuguese colonialism in Africa, illegal occupation of Namibia and the racist regime in Zimbabwe. Although Mrs. Bandaranaike's UN visit was declared as a visit to present her Peace Zone Proposal⁴² it was apparently aimed to tell the international community, as her late husband did in 1956, what justifications she had to take revolutionary measures in both domestic and foreign policy. It is quite true to say that at both the Commonwealth and the UN forums Mrs. Bandaranaike made further progress in rallying round the radicals of the NAM, ostensibly with a view to claim a greater role for Sri Lanka on a radical ticket.⁴³

Algiers Summit—1973

Algerian Summit in 1973 provided the next opportunity for Mrs. Bandaranaike. Though Sri Lanka's agitations for the leadership role failed at Georgetown in 1972,⁴⁴ Mrs. Bandaranaike had positive hopes over the Algiers Summit because a decision was pending in Sri Lanka's favour in respect of the next Summit venue. In recognition of Sri Lanka's credibility within the NAM, Algiers Summit decided that Sri Lanka should be the host of the fifth non-aligned

Summit to be held in Colombo in 1976. It is to be noted here that the host nation status was accorded to Sri Lanka, seemingly not because it was Asia's turn,⁴⁵ but because of the promising character of Mrs. Bandaranaike's leadership for a greater 'radical' role.

Algiers marked a watershed in non-aligned politics. Firstly because of the emergence of detente in the world political order. Secondly, because of the renewed orientation of non-alignment away from East-West to North-South pre-occupations. It was these reasons and apparently for certain unspecified reasons⁴⁶ Mrs. Bandaranaike was not very hot on colonial issues at the Algiers Summit. There she made only a passing reference to colonialism in the Middle East and Indo-China.

The main point of Mrs. Bandaranaike at the Algiers Summit⁴⁷ was the need to divert political attention to the economic independence of the Non-aligned countries. She reckoned that the major threat to non-aligned countries today is their vulnerability to outside economic pressures. This view in essence, agreed with the radical view expressed from the chair-President Boumedienne—and finally in the Economic Declaration.⁴⁸

In a carefully worded speech Mrs. Bandaranaike drew the conference's attention to concentrate on the Third World strategy in the direction of economic development programme where Sri Lanka proposed a Special Fund for Agricultural Development and Fertilizer. Speaking on her own country's experience Mrs. Bandaranaike stressed the urgent need to work out a strategy for overcoming the continued 'food crisis' in developing countries. In short, Boumedienne's efforts to achieve the New International Economic Order (NIEO) received the maximum support from Sri Lanka. Moreover, Mrs. Bandaranaike made proposals to radicalise the present relations of the world economic order through political instruments.

The Colombo Summit—1976

Colombo Summit 1976 marked another mile stone in non-aligned politics where the 'radical dynamism' which gathered a momentum in the African Continent since Lusaka 1970 was transformed to the Asian continent in 1976. Sri Lanka, though a small

member of the non-aligned community became the first Asian nation to host a non-aligned summit, obviously through a radical ticket.⁴⁹ Thus, it was mandatory for Mrs. Bandaranaike, then the prestigious leader who represented all the four previous Summits, to maintain the 'radical' dynamism imparted by Kenneth Kaunda and Hourii Boumediene. What made her task declaratory was Sri Lanka's steadfast commitment to the non-aligned principles.

Thus at both declaratory and mandatory levels Mrs. Bandaranaike had a clear elevation to direct the future cause of the NAM on the same footing as had been done by her predecessors of the NAM.

The inaugural address⁵⁰ of Mrs. Bandaranaike, as the chairperson of the NAM, and also the Final Declaration,⁵¹ which imparts a greater influence of the host country, positively indicates that Sri Lanka made no mistake in leading the NAM in the proper direction. For instance, in the inaugural address Mrs. Bandaranaike told the conference that 'much of the success of the NAM was achieved through resolute opposition to imperialism' and placed the emphasis on the need to 'enlarge the frontiers of actions in the fight against economic subservience and domination, 'while we continue our effort towards the establishment for a just political order'. Notably, Mrs. Bandaranaike expressed very strong sentimental feelings over the political victories of the liberation movements, who joined the NAM during 1973-76.

The latter part of the speech further proposed to take many radical measures based on the concept of 'self-reliance'. In this direction she told the conference to utilize the solidarity and the collective political strength of the NAM in building up 'our own financial and monetary institutions, countervailing currencies, mercant shipping, Commercial Bank—A Bank for the Third World—with regional branches in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Moreover, the reference made to the need to amend the UN Charter indicates a further demonstration of the radical view, which was then heard among the front line radical states like Algeria, Libya, and Iraq. Specific attention was drawn to the US activities in the Indian Ocean particularly in Diego Garcia. Sri Lanka's call for the withdrawal of the American fleets and the dismantling of Diego Garcia with no reference to the Soviet activities in the region was regarded by Western nations as a demonstration of anti-American of attitude Sri Lanka's non-aligned policy.

The Final Declaration, particularly the political declaration, Economic Declaration, Action Programme and the Political Resolutions⁵² sharply indicate Sri Lanka's position in respect of colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism. The political Declaration, there is no doubt, was greatly influenced by the host country. It spoke of the great victories achieved by the non-aligned and welcomed the struggle of the people still under the direct domination of imperialism and colonialism, racism, apartheid and zionism specially in Zimbabwe, Namibia, South Africa, Palestine, French-Somaliland, Sao-Tome and Principe, the Comoros and Seychelles. Briefing on the anti-colonial, anti-imperial struggle in Africa, Asia, Latin-America and the Middle East, the Political Declaration urged the non-aligned to consolidate in achieving economic independence in order to make the political independence more meaningful.

The Economic Declaration of the Colombo Summit was prepared against a political background, where the developed countries did not co-operate with the developing countries, to make the NIEO a reality. Keeping this aspect in its proper perspective, the Colombo Economic Declaration called the non-aligned to:

- a. concentrate in collective 'self-reliance'.
- b. intensify the economic co-operation and
- c. strengthen the solidarity and the co-ordination of the activities of developing countries.

Finally, the Action Programme and the Political Resolution of the Colombo Conference made a further demonstration of Colombo's option to continue the same line of radical action resorted since Lusaka 1970. The twenty political resolutions passed at the conference not only received the full endorsement of the host government but also indicated the order of priority placed by the host country. Among the political resolutions, issues related to African radicalism loomed large, where the liberation Movements of South Africa, Namibia, racial discrimination and apartheid stood very significant.

At the end of the Colombo Summit, Sri Lanka was at the peak of its non-aligned poitics. Thus its leader Mrs. Bandaranaike became the formal co-ordinator, convenor and chairman of the

NAM. This leadership 'status' not only brought a marked identity for Sri Lanka but also established the credibility of Sri Lanka's commitment to the NAM under Mrs. Bandaranaike.⁵³

Conservatism of Jayewardene—A re-orientation (1977-1982)

The shifting of political power from Mrs. Bandaranaike to Mr. J. R. Jayewardene, at the General Election of 1977 was another landmark in Sri Lanka's non-aligned politics.⁵⁴ It does not mean that there were any drastic changes with the non-aligned policy. It did mean that there was a change of emphasis in the approach to its foreign policy.

What was accountable for the change of emphasis was the political conviction of the United National Party Government and its leader Mr. Jayewardene. When appointed as the leader of the UNP in 1973, Mr. Jayewardene had given solemn promise⁵⁵ to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor Mr. Dudley Senanayake. Again in 1977, when elected as the Prime Minister of the Republic of Sri Lanka, Jayewardene told the National State Assembly that he would follow an independent foreign policy to preserve the sovereignty and independence of Sri Lanka without making any specific commitments to the non-alignment.⁵⁶ Nevertheless, the assembly was informed that principles of non-alignment which we first adopted at the Afro-Asian Conference at Bandung will be supported.⁵⁷

In essence, the first policy statement of the UNP government of Jayewardene indicated its interest in taking a 'soft-line' in non-aligned policy, as did under Mr. Dudley Senanayake. During the subsequent debate on the policy statement, Jayewardene's intention to deviate from the foreign policy practices of Mrs. Bandaranaike was assured to the Assembly.⁵⁸

Thus from the very outset of the Jayewardene government it was explicitly clear that Jayewardene was acting on the conservative ideals of the Senanayake government.

The first measure taken in this direction was the removal of foreign policy portfolios from the office of the Prime Minister.⁵⁹ A new Ministry of Foreign Affairs was established under a separate cabinet minister.⁶⁰ It is not improper to suggest here that the transfer of foreign policy responsibilities to a cabinet minister, was

seemingly intended to re-assert the Prime Ministerial role in external affairs. Apparently because of the over-exposure of the Prime Minister during the previous government and certainly because of the UNP's concept that 'small states like Sri Lanka should not attempt to play big roles in international politics.'⁶¹

Secondly, Jayewardene made endeavours in order to change the imprints of a "radical state" left by Mrs. Bandaranaike. Measures taken in that direction were twofold. Firstly, there was a government move to disseminate the idea that it changed the foreign policy orientations of the previous government. This proposition found a clear expression when Mr. A. C. S. Hameed, Minister of Foreign Affairs told the National State Assembly that 'our foreign policy has been given a new orientation'.⁶² This statement was further elaborated when he said that 'our foreign policy is receiving a *new economic orientation* that we are departing from the policy of over-emphasising politics'.⁶³

Thirdly, the Minister of Foreign Affairs and other important dignitaries, who went on various missions to various countries were apparently expected to brief on the change of government policies, and especially of its foreign policy.

For instance, Mr. Hameed, during his visits to the Common Market countries, held many conferences, television and radio interviews most significantly on government's initiative to keep the West informed of the changes of emphasis of Sri Lanka's foreign policy.⁶⁴ The Minister of Finance, Mr. Ronnie de Mel, during his visits to the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, carrying out a similar task, informed the Western Government, through the news media, of the changes that was taking place not only in the sphere of foreign policy but also in the domestic economic policy.⁶⁵

In consequence of the policy measures taken by Jayewardene government in both external and internal spheres, Western governments indicated their changing attitudes, mainly through the economic instruments. The great generosity of the Western governments was well evident from the quantum of economic aid made available for the country's major development project-the Mahaweli Diversion Project. What was denied for Mrs. Bandaranaike's Five Year Plan

was readily available for Mr. Jayewardene's development effort,⁶⁶ where he could telescope a thirty years plan to six years in the mammoth Mahaweli Project, mainly because of Western economic assistance.

Except the changed emphasis in foreign policy, it is to be remembered here that the government did continue Sri Lanka's commitments to the non-aligned cause.⁶⁷ For instance, the non-aligned leadership status, vested in the Jayewardene government, by virtue of holding the current chairmanship of the NAM (1976-79), was given continuous effect by Jayewardene, until it was transferred to Fidel Castro at the Sixth Havana Summit in 1979.

Though many non-aligned forums were chaired by Sri Lanka between Colombo and Havana Summits, Jayewardene government differed from Mrs. Bandaranaike mainly in not being highly vocal on colonial issues. Instead of making high sounding rhetorics on colonialism and imperialism, Jayewardene government began to talk of re-shaping the non-aligned priorities, but on very soft terms. For instance, at the Havana Summit President Jayewardene briefing on his own speech at one stage said that 'I have placed before you *some thoughts* on how best *our priorities could be re-shaped*.....'⁶⁸ Further he said that 'we as a nation..followed the principles of anti-imperialism, anti-colonialism and anti-racism..' In short, Jayewardene speech at Havana, in contrast to Mrs. Bandaranaike's speeches at previous summits gives the impression that, though they both continued the commitments to the non-aligned principles, they differed in many respects, particularly in their political approach. This difference, could be termed easily and identified as *radicalism* and *conservatism* of Sri Lanka's politics.

Jayewardene government though not highly vocal on colonial issues, held similar views with Mrs. Bandaranaike in respect of certain issues of colonialism and imperialism, on the question of Palestine, South Africa, racism and apartheid.⁶⁹

To highlight certain areas where Jayewardene differed from Mrs. Bandaranaike is relevant before the close of the discussion on Jayewardene's conservatism. A significant area, where Jayewardene professed his conservatism was the accomodation of

pro-capitalist government in the initiation of diplomatic relations. Jayewardene government, for instance, initiated diplomatic ties with South Korea and renewed the relations with Israel.

Another shining example of Jayewardene's conservatism was the accommodation of American sponsored Asia Foundation and the Peace Corps, which were formally wound up during Mrs. Bandaranaike's time. Such instances, clearly indicate that the SLFP and the UNP governments had different approaches in accomuodating the international governments. This is a place where conservatism and radicalism could be easily identified.

One important occasion where Jayewardene's conservatism found its way to the UN was the vote on the Falkland Issue. On this issue, Sri Lanka voted with Britain, in open defiance of the whole non-aligned community. It was likely that the initiatives came from the highest authorities of decision making. Whatever the economic compulsions⁷⁰ which compelled Jayewardene to vote with Britain, it certainly raised question marks of Jayewardene's credibility within the NAM.

Conclusions

In summing up, the following conclusions may be drawn for better understanding of Conservatism and Radicalism in Sri Lanka's non-aligned politics.

Firstly, both radicals and conservatives had *similar commitments to the non-aligned principles*, though they differed in their political approaches.

Secondly, both radicals and conservatives had *marked differences* in their political approaches. On the one hand radicals favoured for '*hard line*' in non-aligned politics, while the conservatives favoured for '*soft line*'. On the other hand, radicals' emphasised for '*political*' priorities, while the conservatives' for '*economic*' priorities.

Thirdly, the radicals were '*pro-socialists*'⁷¹ and the conservatives were '*pro-capitalists*'.

Fourthly, radicals brought *political prestige and credibility* for Sri Lanka's non-alignment, while the conservaties placed the *non-aligned credibility in question marks*.

Finally, it should be identified that the *external milieu of the radicalism* had close affiliation and sympathy with the socialist camp while the conservatives had affiliation and sympathy with the *Western Camp*. Moreover, the *internal milieu* of radicalism favoured for *drastic changes on revolutionary lines* while the *conservatives* more or less for 'status quo' on capitalist line. It was within the boundaries of these two extremes or under their shadow, that Sri Lanka's non-alignment began to vary from time to time.

Nowhere else could this proposition find better supporting evidence than in the inaugural address to the Ministerial Meeting of the Co-ordinating Bureau of non-aligned countries, Colombo 1979, when confirming the said proposition Jayewardene stated that,

“..non-alignment runs like a golden thread through the fabric of our country's foreign policy, though changes may take place in the quality, colour and shape of that fabric from time to time..”

References

1. The terms 'conservatism' and 'radicalism' are strictly referred to here in relation to the conservative-radical division of the NAM, particularly in the 1970s.
2. See, Kodikara S.U. *Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka—A Third World Perspective* (New Delhi, 1982).
3. see, *Election Manifesto of the United Front*, 1970 also see *HRD Vol. 90 c. 59*
4. UNP government's western dependence was very prominent particularly since the formation of 'Sri Lanka Aid Consortium 1967'.
5. Senanayake's UNP government's until 1970 have been signified as 'pro-West' and Bandaranaike's SLFP governments signified as 'pro-socialist' governments. Instead of using this terminology in the 1970, the present author prefers to call the UNP as 'conservatives and the SLFP as 'radicals', for the reasons he attempts to explain in this paper.
6. See, Willets. P, *The Non-Aligned Movement* (Frances Pinter Ltd, Lond, 1978) p. 33
7. For an excellent account on this aspect, see, Mortimer, A. Robert, *The Third World Coalition* (Praeger, 1980) pp. 29-33.
8. see, Willets. P, *op. cit.* p. 33
9. Willets P, points out that Sri Lanka was the only country to speak against the Brezhnev doctrine, where it condemned the radicals' antagonism to the west. See, Willets P. *op. cit.* P. 34 & 33.

10. *Meeting of Special government representatives of non-aligned countries* (Maduna Rodna Politika, Belgrade, 1970) p. 127
11. See, Willets P. *op. cit.* pp. 33-34
12. See, the international commentary by 'Ernest Corea in *Ceylon Daily News* 18th April 1970
13. see, *Ceylon Daily News* on 23, 24 and 25 March 1970
14. *Ceylon Daily News* 24th March 1970
15. *Ceylon Daily News* 24th March 1970
16. Willets P. *op. cit.* p. 33
17. Senanayake's UNP government was dissolved on the 25th March 1970.
18. *Ceylon Daily News* 1 March 1970
19. General Election was held on 20th May 1970
20. see, *Ceylon Daily News* 6th May 1970
21. On the contrary Mrs. Bandaranaike (Mrs. B) support the admission of both PRG and the ex-Sihanouk government, see below. p. 10
22. Senanayake government's (UNP) in power since independence were generally identified as pro-west.
23. *Ceylon Daily News* 4th May 1970
24. On this point see, authors unpublished M.A. Thesis "*Sri Lanka's Foreign Policy and Non-Alignment 1948-1979* (University London) p. 50
25. *Debates of the House of Representatives* (HRD) Vol. 90 c. 59
26. *Ceylon Daily News* 15 July 1970
27. *Ceylon Daily News* 25 June 1970
28. *Ceylon Daily News* 26 July 1970
29. *Ceylon Daily News* 27 July 1970
30. *Ceylon Daily News* 24 Aug. 1970
31. *Ceylon Daily News* 30 July 1970
32. *Ceylon Daily News* 6 July 1970
33. *Ceylon Daily News* 8 Aug. 1970
34. see Mortimer, Robert A., *op. cit.* p. 30
35. *ibid.* p. 29
36. *Ceylon Daily News* 9 Sep. 1970
37. For the full text of speech see, *Ceylon Daily News* 10 September 1970
38. Compare with the views of the Senanayake government, particularly on Cambodia, Vietnam and the PRG.
39. see, Wilson A. J. *Politics in Sri Lanka* (1947-1973 (London 1974)
40. *Ceylon Daily News* 17 January 1971 (for the full text of speech at Singapore)
41. For the full text of Mrs. Bandaranaike's UN address see *Ceylon Daily News* 12 October 1971
42. For the various views expressed by the press see *Ceylon Daily News* 5 October 1971
43. This proposition finds supporting evidence from the statement made by Mrs. Bandaranaike at the National State Assembly on the Georgetown failure, see *NSA Debates* Vol. 2 142-47
44. see, *NSA Debates* Vol. 2 c., 142 47
45. This point is elaborated in the authors Ph.D. Thesis submitted Shortly titled '*Non-Alignment: A Case Study of Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka 1970-81.* (University of Colombo, 1988)

46. At the time of the Algiers Summit Mrs. Bandaranaike's government was under heavy economic pressure with food shortages, unemployment and development programme under the Five Year Plan. A restricted speech on colonialism one may assume, was made owing to the economic pressures from the West.
47. For the full text of speech see, *Speeches: IVth Conference of Heads of State or Government of Non-Aligned Countries, Algiers 5-9 September 1973*
48. See, *The Basic Documents of the Non-Aligned 1961-75* (Colombo)
49. Notably, the 'host status' of the NAM always passed over to the radical states. For instance, Zambia, Algiers, Sri Lanka, Cuba, Iraq (India)
50. See, *Speeches: Vth Conference of Head of States of Governments of Non-Aligned Countries, Colombo August 1976.*
51. For the Colombo Declarations see, *Fifth Conference of Heads of State of government of Non-Aligned Countries, Colombo 1976*
52. *Ibid.*
53. This point has been dealt with the authors Ph.D. Thesis (referred above p. 14)
54. See the debates on foreign policy, *Debates of the National State Assembly. (NSA Debates) Vol. 25 (i) c. 415-26*
55. *Ceylon Daily News 27 April 1973*
56. *NSA Debates Vol. 23 c. III, 12.*
57. *Ibid.*
58. *NSA Debates Vol. 25 (1) c. 558-418*
59. Prime Minister held this responsibility by virtue of constitutional rights vested under the Soulbury Constitution and the Constitution of the Socialist Democratic Republic of Sri Lanka.
60. see, the argument of a parliamentarian on this aspect, in *NSA Debates Vol. 25 (1) c. 358-59*
61. This was the idea expressed by Mr. Senanayake—the founder member and the first Prime Minister of the UNP—elsewhere in the parliamentary debates. See, the authors M.A. Thesis op. cit. chap 1.
62. *NSA Debates Vol. 25 (1) c. 417*
63. *Ibid, c. 422, Emphasis added*
64. see, *NSA Debates 25 (1) c. 421-22*
65. see, *NSA Debates Vol. 24 c. 283-387 & c. 1414-15*
66. For general reading see, Wijesinghe M.E. *Sri Lanka's Development Thrust* (Colombo 1981) pp. 49-74
67. see, Kodikara, S. U. *Foreign Policy of Sri Lanka—A Third World Perspective* (New Delhi, 1982)
68. Jayewardene, *Tolerance, Non-Aggression and Mutual Respect (A text of Speeches by His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene, President of Sri Lanka.* (The Department of Information, Sri Lanka, 1979 p. 22 *Emphasis added*
69. *NSA Debates Vol. 23 c. III-2*
70. Sri Lanka at the time of the Falkland vote, was expecting huge amount of aid for the completion of Victoria Project.
71. Whatever the government in power, the opposition used to make allegations for having pro-capitalist or pro-socialist links. This is well evident from the parliamentary debate on foreign policy.

FALSA ET DUBIA :
ON SOME ALLEGED REFERENCES TO SRI LANKA
IN GREEK AND LATIN TEXTS

By

D. P. M. WEERAKKODY,

The primary sources for the study of Greek and Roman knowledge concerning Sri Lanka consist of notices on Taprobane. From Ptolemy we learn that this island was also known as Palaisimoundou and Salike¹. Cosmas' equation of Taprobane with Sielediba² and the fact that in all the more important notices the island is placed near southern India, leave no doubt that the Taprobane of the Graeco-Roman writers was none other than the island now called Sri Lanka. However, it has sometimes been maintained by modern writers that the island was known to Graeco-Roman authors under other names also. The following is an attempt to demonstrate that in the absence of ancient authorities for the equation of these names with Taprobane, such descriptions cannot properly be applied to Sri Lanka.

It has sometimes been too readily accepted that when ancient authors speak of an island in the east they invariably mean Sri Lanka. Similarly, places inhabited by Indians or affording utopian living conditions are also automatically referred to it. Now, it is quite obvious that Sri Lanka was not the only island in the east familiar to the Greeks and Romans. Furthermore, the term "India" acquired confused connotations among the minor writers of late antiquity, and was often used to designate Ethiopia and other places east of Egypt. Again, although it is true that classical accounts of Taprobane do sometimes reflect utopian thinking, such idealization was not confined to accounts of the island; one need only read the descriptions of various other places given by the Alexander Historians to realize the utopian tendencies influencing them.

The identification of Taprobane with Tambapanni (an ancient Pali name for Sri Lanka, of which the Sanskrit form is Tamraparni) is not based purely on the similarity of sound. My own studies

have shown that the best Graeco-Roman accounts correspond in many details to what is known from indigenous sources. But in reading these alleged notices one cannot help noticing the lack of correspondence to fact. When verisimilitude is attributed to them it is usually due to misinterpretations of the text in question.

These alleged notices can be broadly classified into three groups: (1) fictitious accounts of imaginary travels and adventures; (2) notices concerning the production and trade of silk; (3) references to ethnic or place names in which one can recognize the stem “*div-*” which in many Indian languages signifies “island”.

Of ancient travel stories which in modern times have been associated with Sri Lanka the earliest is the account of the visit of Iambulos to an island whose name, one may infer, was “the Island of the Sun”. Iambulos’s own account, perhaps in an abridged form, is preserved by Diodorus Siculus³, who inserts it between his descriptions of Arabia and Ethiopia, not realizing the fictitious character of the narrative, but taking the account of the island and its discovery as matters of historical and geographical fact. But even in ancient times there were those who refused to take this narrative seriously. The second century writer, Lucian of Samosata, in a satirical work called *The True History*⁴, mentions him together with Ctesias as having written accounts of eastern lands without a single basis in fact. “Iambulos also wrote much that was strange about the countries in the great sea: though the falsity of his fictions is patent to everybody, still the design of the composition is not unpleasing”. After these remarks of Lucian, one is surprised to find certain modern writers accepting this narrative for fact, let alone applying it to Sri Lanka.

According to Diodorus, the learned merchant Iambulos, on his way to the Arabian spice country, was kidnapped with a companion and ultimately fell into the hands of an Ethiopian tribe, who used them as scapegoats for the purification of their land. They put them in a well-provisioned boat and told them to sail south, when they would come to a happy land and kindly people, among whom they would have a blessed life. They sailed over a great expanse of sea, encountering many storms, and in four months came to the island of which they had been told. It was circular in shape and had a circumference of 5,000 stades. Then follows the description of the island and its inhabitants, but halfway through this the author

begins to speak of seven islands, which are identical to one another. After seven years, Iambulos and his friend were expelled as corrupt villains, and after another four months' voyage arrived in India, where the companion lost his life. Iambulos was received by the learned phil-Hellenic king of Palimbothra, who sent him to Greece through Persia. Diodorus adds that Iambulos wrote many things about India not known to previous writers. He does not tell us what nationality he was, but his name has been recognized as Syrian⁵.

Many writers of the last century were inclined to consider the narrative as historical. Their problem was to identify the island. Pridham had no doubt whatsoever that Iambulos had visited Sri Lanka⁶. "Of all the later Greek writers" he says, "Diodorus Siculus had the most certain and correct information of its position and extent, His description of the inhabitants, of their manners institutions, of the products of the country, etc., though blended with much of the marvelous, and even fabulous, is given with a breadth of detail and general fidelity, to which none of his successors have in any respect an equal claim." Previous to this, Ramusio and Wilford had argued for Sumatra, and Lassen for Bali island. Tennent thought that there are no justifiable grounds for identifying it with Sri Lanka, pointing out that Diodorus refers to the island as having been discovered recently, whereas Sri Lanka had been known to the Greeks three hundred years earlier⁷. "In the pretended account of this island given by Iambulos I cannot discover a single attribute sufficient to identify it with Ceylon. On the contrary, the traits which he narrates of the country and its inhabitants, when they are not manifest inventions are obviously borrowed from the descriptions of the continent of India, given by Ctesias and Megasthenes." However, Tennent does not hesitate to make use of Iambulos's account in connection with Sri Lanka, when it suits him to do so. Thus, in a footnote to vol II. p. 106, he says: "Their slender limbs and the absence of beards among the Sinhalese is noticed in the history of Iambulos as recorded by Diodorus." The attitude of Horatio Suckling is equally ambiguous⁸; "the details of the voyage are quite fabulous, but the description of Ceylon is not inaccurate; among other things he mentions the custom of polyandry." This last observation is probably the result of a misinterpretation of Iambulos's remarks concerning the absence of marriage and the community of children.

Modern writers are generally in agreement with regard to the fabulous nature of the narrative; but one can still see a certain reluctance to cast it off altogether, and more than one writer has suggested the possibility that somewhere at the back of it is an account of Sri Lanka. Farrington, who is otherwise convinced of the utopian nature of this account, nevertheless admits that certain details afford some excuse to Diodorus for supposing it to be historical⁹. "There is, for instance, the practice of writing vertically from top to bottom, and the plant that yields a bright soft down from which clothes are made. These suggest the east; and it is quite possible that these particulars may indicate actual acquaintance on the part of some traveller with the island of Ceylon. But this will not suffice to rescue Diodorus from the reproach of excessive credulity." C. H. Oldfather, in the Loeb translation of Diodorus¹⁰, says: "Perhaps Ceylon, if the unknown writer of the following account of a fabulous people and a political utopia localized it in any known spot." Warmington is also inclined to recognize some facts in the story¹¹. "The story is full of fable, but the one fact seems to be that the man was drifted to Indian regions by a monsoon wind."

A more positive attitude is adopted by Schwarz, who would like to identify the island with Sri Lanka¹². His reasons are the following: (1) the island was known to Onesicritus and Megasthenes, from whose accounts Iambulos could have borrowed; (2) by the end of the second century B.C., under Ptolemaic patronage, the practice of going to India by sea for commercial purposes had begun; (3) the route described by Iambulos is the route of the first navigators of the Indian Ocean, and Iambulos shows "quite a good knowledge of India and its geographical situation"; (4) the mention of a learned phil-Hellenic king at Palimbothra is consistent with the second century B.C. dating inferred from the knowledge of the sea route to India, since the Maurya dynasty continued into the first quarter of that century. Schwarz is therefore inclined to acknowledge the historicity of the account and to identify the island with Sri Lanka.

The arguments are not conclusive. The narrative, as we have it, does not display an accurate knowledge of the sea route or the geography of India. The island is placed at a four months' distance both from Ethiopia and India. As for Palimbothra, its inland location could have been borrowed from a previous account of that city

We must also remember that the object of the voyage was not commercial. It was a forced journey, and nothing is said about the route except that the two men sailed to the south, which in any case could not have brought them to Sri Lanka. It is true that there are a few features which remind one of some of the more idealized statements in Pliny's account of Taprobane, (e.g. the abundance of fruit, tall healthy natives who enjoy extremely long lives, the rule of the oldest man, the invisibility of the Bear and other stars, simple non-indulgent living, the catching of fish), but the narrative of Iambulos was composed centuries before Pliny's account and many of these details could have been borrowed from the Alexander Historians or other early writers on India, without necessarily going back to accounts of Taprobane. These writers however did not speak of Taprobane when they mentioned these details; they were concerned with other regions in the east. The more possible exception is the 5,000 stade circumference attributed to the island; this same figure was given by Onesicritus as the size (*megethos*) of Taprobane¹³. Apart from that, there is nothing to suggest that Iambulos borrowed from Onesicritus's account of Taprobane, or indeed from any other account of the island. For the antecedents one should rather look to descriptions such as that of the land of Musicanus in which, according to Onesicritus, the inhabitants are long lived, living even up to 130 years and lead a simple mode of life in spite of abundant resources¹⁴. Onesicritus also noted the reappearance of the Great Bear in Carmania¹⁵, and Nearchus had observed the total or partial disappearance of certain constellations in the east¹⁶; in particular he nounced the disappearance of the Great and Little Bears¹⁷. We must not forget that Diodorus introduces Iambulos as one who had devoted himself to learning. Evidently he had read the narratives of the east by previous writers and utilized them in order to provide a convincing setting for his tale. To quote the observation of T. S. Brown: "As his purpose was to amuse, or sometimes to elevate his readers, rather than to inform them, he was perfectly free to borrow details from any number of writers, and to fit them into his own plan"¹⁸.

Moreover, the utopian tendencies in the narrative are obvious. The people are divided into tribes, each ruled by the eldest man, who had to die at a given age. Children were held in common, and slavery was unknown. Each member of each tribe served every office in turn. All needs were supplied by the earth, sometimes without human labour. The people lived in unity and concord. There was no distinction between rich and poor.

Modern writers are on the whole agreed with regard to the utopian character of this narrative. Their disagreements are mainly concerned with the philosophical influences behind it, (i.e. whether it is a Stoic utopia or a Cynic one), and whether it had any impact on the Pergamene revolt led by Aristonicus¹⁹. These problems however do not concern us at present. What we must decide is whether the account applies to Sri Lanka or not. Now, it is quite obvious that we are dealing with a work of fiction. Although the erotic element is not present, the narrative has certain features common to Hellenistic romances, e.g. kidnapping of a merchant party, working as herdsmen, scapegoats, etc. There is perhaps also a certain satirical element in the reproduction of political ideas. Witness the testing of children by flying them on a bird, possibly a skit on Plato's eugenics²⁰. As such, and possessing no basis in fact, it should be firmly rejected as not constituting a notice of ancient Sri Lanka.

The other travel account is much easier to dispose of, in as much as it is now almost universally regarded as a forgery, viz. the *Phoenician History* of Sanchoniathon. Philo of Byblos is said to have produced an alleged translation of this work into Greek. This we learn from Porphyry²¹ and from such late writers as Theodoret²² and Suidas. The latter describes Sanchoniathon as a Syrian philosopher who lived at the time of the Trojan war. The Greek translation of Philo, which was in eight or nine books, is lost; but extracts are preserved, chiefly by Eusebius²³, but also by Johannes Lydus²⁴. The nature of its contents and the fact that it is not mentioned by such early Asiatic writers as Josephus and Philo Judaeus have led many scholars to doubt the genuineness of Sanchoniathon's work, and to believe that the Greek version is a forgery on the part of Philo himself, intended to further his euhemeristic theories. It has even been pointed out that the name Sanchoniathon, which Philo chose for the author of his alleged original, was not a personal name at all, but represented the Sacred Books of the Phoenicians, *San-cho-niath*, i.e. "the entire law of Chon". But whether regarded as person or thing, some modern scholars are still inclined to accept the historicity of Sanchoniathon in view of the resemblances between his fragments and the contents of cuneiform documents recently discovered at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit²⁵. It should however, be pointed out that the correspondences could result from Philo's own familiarity with ancient Phoenician religion and mythology.

What concerns us however is a curious manuscript, the discovery of which was announced in 1835 by F. Wagenfeld, who published it with a Latin translation at Bremen in 1837. It was claimed to be the entire text of Philo's Greek translation of Sanchoniathon. A protracted dispute followed, in which some scholars argued that it was the genuine work of Philo, while others rejected it, going to the extent of accusing Wagenfeld of willful deceit. The circumstances are narrated at some length by Tennent, who also provides an English translation of the extract with which we are concerned²⁶. Tennent thinks that the document in question is probably "one of those inventions of the middle ages in which history and geography were strangely confounded with imagination and romance".

In books vii and viii there appears the account of an "Island of Rakhios" in the eastern sea, explored by Syrian navigators who went thither in ten ships under the leadership of three commanders. Their visit is dated to a time shortly after the conquest of Citium in Cyprus by the Phoenicians, when Hiram reigned at Tyre and Solomon at Jerusalem. Rakhios is the name of the chief ruler of the island, whose capital Rokhapatta is situated in the hill regions at the centre of the island. Two explanations for this name may be suggested. One is that the island of Rakhios is a translation of the Sanskrit Raksasa-dvipa (the island of giants) which was one of the names applied to Sri Lanka in ancient Sanskrit texts such as the *Lalita-vistara*²⁷. In that case, the king's name Rakhios may represent Rakkha (Skt. Raksa) a name of some renown in ancient Sri Lanka. It was the name of one of Parakramabahu's generals in the 12th century²⁸, and Rokhapatta, the name of the capital, may be a transcription of some such term as Rakkha-pabbata, i.e. the hill of the Rakkha. The second, and far more likely explanation, is that Rakhios is borrowed from Rachia, which, according to Pliny, was the name of the chief ambassador from Taprobane. As Philo was a younger contemporary of Pliny, the allusion would have afforded the fabricator a chance to give his narrative a touch of credibility.

Whatever may be the origin of the name, it is obvious that the description of the "island of Rakhios" is intended for Sri Lanka. Some of the resemblances are remarkable. It must however be pointed out that if the island described were actually Sri Lanka, it is the Sri Lanka, not of the time of Sanchoniathon nor even of Philo, but the Sri Lanka of late medieval or early modern times.

In the familiar manner of travel accounts, the author narrates how the visitors on landing were received by the inhabitants and their local governor, who, having entertained them for a week, conducted them with great honour to the capital in the interior, where they were presented to king Rakhios. Presents were exchanged; "to the Syrians who brought horses and purple robes and seats of cedar, the king gave in return pearls, gold, two thousand elephant's teeth, and much unequalled cinnamon; and he entertained them as guests for thirty days". Elephants are mentioned elsewhere, including a few white ones, who were recognized as superior by the rest. Only Rakhios had the privilege of riding on a white elephant.

The island is surrounded by the sea except in the north-west, where there is an isthmus providing passage to the opposite coast. It was constructed by Baaut and her footprint is still to be seen in the mountain. This is clearly an allusion to the legends, probably Gnostic or Muslim (unless one wished to derive Baaut from Buddha in spite of the difference in gender), concerning the sanctity of Adam's Peak. The king is said to trace his descent from Baaut.

The size of the island is given as six days journey in breadth and twelve days' journey in length. It is populous and delightful; its natural products are magnificent. The sea furnishes fish of the finest flavour and greatest abundance to the inhabitants of the coast. Wild beasts, of which elephants are largest of all²⁹, are numerous in the mountains. "They find stones containing gold in the rivers, and pearls on the seashore". There is also the most fragrant plant of Cassia. All this could have been borrowed from classical accounts of Taprobane, the one exception being Cassia or cinnamon, with which Graeco-Roman writers never associated the island itself. Even the two paraphrases of the *Periegesis* of Dionysius associated it only with the surrounding islands, and Sinhala literature, to my knowledge, does not mention cinnamon until a comparatively late date.

If the accounts of Adam's Bridge and Adam's Peak are based on Muslim legends, then the narrative cannot be earlier than the penetration of Arab influence in the island. The mention of cinnamon also calls for late dating. One gathers the same impression from the author's description of the political and economic conditions on the island.

“Four kings govern the island, all subordinate to the paramount sovereign, to whom they pay as tribute cassia, ivory, gems, and pearls; for the king has gold in the greatest abundance. The first of these kings reigns in the south, where there are herds of elephants, of which great numbers are captured of surprising size. In this region the shore is inhospitable and destitute of inhabitants, but the city, in which the governor resides, lies inland, and is said to be large and flourishing. The second king governs the western regions, which produce cinnamon, and it was there the Syrian ships cast anchor. The third rules the region towards the north, which produces pearls. He has made a great rampart on the isthmus to control the passage of barbarians from the opposite coast; for they used to make incursions in great numbers, and destroyed all the houses, temples, and plantations they could reach, and slew such men as were near, or could not flee to the mountains. The fourth king governs the region to the east, producing the richest gems in surprising profusion; the ruby, the sapphire, and diamond. All these, being the brothers of the great king in Rokhapatta, are appointed to rule over these places, and he who is the eldest of the brothers has the supreme power, and is called the chief and mighty ruler.”

It is obvious that the emphasis here is on the so-called cash economy. There is no mention of food-crops; and the conditions described seem to date from after A.D. 1215 when, following the Kalinga invasion under Magha, the Sinhala people abandoned the dry zone and migrated into the interior where they concentrated on producing merchandise for commerce. In fact the barbarian incursions are described in very much the same terms as those used by indigenous chronicles for the invasion of Magha, or even those of the Colas before him, in the 11th century. If the economic scene described belongs to a date after A.D. 1215, it would harmonize well with the emphasis given to cinnamon, and to the sanctity of Adam's Bridge and Adam's Peak since both these factors gained in importance in the subsequent centuries. In these centuries too, the island was more often than not divided into several kingdoms; although the neat division into five may well be the author's own invention.

The last time Sri Lanka was under a single ruler was in the reign of Parakramabahu VI, in the first part of the 15th century. Thereafter Jaffna became independent, and the rest of the island was divided among various members of the royal family. With the spread of European influence in the maritime regions, the Sinhala people began to look more and more towards the hill-capital of Kandy as the last stronghold of native power. The Portuguese historians of the time left detailed accounts concerning the island, and it is possible that the fabricator was aware of these accounts as well as those of the classical writers. Perhaps it may not be totally irrelevant to notice that the MS. was alleged to have been discovered in a Portuguese convent. Thus, even if Wagenfeld was not guilty of willful deception, he may well have been the victim of such an act. We may also observe in passing how the author has attempted to put some local colour into his narrative by referring to details such as the rutting season of elephants and the practice of riding in palanquins.

Although the description may have been intended to apply to Sri Lanka, it cannot be included among Graeco-Roman notices of the island since it is undoubtedly a late forgery. The picture it creates is not one of Graeco-Roman times. Of course, these conclusions apply only to the account of the island of Rakhios; no account has been taken of the rest of the work, which, in any case, has by now ceased to attract the attention of savants.

Even the best classical notices of Taprobane, though accurate in many respects often present problems of correlation to local documents. This is only natural in view of the many difficulties in the process of transmission. But in the case of Sanchoniathon, the perfect correspondence in many matters of geography, economics and politics is too good to be true, and can only be the result of a comparatively modern intellectual exercise.

II

The second class of alleged notices consists of references to a certain island associated with the production of silk. Winstedt and Herrmann are responsible for identifying this island with Sri Lanka. But it must be pointed out at once that Sri Lanka was never associated with the production of silk, since the industry

(though not the product) was repulsive to Buddhists. The notices come from Pausanias and Procopius, but in neither case is there even sufficient geographical justification to identify the island with Taprobane.

Pausanias mentions a well known island of silk (Seria) in a bay of the Red Sea³⁰. He has heard that it is created, not by the sea, but by the Silk River, just as the Egyptian Delta is created by the Nile. These silk people, he says, and the people of the neighbouring islands of Abasa and Sakalia belong to the Ethiopian race, though some people claim they are not Ethiopians but Scythians mixed up with Indians. Now, there is nothing here to suggest Sri Lanka. It is true that the "Red Sea" in ancient times included the Persian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, and Peter Levi mentions the possibility of the Silk River being the Indus, since in Pausanias' time the Scythians had penetrated to the Indus region³⁰. but the mention of a bay, and the neighbouring islands of Abasa³² and Sakala (abode of the Sakas?) should be sufficient indication that Sri Lanka is not in question. Pausanias is probably thinking of some location in the modern Red Sea area, where it was usual to find populations of mixed origin, as one gathers from the *Periplus's* account of Dioscorides of Socotra. In any case, the Greeks and Romans were extremely vague in their notions regarding the location of the silk island; and one cannot read into them definite ideas which are only the result of modern conjectures.

The other notice is the famous one in Procopius concerning the smuggling of the silk worm into the Byzantine empire by certain monks³³. These monks are said to have come from the Indians. They said that they had lived for a long time in a country where there were many nations of the Indians, and which goes by the name of Serinda. They are also said to have gone back to India and brought a supply of eggs to Byzantium. According to Theophanes of Byzantium, however, it was a Persian who brought the eggs concealed in a walking stick, when he came away from the country of the Seres³⁴. Again there is no reason to take this country to be the same as Taprobane. Serinda is probably a combination of the Seres and the Indoi (much like the more recent "Indo-China") denoting the homeland of the silk industry. As I have already pointed out, as a Buddhist country Sri Lanka could not have favoured sericulture and it is very unlikely that Sinhala monks would have undertaken a

task which would have been repulsive to them. We are left with the conclusion that these were Christian monks, and although they may well have penetrated into India, there is no evidence for their existence in Sri Lanka.

While on the subject of Procopius, it may be convenient to deal with the common error of those who believe that we have his testimony to the effect that by the first half of the sixth century Persian traders had established themselves in Sri Lanka, where they monopolized the far-eastern trade passing through the island. The passage in question relates how Justinian's attempts to consolidate the support of the Ethiopians and the Homerites in the war against Persia were frustrated³⁵. His proposal to the Ethiopians was that they should purchase silk from India and sell it among the Romans, thus themselves gaining much more as well as saving the Romans from having to pay their enemies. But the Ethiopians could not meet this demand because it was impossible for them to buy silk from the Indians, "for the Persian merchants always locate themselves at the very harbours where the Indian ships first put in, since they inhabit the adjoining country ((h)ate *oikountes ten (h)omoron choran*), and are accustomed to buy the entire cargo." The "adjoining country" is taken to mean Sri Lanka, presumably on the understanding that the "harbours where the Indian ships first put in" were in India. But as Procopius is describing events that took place in the Arabian area, it must be understood that these harbours were in the country adjoining Persia itself, i.e. the Hadramaut. But even if the "adjoining country" were the land adjoining India, reference to the usage of the time shows that even in this case Persia itself rather than Sri Lanka would be meant, since Cosmas tells us that the Indus forms a boundary between Persia and India³⁶, a supposition also borne out by Philostorgius (see below).

On the other hand, we know from the *Periplus* that even as early as the first century A.D., Indian ships used to visit the African coast³⁷. In the fourth century, the *De Gemmis* of Epiphanius mentions Indian ships putting in at a place near Berenice³⁸, and Palladius in the fifth century mentions Indians who crossed the Indian ocean for the sake of commerce. Hence, what Procopius meant was clearly that the Persians intercepted the Indian ships which made their way to the Arabian and African coasts. In the absence of any specific reference to Taprobane in Procopius, one

should not assume, relying merely on conjecture, that the island had anything to do with the event narrated by him, even though the presence of Persians in Taprobane itself at the time is established from other reliable evidence.

III

The third group of alleged notices is the result of linguistic fallacies. Just because certain place names include the root "*div-*" it has been thought that they refer to Sri Lanka, although the word may equally apply to any other island. This misapplication has been furthered by the attribution of Serinda and Seria to Sri Lanka, as mentioned above. The Arabs in the middle ages called Sri Lanka Serendib. It has therefore been thought that the Serendivi or Sirindibanoi of Roman writers also refer to the same island.

The identification of the Serendivi in Ammianus Marcellinus with the people of Sri Lanka is an error of much consequence³⁹, since on it is based the widespread belief that Sri Lanka sent an embassy to the Roman emperor Julian in A.D. 362 during his eastern campaign. The passage in question is as follows:

"Deputations hastened to him more speedily than usual: on one side, the peoples beyond the Tigris and the Armenians begged for peace. On another, the Indian nations as far as the Divi and the Serendivi vied with one another in sending their leading men with gifts ahead of time; on the south, the Moors offered their gifts services to the Roman state; from the north and the desert regions through which the Phasis flows to the sea, came embassies from the Bosporani and other hitherto unknown peoples"⁴⁰.

The Divi and the Serendivi here mentioned among the Indian races have been identified with the inhabitants of the Maldives and Sri Lanka respectively. But since the general purport of this passage is that delegates arrived from the four directions, the "Indian nations" would cover all the races east of Egypt, thus illustrating once again the tendency in the fourth century to use the term "Indian" as a blanket description. Moreover, in other Roman works

of the period the island is always known by its regular classical name Taprobane. The *divi* and *Serendivi*, on the contrary are new names for tribes regarding whose location the Romans had only the vaguest ideas.

This last point will be clear if we compare what Ammianus says with the notice of the *Dibeni* and the *Sirindibeni* which occur in a letter written by Epiphanius, Bishop of Cyprus (A.D. 370) to Diodorus Bishop of Tyre, concerning the twelve gems that were on the robes of Aaron. The letter has been preserved in Greek, Latin and Coptic, but only the Latin version is preserved in a more or less complete form. In it the *Dibeni* and the *Serendibeni* are mentioned among the nine tribes into which the "Indians" were formerly divided. But the author tells us that in his time there were more than that number because they had further divided among themselves, the *Dibeni* separating from the Fish-eaters, and the *Sirindibeni* from the *Evilaei*⁴¹. The passage is missing from the Greek version⁴². The Coptic version says that the *Dibeni* are separated from the Fish-eaters, the *Sirindibeni* from the Hole-dwellers (*Troglodytes*), and the *Lentibeni* from the *Eueilaioi*⁴³.

Early Christian writers identified the *Euilath* of scripture with India, and this may have been a confirming factor in the eyes of those who wish to identify the *Dibeni* with the Maldives and *Sirindibeni* with Sri Lanka. However, Winstedt himself mentions the possibility of comparing the *Dibeni* with the *Debai* or *Debedai*, an Arab tribe mentioned by Diodorus.⁴⁴ and *Eueilaioi* with the *Aualitai* near *Bab-el-Mandeb* or the *Euaila* of Ptolemy in the south of Yemen.⁴⁵ Moreover Schoff⁴⁶, following Holdich⁴⁷, observes that the island of *Haptalu* off the Makran coast, the *Astola* of Ptolemy, and a centre of sun worship, was locally known as *Serandib*. He thinks that although the Saracens gave this name to Sri Lanka it seems to be related to the island of *Sera*, *Serapis*, or *Masira*, off the Arabian coast. Hence there is the possibility that the *Divi* and the *Serendivi* should belong to the Arabian rather than Indian regions, and therefore the identification of the *Serendivi* with Sri Lanka is not at all satisfactory.

That both the *Dibeni* and the *Sirindibeni* should be placed near Arabia is confirmed by the fact that of the nine original tribes of "Indians" mentioned by Epiphanius, the first seven belong to the

Red Sea area. The seventh of these are the Sabenoi, identified with the Sabaeans, so that the Dibenoi and the Sirindibenoi who follow them should be in their neighbourhood. A wide leap from southern Arabia to the Maldives and Sri Lanka would not make sense, and would not warrant the association with the Fish-eaters and Hole-dwellers, who in any case were in earlier times located on the African coast. One possible explanation is that Serendib was originally an island in the Arabian Sea, and that the Arabs, when they discovered Sri Lanka and heard its Indian name Simhala-Dvipa, transferred to it the name familiar to them which would have approximated in sound. If so, what we have in Ammianus and Epiphanius are the traces of an original Serendib, which is not identical with Taprobane.

It then follows that we cannot endorse the identification of Sri Lanka either with the Diva Gens of the *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium*⁴⁸ or with the Dibenoi of Philostorgius⁴⁹. The *Expositio* and its derivative, the *Descriptio* (both of which enumerate countries of the world in an east-west direction) place this nation between Choneum (or Ioneum), the land of the Huns, and India Major. It is said to be ruled by elders, as are some of the preceding countries, and its extent is given as 210 days march. Rouge is prepared to grant that, despite the possible comparison of Diva with Sielediba, the name might represent collectively the dwellers of the east Indian islands, although he thinks that there is some case for Sri Lanka in that the route described is the one by sea to Axum. Pigulevskaja is equally uncertain, although prepared to admit the comparison with Sielediba⁵⁰.

This comparison, however, is misleading and how misleading can be demonstrated if we examine the reference to the Dibenoi in Philostorgius. According to him, Dibou was the homeland of the "Indian" Theophilus whom his fellow natives sent as a hostage to Rome, and who, afterwards, was sent by the Romans as a missionary to Arabia, India, and Axum. Since Philostorgius mentions Taprobane by name elsewhere⁵¹, if Theophilus came from that land, one would expect him to say so. As he does not identify the two nations, it is clear that they remained distinct in his mind. Laistner thought that Theophilus was a native of Diu island off the Gujarat peninsula to the west of the Gulf of Cambay⁵². It is however more probable that Socotra (Dioscorides) is meant⁵³. Dihle is of the opinion that the India visited by Theophilus was the land we asso-

ciate with that name, which was believed to have been evangelized by St. Thomas. He thinks that Theophilus's reforms in that land, were necessitated by the fact that the church of India had lost touch with the rest of Christendom during the third century, when direct trade with Egypt by sea had declined. But the account of the Indian mission is inserted between the South Arabian and Axumite missions and it is very likely that the Indians in question are the inhabitants of the regions between those two countries. Moreover, neither the Indians nor the people of Sri Lanka had any historical reason at this time to send hostages to Rome, whereas it would not be out of character in the Middle East where, at this time, Rome was in conflict with Persia. Hence, Theophilus's homeland and the destination of his "Indian" mission should be sought in the neighbourhood of Arabia, and not in India proper or in Sri Lanka.

It should be clear from the foregoing that the texts discussed in this paper cannot claim to be genuine notices of Sri Lanka. It follows that their use as source material for the island's history cannot be justified. I maintain accordingly that only descriptions of Taprobane should be treated as Greek and Roman notices of Sri Lanka and utilized in the study of the island's ancient relations with those nations.

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13. Strabo xv. 1. 15.
14. Strabo xv. 1. 54.
15. Pliny ii. 183-5.
16. Arrian *Indika* xxv. 4-6.
17. Strabo ii. 1. 20.
18. T. S. Brown: *Onesicritus: A Study in Hellenistic Historiography* University of California Press (1949) pp. 72 ff.
19. Cf. Farrington: *loc. cit.*; W. W. Tarn: *Alexander the Great* II. pp. 411-14; cf. also D. R. Duddley: "Blossius of Cumae" *J.R.S.* XXI (1941) pp. 97-99.
20. There is also a certain preoccupation with the numbers four and seven, and their compounds: four months voyage to and from the island, four hundred members to each tribe, seven characters each written in four different forms, seven islands in which the visitors remain for seven years, animals with four mouths, etc. This is perhaps reminiscent of that interest in ideal numbers of earlier Greek philosophers, which the author who thought out this utopia here employs almost *ad nauseam*.
21. Porphyry: *De Abstentia* ii. 56.
22. Theodoret: *De Cur. Graec. Affect Serm.* 2.
23. Eusebius: *Praep. Evangel* i. 7-8 etc. *De Laude Constant* cap. 3.
24. Johannes Lydus: *De Mensibus* p. 116; *De Magistr.* p. 113.
25. Smith's *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* s.v. "Philo 7" and "Sanchoniathon"; *Oxford Classical Dictionary* s.v. "Philo 5" and "Sanchoniathon".
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27. G. E. Gerini: *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia. Further India, and the Malay Archipelago* Royal Asiatic Society (1909) p. 497 n. 1.
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29. Cf. Aelian *Hist. Anim* xvi. 15.
30. Pausanias vi. 20. 9.
31. Peter Levi: *Penguin Pausanias* vol ii p. 366.
32. Abaseni is an older name for the Axumites prior to their migration to Africa from Arabia in around the first century A.D. Cf. Miller: J. Innes *Spice Trade of the Roman Empire* Oxford (1969) p. 79.
33. Procopius: *Gothica* iv. 17.
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35. Procopius: *Persica* i. 20, 9-13.
36. Cosmas i. 16.
37. *Periplus Maris Erythraei* 14.
38. cf. O. Winstedt in *C.Q.* iii pp. 218 ff.
39. Ammianus Marcellinus: xxii. 7. 10.
40. Tr. Joyn C. Rolfe, Loeb edition (1936).
41. *Sed nunc multo plures sunt quippe divisi a societate quam inter se prius habuerant Dibenii ab Ichthyopagis et Sirindibenii ab Evilaeis*, Migne P.G. XLIII col 329-30.
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44. Diodorus iii. 45.
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46. W. H. Schoff: *Periplus* pp. 162-3, n. 37.
47. Holdich in *Geographical Journal* VII. p. 388.
48. *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* cap. 15 (ed. Rouge, Paris (1966)).
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50. N. Pigulewskaja: *Byzans auf den Wegen nach Indien* Berlin (1969) pp. 72 and 104.
51. Philostorgius: iii. 10.
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එල්. ඒ. ඩී. ඒ. තිස්ස කුමාර

හැඳින්වීම :

මිනිස් ශිෂ්ටාචාරයේ ආරම්භයේ සිට ම මානව වර්ගයා නොයෙක් අභිවාර විධිවලට යොමු වූ බව පෙනේ. ප්‍රාථමික සමාජවල වාසය කළ මිනිසා සිය කායික හා මානසික ආබාධ තම ශරීරයෙහි හට ගත් කිසියම් වෙනස් වීමක, නැතහොත් කිසියම් ක්‍රියාදාමයක ප්‍රතිඵල ලෙස සැලකීමට අපොහොසත් විය. එහි දී ඔවුන් යොමු වූයේ යම් ආකාරයක අදාශ්‍යමාන, අද්භූත බලවේගයක හෝ බලවේගයන්හි කිසියම් බලපෑමක් හේතු කොට ගෙන එම රෝගාබාධ ඇති වූ බව විශ්වාස කිරීමට ය. මේ හේතුවෙන් තම තමන්ට වැලඳුණ විවිධ රෝග පීඩාවන් සමනය කරමින් තම අභිමතාර්ථ සාධනයෙහි ලා ඔවුන් නොයෙක් අභිවාර කර්මවල නිරත වූ බව සිතිය හැකිය. මේ අනුව බලන විට රෝග සමන අභිවාර විධිවල ඉතිහාසය ආදිකල්පික සමාජ තෙක් දිවෙන බව කිව හැකිය.

මෙම ලිපියේ අරමුණ වන්නේ ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් ලක්දිව පැවති රෝග සමන අභිවාර විධි, සිංහල වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල සඳහන් වන ආකාරය ඇසුරෙන්, කෙටි විග්‍රහයකට ලක් කිරීමයි.

අභිවාර :

යම් නිශ්චිත වූ ඉෂ්ට හෝ අනිෂ්ට හෝ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් අපේක්ෂාවෙන් යුතුව කරනු ලබන, විද්‍යාත්මක නොවන පිළිවෙත් සමුදායක් අභිවාර ලෙස හැඳින්විය හැකිය. මේ 'පිළිවෙත්'යන්නට ම පර්යාය වශයෙන් 'ශාන්ති කර්ම', 'යන්ත්‍ර මන්ත්‍ර ගුරුකම්' යනාදි යෙදුම් ද භාවිත වෙයි.

සුප්‍රකට මානව විද්‍යාඥයකු වූ බී. මැලිනොවිස්කි වරක් පෙන්වා දුන් අන්දමට, තමන් දන්නා ක්‍රමවේදයන්ගේ භාවිතයෙන් ඉටු කර ගත නොහැකි කටයුතු ඉටු කර ගැනීම සඳහා මිනිසා දරන ප්‍රයත්නයක ප්‍රතිඵල ලෙස අභිවාර විධි ලොව ප්‍රභවය ලත් බව කියවෙයි.¹

මැලිනොවිස්කි, ට්‍රෝබියන් දූපත් ඇසුරෙන් කරන ලද මානව විද්‍යාත්මක අධ්‍යයනයන්හි දී මේ පිළිබඳ ව අවධාරණය කර ඇත. ට්‍රෝබියන් දූපත් වාසින් මසුන් මැරීම, ගොවිතැන ආදි දෛනික ක්‍රියාවලදී නොයෙක් අභිවාර භාවිත කළ ආකාරය මෙම මානව විද්‍යාඥයා පෙන්වා දී තිබේ. මේ නිසා ස්වභාව ධර්මයේ ක්‍රියාකාරිත්වයන් එය මිනිස් කටයුතු සඳහා යොදා ගත හැකි

අයුරුත් පිළිබඳ දැනුමක් ඔවුන් සතු ව පැවතුණ නමුත් ඔවුහු එම සංකල්ප පිළිබඳ සැක සංකා පහළ වන තැන්වල දී අභිචාරවල පිහිට සෙවීමට උත්සුක වූහ. ඒ නිසා එදිනෙද පවන කාර්යයන්හි දී ඔවුහු අභිචාරවල පිහිට පැතුහ. මේ අනුව බලන විට මැලිනොවිස්කි දක්වන අභිචාර විධිවල මූලික ලක්ෂණ සෑම මානව සමාජයකට ම පොදු වූ දේ ලෙස සැලකීම යුක්ති යුක්ත බව පෙනේ.

අභිචාර පොදු වශයෙන් ගෙන විග්‍රහ කර බලන විට එය “මානව පාලන යක් පිළිබඳ න්‍යායයක් මත බාහිර ලෝකය වෙත, කිසියම් ප්‍රායෝගික අරමුණක් කරා මානව ආශාවන් ඉදිරිපත් කරන, එහෙත් අපට පෙනෙන පරිදි වැරදි පූර්වායවයන් මත පදනම් වන පිළිවෙතක් සහ වාචික රීතියක්”² ලෙස හැඳින්විය හැකි බව රේමන්ඩ් පර්ත්ගේ අදහසයි. මිනිස් වර්ගයාගේ යහපත වර්ධනය කිරීම, පවතින්නා වූ අභිමතාර්ථ රැකීම අභිචාරවල පවත්නා යහපත් ගුණාංගයන් බව පර්ත් පැහැදිලි කර දක්වයි. අනික් අතට ද්වේෂය නිසා, එසේ නැතහොත් පළිගැනීම සඳහා පුද්ගලයකුගේ යහපත වනසා ලීම වැනි අරමුණු උදෙසා මෙහෙයවනු ලබන විනාශකාරී අදහස් මත අභිචාර ප්‍රඵල වශයෙන් වර්ග කළ හැකි බව ද තව දුරටත් මෙම සමාජ විද්‍යාඥයා ප්‍රකාශ කර ඇත. පර්ත් මේ දැක්වූ ප්‍රායෝගික අරමුණු පදනම් කොට ගෙන අභිචාර වර්ගීකරණයට ලක් කර ඇත. මතු සඳහන් වන එම වර්ගීකරණය අනුව ජන සමාජයක අභිචාර විධි ප්‍රචලිත වී ඇති ආකාරය පැහැදිලි වෙයි.

“අරමුණ සහ පථය සමාජ අංශය

(මුලින් ම ආර්ථිකයට කෙලින් ම සම්බන්ධ කර දක්වා ඇති අංශ මෙසේය.)

(අ) නිෂ්පාදක

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| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> * දඩයම් පිළිබඳ අභිචාර, * ගොවිතැනෙහි සශ්‍රීකත්වය * වැවීම සහ අස්වැන්න පිළි පිළිබඳ අභිචාර * වැසි ලබා ගැනීම පිළිබඳ අභිචාර * මසුන් ඇල්ලීමෙහි දී සාර්ථකත්වය ලබා ගැනීමේ අභිචාර * ඔරු සහ යාත්‍රා කිරීම පිළිබඳ පිළිබඳ අභිචාර * වෙළෙඳ වාසිය සඳහා අභිචාර * ආලය පිළිබඳ අභිචාර | <p>තමා වෙනුවෙන් පුද්ගලයන් විසින් ද අන් අය හෝ මුළු ජන සමාජය වෙනුවෙන් විශේෂඥ අභිචාරිකයන් විසින් ද සිදු කරනු ලැබේ.</p> <p>සමාජ අනුමැතිය ලැබී ඇත. එය ප්‍රයත්න සඳහා ප්‍රබෝධයකි.</p> <p>තව ද ආර්ථික කටයුතු සංවිධානය කිරීම පිළිබඳ හේතුවකි.</p> |
|--|---|

(ආ) ආරක්ෂක

- * දේපොළ ආරක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහා තහංචි ඉහත පරිදි සිදු කරනු ලැබේ.
- * ණය එකතු කිරීමට ආධාර වීම සඳහා අභිවාර සමාජ අනුමැතිය ලැබී ඇත.
- * විපත්වලින් ගැලවීමේ අභිවාර ප්‍රයත්න සඳහා ප්‍රබෝධකයක් සහ
- * රෝග සුව කිරීමේ අභිවාර සමාජ පාලන පිළිබඳ බලවේගයකි.
- * ගමන් බිමන්වල දී ආරක්ෂාව සඳහා අභිවාර

(පහත ඇති) 'ඉ' වලට ප්‍රති අභිවාර

අරමුණ සහ පටය

සමාජ අංශය

හුනියම්

ඉහත සඳහන් පරිදි සිදු කරනු ලැබේ. සමහර විට සමාජ අනුමැතිය ලැබී ඇත. සමහර විට නැත. බොහෝ විට සමාජ පාලන බලවේගයකි.

(ඉ) විනාශකාරී

- * කුණාටු ඇති කිරීම සඳහා අභිවාර මායා කර්ම
- * දේපොළ විනාශ කිරීම සඳහා අභිවාර ඇතැම් විට තැත් කරනු ලැබේ.
- * රෝග ඇති කිරීම සඳහා අභිවාර ඇත්ත වශයෙන් සිදු කෙරේ දැයි බොහෝ විට සැක සහිතය.
- * මරණය සිදු කිරීම සඳහා අභිවාර තව ද සමහර විට සිදු වනුයේ කල්පිත වය. සඳ්වාරානුකූල ව අයහපත් ලෙස වර්ග කර ඇත. අසාර්ථකත්වය, විපත සහ මරණය පිළිබඳ ස්වදේශික න්‍යායයක් සපයයි.''³

පූර්වෝක්ත වර්ග කිරීම්වලට අනුව විවිධ සමාජයන්හි අභිවාර ක්‍රියාත්මක වන ආකාරයේ විවිධත්වයක් ඇතත් මූලික වශයෙන් මෙම අභිවාර ක්‍රමවල අභිමතාර්ථ වඩාත් සාමාන්‍ය ලක්ෂණවලින් යුක්ත බව පැහැදිලි කරුණකි. ඕනෑම සමාජයක මෙබඳු අභිවාර විධි භාවිත වන අයුරු මානව විද්‍යාඥයන්ගේ අධ්‍යයනවලින් ප්‍රකට වෙයි.

අභිචාර පිළිබඳ ක්‍රියා විග්‍රහයට ලක් කිරීමෙන් මතු වී පෙනෙන විශේෂ ලක්ෂණ කීපයකි. එනම්, ඉටු කර ගත යුතු නියත අරමුණක් ඇති බව හා අභිචාර කටයුතු සම්බන්ධයෙන් ක්‍රියා කරන පුද්ගලයකු ද ඇති බවයි. අභිචාරවල පවත්නා මෙම ස්වභාවය නිසා ම එම පුද්ගලයාට ඊට යෝග්‍ය තත්ත්වයක සිටීමට ද සිදු වෙයි.⁴ ඔහුට ලිංගික ක්‍රියාවලට සම්බන්ධ වීම තහනම් විය හැකිය. ඇතැම් ආහාර ගැනීමෙන් වැළකී සිටීම ද ඔහු විසින් කළ යුතු වෙයි. ඔහු හුදකලා ව සිටිය යුතු වන්නට ද ඉඩ ඇත. අන්‍යයන්ගෙන් වෙනස් ආකාරයකට ඇඳුම් පැළඳුම් කළ යුතු වීම ද මෙහි දී අපේක්ෂිත තවත් දෙයක් විය හැකිය.

මූලික වශයෙන් පරිත් පෙන්වා දෙන පරිදි අභිචාර භාවිතයේ සාමාන්‍ය අංග තුනක් ඇත :

1. භාවිත කරන ලද දෑ
2. සිදු කරන ලද දෑ
3. කලා කරන ලද දෑ (එනම් මන්ත්‍ර කීම/කිරීම වැනි දෑ)

මෙහි දැක්වෙන පළමුවන අංගය උපකරණවලින්, නැතහොත් බෙහෙත් වලින් ද දෙවැනි ක්‍රමය වෛධික ක්‍රමයෙන් ද නියෝජනය වන අතර තුන් වැන්න ජීවම් කිරීමෙන් නියෝජනය වෙයි. එකිනෙක සඳහා රේමන්ඩ් පරිත් ප්‍රාථමික ජන සමාජ පදනම් කොට ගනිමින් කළ පර්යේෂණ ඇසුරින් නිදසුන් දක්වා ඇත.⁵

ඉහත දැක්වූ අභිචාර පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනවලින් එක් සීමිත අංගයක් වන රෝග සමන අභිචාර විධි පිළිබඳ ව පමණක් මෙහි දී අවධානය යොමු කරනු ලැබේ. එබැවින් මූලික වශයෙන් සිංහල විකිත්සක අභිචාර පිළිබඳ අධ්‍යයනයක යෙදීමේදී ඉහතින් දැක්වූ න්‍යායයන් මේ සඳහා උපයෝගී කර ගැනීමෙන් සිංහල විකිත්සක අභිචාර අධ්‍යයනය වඩාත් ඵලදායී වනු ඇතැයි සිතිය හැකිය. ඉහතින් දැක්වූ අභිචාරවලට අයත් අංගෝපාංග අතර ඉෂ්ට විපාක ලබා දෙන එක් අභිචාර අංගයක් ලෙස ලක්දිව ප්‍රචලිත රෝග සමන අභිචාර විධි හැඳින්විය හැකිය.

සිංහල වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍යය සහ අභිචාර විධි :

ලක්දිව වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමවල ඉතිහාසය කවර යුගයක ප්‍රභවය ලද්දක් ද යන්න පිළිබඳ ව ස්ථිර නිගමනයකට එළඹීමට ඇති සාධක අල්පය. කෙසේ වුව ද මිථ්‍යාමය සම්භවයකින් යුක්ත රාවණ කලා පුවත්වල ඇතුළත් වන ඔහු විසින් රචනා වී යැයි සැලකෙන වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථ පිළිබඳ ව කිව හැක්කේ වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම පිළිබඳ ව ප්‍රාග් ඓතිහාසික මිනිසා තුළ පැවති දැනීම් සම්භාරයයි. ඒ හැරුණ විට වෙනත් සාක්ෂි තුළින් ඔවුන් සතු ව පැවති වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම පිළිබඳ ව ලබා ගත හැකි දැනුම අල්පය. කෙසේ වුව ද ලක්දිව විසූ ආදිතම යුගයන්ට අයත් මානව කණ්ඩායම් රෝග සුව කිරීම සඳහා උපයෝගී කර

ගන්නා විකිත්සා හා විකිත්සක අභිචාර පිළිබඳ ව නොදැන සිටියේ යැයි සිතීම අපහසු වන්නේ ඔවුන් සතු ව පැවති දියුණු මෙවලම් මෙන් ම යාතුකර්ම වැනි පිළිවෙත් සඳහා භාවිත කරන ලද මැටි භාණ්ඩ හා යම් යම් ද්‍රව්‍ය සුණු විසුණු කිරීම සඳහා යොදා ගනු ලැබූ ගල් ආයුධවල දිස් වන ඉපැරණි තාක්ෂණික දියුණුව නිසාය. අනික් අතට ඔවුන් සතුව පැවතුණේ යයි සිතිය හැකි ඇතැම් විකිත්සක අභිචාර විධි පරම්පරාගත ව අවුත් ව්‍යවහාරය ඔස්සේ ලක්දිව වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවලට ඇතුළු වූ ආකාරයක් යෝගාර්ණවය වැනි පැරණි වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවලින් හෙළි වෙයි. මන්ද, යෝගාර්ණවය ආදී ග්‍රන්ථවල දක්නට ලැබෙන එබඳු බොහෝ අභිචාර පිළිවෙත් භාරතීය වෛද්‍ය කෘතීවල දක්නට නොලැබෙන හෙයිනි.

පැරණි යුගවල වෛද්‍ය තොරතුරු එබඳු වුවත් ආර්යාගමනයත් සමඟ ලක්දිව ඇති වූ දියුණු වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම පිළිබඳ ව අධ්‍යයන කීපයක් ම නූතන විද්වතුන්ගේ අවධානයට හසු වී ඇත. ඔවුන්ගේ එම අධ්‍යයන ලක්දිව ප්‍රචලිත ව පැවති වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම හා ඒ පිළිබඳ ව පැවති දියුණුව මැනවින් පෙන්වා දෙයි. පැරණි හා මධ්‍යකාලීන ලංකා සමාජය පිළිබඳ විවිධ තොරතුරු අළලා ග්‍රන්ථ සම්පාදනය කළ මහාචාර්ය විල්හෙල්ම් ගයිගර්⁶, මහාචාර්ය ඇම්. බී. ආරියපාල⁷, මහාචාර්ය ඒ. ඩී. සුරවීර,⁸ වෛද්‍ය සී. ජී. උරාගොඩ⁹, යන විද්වතුන් ප්‍රමුඛ වන අතර මහාචාර්ය සෙනරත් පරණවිතාන,¹⁰ මහාචාර්ය ලෙස්ලි ගුණවර්ධන¹¹ වැනි උගතුන්ගේ ශාස්ත්‍රීය ග්‍රන්ථ හා ලිපි මගින් ලක්දිව පැවති වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමයේ දියුණුව පෙන්වා දී ඇත.

ලක්දිව වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍යය පිළිබඳ ව ප්‍රාමාණික අධ්‍යයනීය නිරත වූ විද්වතුන් ලෙස ආචාර්ය වාල්ස් ගොඩකුඹුර,¹² ආචාර්ය පුඤ්චිබණ්ඩාර සන්නස්ගල,¹³ මහාචාර්ය ආනන්ද කුලසූරිය,¹⁴ ඩබ්. ඒ ද සිල්වා¹⁵ වැනි අය ද දැක්විය හැකිය.

මේ හැරුණු විට ලක්දිව විසූ ඇතැම් විදේශිකයන් ද සිංහල වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමවල දක්නට ලැබුණු ඇතැම් තාක්ෂණික දියුණුව නිසා මවිතයට පත් ව තබන ලද වාර්තා ද මෙහි ලා සැලකිය යුතු වෙයි. ඒ අතරට රොබට් නොක්ස්¹⁶ සහ ජෝන් ඩේවිගේ¹⁷ සටහන් ප්‍රමුඛත්වයක් ගනී.

නූතන සාහිත්‍ය කෘතී වශයෙන් ගෙන බලන කල්හි ඉහත දැක්වූ වියතුන්ගේ හා යටකී විදේශික උගතුන්ගේ ද කෘතීවල අන්තර්ගත වන අධ්‍යයනයන්හි දී පැරණි සිංහල වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම පිළිබඳ මූලික අවධානය යොමු වූවා මිස ඊට සම්බන්ධ වී පැවති විකිත්සක අභිචාර විධි පිළිබඳ ව ප්‍රමාණවත් අවධානයක් යොමු නොවූ බව පෙනේ. විශේෂයෙන් ම බොහෝ දුරට වංශකථා, සාහිත්‍ය මූලාශ්‍ර සහ අභිලේඛන මෙන් ම වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍යයත් පුරාවිද්‍යාත්මක සාධකත් පමණක් එකී අධ්‍යයන සඳහා උපයෝගී කර ගැනීම මෙබඳු වූ තත්වයකට මූලික වී ද යන්න සලකා බැලීම වටී. වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍යයේ අන්තර්ගත වන ඖෂධ යෝග හා ලෙඩ රෝග හඳුනාගත් ආකාරය වැනි වඩා විද්‍යාත්මක අංශවලට වැඩි අවධානයක් යොමු වීම මීට හේතු වූවා විය හැකිය.

පාළි අට්ඨකථා වැනි මූලාශ්‍රවල ලෙඩරෝග පිළිබඳව මෙන් ම වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම පිළිබඳව ද සඳහන් වුවත් ඒවා ස්වාධීන වෛද්‍ය කෘති ලෙස සැලකිය නොහේ. ලක්දිව වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථ සම්පාදනයේ ආරම්භක කෘතිය සාරාර්ථ සංග්‍රහය බව පෙනේ. මෙහි කතුවරයා බුද්ධදස රජතුමා (340-368) බව මහාවංසයෙන් හෙළි වෙයි.

“ ගමක් ගමක් පාසා වෙදහල් සහ ගිලන්හල් පිහිටුවමින් එහි සේවය සඳහා වෙදුන් නියුක්ත කළ මේ රජතුමා අනාගත වෛද්‍යවරයන්ගේ ප්‍රයෝජනය තකා සාරාර්ථසංග්‍රහ නමින් සර්ව වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථයක් ද රචනා කළේ ය.”¹⁸

වර්තමානයේ විද්‍යාමාන සාරාර්ථසංග්‍රහය මේ කෘතිය ලෙස සැලකීම විරාගත සම්ප්‍රදායානුකූල ව එන්නකි. එහෙත් මෙය බුද්ධදස රජුගේ අවධිය තරම් ඉපැරණි වුවක් සේ පිළිගැනීම බොහෝ වියතුන්ට අහිමත නොවී ය.

බුද්ධාභිවාදනයෙකින් ඇරඹෙන මෙම කෘතිය අධ්‍යාය හතලිස් අටකින් සුසැදුණකි.¹⁹ ආරම්භයේ පාළි ගාථාවක් යෙදී ඇතත් සමස්ත කෘතිය සංස්කෘත භාෂාවෙන්, ශ්ලෝක විරිතින් පබ්ලුණකි. අතරින් පතර කතු වරයා ශ්‍රෝධරා හා ශාර්දූල චික්‍රිඛිත වැනි විරිත් ද භාවිත කරයි. කතුවරයා බොහෝ විට අනුප්‍රාසයෙන් ද ප්‍රයෝජන ගනී.

පූර්වෝක්ත ලක්ෂණවලට අමතර ව දක්ෂ වෛද්‍යවරයකු විය යුතු පුද්ගලයා ලබා ගත යුතු දැනුම් සම්භාරය පිළිබඳ ව මෙයින් අවබෝධයක් ලබා දෙයි. වරක සුශ්‍රූතාදී ග්‍රන්ථවල දැක්වෙන අයුරින් මෙහි ත්‍රිදොෂ විඤ්ඤා විවරණය හෝ නිදනාදිපංචක විභාග හෝ දක්නට නොමැත. දූත ලක්ෂණ, ස්වඡ්ඡන්, අරිෂ්ට, ආරොග්‍ය, සත්ව, සාත්විකාදි විවරණ හා විවිධ රෝගයන් සඳහා ඖෂධ සංයෝග දැක්වීම සාරාර්ථ සංග්‍රහ සම්ප්‍රදායයි. මෙම සම්ප්‍රදාය සිංහලයේ ප්‍රචලිත අන්‍ය වෛද්‍ය කෘති කිහිපයක ම දිස් වේ.

කෙසේ වුවත් ග්‍රන්ථයේ සමස්තය සැලකීමේ දී විකිත්සා විධි අතරින් වඩා වැදගත් වනුයේ මෙහි එන මන්ත්‍ර කොටසයි. මේ මන්ත්‍ර කොටසත් මෙහි ඇතැම් අධ්‍යායවල දක්නට ලැබෙන විවිධ පිළිවෙත් ක්‍රමක් අභිචාර අධ්‍යයනය සඳහා වඩා වැදගත් බව කිව හැකිය.

සාරාර්ථසංග්‍රහයෙන් අනතුරුව වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍යයේ අභිවර්ධනයක් ඇති වූයේ දඹදෙණි අවධියේ දී බව පෙනේ. ඒ මයුරපාද පිරිවෙන්පති බුද්ධපුත්‍ර හිමියන්ගේ යෝගාර්ථණවය යි.²⁰ වර්තමානය තෙක් ඉතිරි ව ඇති පැරණිතම සිංහල වෛද්‍ය කෘතිය මෙය බව ප්‍රකට කරුණකි. මෙම යුගයේ ම රචනා වී ඇති තවත් වෛද්‍ය කෘතියක් ලෙස දඹදෙණියෙහි පස්පිරිවෙන්මුළු මාහිමියන්ගේ හෙසජ්ජමංජුසා හඳුන්වා දිය යුතුය.²¹ මෙයට බෙහෙවින් ම

වාග්භට සංහිතාව වැනි භාරතීය වෛද්‍ය කෘතිවල ආභාසය ලැබී ඇති බව පෙනේ. මෙම කෘතිය කෙතරම් ලක්දිව ප්‍රචලිත ව පැවතියේ ද යත් මහනුවර අවධියේ විශේෂයෙන් ම මේ කෘතියට සන්තයක් ලියැවීමෙන් ම ඒ බව ප්‍රකට වේ.

පූර්වෝක්ත කෘති අතරින් වඩා වැදගත් කෘතිය ලෙස හඳුන්වා දිය යුත්තේ යෝගාර්ණවය යි. යෝගාර්ණවය බොහෝ දුරට 'සාරාර්ථසංග්‍රහ' රචනා සම්ප්‍රදය සිංහලයෙන් ගද්‍යයට නැගීමේ ප්‍රතිඵලයක් ලෙස සැලකිය හැකිය. කෙසේ වුවත් විකිත්සක අභිවාර පිළිබඳ පර්යේෂණ කරන්නෙකුට අගනා කොටාරයක් බඳු වූ යෝගාර්ණවය එහි ඇතැම් රෝග විෂයෙහි කළ යුතු බවට නිර්දේශ කරන කෙම් ක්‍රම හා බලිබිලි පිළිවෙත් සහ යන්ත්‍ර මන්ත්‍ර ඵලකට ලක්දිව ප්‍රකට ව පැවති එකී සම්ප්‍රදයන් එක්තැන් කළ කෘතියක් ලෙස හැඳින්විය හැකිය.

මෙම හිමියන්ගේ ම කෘතියක් ලෙස සැලකෙන ප්‍රයෝගරත්නාවලියක්,²² කර්තෘ අඤ්ඤ වරයෝගසාරයන්²³ මොනරගම්මන තෙරිඳුන්ගේ යෝග රත්නාකරයන්²⁴ යෝගාර්ණව සම්ප්‍රදය ම අනුගමනය කරමින් රචනා වූ අනෙක් වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථ වෙයි. මෙකී ග්‍රන්ථ සම්ප්‍රදයේ ගැබ් ව පවත්නා ඒ ඒ රෝගයට ප්‍රතිනියත යන්ත්‍ර මන්ත්‍ර සහ කෙම් පිළිවෙත් මෙන් ම අතිකුත් අභිවාර විධි සියල්ලත් ව්‍යවහාරයේ පවත්නා වෙනත්, ග්‍රන්ථාගත නොවූ කෙම් ක්‍රමත් පශ්චාත් කාලීන ව රචනා වී ඇති සර්ප විෂ වෙදපොත²⁵ වැනි කාව්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථත් පැරණි ලක්දිව පැවති විකිත්සක අභිවාර විධි පිළිබඳ ව විමර්ශනයක් කිරීමට අගනා මූලාශ්‍ර ලෙස හැඳින්විය හැකිය.

ජ්‍යොතිෂය සහ භූත විද්‍යාව, වෛද්‍ය ශාස්ත්‍රය අතර ඇති සම්බන්ධය :

සිංහල වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමය ද බොහෝ දුරට ආයුර්වේද වෛද්‍ය සම්ප්‍රදයේ ආභාසය මත වැඩිදියුණු වීම නිසා එයට ජ්‍යොතිෂ ශාස්ත්‍රයේ පිටිපිටිම අන්වාර්ය විය. නැකැත්, තීප්, සෘතු සහ පක්ෂ වශයෙන් ද ග්‍රහයන්ගේ පිහිටීම මත ද නොයෙකුත් දෝෂ විපර්යාස වන බව පැරැන්නන්ගේ අදහස විය. ඒ නිසා ඒ ඒ නැකත් සහ ග්‍රහයන්ගේ පිහිටීම අනුව පුද්ගලයාගේ ලෙඩ රෝග හට ගන්නා අයුරුත් ඒවාට කළ යුතු ප්‍රතිකාර සහ ශාන්ති කර්ම විධිත් අන්වාර්ය යෙන් ම ඇතුළුවීම ස්වාභාවික ය. විශේෂයෙන් ම උණ රෝග විෂයෙහි ඒ ඒ නැකතට අනුව කළ යුතු බලි බිලිත් උණ රෝගයන්හි විවිධ ප්‍රභේද දැක්වීමත් සිංහල වෛද්‍ය සාහිත්‍ය සම්ප්‍රදයයි.²⁶ එපමණක් නොව සර්ප විෂ වෙදකමේ දී විෂ උග්‍ර වන වේලාවත්, සර්පයා දෂ්ට කළ අවස්ථාවත් වෛද්‍යවරයාට වැදගත් බව විෂ වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම තුළින් පැහැදිලිය. විෂ වෛද්‍යවරයාට දින, භාග, කලා, තිලිකරණ, නක්ෂත්‍ර, උදය, අස්ත, හෝරා, පූර, අව, පක්ෂමාස, සංක්‍රාන්ති, නිව, උච්ච, යනාදිය පිළිබඳ ප්‍රාමාණික අවබෝධයක් අවශ්‍ය වේ.

එපමණක් නොව ඇතැම් ඖෂධ නිෂ්පාදනයේ දී බොහෝ විට සුබ නැකැත් පිළිබඳ ව සැලකීම වර්තමානයේත් දක්නට ලැබෙන්නකි. ඖෂධ සෙවීම මෙන් ම ඒ ඒ නැකැත් යෝග අනුව කළ යුතු විවිධ උපචාර විධිත් වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල සඳහන් ව තිබීම ප්‍රකට ය.²⁷

භූත විද්‍යාව අෂ්ටාංගායුර්වේදයට සම්බන්ධ අෂ්ටාංගයන්ගෙන් එකකි. සම්භාව්‍ය ආයුර්වේද කෘතීවල මෙන් ම ලක්දිව ප්‍රචලිත වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල ද, භූතයන්ගෙන් වන නොයෙක් පීඩා නිසා උණ රෝග මෙන් ම බාල දරුවන්ට වැලඳෙන පුතනාග්‍රහදොෂ සහ උන්මාද ද අපස්මාර වැනි උන්මත්තක රෝග ද භූතයන්ගෙන් වැලඳෙන බව සඳහන් වෙයි. එම එක් එක් භූතයන්ට කළ යුතු වත් පිළිවෙත් එක් එක් අධ්‍යායවල දක්නට ලැබේ. යෝගාර්ථකවය ආදී වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථ සමුදායෙන් මේ සඳහා සාක්ෂි බහුල ව සොයා ගත හැකිය.

කෙම් ක්‍රම :

සිංහල වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමය ඇසුරු කොට ගත් අභිචාර කෙම් ක්‍රම යනුවෙන් හඳුන්වා දිය හැකිය. මෙය සංස්කෘත 'ක්ෂේම' ශබ්දය ප්‍රභවය කොට ඇත්තකි. එය ම පාළියට 'කෙම' යනුවෙන් ද සිංහලයට 'කෙම' හෝ 'කෙම්' යනුවෙන් ද තද්භව වී ඇත. සතුට, ගැලවීම, ආරක්ෂාව සහ අභිචාර යන අරුතින් ද ව්‍යවහාර වන බව ගයිගර් දක්වා ඇති අදහසයි.²⁸ රෝග සමනය උදෙසා යොදා ගනු ලබන මෙම 'කෙම් ක්‍රම' මනුෂ්‍යයන්ට පමණක් නොව කිරිසත් සතුන්ට මෙන් ම ගොවිතැන් ආරක්ෂාවට ද යොදා ගන්නා බව ව්‍යවහාරයෙන් පෙනේ.

කෙම් යන්න රෝග නිවාරණය යන අර්ථ දෙන සේ පැරණි සාහිත්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල ද යෙදී ඇත. පූජාවලිය,²⁹ සද්ධර්මරත්නාවලිය³⁰ වැනි කෘතීවල 'කෙම්' යන යෙදුම ක්ෂේමය, ආරක්ෂාව, රෝග නිවාරණාදිය සඳහා කරන ක්‍රියාව යන අරුතින් යොදා ගනු ලැබ ඇති බව පෙනේ. තව ද, මන්ත්‍ර විධියෙන් හා උපචාර කර්ම විධියෙන් කරනු ලබන ආරක්ෂාව යන අරුතින් ද 'කෙම්' යන්න ප්‍රචලිත ව ඇත. 'කෙම්', ඇතැම් විට මභූලට පර්යායක් ලෙස භාවිත වූ අවස්ථා දක්නට ඇත. පුරාණ නාමාවලියෙහි³⁰ දැක්වෙන ආකාරයට ක්‍රමය, පිළිවෙළ යන අරුත් ද 'කෙම්' යන්නෙන් හැඟෙයි. සිංහල සමාජයේ කෙම්මුර දින ලෙස සතියේ දින දෙකක්, එනම් සෙනසුරාද හා බදාද දෙදින වෙන් ව ඇත. තව ද මෙම දිනයන් 'කෙම්වර' යනුවෙන් ද හැඳින්වේ. යෝගාර්ථකවයෙහි දැක්වෙන අන්දමට දෙවියන් හා භූතයන් සඳහා කරන අභිචාර ද මෙම දින දෙක තුළ පැවැත්වීම පොදු සම්මතයට පත් ව ඇත. ඇතැම් විකිත්සක අභිචාර ද මේ දිනවල ම කළ යුතු බව වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල සඳහන් වේ.

සිංහල සමාජයේ භාවිත කෙම් ක්‍රම රාශියකි. ඒවා මූලික වශයෙන් භාවිත කරන ආකාරය අනුව විවිධ පිළිවෙත් විධි කීපයක් මත රඳා පවතින බව පෙනේ. කෙම් ක්‍රම ක්‍රියාත්මක කිරීමේ දී බොහෝ විට සමාජයේ

අත්‍යයන්ට නොදන්වා කරනු ලබන අතර රහස්‍ය භාවය රැක ගැනීමේ වගකීම අකුරට ම ඉටු කිරීම කෙමි ක්‍රම දැනුවත්ගේ සිරිතයි. කෙමි ක්‍රමයක් අනු ගමනයේ දී රෝගියා සමග වචන මගින් සන්නිවේදනයක් නො කෙරෙයි. එහෙත් විකිත්සාවක දී ම අත්‍යයන්ට එහි විධි ක්‍රමය දැන ගැනීමට සැලැස්වීම මේ පිළිබඳ ස්වභාවයයි. එම නිසා කෙමි ක්‍රම රහස්‍ය අභිචාර ලෙස සලකා එම කෙමි ක්‍රම දත් අයගේ පරම්පරා තුළ ම රැකෙමින් පවතී. අනික් අතට වාච්‍ය සන්නිවේදනයෙන් ඇරඹෙන කෙමි ක්‍රම නැත්තේ ම නොවේ.

වෛද්‍ය කෘතිවල බහුල ව දක්නට ලැබෙන පරිදි මෙරට ප්‍රකට ව දක්නට ඇති කෙමි ක්‍රම පැළෑටි ආශ්‍රිත ව කරනු ලබන පිළිවෙත් විධිය. ඇතැම් පැළෑටි ඖෂධ රෝගීන්ට පානය කිරීමට සලස්වන අතර ඒ සඳහා උපයෝගී කර ගන්නා විශේෂ පිළිවෙත් මැද ඖෂධ ලෙස කිරීම සිදු වේ. තවත් වරෙක එකී ඖෂධ රෝගියාගේ ශරීරයට ස්පර්ශ කිරීමක් ද කෙරෙන බව දක්නට ලැබේ. තවත් විටෙක එකී ඖෂධ රෝගියාට පැහීමට සැලැස් වීම, ,ශාක කඩා දැමීම, පත්‍රවලින් මැසීම වැනි පිළිවෙත් දක්නට ඇත. ඒ කෙසේ කරනු ලැබුව ද එයට කළ යුතු විශේෂිත පිළිවෙත් රාශියක් වෛද්‍ය කෘතිවල හමු වේ.

යෝගාර්ථකවයේ සඳහන් වන මේ පිළිවෙත් විධිය පවත්වනුයේ උදර රෝග විශේෂයකටය.

“ සනීද සුවි තෙනක නැහි නුපුන් හත්තන
 ගසක් පායා පඤ්චොපචාරයෙන් ආරාධනා
 කොට ගොස් උදය ගස වැද අවසර
 ඉල්වාගෙන මුයෙන් නොබැන කොළ
 ගාණක් කඩාගෙන ගොස් රෝගීහු
 මුඛයේ සකුරු සුභක් ලාගෙන
 ඉන්ද දී රෝගය කොළින් මැඩ කට
 තික්ත රස වූ කල හැර පියනු.”³²

එබඳු ම තවත් කෙමි ක්‍රමයක් තුළින් එයට ද ආවේනික පිළිවෙත් ක්‍රම කීපයක් හෙළි වේ.

“ සරක් නොකෑ මිනිසුන් නොගෑවෙන
 මෝල්සන් නො ඇසෙන තෙතින් නුපුන් සින් මැඩ
 හඟු වැලක් පායා සුදු වැලි තවරා පත්
 තුනක් බත් පිඩි තුනක් පාන්කඩ තුනක්
 ගඳුම්මල් පහන් පුද වෘක්ෂ දේවතාවාට
 ආරාධනා කොට අභහරුවාද නිරන්තරයෙන්
 ගස උදුරාගෙන ලෙඩුන් උදය
 බීමට නොබස්නා තෙක් පිලාවෙ විවරට

වැල සුම්මාඩියක් සේ හකුළුවා පිලාව
 පිට තබා ඩා සෙලවෙන තුරු මුයෙන්
 නොබැණ මැඩ වැල හැරගෙන පසු නොබලා
 ගොස් වක්කඩෙක මඩ යට ගන්වනු
 වැල කුණුවත් පිලාව ගුණ වේ. ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂයි.”³³

“ කළුවැල් පේ කොට අසවලුට ද අසවලු බඩ
 හොත් අසවලුගේ පිලාව නැතිවන්ට යයි
 කියා එක පහරින් කපනු.”³⁴

පූර්වෝක්ත කෙම් ක්‍රම කිහිපය විග්‍රහයට ලක් කර බැලීමේ දී ප්‍රධාන කරුණු කීපයක් හෙළි වේ. එනම් ඖෂධ සඳහා වෘක්ෂ පංචාංගය ගැනීමේ දී අනුගමනය කරන පිළිවෙත්ය. කෙම්මුර දිනයක්, විශේෂයෙන් ම සෙනසුරාද දිනයක් වීම, නොපිදුණු හෝ මල් නොපිපි ගසක් වීම, පස් වැදැරුම් පුද්ගලකාර පැවැත්වීම, ගසට නමස්කාර කිරීම, කිසිම වචනයක් කලා නොකිරීමට වගබලා ගැනීම, එසේ අභිචාර සඳහා උපයෝගී කර ගත් ශාක හෝ වැලි වර්ග අත්‍යයන්ට ස්පර්ශ නොවන අයුරින් වක්කඩෙක හෝ දුම වැනි තැන්වල තැබීම ද කරනු ලැබේ. එයින් අත්‍යයන්ට රෝගය බෝවෙතියි යන බියත්, එමෙන් ම වැල මඩ තිබී කුණු වීම හෝ දුමේ තිබී වියලී යාම මෙන් රෝගයන් විනාශ වන්නේය යන හැඟීම ඔවුන් තුළ පැවතීම ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් සැලකිය යුතුය.

පුරාතනයේ දරු ප්‍රසූතියත් දරුවන් ලැබීමත් ස්වභාව ධර්මයේ එක් ක්‍රියා දාමයකට වඩා වෙනත් අද්භූත බලවේගයක එලයක් යයි සැලකූහ. එහෙයින් ඒ ආශ්‍රිත ව විවිධාකාරයේ පිළිවෙත් විධි භාවිත කිරීම දක්නට ඇත. ඒ අතරට දරකලාභ අභිචාර විෂයෙහි යොදා ගන්නා ඉපැරණි ම පිළිවෙත ලෙස දක්විය හැක්කේ අංගුලිමාල පිරිනින් සෙත් කර පිරිත් පැන් පානය කරවීමයි. ඒ පිළිබඳ ව සඳහන් මන්ත්‍ර පාඨයක් ලෙස වරයොගසාරයේ එන,

“ නමො ලොචනම්මාකි පාඨරවාසිනී සමය කතා
 නාම මම එස්වා: මෙයින් අටතුරා රාසියක්
 දපා රුවන් සුත්‍රය පිරුවා පැන් දුන සුවසේ
 ප්‍රසූත කෙරේ.”³⁵

“ ඕං නමෝ අංගුලිමාලො මහාචෙරො මහා වීරො
 මහා බලො ගබ්භිණි ව විසෙසෙන ගබ්භො
 නික්කමනකුළුස්වාහා තලතෙලට නව විටක්
 දපා බඩේ පාතට ගානු වහා වදයි.”³⁶

ඖෂධ පැළෑටි ගැබ්ණි කතට ස්පර්ශ කරවීමෙන් දරු ප්‍රසූතිය පහසු කරවන කෙම් ක්‍රම කිහිපයක් පහත සඳහන් වේ.

“ සුසුම් නොලා හෙළ නිටුල් මුලක් උදුරාගෙන
 ඇඟ නොවකා දුවනු පිස දුර තබනු වහා වදන්.”³⁷

“ වල්ලා අත්තක් මුවෙන් නොබැණ කඩාගෙන
ඇහ පිස පාපිස පාමුල තබනු.”³⁸

දරු ප්‍රසූතිය පහසු කරවනු සඳහා ව්‍යවහාරයේ පවත්නා මන්ත්‍ර විධියෙන් කරනු ලබන පිළිවෙත් කිහිපයක් පහත සඳහන් වේ.

“ ඕ. නමෝ ආනන්ද නම් මහ කෙළ නාග රාජයාගේ
පන්සලේ එරන් පොකුණෙන් පිරිත් පැන්ගෙන
ලොවුතුරා බුදුන්ට වැඩුවාය.....”³⁹

යනාදියෙන් වතුර මතුරා එම වතුර ගැබ්ණියගේ ඉස මුදුනට වත් කිරීමත් බොන්ට දීමත් නිසා දරු ප්‍රසූතිය පහසු කරවන බව පෙනේ.

දරුවන් සිටින මවකගේ පියයුරු විශාල වී නම් ඒවා කුඩා කර ගැනීම සඳහා භාවිත කෙමක් ලෙස,

“ තන කුඩා කරත් පොල් බඩලක් බීම
නොබාහෙළා කඩාගෙන පොතු හෙළ
කිරිත් අඹරා බීම නොබලා තනයේ
ගානු පියයුරු කුඩා වේ.”⁴⁰

දරුවන් සිටින මවුවරුන්ට ඇති වන පියවුරු රුදුවට ‘නමෝ කින්දන්...
.....’ යන මන්ත්‍රයෙන් රෝගියාගේ නම සිහි කර තමාගේ දකුණු අතට මතුරා පියවුර තුන්වරක් පහළට අතගෑම ද, වම් පියවුරේ නම් දකුණු අතට ද දකුණු පියවුරේ නම් වම් අතට ද මැතිරීම ද කළ යුතු බව සඳහන් වෙයි.

කුඩා දරුවන්ට වැලඳෙන පුතනාග්‍රහ දෝෂ සඳහා කළ යුතු පිළිවෙත් විශේෂය වෛද්‍ය කෘතිවල සඳහන් වෙයි. එනම් බලිබිලි තබා යක්ෂ භූතයන්ට කරන පිළිවෙත් විශේෂයකි. මෙම රෝග බාලගිරි දෝෂ හෙවත් බාලග්‍රහයින්ගෙන් වන දෝෂ යයි සැලකේ. ඇතැම් කුඩා දරුවන් සිටින ගෘහයන්හි ‘බාලගිරි දෝෂය අද නොවෙයි හෙට’ යනුවෙන් ලියා ඉදිරිපස තබනුයේ ද මේ සඳහා ම බව පෙනේ. එයින් දෙමව්පියන්ගේ අපේක්ෂාව වූයේ තම දරුවාට වැලඳෙන රෝගය කල් දැමීම බව පෙනේ.

බිලිඳුන්ට එලෙස වැලඳෙන රෝග ලෙස ස්කන්ධ ග්‍රහය, අපස්මාර, ශක්ති දෙවතා, පුතන, අන්ධ පුතන, ශීත පුතන, මුඛමණ්ඩිකා, තයිමග්‍රහ යනුවෙන් නව වැදෑරුම්ය. ඒ සඳහා කළ යුතු පිළිවෙත් දක්වා ඇත්තේ මෙසේය.

“ස්කන්ධ ග්‍රහ : රූ නාවා මස් රස පූප ගඳ මල් සහිත ව සතර මංසල බලි දිය යුතුය. මස් රස මුසු පූ සාද නුග රුකක් මුල බලි දිය යුතුය.

සක්ති ග්‍රහ : පස්මල් රා මස් පු ආදීන් කරද ගසක් මුල බලි තබනු.

පුතනග්‍රහ : මත්සා මාංස රස බත් මල්ගඳ පහන් ඇති ව ලැගී ගෙයි බලි දෙනු.

අන්ධපුතන : අමු මස් පිසු මස් සහිත ව සතර මං සන්ධියේ බලි දෙනු.”341

පූර්වෝක්ත බලි පිළිවෙත් ඒ ඒ ග්‍රහයාගෙන් වන දෝෂ දුරලා රෝගී දරුවාට සෙත් සලසා දෙන පිළිවෙත් ලෙස වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල විශේෂයෙන් ම සඳහන් වේ.

උණ රෝගයන් ද මේ අයුරින් විවිධාකාර වන අතර ඒ ඒ නැකතින් ඇති වන උණ රෝගයට අනුව කළ යුතු ශාන්ති කර්ම විධි යෝගාර්ථක වන වෙන වෙන ම හඳුන්වා දෙයි.⁴²

පිස්සු බලු විෂට දිය යුතු බලි පුද පිළිවෙතක් ලෙසට පුරාණ සර්ප විෂ වෙද පොතේ එන පුද පූජා සඳහන් කළ යුතු ව ඇත. බල්ලාගේ රූපයක් ඉට්ටලින් තනා මල් තටුවක තබා මතුරා ආතුරයා සමීපයට කැඳවා කෑ බල්ලා මේකාද කියා විමසා කිරි ඇති ගසක තබා ආතුරයා ලවා අත්පුඩි තුනක් ගස්සවා නූලක් මතුරා බදිනු ලැබේ.

“ ඕං බ්‍රූ: වණ්ණත්‍රියං මණ්ඩලං කර්ණ චිත්‍ර
විනික්ෂකායාමි තූන මූන පස්සාන එතස්සන්ති:
විජුනී කීර්තන ජාතිවිශ්විතිකාති ඊශ්වරො මඩිලෙ
පලපත්‍ර කානඩි බිලිකාන්තන්තෙන:”

යන මේ මන්ත්‍රයෙන් තෙල් කස පැන් සහ සුනඛ රූපයටත් එකසිය අට වරක් දුම්මල මතුරා දුම් දී දිෂ්ටි කොට පලමු කී අයුරින් කිරීම පිස්සු බලු විෂ නිසා පෙළෙන ආතුරයාට යහපති.⁴³

සත්ව ද්‍රව්‍ය සහ මස් මාංස භාවිත කිරීමෙන් කරනු ලබන කෙම් ක්‍රම ද රාගියක් දක්නට ඇත. සත්ව සාත්‍යය අභිංසා ප්‍රතිපත්තිය මත නොකෙරුණ ද රෝගයක් සඳහා ඖෂධ වශයෙන් යෙදීමේ දී එය කෙම් ක්‍රමයක් ලෙස සැලකේ. ව්‍යවහාරයේ පවත්නා පරිදි, “තලගොයි දිව ඇඹුල් කෙසෙල් ගෙඩියේ ලා කැවීම” නිසා දෙනය වැඩි වන බවත්, “කොට් දත පැළදීම නිසාත්”, “කොට් මස් අනුභවය නිසාත් ඇදුම රෝගය සුව වන බවත්”, ප්‍රකට අදහසකි. සුදු කබර සඳහා “කථා නොකර කිඹුල් දත්, ගජමුතු, සහිත දළෙ කුඩු” චූර්ණකර ආලේපය ප්‍රත්‍යක්ෂ අභිචාර විධියකි. දරුවන් සිටිනා මවකට කිරි ඵරවීම සඳහා “කිරි මෝරුන් අනුභවයට දීම”, නොයෙකුත් රෝග විෂයෙහි දුම් දීම සඳහා නයිහැව, ගැරඩිහැව සහ පක්ෂි පිහාටු යොදා ගැනීම, සත්ව වසුරු ලෙස හාබෙට්, ගොම, කුකුළු බෙට්, වල් උරු බෙට් යොදා ගැනීම සිංහල සමාජයේ ප්‍රචලිත ව පවතී. සර්පයන් දෂ්ට කළ කෙණෙහි කථා නොකර දෂ්ට ස්ථානයේ ‘මුත්‍ර කිරීම’ ද ප්‍රකට කෙමකි.

අපස්මාර රෝගයේ දී මී ගොනෙකුගේ පිත වියළා තබාගෙන මී කොළ යුෂයේ පොහවා අපස්මාරය වැලඳී විට නග්‍රය කිරීමට අනුදාන ඇත. ඇතැම් විටක මිනිස් සිරුරේ අංගෝපාංග ද කෙම් ක්‍රම සඳහා යොදා ගත් බව පෙනේ.

අපස්මාරය සඳහා බෙරවා කුලයකට අයත් කාන්තාවක් කුළුඳුලේ දරු ප්‍රසූතියෙන් ලත් වැදෑමහ රැගෙන වියළා හිස් මුදුනේ දමා පොරවා අත ගැස්සවීමේ කෙම් ක්‍රමයක් ප්‍රචලිත ව පැවතී ඇත.

“ බෙරවා දුවක කුළුඳුලේ දරු ලද වැදෑමස ගෙන වියළා තබාගෙන හිස් මුදුනෙ ලා පොරවා අල්ලනු.”⁴⁴

බෙහෙත් ඖෂධ පානය කිරීමට නොසලස්වා රෝගියාට ආංගික ව හෝ වාචික ව කෙරෙන කෙම් විධි කීපයක් ද දක්නට ලැබේ. මන්ත්‍රයක් මතුරා හෝ වෙනත් පිළිවෙතක් මගින් අතට හෝ වෙනත් ද්‍රව්‍යයකට මතුරා රෝගියාට පහර දීම හෝ අතගැම ටොකු ඇතීම වැනි පිළිවෙත් සමුද්‍රයක් දක්නට ඇත.

අපස්මාර රෝගය වැලඳී විට සෘතු වූ ස්ත්‍රීයක ලවා පහත සඳහන් ඖෂධ වර්ග ගෙන්වා ගෙන ඉදලක බැඳ රෝගියාගේ මුහුණට ගැසීමට සැලැස්වීම මේ ගණයට අයත් කෙමකි.

“ නුපුන් ඇසළ වැල්පෙනෙල බැවිල මේ තුන්මුල් උතුනි කෙනෙකුන් ලවා ගෙන්වා ඉලපත තබා බැඳ වස්මර සෙලවුන විට ඉලපත මුණ ගසනු.”⁴⁵

සර්පයකු දෂ්ට කළ අවස්ථාවල දී සර්පයා දෂ්ට කළ බව කියා පැමිණි පුද්ගලයාට මන්ත්‍රයකින් මතුරා කළුකිරිය ලියකට මතුරා පහර දීමෙන් නව දෙනෙකුට විස මාරු කළ මන්ත්‍රයක් ලෙසට,

“ මුනිමුනිතුමුනි තිලොකමුනි අසංසාමුනි සර්පදොසො සර්පහයො සර්පවිසහන්තු යෙමිං තට විස නැතිය.”⁴⁶

මේ මන්ත්‍රයෙන් කළුකිරිය ලියට දෙළොස්වර මතුරා සර්පයා කෑවාය කියා ආ අයට පාරක් ගසනු — එතන ආතුරයාට ගුණ වේ. මොහු බීම වැටෙයි. තවත් කෙනෙකුට ගැසුවහොත් ඔහු බීම වැටෙයි. දෙවෙනි ආතුරයා නැගිටී. මෙසේ නව දෙනෙකුට විස මාරු කළ හැකිය. අන්තිමයා ගේ විස නැති කිරීම සඳහා ඉහත කී ලියෙන් බීමට ගැසිය යුතුය.

විෂාතුරයාගේ ගෘහයේ උළුවස්සට හෝ ඉදිකඩුල්ලට මන්ත්‍රයක් දෙළොස්වරක් සිහි කර රෝගියාගේ නම සිහි කර අත ගැසීමෙන් විෂ බැස්ස වීමේ ක්‍රමයක් ද පැරැන්නන් අතර ප්‍රචලිත ව පැවතී බව පෙනේ⁴⁷.

නුල් බැඳීමෙන් හෝ වෙනත් පාෂාණ ද්‍රව්‍ය භාවිත කොට එය පැළැන්ද වීමට සැලැස්වීමෙන් රෝග සුව කිරීමේ අභිචාර විධියක් ද ප්‍රචලිත ව පැවති බව පෙනේ. මේ අතරට ලක්දිව වඩා ප්‍රචලිත පිරිත් නුල් ගැට ගැසීමේ සම්ප්‍රදය ද ඇපනුල් ගැට ගැසීම, කස් පොටවල් දූමීම, සහ පාට තුන් වගයක නුල් බැඳීම පාට පස් වගයක නුල් මතුරා බැඳීම, වැනි කෙම් ක්‍රම වඩා ප්‍රකටය. විවිධාකාරයේ විෂ සඳහා නුල් මතුරා බැඳීමට අනුදූන ඇත. එකසිය අට වරක් මැතිරීම, සත් වරක් මැතිරීම, නව වරක් මැතිරීම, වැනි භූත විද්‍යාවේ ලා වැදගත් වන ඇතැම් සංඛ්‍යාත්ම ක්‍රම වේද මෙහි ලා උපයෝගී කර ගැනීම සිදු වී ඇත. වෙනත් යන්ත්‍ර මන්ත්‍ර ලෝභවල ඇඳ සුරයක දමා පැළඳීම ද උණ රෝගයට සහ වෙනත් ලෙඩ රෝග විෂයෙහි දක්නට ලැබේ.

ඇතැම් විට බෙහෙත් නිෂ්පාදනය කරන අවස්ථාවල දී ඒ බෙහෙත් දමා ඇති බඳුන ආරක්ෂා කිරීම සඳහා පිරිත් නුල් වටා ඇඳීම ද දක්නට ලැබේ.⁴⁸

සිංහල සමාජයේ ප්‍රචලිත ව පවත්නා මෙබඳු කෙම් ක්‍රමවලින් එකල සමාජයේ භාවිත වූ විකිත්සක අභිචාර පිළිබඳ යම් තරමක අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගැනීමට පුළුවන. මේවා කෙතරම් ජනප්‍රිය ව පැවතියේ ද යන්න මෙකී කෙම් ක්‍රමවලින් තොර ව ග්‍රන්ථ සම්පාදනය කිරීම කාලීන ව වෛද්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථ සම්පාදනය කළ පඩිවරුන්ට නොහැකි වීමෙන් ම පෙනේ.

මෙබඳු කෙම් ක්‍රම භාවිත කිරීම නිසාත් සුභ වේලාව වැනි සංකල්ප නිසාත් රෝගියාගේ සිතට දූනෙන සහනය ම බොහෝ දුරට රෝග සමනයට ද හේතු විය හැකිය. රෝගියාට මෙබඳු පිළිවෙත් නිසාත් ඒවා ඒ අයුරින් ම ඉටු කර ගැනීම නිසාත් පොදුවේ සමාජය ම එකී පිළිවෙත් කඩ නොකිරීමට වගබලා ගැනීම හේතු කොට ගෙන ඒ අයුරින් ම බෙහෙත් කිරීමට පෙලඹ වීම මේවායේ පවත්නා එක් වැදගත් අංගයකි.

පිළිවෙත් කෙසේ වුව ද නියමිත වේලාවට අවශ්‍ය බෙහෙත් රෝගියාට ලබා දීමේ එක් උපක්‍රමයක් ලෙසට ද මේ කෙම් ක්‍රම හැඳින්විය හැකිය.

කෙම් ක්‍රමවල මූලික පරමාර්ථය වූයේ රෝග සමනය කිරීමයි. ඒ සඳහා යොදා ගනු ලැබූ බෙහෙත් ද්‍රව්‍ය යම් යම් විශේෂ පිළිවෙත් අනුව ලබා ගැනීම එකල ජනයා අතින් සිදු විය. පැරණියන්ගේ විද්‍යාත්මක ඥානය ද මෙබඳු ක්‍රියා මගින් පිළිබිඹු වෙයි. කෙම් ක්‍රම යොදා ගැනීමේ දී එක් ක්‍රමයක් අසාර්ථක වූ විට ඊට විකල්ප වශයෙන් වෙනස් ක්‍රමයක්, බෙහෙත් ද්‍රව්‍ය අඩු වැඩි කිරීමෙන් යොදා ගත හැකිය. එබැවින් ක්‍රමයෙන් බෙහෙත් ද්‍රව්‍ය පිළිබඳව ද, පිළිවෙත්වල අත්හදා බැලීම් වර්ධනය වීම අපේක්ෂා කළ හැකිය.

ස්වභාව ධර්මයේ එක් අංගයක් වන ගස්වැල් හා ජනතාව අතර පැවති සම්ප බව ද එක් අතකින් මෙම කෙම්ක්‍රමවල දී ප්‍රකට වෙයි. වර්තමානයට වඩා අතීතයේ වාක්ෂලතා ජන ජීවිතයට කෙතරම් සම්ප වී ද යත් පැරැන්නෝ

වෘක්ෂලතා දේවත්වයෙහි ලා සැලකුහ. එවැනි විශාල ගස්වල, ඒවාට අධිගෘහිත දෙව්දේවතාවෝ සිටිති යි සිතා ඒවාට පූජා පැවැත්වීම ද කළ ගුණ සැලකීමක් ලෙසින් කරන ලද්දකි. පැරැණියන්ගේ එම ඥානය ද මෙකී පිළිවෙත්වල දී වරින් වර උපයෝගී වූ බව සඳහන් කළ හැකිය.

මෙහි දැක් වූ අභිචාර විෂයයෙහි අනුකරණාත්මක ව පවත්වනු ලැබූ පිළිවෙත්වල දී රෝගී තැනැත්තාගේ ශරීරයෙන් රෝගය ඉවත් කිරීම එක්තරා අන්දමකට අහිතයෙන් කිරීමක් දැකිය හැකිය. ගස්වැල්වල අතු පතර කපා දමන්නා සේ රෝගියාගේ ශරීරයෙන් ද රෝගය පහ වී යතැයි යන අදහස පැරැන්නන් අතර පැවති බව පෙනේ. මෙබඳු පිළිවෙත්වල දී රෝගය සිරුරෙන් නිරුද්ධ කරවීමක් හෝ වෙනත් තැනකට තල්ලු කර දැමීමක් අපේක්ෂා කරන ලද බව ද දක්නට ලැබේ.⁴⁹

මෙතෙක් දැක්වූ කෙම් විධි විග්‍රහ කර බලන විට එහි එක් පරමාර්ථයක් ලෙස ප්‍රකට වනුයේ රෝගියාගේ මෙන් ම ඔහුගේ පවුලේ සාමාජිකයන්ගේ සහ හිත මිතුරන් ගේ සිත් සතන් සන්තර්පණය වීමක් ය යන්න පිළිගත හැකිය. ඖෂධ වර්ගවල පවත්නා රෝග නාශක බලයක්, වැදගත් බවත් පෙන්වීමට උක්ත විකිත්සක අභිචාර යෙදුණ බව සිතිය හැකිය.

මෙම අභිචාර විෂයයෙහි මානව විද්‍යාඥයන් වැදගත් අදහස් පළ කොට ඇත. අභිචාර විෂයයෙහි මැලිනොවිස්කි අදහස් දක්වා ඇති පරිදි අභිචාර පිළිබඳ වඩා සාමාන්‍ය කායඛියක් වනුයේ අභිචාර, ඒවා භාවිත කරන අය තුළ විශ්වාසය ඇති කිරීමට මග පාදන බවය.⁵⁰

සමාලෝචනය

පූර්වෝක්ත සටහන් ඇසුරින් ලක්දිව ප්‍රචලිත විකිත්සක අභිචාර විධි පිළිබඳ මූලික අවබෝධයක් ලබා ගත හැකිය. එකී අභිචාර විග්‍රහ කර බලන කල්හි ප්‍රාථමික සමාජයක දිවි ගෙවූ ජන කොට්ඨාසයක ආගමික ඇදහිලි සහ විශ්වාස පිළිබඳ ව ඔවුන් සතුව පැවති දැනුම එකී අභිචාර විධි සඳහා උපයුක්ත කරගත් අයුරු පැහැදිලිය. වෘක්ෂායුර්වේදයට අනුව ඒ ඒ වෘක්ෂවලින් සහා ලතා වර්ගවලින් ඖෂධ ලබාගත යුතු පිළිවෙළ පහද දෙන අවස්ථාවල දී ඔවුන් සතුව පැවති වෘක්ෂ වන්දනය නැතහොත් වෘක්ෂ පූජා පැවැත්වීම, එමෙන්ම වෘක්ෂ දේවතා සංකල්පය වැනි අදහස් ද ඒ තුළින් විද්‍යාමාන වන අතර, එකී විශ්වාස මත පිහිටා ඖෂධ ලබා ගැනීමෙන් ආගමික මුහුණුවරක් අනිවාර්යයෙන් ම එකී අභිචාරවල දක්නට ලැබෙන බව පැහැදිලිය. ඒ නිසා වෘක්ෂවලින් ලබාගන්නා ද්‍රව්‍යවල ඖෂධබලය රෝග සමනයට වඩාත් බලපාන්නේ වුව ද අභිචාර පවත්වන්නාගේ විශ්වාසය වඩාත් බල

පවත්වන්නේ පූර්වෝක්ත ආගමික විශ්වාස කෙරෙහි බව පෙනේ. එම නිසා එකී පිළිවෙත් හා විශ්වාස ඒ අයුරින් ම කිරීම නිසා රෝගියා එකී ඖෂධ කෙසේ හෝ සොයාගෙන විකිත්සා කර්ම කරගැනීම නිසා, රෝග සුව වීමට බොහෝ විට ඉඩපහසුකම් ඇතත්, වඩාත් ප්‍රකට වනුයේ අනිවාර්ය යෙන් ම මේ පිළිවෙත්වලට යටින් දිවෙන මානසික විශ්වාස බව පෙනේ. කෙසේ හෝ රෝගවලට ප්‍රතිකාර කිරීමට ජනතාව පෙලඹවීමේ ශක්‍යතාවක් මෙකී කෙම් ක්‍රම තුළ ගුප්ත ව පවතින බව ප්‍රකට වේ. ප්‍රාථමික ශිෂ්ටාචාර වල ව්‍යාප්ත වූ ආගමික විශ්වාස අතර මූලික වශයෙන් භූත විශ්වාස සහ මන්ත්‍ර තන්ත්‍ර මෙන් ම ආරක්ෂා කටයුතු සඳහා නොයෙකුත් අභිචාර විධිද භාවිත විය. ඒ අතරට නුල් බැඳීම, බිලිපුජා පැවැත්වීම නක්ෂත්‍ර විද්‍යාව කෙරෙහි වඩාත් විශ්වාස තැබීම ප්‍රකට ව පෙනෙන්නකි.

බෞද්ධාගමික විශ්වාස මත පදනම් වීම නිසා ඇතැම් වෛදික මුහුණු වරක් ගත් අභිචාර විශේෂයෙහි වඩාත්ම ප්‍රකට වූයේ මන්ත්‍ර භාවිතය වෙනුවට බුදුගුණ සහ පිරිත් උපයෝගී කර ගැනීමයි. ඒවායේ දක්නට ලැබුණ ආරක්ෂාව පිරිනිත් සහ පිරිත් නුල්වලින් ලබාගැනීම බුදු දහමේ අභාසයෙන් විකිත්සක අභිචාරවලට එක්වූ නවාංග බව පෙන්වා දිය හැකිය.

පූර්වෝක්ත විශ්වාස ආයුර්වේදය සහ අනිවාර්යයෙන් ම බැඳී පවතී. එකී සංකල්ප දේශීය වෛද්‍යක්‍රමය සහ සංකලනය වීම නිසා දේශීය වෛද්‍ය වරුන් මෙන් ම මේ පිළිබඳ ව උනන්දු වූ බොහෝ අභිචාරිකයන්ද මෙකී අභිචාර විධි තම වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමයේ හස්තසාර අංගය ලෙස සලකා ක්‍රියාකරනු දක්නට ලැබේ.

ඔවුන් අතර පාරම්පරික ව එන වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රම වඩාත් සුරක්ෂිත ව ඇත්තේ මෙකී අභිචාර විධි නිසාය. එහෙයින් අත්‍යයන්ට ඒවා අත්පත් කරගැනීම පහසු නොවේ. පරපුරෙන් පරපුරට දැනුම ගෙන ගිය පුරාතන සමාජවල අභිචාර විධි එක් අතකින් ශාස්ත්‍රය ආරක්ෂා කළ ආරක්ෂකයෙකුගේ තත්ත්ව යට පත් ව සිටි බව පෙනේ. වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමවල අභිචාර මෙන් ම අනිකුත් අභිචාර සඳහා, විශේෂයෙන් ම භූත විද්‍යාව පිළිබඳව කෘති සමුදයක් ද යන්ත්‍ර මන්ත්‍ර පොත් යනුවෙන් ව්‍යවහාරයේ පවතී. වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමවලට මෙන් පොදුවේ වෛද්‍යවරුන් විසින් කැමැත්තක් නොදක්වන ලද්දේ ඒ විෂය සඳහා වෙනම ශිල්පීන් කොටසක් සමාජයේ සිටි හෙයිනි. ඔවුන් විශේෂ යෙන් ම කට්ටාඩි යනුවෙන් හැඳින්විණි. ඔවුන්ගේ මූලික කාර්යය වූයේ ඖෂධ පිළිවෙත්වලින් රෝග සමනයට වඩා භූත විද්‍යාමය ක්‍රමවේද මත පිහිටා ලෙඩරෝග සමනය කිරීමයි. වෛද්‍යවරුන් එකී අංශයට එතරම් ඇල්මක් නොදක්වූ හෙයින් ඒ අංශය කෙරෙහි වෙනම පරපුරක් බිහි වූ බව පෙනේ.

කෙසේ වුවත් ලක්දිව ප්‍රචලිත අභිචාර විධිවලින් කිව හැක්කේ භාවිත කරන අභිචාරවලට වඩා ඖෂධීය ගුණය රෝග සමනයට එක ම හේතුකාරකයා වනවා විනා අභිචාර විධි මූලික නොවන බවයි. කෙසේ වුවත් අභිචාර

විධිවලින් තොර ව වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමය පවත්වා ගෙන යාමට ප්‍රාථමික සමාජවල තරමක් අපහසු වූ නිසා ආගමික විශ්වාස ද ඇතුළත් කිරීම තුළින් විශිෂ්ට ලෙස වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමය සමාජයේ ස්ථාපිත කිරීමට ගත් ප්‍රයත්නයක් නිසා අභිචාර වෛද්‍ය ක්‍රමවලට ප්‍රවිෂ්ට වූ බව කිව හැකිය.

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‘කෙම් කුම’ පිළිබඳ විමර්ශනයක්” කුසුමා කරුණාරත්න
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LOCATING MAHĀTITTHA—THE REAL SITE OF THE GREAT EMPORIUM OF ANCIENT TAMBAPANNI

By

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It has been shown that place-names like *Mantota* (Roadway Ford), *Mannārama* (Roadway Cloister), *Talēmannārama* (Roadway Cloister of Talē), and *Tirukethiswaram* (Sacred Shrine of the Roadway), were all linked etymologically to the ancient name of that area. It was then known as *Mangūṇa Janapada* or the “Roadway District.” Its port city appears to have been known as *Manguna* in Sinhala (S), *Mangūṇa* in Pali (P) and as *Mārgaṇa* in Sanskrit (Skt), the last of which is the form in which Ptolemy has marked it in his famous map, close to where modern *Māntai* is located. Therefore it is quite likely that the name of the ancient shallow-water landing place found here, could indeed be *Margana* or *Mangūṇa* and not Mahātittha, as hitherto supposed by archaeologists and historians.

If this is the correct location of Margana, it would also confirm the relative accuracy with which Ptolemy had oriented his map of Taprobane. It would also lend support to Burnouf (1801-1852) in concluding that despite the fact of *Mantota* being found marked in some Portuguese maps as Mantote, *Mahātittha* should be located *in the north of the island*. He says:

“..I have no hesitation in regarding the port of Moduttu, which Ptolemy places on the North-east coast of the island, as the same harbour as *Mahatoṭa*, or at least one bearing the same name. If we consider only the distances given by Ptolemy, we must indeed, place the *Modutti emporium* further to the North, as modern geographers do, especially Bochart, Mannert and Grossellin: but this difference which may per-

haps be the result of some error in the information used by Ptolemy, cannot be an objection against my proposition which is based on the form of the words Matote and Moduttu.”¹

In more recent times, Nicholas too agreed; for he says:

“Modouttou approximates much more closely to the old Sinhalese name and it is very unlikely that a mistake was made in respect of the principal port.”²

But the necessity he faced to conform to the accepted notion of its location at *Māntai* makes him add that:

“This necessitates an important reorientation of Ptolemy’s map”.

But Parker had a different view about the matter, and he says:

“There are some ancient remains also at Mantota (called in Tamil Maka-tōṭtal, and Makatōtam) opposite the southern end of the island of Mannar.. this place is generally believed to be the Mahātīttha of the historians...although I am not aware that there is anything but the Tamil name to confirm the identification.”³

Despite such doubts, the tacit acceptance of Māhatīttha as being “*now Manṭota opposite the island of Mannar,*” by Geiger⁴ has been assumed to be authoritative by almost all succeeding historians, including Nicholas and Paranavitana. Adikaram who accepts Geiger’s view, also quotes his own authority for this identification. But that is no authority at all, for it turns out to be only a mere assertion: “*Mahātīttha, the modern Mantota near Mannar in Ceylon*” (J.P.T.S. 1888 p. 67). Therefore Adikaram⁵ seems to have been satisfied with accepting this identification without sufficient proof. He also admits the possibility of this being also identical with *Jambukola*, another port recognized to have been undoubtedly situated on the northern coast of Jaffna Peninsula. A more plausible argument for this location of *Mahātīttha* at *Mantota*, has been put forward by Codrington who says:

“...its identification with the present Mantota is put beyond doubt by the Kōkila *Sandēsaya* locating it north of Mannar on the coast road to Jaffna.”⁶

This reference to an old tradition needs to be examined more carefully, as the authority quoted, would appear to carry some weight. The unknown author of the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* composed his verses in the middle of the 15th century at a time when Jaffna Peninsula (*Yāpāpaṭuna*) had been briefly lost to the invaders, but recaptured in 1449 for the Kotte Kingdom, by Prince Sapumal who then took up residence there as the provincial ruler.

After many South Indian invasions⁷ which made *Mahātīttha* their first target, it is quite possible that by the 15th century this ancient port had ceased to be identified by that name. It is also possible that when Jaffna peninsula was occupied by invaders in the 14th century, the minor port near Mannar could have come into prominence as *Māvaṭu Paṭuna*. This is implied by the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* (v. 206) of the mid 15th century.⁸ By the same token, after Mannār too had passed into European hands, Trincomalee also may have come to be identified with *Mahavaṭutoṭa*. So the *Rājāvaliya*, which began to be written during the Portuguese period, asserts that:

“During the reign of Asela, a Tamil king of Soḷi country, whose name was Elāḷa, came with a great army of Tamils and landed at the mouth of the river Mahaveli. The ferry at which he landed was named Mahavaṭutoṭa.”⁹

But why did Codrington attach more weight to the opinion stated in a poetic work like the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* in preference to that of a historical work like the *Rājāvaliya*? The reason is that it is quite possible that both the author of the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* and Codrington himself, were also influenced in their identification of *Māntai* as *Mahātīttha* by the misapprehension of other data to indicate the proximity of this ancient port to present Mannār. For instance, the *Cūlavamsa* records that when Viradēva of Palandīpa landed his troops at *Mahātīttha*, King Vikramabahu (A.C. 1111-1132),

“ betook himself to the village called Mannara near Mahātīttha in defence of his country.”¹⁰

At first sight this appears to be solid evidence in support of placing this ancient port near present Mannār. But if we look at this statement closely, we have to admit that the chronicler has made some mistake, unless he refers to a *Mannāra*, that is different from the island of Mannār (S. *Mannārama*).

In the first place, how could Vikramabāhu have had access to the island of Mannar, bypassing the invading forces on the mainland opposite to it? Secondly, no sensible leader could have abandoned the mainland with his forces, if his intention was to defend it against an invading army. Therefore it is quite possible that the chronicle refers to another 'Mannāra,' (note the absence of the characteristic 'ma' as the final syllable of the name in Sinhala). There was in fact such a place opposite the real site of *Mahātittha*, from which retreat was possible, as we shall see later on in this paper.

The other possible indication of the proximity of *Mahātittha* to *Māntai* is that Lankāpura, the general of Parākrama Bāhu I (1153-1186), is said to have launched his troops in ships from *Mahātittha* to land at present Dhanuskoti (*Talavilla*), on his way to invade Pāṇḍya. The closest port to that destination would appear to be the one near *Māntai*, (though the one at *Talēmannārama* would have made it at least 15 miles closer). But a statement in the Chronicle implies that his ships were too large to be launched from such a shallow-water port as the one near *Māntai*. It is explicitly stated there, that "the ships had to lie in deep water" (*agādhē yēva nāvānam saṁnivattanabhāvato*) at the journey's end, so that troops had to be landed in small boats.¹¹

This is a positive indication that *Mahātittha* from where these ships set out, was a deep water port in the north of the island, where the five fathom line comes within half a mile of the coast, whereas at *Māntai* it is about twenty miles from the seaboard. In fact the sea here is so shallow that the ancient roadway to *Talēmannārama* in the opposite island of *Mānnārama*, could be simply forded across at ebb tide, as described in 1804 by James Cordiner in his book, *A Description of Ceylon*:

"The arm of the sea which separates it (i.e. Mannar,) from Ceylon is, at high water from two to three miles in breadth; but, at ebb tide, it sinks into a very narrow channel which flows between the two shores like a river. At that time, it may be crossed at a ford, or bar of sand, where the depth of water does not exceed two and a half feet (p. 266)."

But historians have also been influenced by a couple of inscriptions which seem to support the location of *Mahātittha* at *Māntai*. One is the so called Mannār Kacceri Pillar Inscription¹² and the other the

Fort Hammenheil Tamil Inscription. Taking the latter first, we have to quote Paranavitana, in order to understand the nature of this evidence:

“This fragment of inscribed stone has been utilised in the building of the Dutch fort on the tiny islet known as Hammenheil off Kayts .. Originally the stone appears to have served as the jamb of a doorway .. The script and the language are Tamil of the eleventh century. The Tamil inscriptions found at Mantai (Mātoṭa) refer to the place as Mātoṭam alias Rājarājapuram (South Indian Inscriptions Vol. IV No. 1412). It is therefore possible that this inscribed stone has been brought to its present position from Mantai.”¹³

In support of Paranavitana’s argument for saying that the Hammenheil inscription had possibly been transported from *Māntai* he has referred above, to a Tamil inscription. No translation of this inscription has been published with the hand-copied text, which is stated to be found “on a slab preserved at the Museum at Colombo.”

It is not stated where this slab was originally found, but it contains Paranavitāna’s reference to the temple called Rājarājēsvaram built at *Mātoṭam* by Tāli Kumāran, an officer from the Cola country. But it is this reference to *Mātoṭam* in the inscription that may have led to the tacit assumption that it had been found *in situ* at *Māntai*, before it reached the Colombo Museum. It is possible as indicated there, that the ancient name *Mahātīttha* known to the Colas as *Māntottam* (or *Matotṭam* as in the above inscription), had also been called *Rājarājapuram* when Rājarāja I conquered the north of the island around 993 A.C. But, we have no tradition of a *Rājarājapuram* near *Māntai* at present.

As *Mahātīttha* was often the first port to be attacked by Colas, it is also likely to have been situated on the northern coast of *Nāga-dīpa* or Jaffna Peninsula. Otherwise they would have had to come through enemy territory in Pandya if they were to cross over to reach *Māntai* from *Rāmeswaram*. According to the *Cūlavam̐sa* (54:12), it was on the northern coast that the first unsuccessful Cola invasion under the Vailabha king Parantaka II, began. Parantaka’s general Suriyavélār was defeated after a successful landing at *Urātoa* (Kayts) near present Hammenheil about 965 A.C.¹⁴

In discussing the fragmentary Hammenheil inscription, bearing the name Iracrācapura for *Mahātīttha*, Parānavitana says that it could have been brought there from *Māntai*, unless Kayts harbour (the ancient *ūrātota* or 'Pig's Crossing') placed so close by to it, could itself have been the ancient *Mahātīttha*. For, for as he says, the Sinhala word *uru* (both vowels short), means *mahā* or 'great', and so 'Urutota' could mean *Mahātīttha*. However, he has not connected this up with the defeat of first Cola invasion at the port of *Urātota*, (a name not derived from the word 'uru').

The Mannar Kacceri Pillar inscription (ascribed to King Kasapa IV, 898-914) is crucial for identification of the location of real *Mahātīttha* of the period 5th century B.C. to about the 13th century A.C. This does not follow from its present location but from its contents which indicate the real location elsewhere. The following extract from the translation of this inscription by Parānavitana names three villages on the *Northern Coast* (*uturu karāye*) to which the immunities granted, included the stipulation that king's officers in charge of *Mahātīttha* shall not enter it for extraction of any dues:

"Whereas it was ordered (as follows) by a (decree) of unanimous assent, in connexion with the lands included within the four boundaries of the three villages named Pepodatuda, Kumbalhala and Tumpokāṇ, situated in the Kuḍakadavukā (division) of the Northern Coast belonging to the Great Monastery. .To these villages, royal officers and *piyovādāran* shall not enter. Those of the archery department, the *melāssi*, headman in charge of districts and of provinces shall not enter. . . Carts oxen, labourers, imposts of cooked and raw rice, and periodical gifts of milk and oil should not be taken. . . The ferrymen residing in these villages should not take *avalin* (oars?) of (or from) the tenants. Officers in charge of Mahapuṭu (i.e. Mahātīttha) shall not enter. Those who reside at Nāvehera shall not enter. Those who reside at Rakavehera shall not enter..."¹⁵

Significantly, Parānavitana makes the following comment also:

"As the employees of the Nāgavihāra are prohibited from entering the lands benefited by this grant, this monastery must have been in the vicinity of the site of this pillar, namely Mahātīttha. It was probably the Nāgavihāra mentioned in North Ceylon."¹⁶

This view that *Mahātittha* was near *Nāgavihāra* in the north, contradicts the earlier statement that the Hammenheil inscription would have been brought there from *Māntai* to the south of that place. Also, in commenting on the places *Kuḍakadvukā*, *Pepodatuda*, *Kumbalhala* and *Tumpokoṇ*, Paranaṅgana says that they cannot be identified.¹⁷

There is hardly any doubt that this great scholar would have certainly been able to identify those places, had he only looked in the right place as indicated by the inscription itself, and not in the area around *Māntai*, instead. This may have been due to the fixation in the minds of the archaeologists and historians of the time, that *Mahātittha* could not have been situated anywhere else, but near *Māntai*.

Now if we want to look for those place names on the northern coast the location specifically stated in the 'Mannār Kacceri Pillar' inscription, first we have to look at their probable etymology. Names can change with the development of the language over a millennium, and more so, when a different language, in this case Tamil (T), had come into use, on the northern coast.

Of the three village names referred to, *Tumpokoṇ*, is the easiest to decipher, for it is simply from *Tun* + *pokuṇ* meaning the three Ponds," even in modern Sinhala. It is also a valuable indicator of the location, because it gives an unmistakable geographical reference that goes with the name. We see such a close configuration of 'three ponds,' (one of which is slightly larger than the other two,) marked on the one inch map near modern Palāli, about half a mile from the northern coast of Jaffna. An even more striking fact is that the place is still known by the Tamil name *Mūṅkulam* or "Three Ponds" (*Mūṅu*=three + *kulam*= 'pond or tank').

Thus *Mūṅkulam*, (80° 06'E—9° 49'N) in the Jaffna one inch map is an exact translation of the Sinhala name *Tumpokuṇ* or *Tumpokoṇ*. There cannot be any doubt about the location, since there is no other place, especially on this northern coast of the island, which has a name carrying the same meaning as *Tumpokoṇ*. This identification of *Tumpokoṇ* which is one of the villages for which the immunities had been granted by the so called Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription, gives us a starting point from which to look for *Mahātittha* and the other two villages mentioned there.

Mūnkulam is just three miles to the east of Kankesanturai harbour in the *wasama* going by the same name, which in turn is bounded in the west by modern *Māviḍḍapuram* (pronounced Māvīṭṭapuram) *Wasama*. This common boundary starts from a little bay about a mile to the west of Kankesanturai. This could be a possible site of the natural harbour of *Mahātīttha*, unless Kankesanturai or **Gangá** (=Ganges) + **esana** (seeking) + **tīttha** (port), was itself a later name for the ancient harbour which was known as the “place of embarkation (P. and S. *ēsana* = to seek) of Buddhist pilgrims to (Buddha) Gaya” on the Ganges River.¹⁸

The name **Māvīṭṭapuram** appears to be a corruption of the ancient name *Māvatu* or **Māvītipura**, (**Mahaputu** of our inscription) for *Mahātīttha*.¹⁹ It is close to the place marked as *Poviḍḍy* (*S Bovīṭi*) on the map. Both places are close to Modouttou (in Ptolemy’s map) recognized as ancient *Mahātīttha* by Burnouf. The present town called *Māvīṭṭapuram* (written as *Māviḍḍapuram*), placed somewhat inland, was probably the site of the fortified township itself. Perhaps marine archaeology may be helpful in locating the exact place of the harbour.

The ancient **Nāvehera** (= *Nāga Vihāra*) near *Mahātīttha* has not been identified so far, probably because it may have been replaced by the temple called **Rājarājēsvaram** said to have been erected at *Māntōṭṭam* (i.e. *Mahātīttha*) by an officer of **Rājarāja I**, during the Cola occupation of the north in the reign of Mahinda V (A.C. 982-1029).²⁰ It is possible that the modern name **Tellipalai** or *Tellipallai* is reminiscent of the name *Nāga Vihāra*, for **T. Telli** is another word for *naga* (=elephant) and **T. Palli** is the same as temple or *Vihāra*. **Tellipallai** is under three miles from both **Mūn Kulam** and **Kankēsanturai**, the probable locations of *Tumpokoṇ* and *Mahaputu* (i.e. *Mahātīttha*) respectively, of our inscription.

As a lexical item ‘*Kumbalhala*’ is defined as “Pottery Hall” or “Potters’ Village.” It could be same place as *Koḷambahālaka* of the *Mahāvamsa*, for in Pali ‘*koḷamba*’ also means ‘a large earthen vessel’ or pot. It was the place where **Elāra**’s nephew **Bhalluka** is said to have camped with his troops soon after landing near *Mahātīttha* in 161 B.C., in readiness for battle. But King **Dutthagāmani** chose to weaken the enemy by gradually retreating to the capital, before giving battle. It is mentioned again as the place where King

Vattagāmaṇi's troops were defeated by an invading army, in 103 B.C. Hence *Kumbalhala*, if it was the same as *Kōlambahālaka*, could have been a village not far from the harbour of *Mahātitttha*, which also served as a suitable camping ground for invading armies.²¹

Since the inscription groups Kumbalhala along with the other two villages belonging to the minor division called *Kuḍakadavukā*, it is possible that the former was the same as Palāli near present Mūn Kulam (i.e. *Tumpokoṇ*). The name *Palāli* may be derived from T. *palam*=*army* and *āli*=*circle*. In Pāli, it would be *Yuddha Maṇḍala*, and in Sinhala, *Bala Maṇḍala*, or *Balālaya* < S. *Bala*=*army*' and *ālaya*=*camp*. Hence Kumbalhala could also be the **Yuddha Maṇḍala**²² (Army Camp), where the Cola army that landed in *Nāga-dipa*, was defeated. Siriyavēlār, its commander, was slain by Mahinda IV's general Sena, (c. 965 A.C.)²³

The inscription also refers to a place called **Rakavehera** which Paranavitana thinks is the same as Rakkha Vihāra built by Moggallana III (614-619). Rakavehera could have once stood at the site marked here with the sign of a Dāgāba on the one inch map by the Survey Department. It is placed between Mūn Kulam and Kankēsanturai.

The place name marked closest to *Palāli* and *Mūnkulam*, is **Periyanāḍḍu-tēvan-turai**. Between this long name and **Mūnkulam** is a small promontory with a waterhole. Could this have been **Pepodatuda**, of our inscription? The name *Pepodatuda* can be derived from *pe* + *poda* + *tuda*, where *pe* as derived from *pa*=*to drink*, through *peyya* > *paya*, means 'drinking water'²⁴. The words *poda* and *tuda* mean 'little' and 'point' respectively. Hence the compound *Pe-poda-tuda* can mean "The Little Watering Point," the major Watering Point being the copious spring called *Tāmara Panya* or "Excellent Water" at Keerimalai, (see fn. 39).

The name *Periyanāḍḍutēvanturai* given to the same place, is even more interesting from a historical point of view. The word *tēvan* (S. *Dēva*) is a title given to the *agampadi* people who were employed as trusted servants (i.e. mercenaries) in the palace of a Tamil ruler and sometimes functioned as 'captains of military units' of the local kings of the Dambadeniya period.²⁵ Tāli Kumāran who landed near *Mahātitttha* with the army of the Cola Empire,²⁶ (**Periya-nāḍḍu** or Great Kingdom) around 983 A.C. and built the

temple called *Rājarājēsvaram* could therefore have been referred to as *tēvan*, being the Cola king's military commander. The term *turai* of course, is well known as a name for a port or landing place, in Tamil.

So, we have some reason to think that *Periyanāḍḍutēvanturai* (or "Landing Place of the Cola Commander") was the place at which the Cola troops under a *Tēvan* military leader (most probably Tāli Kumaran of the Colombo Museum inscription referred to earlier) landed, and left that name as a memento of his successful campaign. It would have been a rather safe landing place close to a good supply of water from the 'three ponds,' and which could be a good base to attack *Mahātitttha* after disembarking and regrouping. At the same time reinforcements from the east, reaching it along the coastal road running through here, could also be cut off. We shall soon proceed to identify this eastern fortification called '*Mannāra*' in the Chronicle.

Before going into that, let us look at the place named *Veeramānikkatēvanturai*, about two miles to the west on the Myliddy Coast. A later invader seems to have left his name to mark this landing place, when he came to attack *Mahātitttha*. He is referred to in the Chronicle as *Viradēva*, an invader from the Ariya country, who landed close to *Mahātitttha*, around 1111 A.C., during the reign of *Vikramabāhu I*. The place is about half a mile to the east of *Kankesanturai*. The names *Veeramānikkatēvan* and *Viradēva* could easily refer to the same invader. The presence here of *Periyanāḍḍutēvanturai* as well as *Veeramanikkatevanturai* where two Cola invaders who had landed and successfully attacked *Mahātitttha*, is also evidence in support of locating that ancient port near them.

It is during the attack by *Viradēva*, as mentioned before, that the local ruler, *Vikramabāhu*, is said to have marched his troops to, the "village called *Mannāra* near *Mahātitttha*."²⁷ According to our location for the scene of invasions at *Kōlambahālaka* near modern Palali, this would be the place now known as *Tondai-mannar*, on the eastern half of the Jaffna Peninsula which is almost completely separated from the western half by two great lagoons. Placed right on the edge of the sea with the narrowest part of the lagoon separating it from the coastal road leading through *Periyanāḍḍutēvanturai* near Palāli, to a possible location of *Mahātitttha* to the west, it was a strategic point both for attack and defence, by land or sea.

The location of *Mannāra* here, in this context also explains why Vikramabāhu found it easy to withdraw to Polonnaruwa after being defeated by Viradēva's forces near *Mahātitttha*, while such a thing would have been impossible if *Mahātitttha* had been at *Māntai* and he had taken his troops to the island of Mannār. This strategic importance of *Tōṇḍaimannār* seems to have been realized even earlier, and the place fortified by Vijaya Bāhu I, in preparation for an attack on Cola, about 1085 A.C., when the Cola king Kulōttunga I tortured the Sinhala envoys going through his territory to Kannaṭa. In preparing to make reprisals, Vijaya Bāhu sent two divisions, each under a general, to the seaports of *Mahātitttha* and *Mattikāvāṭatitttha*.⁹

Mattikāvāṭatitttha, has not yet been identified. But it can be shown to be the same as the ferry at *Tōṇḍimannar*. Pāli *Mattikāvāṭatitttha* means "The Ferry of the Clay Pit," (from *mattikā*=clay + *āvāta*=a pit or excavation + *titttha*=ferry). The Tamil name, *Tōṇḍaimannār* can be derived from T. *tōṇḍu* to dig + T. *man* (S. *maṇḍa*) = mud or clay, + *ār*, *āra* (Skt. *ara*) cavity or pit, hence the meaning "Dug Clay Pit". The last word T. *ār* could also mean "river" (<S. *āra*, T. *āru* Skt. *rayah*=current.) Hence, *Tōṇḍaimannār* can mean either "Clay Pit" or "Mud River". Therefore the name *Mannāra* (<S. *Maṇḍa āra*) meaning "Mud Pit" and S. *Mātivāla*, (*Mattivāl*), also meaning "Clay Pit," could both refer to *Tōṇḍaimannar* because it is placed at the narrow mouth of the long lagoon which is also referred to as *Tōṇḍaiman Aru* or "River of the Clay Pit."

If this was *Mattikāvāṭatitttha*, then it is most likely that *Mahātitttha* which was garrisoned on the same occasion by Vijaya Bahu I, was also nearby on the northern coast—the closest springboard to attack the Cola kingdom. The excavation indicated by the Tamil as well as the Pāli forms of the name, also indicates that the narrow and shallow mouth of the lagoon here, had been dug up at some time, to remove the mud and silt that had been blocking it.

This would have been necessitated, by the need to reclaim large areas like the western side of the lagoon near its mouth and those in Pūttur wasama still marked on the map as being 'subject to floods.' It could also have been caused by taking clay for making bricks and pottery at Kumbalhala, or for the defence needs of the garrison and the naval unit stationed here in the early days. The area to the west of *Tōṇḍaimannār* is still called *Valālai*, meaning "The Neighbourhood" (T. *āla-yam*) "of the Excavation" (T. *valai*).

The reference to a 'ferry' in the Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription, could also be to the narrow entrance of the lagoon here. The similarity of the meanings of the two names as well as their location on northern coast, which is the best suited for a naval attack on the Cola kingdom, leaves little room to doubt that the place called *Mattikāvāṭatittha* is the same as the ancient ferry near modern **Tondaimannar**.

The contemporary Sinhala form of the literary name *Mattikāvāṭatittha* (as *Mativala*), is traceable, ironically, to a Tamil inscription from India. The Tiruvālangādu inscription of Rājādhirāja II refers to the five strongholds where Parākrama Bāhu I (A.C. 1153-1183) was assembling a fleet of ships to attack Cola, as *Urāturai*, *Pulaichcheri*, *Mātoṭṭam*, *Vallikāmam*, and *Mattivāl*.²⁹ The last place, *Mattivāl* which occurs twice in this inscription, refers no doubt to *Mattikāvāṭa* or *Mannāra*, for which the name in Sinhala would be *Māṭivala*.

These five strongholds were no doubt among the places captured by Māgha in the next century, and all these names figure more or less in the same form, in the list of fifteen such places recaptured from him by Parākrama Bāhu II (A.C. 1236-1270), except for *Maṭtivāl* and *Mātoṭṭam*.³⁰ The same list is given (with an additional name), in the contemporary Sinhala work, the *Pūjāvaliya*.³¹ It is to be noted that in this context, *Mātōttam* is referred to in the Chronicle as *Mahātitttha*, and as *Māvaṭu* in the *Pūjāvaliya*. The corresponding name for *Maṭtivāl* in the same two sources is *Mannārapaṭṭana* and *Mannārā*, respectively, but significantly without the final "ma" as in *Mannārama*, (that we get in the same context in *Saddharmāratanaṅkaraya* and *Nikāya Sangrahaya*, which are works of a later period when the confusion of the two names had already taken place).

This may be taken as literary evidence in support of the strong possibility that *Mattikāvāṭatittha*, *Māṭtivāl* or *Maṭivala*, at present *Tōṇḍaimannōr*, was also referred to as *Mannarapattana* and *Mannārā* during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. That explains why King Vikramabāhu (1111-1132) took his troops to this other *Mannārā* which was strategically placed to defend the mainland, when Viradēva landed at *Mahātitttha*, which as we shall soon see, was also nearby, in the north. Because Vikramabāhu's line of defence would

have been on the borders of present Vaḍamārachchi, on the eastern half of the Jaffna Peninsula isolated by lagoons and the sea, it was possible for him to beat a hasty but unimpeded retreat to Polonnaruwa, on being routed by the enemy. This he could not have done if he was defending himself from the island of Mannār, and *Mahātittha* where the enemy had landed already, was on the mainland near *Māntai*.

The identification of Tōndaimannār as the ancient port or ferry called *Mattikāvaṭatittha* or *Mannārapaṭṭana*, is of much help in identifying *Kuḍa-kada-vukā*—the name given in the Mannar Kacceri Pillar Inscription for the division in which Tumpokon (Mūnkulam) etc., were located. In old Sinhala, it means the **Minor** (*kuḍa*), (division of the) **Mud**³² (*kada*), **Excavation** (*ukā*), from *ukahā*—to raise, as in the case of a *nidhāna* (treasure or deposit). The name *Valālai* or “The Neighbourhood of the Excavation” discussed earlier could be a remnant of a later Tamil name for the ancient minor division of *Kuḍakadavukā*.

That accounts for most of the places mentioned in our inscription in close proximity to each other as expected. But there are also several other place names connected with *Mahātittha* and its military ramifications, many of which had originally been in Sinhala, but loosely rendered into Tamil in later times.

A little to the west of *Palāli* is *Mulavāi*. It is a name that means **Thorn** (T. *mullu*, *mulli*) **Gate** (T. *vāi*). Thorn Gates or portal gates fitted with iron spikes, were familiar checkpoints even during Kandyan period. The Thorn Gate at *Mulavāi* could therefore have been an entrance to the ancient fortification at *Palāli*. About half a mile to the southeast of *Kankēsanturai* on the map, is the sign of a *dāgaba* marking the site of ancient Buddhist ruins, which could have belonged to *Rakavehera*.

Close to this is the place called *Thaiyiddi*. The termination *iddi* here as well as in *Myliḍḍi*, (the name of the wasama next to it,) is something which defied analysis by contributors to the debate on Jaffna place names in the early part of this century³³. They thought it was a Sinhala name. But the historical insights we have gained here, help us to understand how T. *iddy*=*iṭṭikai* (Skt. *iṣṭaka*, P. *iṭṭhaka*) meaning **bricks**, could have come to be used in those two

place names. *Thaiyidḍi* means the place of Ancient Bricks (<T. *thāi*=old, primitive). When the ancient *Nāvehera* or other building complexes situated here were destroyed during invasions, the bricks from the ruins would have, for long, been landmark which gave rise to the name *Thaiyidḍi* or "Ancient Bricks".

Among the other *vihāras* built in the Jaffna peninsula by various kings, were the Samudda Paṇṇasāla, Jambukōla (identified as Sambuturai near Kankēsanturai by Codrington,) and Tissamahā Vihāra built by Devānampiyatissa in the 3rd Century B.C. Others were, the Rājayātana Dhātu Vihāra built by Bhātika Tissa (143-167 A.C.), the Uṇhalomāghara by Aggabodhi II (571-604 A.C.) etc.³⁴ Some of these at least, were probably situated near here, and had been built of the giant-sized bricks of the early centuries, which measured nearly 20 inches in length and 10 inches in breadth.³⁵

When such unusually large bricks were exposed among the ruins a millennium later, one could imagine the surprise they caused among the first Tamils to land here. That led to another place name called "The Demon Bricks." This is the obvious meaning of *My liddy*³⁶ (< T. *mayal*=demon) which is also the name of two minor divisions adjacent to *Thaiyidḍi*. In fact these larger bricks seem to have been discovered at one time, strewn all over the coast near here, for the place is still called the Myliddy Coast (i.e. the "Coast of the Giant Bricks").

Given this historical background, the meaning of another place name near Māvittapuram (ancient *Māvitipura*), can be easily understood. *Veemankāmam* from T. *vīmam* (P. *bhīma*, S. *biya. bem*)=dread, and *kāmam* (<S. *gama*, P. *gāma*)=village, means "Village of Fear." *Veemankāmam* (P. *Bhīmagāma*, S. *Bemgama*), is perhaps reminiscent of the aftermath of battles won and lost in its vicinity in ancient times. About a mile and a half south of Telli-pallai is Mallakam. This is the same as S. *Mallagama* which means "Combatants' Village."

If *Mahātitttha* was here on the northern coast, as indicated by the inscription itself, how did the pillar containing it end up in the Mannar Kachcheri? The place names meaning Ancient Bricks and Demon (Giant) Bricks discussed above, would provide a possible answer. Those heaps of bricks are no longer to be seen. This, is

because they were recycled for use as building material over the centuries, first by Tamil settlers, and later by the Portuguese and the Dutch who carried some of it for their fortifications at Kayts and Mannār. (According to Percival, the main reason why the Dutch built a fort in the island of Mnnār was to prevent Kandyan access to the export trade, and also to prevent the king from communicating with Indian rulers to form alliances which would be dangerous to their interests.)³⁷

The fort of Hammenheil was built by the Dutch to allow them to exercise easy control over the narrow shipping-lane between Jaffna and Mannār. In achieving this aim, any piece of rock found in Jaffna would have come in handy, even if it meant shipping it in a barge (or simply carrying it as ballast,) to the building sites of their forts at Hammenheil and Mannār. This is because the whole Jaffna peninsula as well as the coastal belt from about Paranthan to Dutch Bay near Puttalama, is covered by a layer of Miocene limestone, making igneous rock of the type used for inscriptions a great rarity.

That is how the inscriptions on a piece of rock used for building the Hammenheil fort and on the ancient *attāni* pillar that is now said to be supporting the roof of Mannār Kachcheri had reached their present destinations. If the Tamil slab-inscription referring to *Mātōṭṭam* found in the Colombo Museum had originally come from Mannār area, it would have reached there in the same way as the other two inscriptions from Mylitty (or “Giant Brick”) Coast near *Māvittapuram*, (*Māvitipura*, or City of Mahātitttha) in the Jaffna Peninsula.

The identification of the probable site of the first port city of Tambapanni³⁸ at Keerimalai, a little to the west of Kankesanturai and Māvittapuram, also provides indirect evidence for taking this to be the correct location of ancient *Mahātitttha*. It is said that the name *Mahātitttha* was given to it because the large (*mahā*) multitude comprising the second wave of settlers bringing women as wives for Vijaya’s followers, landed there.³⁹

Therefore it is probable that the “Great Landing Place” could not have been very far from where the Jaffna tradition locates the first settlement. The presence even today, of a place called Iyakkachchi (i.e. *Yak Achchiya* or the Yakkha Division (<Iyakkai=

Yakkha), in the Pachchilpalli division of South (*Ten*) Marachchi, confirms that the tradition preserved in the *Yālpāna Vāipava Mālai* is a very old one. It asserts that this peninsula was Vijaya's original kingdom of Tambapaṇṇi.

The name Mara Achchiya is etymologically the same as *Sirīsavatthu* of the Pali chronicles. As derived from S. *Māra*, (P. *Sirisa*) = *Albizia lebeck*, and S. *achchiya* (P. *vatthu*) = division, Mārachchiya is the Sinhala form of the Pali name *Sirīsavatthu*.⁴⁰ According to the Mahāvamsa the Yakkhas of *Sirisavatthu* (gathered perhaps near Tondaimannār, in North Marachchi, not very far from Keerimalai where Vijaya is said to have landed,) were noisily celebrating a wedding ceremony on first night after Vijaya's landing at Tambapaṇṇi.

The easy identification of **Tumpokon** of the Mannār Kacceri Pillar inscription with **Mūnkulam** near Kankesanturai on the northern coast, was the vital clue leading to our identifying a location near modern Māvittapuram (S. *Māvītipura*) for ancient *Mahātīttha*. Besides *Tumpokon* for which a positive identification was possible, we have also been able to suggest the possible sites of *Pepodatuḍa*, *Kumbalhala*, and *Rakavehera*. These were in or near the minor district of *Kuḍakadavukā*, which is also identifiable. We have also identified *Nāvehera* as well as *Mahapuṭu* of the inscription. All this was done on the basis of the etymology of their present names, their geographical proximity and their historical background, in the context of this thousand-year old inscription of King Kassapa IV.

The military activity that we know had gone on around the ancient *Mahātīttha* throughout the ages, has made it possible for us to understand the meaning of many a place name connected to that activity (see annex). We have also found that Tondaimannar of today, could be identical with both *Mannāra* and *Mattikāvātātīttha* of the Cūlavamsa. This has also cleared the confusion created by a reference in the chronicles to a place named *Mannāra* near the port of *Mahātīttha*. Then again, unlike at *Māntai*, this location of *Mahātīttha* is also compatible with its fame as the vital link in the exchange of goods between the Far East and countries bordering the Arabian Sea. Ships plying in the Arabian Sea on the other side of Pamban Straits, found the passage too hazardous to negotiate. But they could send their wares through small boats to *Mahātīttha* and collect other shipments from ocean going vessels which had easy access to *Mahātīttha* on the northern coast (but not to *Māntai*) through the Bay of Bengal.

ANNEX

Some Place Names discussed in this Paper

1. **Iyakkachchi:** “Yakkha Division” (>the Tamilised version of S. Yak+anchiya), probably a name coming down from a division of Vijaya’s ancient kingdom of Tambapanni.
2. **Kankesanturai (Gangaisanturai):** “Port of Embarkation to the Ganges” <S. & P. *Gangā*=Ganges; S. & P. *esana*=seeking; S. *tota*, P. *tittha* T.turai=port.
3. **Kōlambahālaka:** “Pottery Warehouse” <P. *Kōlamba*=a large clay vessel; *hala* <*sāla*=a hall; it appears to be the same as Kumbalhala of the Mannar Kacceri Pillar inscription.
4. **Kudakadavukā:** “Smaller (division of) the Mud Excavation” <S. *kuda*—small; *kada*=mud; *ukā*=to raise as a deposit (i.e. to excavate).
5. **Kuṁbalhala:** “Potters’ Hall” or “Potters’ Village” S.< *kuṁbal* = potters; *hala*=hall (alternative name for Kōlambahālaka also near Mahātīttha).
6. **Mallakam:** (*Mallagama*) “Combatants’ Village” <S. *Malla* =hand to hand fighter; *gama*=village.
7. **“Mannāra near Mahātīttha”** (Cv. 61.39): the same as modern Tōndai-mannār (q.v.). It could be a Tamilised form of an earlier Sinhala name as *Maṇḍa āra*=Mud Pit from S. *Maṇḍa*=mud; +*āra*=mine or pit.
8. **Mattikāvātātīttha:** “Ferry of the Clay Excavation” P.< *mattika*=clay; *ävaḷa*=an excavation; *tittha*=port or ferry. Same as Tondaimannar.
9. **Maṭṭivāl:** “Clay Excavation” (S. *Māti Vaḷa*, <*māti*=clay; *vaḷa*=pit), same as Tondaimannar today.
10. **Māvittapuram:** “Mahātīttha City” (*Māvitta* < *Māvattu* < S. *Māvatu*) or from *Māviti* < S. < *Mahaviti mahavuṭu*, for *Mahātīttha* and T. *puram* S. *pura*=a fortified city.)

11. **Mulavāi**: “Thorn Gate” <T. *mulli, mulḷu* (முள்ளி, முள்ளு) = Thorn + *vai* (வாயில்) = gate.
12. **Mūn Kulam**: “Three Ponds” or **Tumpokon** <T. *mūnu* = three + *kulam* = pond or tank.
13. **Myliddy**: “Demon (or Giant) Bricks” (the giant sized bricks of the early ruins) <T. *Mayal* (மயல்) = demon + *iṭṭikai* (இட்டிகை) = bricks.
14. **Palāli**: “Army Camp” <T. *balam* (பலம்) = army + *āli* (ஆளி) (P. *maṇḍala*) = circle, arena; P. **Yuddha Mandala** = Battle Arena; S. **Bala Maṇḍala** or *Balālāya* = Army Camp <S. **Bala** (பல) = army + *ālaya* (ஆலய) = abode, camp.
15. **Pepodatuda**: “Little Watering Point” <S. *pe* (பெ) = water *poda* (பொடி) = little; *tuda* (துடி) = point.
16. **Periyanāḍḍutēvanturai**: “Landing Place of the Cola Commander (Tālikumāran?)” <T. *periya-naḍḍu* = great kingdom, (Cola Empire); *tēvan* = a mercenary; *turai* = landing place.
17. **Sirṭsavatthu**: “Māra Achchiya” <P. *Sirṭsa* = S. *Mārā* + P. *vatthu* = S. *achchiya*. Called **Māracci Rata** in Kadayimpot, but now called North (*Vaḍa*, வட) and South (*Ten* தென்) **Mārachchi**.
18. **Tellipalai** (Tellipallai): “Nā Vehera” <T. *telli* (தெள்ளி) + *nāgam* (elephant) + *palli* (பள்ளி) = temple, *vihāra*.
19. **Thaiyidḍi**: “Old Bricks” <T. *Thāiy* (தாய்) old + *iṭṭikai* (இட்டிகை) = bricks.
20. **Tōndaimannār**: “Dug Clay Pit” <T. *tōṇḍu* (தோண்டு) = to dig; *man* (மண்) = clay; *ār* (Skt. *āra*) = a cavity. Also known as **Mannāra**, **Mattivāl** (*Mātivāla*) or **Mattikāvātattittha**.
21. **Tumpokon**: “Three Ponds” <S. *tun* = three; *pokon* = ponds; same as modern **Mūn Kulam**.

22. Valālai: "Neighbourhood of the Excavation" < T. *valai* (வலை) = pit + *ālayam* (ஆலயம்) environs or neighbourhood.
23. Veemankāmam: "Village of Fear" < T. *vīmam*, (Skt. *bhīmam*), = fear, dread; T. *kāmam* < S. *gama* = village.
24. Veeramānikkatēvanturai: "Landing Place of Veeramānikka Tēvan" (i.e. Viradēva's Landing Place).

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4. Geiger, Wilhelm *The Mahavamsa* English translation 1912, footnote to Chapter VII verse 58.
5. Adikaram, E. W. *Early History of Buddhism in Ceylon*, M. D. Gunasena & Co., Colombo 1946 p. 112.
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7. For instance, Viradeva of Palandipa landed his troops at Mahātīttha around 1112 A.C., Māgha (1215-1236) also maintained a garrison there, while Chandrabhānu landed there, but was defeated by Virabāhu under King Parākrama Bāhu II in 1247 A.C. (*University History of Ceylon (U.C.H.C.) Part I Vol II pp. 439, 619, 626*).
8. This shifting of the location of a port without a change of name appears to have occurred in other instances too. In a map accompanying an article entitled 'How did Colombo get its name?' by this writer, published in *WEEKEND* of June 9, 1985, it was suggested that the present Colombo is the third port by that name. It appears to have been near Columbuturai in the Jaffna peninsula in Vijaya's time and then at Kolambatīttha or Kolomtota at the mouth of Malvatu Oya up to the time of the invasion by Sena and Guttika, (In the paper entitled *New Insights for the location of the Ancient City of Tambapani* presented at the Eleventh IAHA Conference at Colombo in August 1988, this writer put forward evidence from the *Dipavamsa* to show that Columbuturai could in fact be a second port built by Vijaya, after Tambapanni).
The author of the *Kōkila Sandēsaya* (v. 190) also states that the place where Vijaya met Kuveni and also established his first kingdom, was Tammännā Aḍaviya, situated between Halāvata and Puttalama. This also is only an intelligent guess based on the similarity of names. The name Tammännā also refers to a tree (*Mischodon zeylanicus*) found in association with many other place names. Here Tammännā Aḍaviya refers only to a forest (P. aṭavi) of such trees.
"The *Rajavaliya*." English translation ed. B. Gunasekara, Govt. Press Colombo, 1900 (reprint 1954), p. 19. Also *Rājāvaliya*: ed. A. V. Suravira, Lake House Investments Ltd., 1976 p. 169.
10. *Cūlavamsa* Ch. 61 v. 39.
11. *University History of Ceylon (U.C.H.C.)* Vol. I part II p. 476 and *Cūlavamsa* Ch. 76 vv. 85-91.
12. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. III. pp. 100-113.
13. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. VI Part I p. 28 (No. 6).
14. *U.C.H.C.* Vol. I Part I p. 347.

15. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. III p. 105.
16. *ibid.* p. 113 under comments on (Lines C 19-20).
17. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* Vol. III p. 107 see comments on (Lines A 14-20).
18. Rasanayagam C. : *Ancient Jaffna*, p. 244.
19. Verse No. 209 in Sigiri Graffiti (ed. Paranavitana), had been inscribed by a person named Siv who came from *Mahaviṭi*. The optional *pura* added at the end only signifies 'city'.
20. *U.C.H.C.* Vol. I part II p. 414.
21. Nicholas thought that Kolambahāḷaka was close to Anuradhapura because he believed that Māhātīttha was at Māntai to the northwest.
22. Cv. 54:14. Pali text, for Geiger not recognizing it as a place name, calls it 'battlefield.'
23. *Culavamsa* I Ch. 54 v. 14 (see the Pali text in Geiger's edition, because in the English translation he had not recognized it as a place name). Rasanayagan also thinks that this took place near *Mavittapuram*. See *Ancient Jaffna* p. 261 and also *U.C.H.C.* Vol. I Part I p. 347.
24. *Sinhala Sabdakoshaya*: A.P. de Soysa, Colombo 1964, and *Sri Sumangala Sabdakoshaya*: W. Sorata Thēra. It is also to be noted that *paya* becomes *payi* when used as an adjective, e.g. in southern place names like *Payibokka* (= Watering Bay) and *Payiyagala* (Payi-yaha-gala= Good Water Rock).
25. *U.C.H.C.* Part I Vol. II p. 739.
26. *ibid.* p. 349.
27. See footnote No. 10.
28. *U.C.H.C.* Vol. I Part II, p. 433.
29. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XXII p. 92.
30. *Culavamsa* II Ch. 83 vv. 15-18.
31. *Pūjāvaliya* ed. Kirielle Nānavimala Thera p. 790.
32. For kada= mud see *Sinhala Sabdakoshaya* Dept. of Cultural Affairs, Colombo, Vol. 5 p. 2236.
33. *Ceylon Antiquary* Vol. II part III p. 171.
34. Nicholas, C. W. *Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon*, p. 83, Ch. X, on The Jaffna District.
35. Parker, Henry *Ancient Ceylon*, see Ch. VI and Appendix.
36. In fact the name appears to have been written as Mayaliṭṭi, earlier. For instance, it is spelt as Mayletti in Baldaeus' map.
37. Robert Percival, *An Account of the Island of Ceylon*, (1803) p. 53.
38. Perera, D.G.A. New Insights for Locating the Ancient City of Tambapanni, *Proceedings of the Eleventh Conference of the International Association of Historians of Asia*, Colombo, August 1988.
39. *Mahāvamsa* Ch. 7 v. 58.
40. Though it is also possible to analyse the name Mārachchiya as (S.) Maha ārachchiya, it now seems specious because the name appears to be of very much earlier origin than the time when the word 'arachchi' came into vogue.

සිංහල කෘෂි වාරි කර්මාන්ත ඉතිහාසයේ නොවිසඳුණු ගැටළු කීපයක්

(මිණිපේ ලිපිය ඇසුරෙන්)

විමල විජයසූරිය

මිණිපේ ටැම් ලිපිය

පොළොන්නරුවේ* රජකළ කීර්ති නිශ්ශංකමල්ල මහරජු ගේ අග බිසොවක ව සිට, අනතුරුව ලක් කිරුළ පලන් කලාශාණවතී (1202-1208) රැජින ගේ අටවන රාජ වර්ෂයේ (1209) දී¹ ආති (ආයස්මන්ත) සෙනෙවි රදුන් ඝාතනය කළ (අනීකංග ගේ විය යුතු) “දෙමළ සිංහල ආක්‍රමණය” (1209) තමා විසින් සාර්ථකව මැඩලන ලදු යි භාම සෙනෙවි රදුන් විසින් කොටවා ඇති මිණිපේ ටැම් ලිපියෙහි මෙම මිටියාවන සහිත මිණිපේ ඇළ (13 ශ. ව. මුල) හැඳින්වෙන්නේ ලංකාවේ ප්‍රධාන ධාන්‍යාගාරය (කොටසර) වශයෙනි.

“භාම සේනාධිරාජ හිමි සන්ද තෙම මෙලෙස තමා පිළිබද මුළු රට නිජකණ්ටක කොටු සෙමෙහි තබා වසනුයේ පෙර මේ කිත්තා නැමැති අමාත්‍යයාණන් විසින් කැරවූ මහවැලි ගං නැ(මැ)ති බිසවුන් ලෝවැඩ පිණිස වැදූ පුත් රුවනක් බන්දු ලක්දිවට මුල් කොටසර වැ තුබූ මිණිබෙ ඇළ එතැන් පටන් ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු ස්වාමීන්ට විසිවනු දක්වා පැවත...” (26-34)²

එක ද දිය බිඳක් වැඩට නො ගෙන මුහුදට යා නො දෙමී යි ද, මුළු ලක ගං (-නදී) බැඳ කෙත් වත් කරවා ලක්දිව සරු කළහ යි ද ලියූ කියු මහ පැරකුම්බා සමය ලංකාවෙන් පිට රටට සහල් නිර්‍යාත කළ එක් අදින යුගයක් විය. මහපැරකුම්බා යුගයේ සිංහලයා ලැබූ ආභ්‍යන්වයේ යගොරාවයේ පදනම වූයේ රට තුළ සාර්ථකව දියුණු කළ කෘෂි වාරි සංවර්ධනය යි. එහි මූලිකත්වය ගෙන ඇත්තේ, මේ ලිපිය අනුව මිණිබෙ ඇළෙන් පෝෂණය වූ මහවැලි වම් ඉවුරු පෙදෙස ඇතුළු මිටියාවන යි. මේ අභිලේඛනය අනුව එම මහාකර්තව්‍යයේ එක් කොටස්කරුවකු වූයේ මහපැරකුම්බා රජු සමයේ සිටියහ යි පෙනෙන ඔහු ගේ වීරෝදර ඇමතිවරුන් ගෙන් කෙනකු වූ “මේ-කිත්-නා” හෙවත් (මෙස) කීර්තිනාථ තුමා ය යි නිගමනය කළහැකි ය.

* (අ) ‘පළොන්නරුක’ Inscription of Ceylon, Vol. ii, Pt. i, Late Brahmi Inscriptions (Archaeological Survey of Ceylon — S. Paranavitana, 1983, p. 66, Ch. V No. 45

(ආ) “පොළොන්නරුවෙන් ආ පේ (ට)” Sigiri Graffiti - No. 233

මේ අනුව “පොළොන්නරුව, පොළොන්නරුව” යන කුමාරතුංග නිරුක්තිය සහ මූර්ධජ ළකාරය සඳහන් ය.

33 වසරක් රජකළ (1153-1186) මහපැරකුමිබා (“ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු”) රාජ්‍ය සමයේ දී ඔහු ගේ රාජ්‍ය වර්ෂයෙන් විසි වැන්න (1173) තෙක් මේ ඇළ (මැනවින්) පැවති බව මේ ලිපියෙන් පැවසේ. අනතුරුව රජ පත් හත් දෙනකු ගෙන් හා කලායාණවතී රැජින ගේ අටවන රාජ වර්ෂයෙන් ද පසු හාම සෙනෙවිරදුන් මේ පූජා ලිපිය පිහිටවූ සමයේ දී එය යළිත් ප්‍රති-සංස්කරණය කරන්නට ඇති බවත්, ඒ අතරතුර වූ නිශ්ශංකමල්ල, ඵරපත්ත ආදී රජුන් රැජිනියන් අටදෙනකු ගේ ගත වූ කාලය ගැනත් මේ ටැම් ලිපියේ ගෙවී අඩාළ වූ වාක්‍ය බණ්ඩවලින් හැඟවෙයි. මේ අනුව නම් මෙහි සඳහන් වුණේ, මහාපරාක්‍රමබාහු පටන් පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ පාලකයන් මිණිපේ ඇළ කරවූ තොරතුරු පමණි.

මේ විස්තරය අනුව මිණිපේ ඇළ හා එහි අමුණ ගැන සඳහන් කරුණු සහල් නිෂ්පාදනයෙහි උච්චතම යුගයක් වූ මහපැරකුමිබා කාලයට අයත් වන අතර එහි ආදිකර්තෘ ලෙස ලිපියේ සඳහන් මේ කිත්තා (-මේස කීර්තිනාථ) ඇමතිතුමා ගේ ජීවන කාලය නිශ්චය වශයෙන් ලෙබනගත ව හෝ මෙතෙක් නිරාකරණය කොට හෝ නැතත් ඔහු ද මහපැරකුමිබා සමයට අයත් විය යුතු ය යි සිතමි.

1. මේ කිත්තා (මේස කීර්තිනාථ)

“ලංකාවේ වාරි මාර්ග ඉතිහාසය හැදෑරීමේ දී වඩාත් වැදගත් තැනක් ගන්නා මිණිපේ ඇළේ කර්තෘ මේ කිත්තා ඇමති ගේ නාමය මිණිපේ ලිපියෙහි පමණක් ශේෂව ඇතැ” යි සඳහන් කරන මහාචාර්ය සෙනරත් පරණවිතාන සූරින් “අවාසනාවකට මෙන් මේ ලිපියෙහි ‘පෙර’ යන්න හැර ඔහු විසූ කාලය ගැන කිසිත් සඳහන් නැතැ” යි පවසා ඇත. “මේස කීර්තිනාථ ගැන මහවංසයෙහි හෝ තමාගේ දූනුමේ පමණින් කිසිදු ලේඛනයක සඳහන් නොවෙති” යි තවදුරටත් එතුමා දක්වයි.³

එහෙත් පරණවිතාන විශාරදයාණන් ගේ බුද්ධි මහිමයට හා බහුශ්‍රැතත්-වයට ගරු කරමින්, මේ කිත්තා ගැන පොලොන්නරු සාහිත්‍යයෙන් තොර-තුරු බිඳක් අනාවරණය කර ගැනීමට මිණිපේ පුවරු ලිපිය පිහිටවූ කලායාණ-වතී (1202-1208) සමයට අවුරුදු දෙකකට පෙර විසූ ලීලාවතී (1197-1200) රැජින සමයෙහි ලියූ සසඳුවතීන් (කාව්‍යතිලකයෙන්) පිහිටක් ලැබේ.

“එබැවින් මෙන් සර - නුවණැස සිටි ලෝ වැටුම්
 සහදස් සොළී ගජමුළු — දළ දස් සුන් කෙසර වන්
 හිමි කුලැ බඳ’දර — නිති සිතුමැණෙව රක්තා
 රුවන්පා කුල කෙහෙලි — අගමැති කිත් සෙනෙවි යුත්
 කළ ලො සසුන් වැඩ — ලීලාවතී හිමි සඳ
 පළ කළ දම් රජ සිරි — මෙ වැටුමහි පිටුබල වි”⁴

යන සසඳු ගීවල ලීලාවතී ප්‍රථම රාජ්‍යාදයෙහි (1197 - 1200) ඇය ගේ අග්‍රාමාත්‍ය හා රාජකාරක තත්ත්වයට උසස් වූ අගමැති කිත් සෙනෙවි (සසඳු පුරාණ සන්නය - කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථ) ගැන කියවේ. පුරාණ ලංකාවේ අගමැති, මහසෙනෙවි ඇ තනතුරු එක්වර එක් අයකු විසින් දැරූ අවස්ථා බොහෝ ය. කිත්සිරිමෙවන් කැලණි විහාර ලිපියෙහි “අලගක්කෝනාර නම් අමාත්‍යාත්තමයාණන්”⁵ ය යි ද මූලාශ්‍රය රාශියක ම ඔහු ද (V) බ්‍රව්‍නෙකබා රජු ගේ “සේනාධිනායකයා” බව ද සඳහන් වේ.⁶ පුරාණයේ සේනාධිනායකයන් මහායෝධයන් වූයේ ද, රජුගේ ඇමතිවරුන් ම ය. මෙසේ සසඳුවනේ සඳහන් කිත්සෙනෙවි මහපරාක්‍රමබාහු සමයේ විසූ මහසෙනෙවි-වරුන් ගෙන් කෙනෙකි. මහාවංසයෙහි කියේ මැ නු.

“තං සාතෙත්වාථ නිස්සංක රාජිනො භාගිනෙය්‍යකො
 නව මාසං අකා රජජං චෝඩගංග මහීපති
 තතො තස්ස නරින්දස්ස උජ්ජාටෙත්වාන ලෝචනො
 දුරි කත්වාන තං කිත්ති සේනානාථො මහබ්බලො
 ලීලාවතියා පරක්කන්ති නරින්දග්ග මහෙසියා
 රජජං කාරාපඨි තිණි වස්සාති නිරුපද්දවං”⁷

නිශ්ශංකමල්ල රජු ගේ බෑනා වූ චෝඩගංග රජු නව මසක් රජ කළේය. අනතුරුව මහපැරකුම්බා රජු ගේ අග මෙහෙසිය වූ ලීලාවතී බියොව ලක් සිහසුනට පත්කොට තුන් අවුරුදු සාමකාමී රාජ්‍ය සමයක් ඇති කළේ මේ මහබලවන් කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථයන් ය. ලංකාව කොල්ල කාගෙන යාමට තුන් වරෙක පැමිණි චෝල සේනා ඔහු විසින් පරාජය කොට පලවා හළ බව සසඳුවන පුරාණ සන්නය කියයි. මේ කෘතිය පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ අග ලියවුණු බවත්, බොහෝ සාහිත්‍ය ඉතිහාසඥයන් කියන පරිදි සසඳුවනත් එහි පුරාණ සන්නයත් සමකාලීන නොවන බවත් මා විසින් සංස්කරණය කළ සසඳුවනේ ඓතිහාසික පසුබිමෙහි ලා නිරාකරණය කරන ලදී.⁸ සසඳු පුරාණ සන්නය මෙසේ කියයි.

“දෙවාරයක මාවටු තොටින් අනුරාධපුර දක්වා ද නැවත, සළාවන් තොටින් ශ්‍රී පුරය දක්වා ද.....තුන් වාරයක වතුරංගිණි බල යුක්තව ආ සොළී සේනාව.....මතු කියන ලද කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථයෝ දෙමළ විජය කළහැ”⁹ යනුවෙනි.

ලීලාවතී රැජින ද, සසඳු කවින් විසින් මෙතුමා ජනතාවට මෙමුත්‍රී කරුණා-වෙන් හා සහෝදරත්වයෙන් යුතුව (-මෙත්සර) රටේ පාලනය (-ලෝ වැටුම්) ඉතා ම අවදියෙන් හා ඥානාන්විත ආකාරයෙන් සිදු කළහ යි ද මූලවංසය ඔහු මහ බලවන් (-මහබ්බලෝ) රාජ්‍ය නායකයකු වූහ යි ද කියා ඇත.

සසඳුවන ලියූ ලීලාවතී ප්‍රථම රාජ්‍යාදයෙන් (1197-1200) අවුරුදු අටකට පමණ පසුව ලීලාවතී රැජින රජ පත් අටවන පාලන අවුරුද්දේ (1205) ඇගේ සෙනෙවි ආයස්මන්ත හා ධර්මාශෝක ළදරු රජු ද නසා

අතීත-ග මහාදිපාදයන් විසින් වෝල ආධාර ලබා කළ “දෙමළ සිංහල ආක්‍රමණය¹⁰ සාර්ථක ලෙස මැඩලූහ යි මෙම මිණිපේ ලිපියෙහි ප්‍රශස්ත වූයේ භාම සෙනෙවියන් ය. භාම සෙනෙවිතුමා ආයස්මන්තට පසුව සේනාධිපති විය. මෙම ජයග්‍රහණයෙන් පසුව භාම සෙනෙවි මිණිපේ ලිපිය පිහිටුවමින් ‘පෙර’¹¹ ද හෙවත් තමාට පළමු එම ප්‍රදේශයෙහි වූ මිණිපේ ඇළ කරවා හෙවත් වැඩි දියුණු කරවා ගොවිතැන් අස්වනු දියුණු කොට රට සශ්‍රීක කළේ “මේ කිත්තා නැමැති අමාත්‍යයාණන් විසින්” යි ලිපියෙහි කොටවා ඇත. මේ අනුව, මේ කිත්තා, ආයස්මන්ත හා භාම යන සෙනෙවිවරු තිදෙන මෙහි (මිණිපේ ලිපියේ) සඳහන් වන බලවත්තු තිදෙනා වෙති.

මේ කිත්තා ගේ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයේ පටන් ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු (මහාපරාක්‍රම බාහු) ගේ විසිවන අවුරුද්ද තෙක් එය පැවති බව සඳහන් හෙයින් සාමාන්‍ය ප්‍රදේශ භාර ඇමතියකු ලෙස මේ කිත්තා මේ ප්‍රදේශයේ ගොවිතැන් කළේත් මහාපරාක්‍රමබාහු ඒ කටයුතු සාර්ථකව කළ ඔහු ගේ රජයේ මුල් කාලයේ ම බව මින් ඇහෙයි.

එහෙත් මිණිපේ/මිණිබේ යන සිංහල නම් ගම් පාළි කෘති සඳහා ‘මණිහේද’ (-හත්ඵවනගල්ල විහාරවංස)¹², ‘මණිමෙබල’ (-චූලවංස)¹³ යැ යි පාළියට හරවා ගත් බව පිළිගන්නා පරණවිතාන සූරිහු චූලවංසයේ ඒ නම සඳහන් අමුණක් (බන්ධන, මරියාද, ආවරණක) කරවීමේ අවස්ථා දෙකක් ද, සොයා දක්වති. නමින් ම සඳහන් ඒ සුප්‍රකට අවස්ථා දෙකින් එකක් මේ කිත්තා ඇමති විසූ “පෙර” ද සේ ද අර්ථ නිරූපණය කරති.

චූලවංසය අනුව ‘මණිමෙබල’ අමුණ කරවූහ යි සඳහන් අවස්ථා දෙකින් එක් රාජ්‍යාදියකි, දෙ වන සේන (853-887) මහරජු විසූ නව වන සියවස. ඔහු ‘මණිමෙබල’ අමුණ කරවූ බව ලෙබනගත¹⁴ ය. ‘(මණිමෙබල’ අමුණ බැඳීමේ) අනෙක් අවස්ථාව මිනුන් සිය වස් තුනකට පෙර සිදු වූහ යි වංශ කථාගත කොට තිබේ. එනම් පළමුවන අග්ගබෝධි (571-604) රාජ්‍යාදියේ දී හෙවත් 6-7 වන සියවස් අතරතුර ය.

මේ සටහනේ දී පළමුවන අග්ගබෝධි රජු මණිමෙබල නම් ඇළ, අමුණ සහිතව බැඳවූ බව මිස එය බැඳවූයේ කිනම් ගහක් හරහා දැ යි ගහේ නම (කලින් මෙන්) මෙහි සඳහන් වී නැත.¹⁵ මණිමෙබල යන පාළි පරිවර්තන නාමයෙන් මිණිපේ හැර අන් දනව්වක් හෝ අමුණක් පුරාණ ලේඛනවල හැඳින්වී නැති හෙයින් එය බැඳවූයේ මහවැලි ගඟ හරහා ය යන්නට (චූල වංසයෙහි සෘජුව නමින් සඳහන් නුණත්) විරෝධයක් පැන නො නගී.

එහෙත් මිණිපේ ඇළේ කර්තෘ ලෙස පරණවිතාන සූරින් පිළිගන්නා ඇමති ගේ නමේ, එනම් “මේ කිත්තා” යන්නේ ශබ්ද පරිණාම ස්වරූපය (“මේ-ත්-තා” ය යි දීර්ඝ ස්වර හා හල් අකුරු තිබීම)* මත “ඒ නම පළමුවන

* 7 ග. ව. පෙර සිංහල අභිලේඛනවල බසේ හල් අකුරු, දීර්ඝ ස්වර, මහාප්‍රාණ, බිත්දු, ශ, ඡ, ඇ ඇ නො වී ය. (විද්‍යාදය-විද්‍යා කලා භාෂා ශාස්ත්‍රීය සංග්‍රහය, 1969 පුලි පිටු 116 - 122

අක්බෝ යුගයේ (6-7 ශ. ව.) යෙදුමක් නොවිය හැකි හෙයින් මේ කිත්තා දෙවන සේන යුගයේ (9 ශ. ව.) දී මේ ඇළ සෑදූ නිලධාරියා විය යුතුය” යි අවසාන වශයෙන් පරණවිතාන මහාවාරියතුමා නිගමනය කොට තිබේ.¹⁶

මෙසේ මේ කිත්තා විසූ කාලය හයවන හත්වන සියවස් තරම හෝ මේ නමේ ධවනි ප්‍රස්තරය පමණක් සලකා නවවන සියවස තරම හෝ ඇත අතීතයට යවතොත් ඔහු කරවූ අමුණ හා ඇළ පළමුවන අශ්බෝ දෙවන සේන යුගවල සිට මහාපරාක්‍රමබාහු විසූ දෙළොස්වන සියවස තෙක් අවුරුදු තුන් හාරසියක් මැනවින් පැවතුණා ය යි යන වැරදි ඉතියක් ලැබේ. මේ මේ කිත්තා (වැඩ) කරවූ ඇළ ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු ගේ විසිවන රාජ වර්ෂය තෙක් පැවතුණාය යි කීමෙන් හැඟෙන්නේ ඔහු එය පරාක්‍රමබාහු සමයෙහි ම කළ බවත්, ඒ කෙටි කාලය තුළ මැනවින් පැවතී යළි ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයක් සංවර්ධනයක් අවශ්‍ය වූ බවත් ය. අනෙක, පළමුවන අශ්බෝ හෝ දෙවන සේන හෝ එය ඔවුන් විසින් ම තමන් නමින් කරවූ, බැඳවූ බව මිස නිල ධාරියකු නමින් කරවූ, බැඳවූ බවක් හෝ ඔහු මේ කිත්තා නම් වූ බවක් හෝ එම අවස්ථා දෙකෙහි දී ම වූලවංසයේ හෝ අන් තැනක සඳහන් නො වේ. එබඳු නිගමනයකට අත්‍යවශ්‍ය සාධකයක් වූලවංසයෙහි හෝ පිටත්තර මූලාශ්‍රයක හෝ නැති නිසා මේ සෙල්ලිපියෙන් ප්‍රකාශ වන්නේ ඔහු මහා පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජුගේ මුල් කාලයේ විසූ බවට ඉති¹⁷ පමණි. ඔහු කෘෂි වාරි කර්මාන්ත අතින් පොලොන්නරු යුගය කුළු ගැන්වූ මහාපරාක්‍රමබාහු ගේ ඇමතියකු ව සිට මිණිපේ පෙදෙස සංවර්ධනය කළ බව යි, ලිපියෙන් හැඟෙන්නේ. එද මෙහි සඳහන් පරිදි අමාත්‍ය මට්ටමේ සිටි ඔහු ලීලාවතී සමය වන විට (අවුරුදු හතළිස් හතරකට පමණ පසු) අගමැති වූ බවත්, ඒ අතර තුර ඔහු විදේශාක්‍රමණ මඩිමින් රට පිළිගත් යුද්ධ වීරයකු ව සිටි බවත් වූලවංසය, සසඳවත, සසඳ පුරාණ සන්නය හා මෙම මිණිපේ ලිපිය යන මූලාශ්‍රය කීපයෙන් තහවුරු වේ. මහාපරාක්‍රමබාහු සමාසන්න පොලොන්නරු යුගයට පෙර කෘෂි වාරි කාර්මික කටයුතුවල හා පරිපාලන කටයුතුවල යෙදුණු එනම් ඇමතියකු ගැන කියවෙන කිසිදු සටහනක් මෙතෙක් ප්‍රකාශයට පත්ව නැත. පොලොන්නරු සමයේ ම 1 වික්‍රමබාහු ගේ කිත්ති නම් සෙනෙවියකු මන්තාරමේ දී වීරදේව අතින් මළ බවක් වූලවංසය කියයි.¹⁸

කල‍්‍යාණවතී රැජින ගේ අටවන රාජ වර්ෂයෙහි පටන් ඇරඹී අභ්‍යන්තර බාහිර ආක්‍රමණ සාර්ථකව මැඩලූහ යි ප්‍රශස්ත මේ භාම සෙනෙවිරදු මිණිපේ පුවරු ලිපියෙන් තමාට “පෙර” ද මේ පෙදෙසේ ගොවිතැන් අස්වනු දියුණු කොට රට සශ්‍රීක කළේ මේ කිත්තා ඇමතිතුමා බව අහවා ඇත. එය ම සසඳවතේ දෙබිඩි අරුත් දෙන සෙලෙස් (ශ්ලෙෂ) ගීයකින් මෙසේ ප්‍රකාශිත ය.

“පෙදෙහි පෙදෙහි මද — පැනැතියෙ මූලා අද මෙන්
පැනසරසැතියා මෙන් — පැලඹෙන්නෙ සව අත්හි
බැඳුම් ද, එ නියනෙ — සුවෙනෙද දෙසැ දන සිරින්
එ සිරි ගුණ නුවණැති — මැති යුත් රජක්හු බෙලෙන්¹⁹

හරවත් දැනුම් ඇති ගත්කරු හෝ පාලකයා හැම¹⁹ අතේ දී ම, (කවි සංකල්පවල දී හෝ හැම පරිපාලන ක්ෂේත්‍රයක දී ම) පියවරෙන් පියවර හෝ පදයෙන් පදයට පොළො පනිමින් වැටී වැටී යන අන්ධයකු මෙන් නො ව, හොඳට ඇස්, පළ පුරුද්ද තිබෙන කෙනකු (රාජ්‍ය නායකයකු හෝ කවියකු) වගේ ම සාර්ථකව කටයුතු කරයි. (ජයග්‍රහණය කරයි)

රටක බන්ධන-නිර්මාණ කාව්‍ය රචනාදිය බහුල වන්නේ එබඳු ප්‍රඥසාර පාලකයකු මුල්කර ගෙන ය. එම බන්ධන රචනා, නිර්මාණ පහළ වීමට නම් (කලාකාරයන් ඇතුළුව) රටේ ජනතාව සුඛිත මුදිත විය යුතු ය. ඒ සුවය, සුඛිත මුදිත භාවය, සෞභාග්‍යය ළඟාවන්නේ දෙස දන සිරිති. දේශය ආර්ථිකත්වයෙන් ධන ධාන්‍යයෙන් (දන සිරිත්) සශ්‍රීක වීමෙනි. රට ධන ධාන්‍ය ආදියෙන් ජනතා දියුණුවෙන් (දන සිරිත්) ඉතිරි යන්නේ ගුණ නුවණ පිරුණු මන්ත්‍රීවරයකු හෝ මන්ත්‍රීන් ඇති රජකු ගේ රාජ්‍ය පාලකයකු ගේ බල මහිමයෙනි, ශක්තියෙනි. ඒ මන්ත්‍රී මේ කිත්තා ය; කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථ ය යි සසඳුවන පවසයි.

එද සිංහල ද්වීපය වැනි රටක් සෞභාග්‍යවත් වූයේ ප්‍රධාන වශයෙන් වැව්, අමුණු, ඇළ, වේලි ගොවිතැන් සුලභ කිරීමෙනි. නැතහොත් ජනතා ආධි-පත්‍යයෙනි. එනම් දන සිරිති. ලීලාවතී රැජින ද රටේ පොදු ජනතා නිදහස, සාමය, සශ්‍රීකත්වය, සුඛිත මුදිත භාවය මෙන් ම (පාළි දයාවංසය, සසඳුවන ආදී) යුගයේ පොත පත නිර්මාණ බහුල වීම් ඇ සියල්ලට මුල් වූයේ මුලින් කිත් සෙනෙවි රට සරුකොට සාමකාමී ලෙස කළ දැහැමි පාලනය යි. (“දහම් රජ සිරි-මෙ වැටුම්හි පිටුබල වී”). එම කාර්යයෙහි වැදගත් ම කොටස වූයේ ඔහු අගමැති වීමට පෙර ද මෙම මිණිපේ ඇළ වේලි හා අමුණ අලුත්වැඩියා කොට මහවැලියේ එවකට සිදුවූ සුවිසල් වාරිමාර්ග ක්‍රම මගින් රට සුඛිත මුදිත කිරීම යි.

මේ කරුණු අනුව මහවැලි වම් ඉවුරේ එද සංවර්ධනයට මුල් වූයේ මහ පැරකුම්බා — ලීලාවතී රාජ්‍ය යුගවල ජීවත් වූ ද, ප්‍රමුඛතර ලේඛකයන් ගේ අතිමහත් ප්‍රශංසාවට භාජන වූ මහ ඇමතිවරයකු, රජුන් තනන්තකු හා වංස කථා අනුව එවක සිටි මහ ම බලවතා (මහබිබලො) ය යි සඳහන් වූ ද රුවන්පා කුල²⁰ නායකයා වූ මේ අගමැති කිත් සෙනෙවි හෙවත් කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථ-යන් ය. එහෙයින් කල්‍යාණවතී රැජින ගේ අවසාන වර්ෂයේ අතීකංග ආක්‍රමණයෙන් රට රැකගත් භාම සෙනෙවි රජුන් විසින් මිණිපේ පුවරු ලිපියේ ලා අනුස්මරණය කොට ඇත්තේ ද, පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ දී මිණිපේ ඇළේ, අමුණේ කළ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණයේ ආදි කර්තෘ වූ ඒ (මේ කිත්තා) තුමා ම ය යි මෙහිලා නිගමනය කරනු ලැබේ.

කල්‍යාණවතී රැජින සමයෙහි මහ සෙනෙවි ලෙස මෙම ලිපියේ සඳහන් “ආති නැමැති ඇමතියන්” (12-13) යන හැඳින්වීමේ එන “ආති” යන නම පාලි වංසකථාවල “ආයස්මන්ත” ය යි ද, පූජාවලියෙහි (මාබෝපිටියේ මේධංකර සංස්. 1932, 34 පරි. 16 පිට) “එළලු ආබෝ සෙනෙවිරත්”^{20-A}

යයි ද පෙනේ. ඔහු ගේ ද නමට මුලින් වූ “එළලු” යන්න මෙන් ම කිත්තා (කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථ) ගේ නමට මුලින් “මේ” යන්නක් සමහර විටක යෙදුණේ ඔහු ද වෙනත් කීර්ති (කිත්) නම් ඇත්තන් ගෙන් වෙසෙසා හඳුන්වා දීමේ පෞද්ගලික විශේෂණ නාමයක් වශයෙන් විය යුතු ය. නාම භාවිතයේ දී ඒකපද සමාහාර නමින් නම් කෙටි කිරීමේ සිරිතක් පුරාණයේ සිට ඇත. අශ්වමෙඝයන් ලියූ “ගෞතම කපිල*” වෙනත් පොත පතේ ‘කපිල (සාමි)’ ය යි එයි. “අඤ්ඤා කොණ්ඩඤ්ඤ” කොණ්ඩඤ්ඤ යයි ද “ශාක්‍ය ගෞතම” හා “අක්ෂපාද ගෞතම” ආදිය “ගෞතම” ය යි ද එයි. “කීර්ති නිශ්ශංකමල්ල” නිශ්ශංකමල්ල” ය යි ද “නිශ්ශංක අලකේශ්වර” “අලකේශ්වර” ය යි ද, බොහෝ විට ම එක පදයකට සමාහාර කොට භාවිත කරනු දක්නා ලැබේ. ඒ අනුව, කිත්තා, මේ කිත්තා, කිත් සෙනෙවි, කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථ ආදිය ද එක් යුගයක, එක් ප්‍රදේශයක, එක් තනතුරක් දැරූ එක් රාජ්‍ය නායකයකු සඳහා අවස්ථානුකූල ව යෙදී ඇත.

විශේෂ අවස්ථාවල දී භාවිත කළ උපපද විරුද නාම සෑම විට ම නමට එක් කරනු නො ලැබේ. කල්‍යාණවතී රැජින සමයේ ‘සේනාධිරාජ භාම සෙනෙවිතුමා ද “රුපු විජය භාම සේනාධිරාජ හිමි සන්ද” (26-27)” ය යි මිණිපේ ලිපියෙහි ම “රුපු විජය” යන උපපද විරුද නාමද සමඟ යෙදී ඇත්තේ, ඔහු ගේ නම සාමාන්‍යයෙන් වෙනත් තන්හි ලේඛනගත වී ඇත්තේ (“රුපු විජය” නැති ව) “භාම සෙනෙවි” යනුවෙන් පමණි. මේ අනුව කලින් දැක්වූ පරිදි පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ මේ කිත්තා (මිණිපේ ලිපිය), කීර්ති සේනාධිරාජ, කිත් සෙනෙවි ,(සසදවත) කීර්ති සේනාධිනාථ (-සසදවත පුරාණ සන්නය), කිත්ති සේනානාථො (-චූලවංසය) පමණක් නොව, තව දුරටත් සොයා බැලීමේ දී “කිත්ති අධිකාරී” (-චූලවංසය) (සහ ඇතැම් විට දෙවනගල පර්වත ලිපියෙහි හා චූලවංසයෙහි ද සඳහන් පරිදි අරමණය දිනූ ‘කිත් නගරගිරි’** හෙවත් ‘කිත් නුවරගලුන්’ ද) එක් අයකු විමට ඉඩ තිබේ. සසදවතෙහි ඔහු ‘රුවන්පා කුලයේ’ (සසද පුරාණ සන්නයේ “රත්තපාද අන්වයේ”) නායකයා ද විය. මේ ‘රුවන්-පා’ සහ ‘මිණිමේඛල, ‘මිණිබේ/පේ’²¹ යන කුල හා ප්‍රදේශ නාමවල ද ඇති සමානත්වය ද මේ නිගමනයට ප්‍රබල සාධකයකි.

2. මලෙවි කුල භාම සෙනෙවි

උඩුදුම්බර, ලග්ගල ප්‍රදේශ ඇතුළුව මහවැලි වම් ඉවුරු පෙදෙස් සශ්‍රීක කීර්ම සඳහා මුල් වූ මිණිපේ අමුණ සහ ඇළ ද, ඒ හා සම්බන්ධ අතුරු ඇළ වේලි, වැව්, කෙත්වතු ද ජනපදයන් හා වෙහෙර විහාර ද පුනරුත්ථාපනය

* අශ්වමෙඝ සෞන්දරනන්ද, මහාකාව්‍යයේ (හරප්‍රසාද් ශාස්ත්‍රී, 1910) ‘ගෞතම: කපිලො නාම - මුනිර් ධර්මභාතාං වර: දදර්ශ තපසි ශ්‍රාන්ත: කාක්ෂිවා නිව ගොතම: (i-i)

** ජිනගිරි, නීලගිරි, මාරගිරි, නගර ගිරි, යන ආදිය පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ මහසෙනෙවි-වරුන් දැරූ රාජ දත්ත ගෞරව විරුද නාම සමහරකි.

කිරීමට (13 ශ. ව. මුල) මහ පෑදු මේ භාම සේනාධිනායකයන් කලාණුවතී රාජ සමය අවසානයේ දී පොලොන්නරු මහ රජය යටතේ මේ ප්‍රදේශය පාලනය කරමින් මිණිපේ අසල ගංදෙණියෙහි විසූ බව මූලාශ්‍රයවල සඳහන් ය.

‘ඇළ හා අමුණ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණය කොට, එහි ආදායම වූ අයබදු ආදිය සහ සතුකර එහි පිහිටි විහාරයට පුදන්තට ඇතැ’ යි යන අනුමානය මහාවාරිය සෙනරත් පරණවිතාන සූරින් විසින් ඉදිරිපත් කරන්නේ, ලිපියෙහි ගෙවී ගිය පසු පිටේ අදහස වශයෙනි. (මේ ලිපිය වර්තමානයේ ඩී. ඇස්. සේනානායක නව අමුණ අසල 1944 සිට සුරක්ෂිතව ඇතත්) එය මුලින් පිහිටුවා තිබුණේ ඉන් යාර දෙසියක් තරම් ඇතින් පිහිටි ගඟ වක්කලමේ පුරාණ මිණිපේ අමුණ අසල වම් ඉවුරේ දිරාපත් බෝධිය හා ගොඩනැගිලිවල නටබුන් සහිත ස්ථානයක ය. ලිපි අර්ධයේ එන ‘මහ සහනට’ ආදී වාක්‍ය ශෛෂ්‍යන් ද සැලකීමෙන් මෙහි දිය බදු ආදිය සහනට පිදීම ප්‍රකාශයට පත් කරනු සඳහා ලිපිය මෙතැන මුලින් පිහිටුවා තිබිණැ යි යන නිගමනයට බැස තිබේ.

ජනතාවන්, රටන්, ආගමන්, ආර්ථික රටාවන් යන සියල්ල ඒකාබද්ධ කොට, එද සංවර්ධනය, සුරක්ෂිතතාව හා පරිපාලනය සිදු කළ බව පැවසෙන මේ ලිපියෙන් ඇළ සහ අමුණ කටු කොහොල් හැරීමේ නායක කාරකත්වය ද යළිත් පැවරුණේ ප්‍රදේශ නායකයා වූ භාම සේනාධිරාජයන්ට ය.

“ මලෙවී කුල නිලකායමාන මහ පින්සර භාම සේනාධිරාජයෝ ” (17-19)

“ රුපු විජය භාම සේනාධිරාජ හිමී සන්ද ” (26-27)
යනු එහි දැක්වුණ ආකාරය යි.

13 ශ. ව. මුල දී යුගයේ වීරයා වූයේ වුලවංසයද අනුව ගංගා දෝණියෙහි (ගංදෙණියෙහි) වෙසෙමින් තමාට කලාණුවතී රැජින විසින් පවරා තිබූ මේ මුළු ප්‍රදේශය ම “යුදට ආ නොයෙක් දෙමළ සිංහල මාරහට” හමුදාවලින් බේරාගෙන “තමා පිළිබඳ මුළු රට නිෂ්කණ්ඨක කොට සෙමෙහි තබා” (27-29) පොලොන්නරු මහ රජය යටතේ ශ්‍රී ලංකාවේ ක්‍රියාශීලී නායකත්වයක් දැරුවේ භාම සෙනෙවිරදුන් ය. මේ ලිපියෙන් ප්‍රථම වරට ඉතිහාසඥයනට හමුවන භාම සෙනෙවි සහ ඔහුගේ මලෙවී කුලය ද විශේෂයෙන් එද ලෙබනගත විය හැකිව තුබූ අනෙක් එක ද මූලාශ්‍රයක හෝ සටහන් වී නැතැ යි යන නිගමනයට ද බැස ඇත්තේ පරණවිතාන සූරින් ම ය.

වුලවංසයෙහි හා සෙසු ඓතිහාසික ලෙබනවලද සඳහන් පරිදි 13 ශ. ව. අග සිට හෙවත් ගම්පළ යුගයට ආසන්නව සිංහනගර නමින් කාලිංග ආර්ය පාලනයක් උතුරු ලංකාවේ (ගංගෙග තීර්ථයෙහි=කන්කේසන්තුරයෙහි) ඇරඹිණ. අරඹන ලද්දේ කාලිංග ආර්ය වක්‍රවර්ති රජ පරපුරක් බිහිකළ “විජය කුමරුන් ගේ පරපුරේ බාල සොහොවුරකැ” යි යාල්පාණ වයිපව

මාලයේ²² සඳහන් විවිධ කුලංගෙයි ආර්යන් උග්ගිර සිංහ (-විජය කාලිංග ආර්ය උග්ගසිංහ) හෙවත් සමකාලීන සිංහල පාලි වංස කථාවල ආ පරිදි කාලිංග විජයබාහු (කාලිංග මාස) විසිනි.

මුල දී පොලොන්නරුව ආක්‍රමණය කොට අල්ලාගත් මාස විසි අවුරුද්දක විදේශ ආක්‍රමණික රජයක් එහි ගෙන ගියේ ය. දඹදෙණි අස්නේ 'කඳවුරුපුරය' නමින් ද යාල්පාන වයිපවමාලයෙහි 'කදිරමලය' නමින් ද හැඳින්වුණු පොලොන්නරුව කේන්ද්‍ර කොට ගෙන පාලනය පිහිටුවා තිබිය දී මෙම (මාස නම) විදේශික කාලිංග ආක්‍රමණිකයා ගෙන් මව් බිම රැක ගත් මහ සෙනෙවිවරුන් ගෙන් කෙනෙකි, මේ භාම සෙනෙවිවරුද. මේ ලිපියෙහි භාම නමින් පෙනෙමින්, තවත් කාලිංගයකු වූ අතීකංග ගේ ආක්‍රමණය ද සාර්ථක ලෙසින් මැඩලූ මොහු අවුරුදු විසි දෙකකට පසු සංඛ නමින් ('සංඛ' යනු මහ සෙනෙවි තනතුරේ නාමය බව මෙහි පසුව සාකච්ඡා කැරෙයි) මාසාක්‍රමණය මැඩලූ බව වංස කථාවෙන් කියවෙයි.

ගංගාදෝණියෙහි (ගංදෙණියෙහි) විසූ මේ සංඛ සෙනෙවි මොහු (භාම) ම විය හැකිය යි පරණවිතාන සූරින් උපකල්පනය කරන්නේ මේ ගංගාදෝණි යුද බලකොටුව පිහිටියේ මණිමෙඛල (මිණිපේ) ජනපදයේ ය යන වූලවංස සටහන ප්‍රමාණ කිරීමෙනි. මෙසේ මූලාශ්‍රය දෙකක නම් දෙකකින් හැඳින්වුණු එක් පුද්ගලයකු එක ම කාලයක එක ම පෙදෙසක් ආණ්ඩු කළ බව පෙනෙන හෙයිනි. මණිහෙද, 'මණිමෙඛල' යන නම ද 'මිණිපේ/බේ' යන මුල් සිංහල නම් පාළියට පෙරළීමෙන් වංශකථා කර්තෘන් සාදගත් කෘත්‍රීම පාළි රූප විය හැකි හෙයිනි. (මාතලේ > මහාතිල/මහාතට/මහාතල/මාතුල ආදිය ද සසඳන්න) උච්ච පළාතේ උඩුකිඳ කොට්ඨාසයේ ගම්පහ කෝරළයේ කඳු වැටි අතර පිහිටි ගංදෙණිය යන නමින් අදත් හඳුන්වන ගම ඒ විය හැකිය යි ද පරණවිතාන මහතා පෙන්වා දී ඇත.

සබ්බ, පබ්බ, සංඛ

මහාවංස, වූලවංස පෙළ සංස්කරණය කොට ඉංගිරිසියට ද නැඟූ විල්හෙල්ම් ගයිගර් සූරින් විසින් ද පුස්තකාල අත් පිටපත් දෙකක වූ "සබ්බ" "පබ්බ" යන පාඨාන්තර මෙරට පුද්ගල නාම ලෙස අභාවිත නිසා දෝ ඒවා සංඛය යි නිතුමනයේ පෙරළා (පිටපත්වල වහලින් තොරව සාදගත්) බොරු නමක් ලෙස යි, මේ "සංඛ" යන්න පරණවිතාන සූරින් විසින් හඳුන්වා දෙන්නේ. ශිලාලෙඛන ගත සැබෑ නම වූ "භාම" යන්න ම මෙසේ "සංඛ" ය යි වරදවා පෙරළන්නට, සකසන්නට ඇතැ යි ඔහු සලකා ඇත.²³ සෙල් ලිපියේ භාම යන්නත්, වංස කථාවේ "සංඛ" යන්නත් සමහම් කරන්නක් ලෙස මේ පරණවිතාන මතය හැඳින්විය හැකි ය. වංසකථාව කියන්නේ සංඛ සෙනෙවි 'මණිමෙඛල' රටෙහි 'ගංගාදෝණි' (ගංදෙණි) පර්වත බල කොටුවෙහි වෙසෙමින් ආක්‍රමණික කාලිංග මාස විසූ පොලොන්නරුවට දෙයොදුන් දුරක වූ ඒ ප්‍රදේශය ආරක්ෂා කරමින්, මාස ගේ බල ව්‍යාප්තිය වළකමින් සිටි බව යි.

“ තට්ඵව පුන රට්ඨස්මි. — මණි මෙබල නාමකෙ
 ගංගාදෝණි වලෙ තුංගෙ — කත්වාන පුරමුත්තමං.
 නිවසන්තො තහිං තස්මා — යොජන ද්වයමත්ථකෙ
 නිවසන්තමපි තං දුට්ඨං. — මාස භූපති වාහිනිං.
 තිණුගමපි න මඤ්ඤන්තො — සංඛ නාමො වමුපති
 නිබ්භිතිකොව රක්ඛිත්ථ — තං රට්ඨං තං ව සාසනං.”²⁴

චූලවංසය අනුව කලාශාණවතී රජය පැවැත්තේ අවුරුදු හයකි.²⁵ සෙල් ලිපියෙහි අටවන රාජ්‍ය වර්ෂය ද නම් කර ඇත්තේ කලාශාණවතී රජුන නමිනි. ධර්මාශෝක ළදරු රජු ගේ (1208-1209) රාජ්‍ය වර්ෂය ද ඇයට එක් කිරීමෙන් එසේ වූ බව සැලකේ. ළදරු කුමරු නමින් රට පාලනය කළ ආයස්මන්ත සෙනෙවිරදුන් ද මරා දැමූ අනිකංග ගේ ‘සිංහල දෙමළ ආක්‍රමණය’ මැඩලූහ යි කියවෙන චූලවංසයේ භාමත්, ඉන් අවුරුදු විසි දෙකකට පසුවත් එහි මිණිබේ (චූලවංසය — මණිමෙබලය) පාලනය කරමින් කාලිංග මාස ගේ ආක්‍රමණය ද මැඩලූ සංඛත් යන සංඛ භාම දෙදෙනා එක් අයෙකු යි දක්වන පරණවිතාන මතය ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කිරීමට ද ප්‍රබල සාධක නැත. විසූ කාලය, කාර්යය, ස්ථානය, තනතුර ආදිය අතින් දෙදෙනා ම එක් අයෙකි. වෙනසකට ඇත්තේ නම්වල පැටලිල්ල පමණි.

මේ අනුව මුලින් අනිකංග ආක්‍රමණය සාර්ථකව මැඩලා, අග කාලයේ මාස ගේ විදේශ ආක්‍රමණයට ද එරෙහි ව ඔහු ගේ බල ව්‍යාප්තිය වළකමින් පොලොන්නරු නම් කඳවුරුපුරය වටා රැකවල්ලාගෙන, ලංකාවේ සෙසු ප්‍රදේශ රකිමින් භාම ඇතුළු සිංහල සේනාධිනායකවරුන් රට පාලනය කළ යුගයකි, මෙය. රජුන් රුකඩ බවට පත්කොට සේනාධිනායකයන් රට පාලනය කළ යුද සමයක් වූ ගම්පළ සේනාධිලංකාර, නිශ්ශංක අලකේශ්වර ආදීන් ක්‍රියාකාරී ව ගෙන ගිය පාලන ක්‍රමයේ ලකුණු පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ මෙම දුබල රජුන් කල ද පැවැතියේ ය. අනුරපුර අග. v මහින්ද v උදය රජුන් කල සෙන් සෙනෙවි ද බෝසත් විජයබා මරා බලය උදුරාගත් මිත්‍ර නම් කුලිංග සෙනෙවියා ද මීට නිදර්ශන ය. (රජුන් රුකඩ බවට පත් කොට මේ අයුරින් සෙනෙවි අගමැති ආදීන් ක්‍රියාකාරී පාලකයන් විම අනුර පුර අග සිට ඇරඹිණ.)

මහ සෙනෙවිවරුන් (මාස ගේ) විදේශ යුද්ධමය පාලනයකට විරුද්ධව නැගී සිටි මේ යුගයේ යාපව්ව බලකොටුවක් කොට ඒ ප්‍රදේශය සුභ සෙනෙවි විසින් ද රුහුණේ ගෝවින්ද හෙළ බලකොටුවක් කොට ඒ පෙදෙස බුවනෙක-බා ඇපා විසින් ද ගන්දෙණි පව්ව බලකොටුවක් කොට ‘මණිමෙබල’ (මිණිපේ) පෙදෙස සංඛ සෙනෙවි විසින් ද මාස ගෙන් රැක ගන්නා ලද්දේ ය. කලාශාණවතී — මාස කාල පරිච්ඡේදයන් දෙක අතර (1202-1215=13) අවුරුදු දහ තුනක් පමණ ද, භාම/සංඛ විසින් මිණිපේ ගන්දෙණි පෙදෙසේ පාලනය නොකඩවා පවත්වා ඇත. එහෙයින් සංඛ භාම දෙදෙනාකු නොව දෙනමකින් හැදින්වුණු එක් පුද්ගලයකු බව ඔප්පු වේ.

මේ ප්‍රදේශ පාලකයන් මාසට එරෙහි ව යුද්ධ සන්නද්ධව විසු බලකොටු තුන ම පිහිටියේ පබ්බත, අවල, ඇ නම්වලින් යුතු කඳු මුදුන් හෙවත් ගිරි දුර්ග ඇසුරේ ය. මේ අනුව සිහිරි කාශ්‍යප රජු මුගලන් ගෙන් ආරක්ෂා වීමට තැනූ සිහිරි ආලකමන්දව වුව ද ගිරි දුර්ගයක යුද බල කොටුවක් නොවූහ සි කීව නොහැකි තරමට මුර කොටු දිය අගල්, පවුරු ආදී ආරක්ෂක අංගවලින් අනුන විය. (පරණවිතාන ආලකමන්ද මතයෙන් මහාවංස යුද බලකොටු මතය ද වසන් කළ නොහැකි ය.)

අද මෙන් නො ව, එදා ‘මිණිබේ’, ‘මිණිමෙබල’ ‘මිණිහෙද’ ඇ නම්වලින් හැඳින්වුණු මේ පෙදෙස මහියංගණය ද ඇතුළත් සුවිශාල ජනපදයක් විය. තවමත් මේ පෙදෙසේ පුරාවස්තු භූමි ක්‍රමවත් පර්යේෂණයකට භාජන වී නැත. නගර නිර්මාණ, ගෘහ නිර්මාණ, ප්‍රතිමා මූර්ති, නටබුන් සහිත ස්ථාන හා ගල් සොරොවු, සුවිශාල බිසෝකොටු ආදී ශෛෂ්‍යන් සහිත ගොඩ වී ගිය සුවිසල් වැව් ද එහි බහුල ය. මිණිපේ ඓතිහාසික වාරි කර්මාන්ත සංවර්ධනයේ පුරෝගාමීන් වූ මේ කිත්තා, භාම ආදී සෙනෙවි රදුන් ගේ ගන්දේණි ඇ නගර මාලිගා ස්ථිර වශයෙන් තවමත් හඳුනා ගෙන ද නැත.

එහෙත් වර්තමාන මිණිපේ පෙදෙස මහවැලි ගඟේ වම් ඉවුරේ පිහිටා ඇති අතර ගංදෙණිය නම් වූ පැරණි නටබුන් සහිත ගමක් ගඟේ දකුණු ඉවුරේ පිහිටා ඇත.²⁶

කලින් ද සඳහන් කළ පරිදි උභව පළාතේ උඩුකිඳ කොට්ඨාසයේ ගම්පහ කෝරළයේ කඳු වැටි අතර පිහිටා ඇති මේ ගංදෙණියට මිණිපේ සිට දකුණට දුර වත්මන් හැතැප්ම පහළොවක් බව පරණවිතාන සූරීන් පෙන්වා දී ඇත.

බැමිය

මිණිපේ අමුණට සහ වර්තමාන මහා ජල යෝජනා ක්‍රමවලින් විශිෂ්ට-තමය වූ රත්දේණිගලට ද නුදුරෙහි (මෙම යෝජනා ක්‍රමය යටතේ මෑතක පදිංචිකරුවන් ඉන් ඉවත් කොට අන් ස්ථානයක පදිංචි කරවනු ලැබූ) පුරාණ පාරම්පරික සිංහල ගමක් ‘බැමිය’ නමින් ඇත. 1934 දී පළකළ ආර්. එල්. බ්‍රෝනියර් ගේ “පුරාතන ලංකාවේ වාරිමාර්ග” යන ග්‍රන්ථයේ පළමුවන සිතියමේ (‘Plan of Minipe Yodi Ela’) “සී” අකුර යටතේ²⁷ ද එය සලකුණු කොට ඇත. “මිණිපේ යෝදි ඇළ” නමින් සිතියමට ඇතුළත් කොට ඇති “බැමිය” යන ගම පිහිටා ඇත්තේ උමා ඔය මහවැලි එකතුවට වම් පසිනි.

ලංකාවේ ග්‍රාම නාම පරීක්ෂා කිරීමේ දී එක ම නමින් හැඳින්වෙන ගම් නම් රැසක් ලංකාව පුරා ඇත. නුගේගොඩ, මාදම්පේ, කෙරමිණිය, යටියන ආදිය මෙහි. ජේදුරුතුඩුවේ සිට දකුණේ දෙවුන්දර තෙක් භාවිත සියලු ග්‍රාම නාමවල සංග්‍රහ වූ බොහෝ පැදංශ ද පුරාණ සිංහල පොදු නම් ගම් ය.

-ගොඩ,-ගම, -පේ, -පිටිය ආදිය යි. එහෙත් මේ බැමිය යන්න වෙනත් ප්‍රදේශවලට පොදු නොවූ, මේ ප්‍රදේශයට ම විශේෂ වූ නමකි. එය ග්‍රාම නාම අතර වූ දුර්ලභතම ඒවායින් එකකි. එහෙයින් මේ නමෙහි ඓතිහාසික අගයක්, අර්ථයක් තිබිය යුතු ය.

ඒ ප්‍රදේශය අතිශයෙන් දියුණුව තුබූ බවට ශිලාලේඛන සාධක පවා ලැබෙන භාම යුගයට එය සම්බන්ධ විය හැකි ය. ප්‍රදේශය වැඩි දියුණු කරමින් ආරක්ෂා කරමින් දීර්ඝ කාලයක් එහි පාලකයාව සිටි භාම සෙනෙවි රදුන් ගේ නාමය ජන වහර අනුව වෙනස් වී “බැමිය” බවට පත්වුණා ද යි සැකයක් උපදී. අමුණු සඳහා යෙදුණු බන්ධන, මරියාදා, ආවරණක ඇ පාලි වචනවල මුල් සිංහල වචන වූ අවරණක, අමණ, අමුණ, ආදියට පර්යාය “බැමීම” යන්නේ ප්‍රකෘතිය “බැඳුම” ය. එයට සමානාර්ථ “බැමි” යන රූපයක් වහරේ ඇත. එය දූෂිත පදයෙකැ යි කුමාරතුංග ව්‍යාකරණ විවරණ*-යෙහි (51 පිට) - ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කරන ලද්දකි. එසේම, අවියන් අලුත් වචනයකි.²⁸ මේ ප්‍රදේශයේ නටබුන් හා ප්‍රවාද ආදිය පරීක්ෂාවට භාජන කිරීමෙන් පසු, භාම හා බැමිය සම්බන්ධ මෙම උපකල්පනය තහවුරු කළ හැකි ය. නැතහොත් ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ හැකි ය.

අභිලේඛනගත භාම යන්න ගැන වියතුන් අතර මත හෙදයක් නැතත්, මුද්‍රිත වූලවංසයේ ඔහුට ම භාවිත “සංඛ” යන්න විල්හෙල්ම ගයිගාතුමා විසින් වූලවංසයේ පෙළ සකස් කිරීමේ දී (භාම යන්නේ) අපපාඨාන්තරයන් වූ “සබ්බ”, “පබ්බ” යන (අත් පිටපත්) පාඨ මෙරට භාවිත පුද්ගල නම්වලට අසමාන නිසා ඒවා “සංඛ” යි වරදවා සංස්කරණයට පත් කිරීමෙන් (භාම වෙනුවට) ඇති වූ දූෂිත පදයකැ යි යන පරණවිතාන මතය²⁹ තව දුරටත් විමසිය යුත්තකි.

ආර්යයෝ (රාජපුත් — කාලිංග ආදීහු)

පොලොන්නරු, දඹදෙණි, ගම්පළ පමණක් නො ව, කෝට්ටේ සිතාවක ද ආර්ය ජන යුගයන් ය. (උද. ‘ආර්ය මන්ත්‍රී අරිටිය කී වෙංඬු’³⁰—රාජාවලිය මන්දරම් පුවත ආදිය සලකන්න) ආර්ය — ආර්යන් නමින් හැඳින්වුණු අයෝධ්‍යා දේශීය ජගතීපාල (විරසලාමේග), ලිලාවතී, යසෝධරා, වීරවමම ආදීහු ද, අරිය දේසිය වීරදෙව ද යකුරක ප්‍රධාන අරියබන්ත නම් ආර්ය භටයන් ද, යාපණේ ආර්ය චක්‍රවර්ති රජුන්³¹ සහ ඔවුන් ගේ ගංගාවංශික අනුප්‍රාප්තික³¹ පිරිස ද (හෙවත් නියංගම්පාය ලිපියේ දෙමළ මළල ජාවකාදී ආර්ය භට ප්‍රභෘතී’³² ය යි කියවෙන මාර්තණ්ඩ ³³ ආදී යාපා පටුනේ ‘ආර්යන්’ රජුන් හා ඔවුන් ගේ ඥාති භට පිරිස්)** ද යන රාජපුත්, කාලිංග

* ව්‍යාකරණ විවරණය (විවි.) 2412, පිට 51, 3 (අධිකාරය) (4)
** JRASCB (N.S.)-viii-i. p. 138 (Nilkanta Sastri)
“Paranavitana quotes Quayroz to give a Gujarati origin for the Arya chakravartis of Jaffna, but we have contemporary Tamil accounts from Jaffna directly deriving them from the rulers of Kalinga in India.”

ආදී (ද්‍රවිඩ නොවූ) උත්තර භාරතීය ක්ෂත්‍රීය පිරිස් මුස්ලිම් බහුමනි ආක්‍රමණ, වෝල බලය උත්සන්න වීම ආදිය නිසා සිංහල, පාණ්ඩ්‍ය, හොයිසාල ආදී රාජ සභාවල සිය ගණනින් පැමිණ, සේවය කළ බව ඓතිහාසික සත්‍යයකි.

මේ කාලයේ ලංකාවේ අනිකට, ඇතියහ (අනිකට්ට, අනිකංග) ආදී නම්වලින් ද හැඳින්වුණු ඇතැම් රාජ්‍ය සේවා තනතුරු පරදේසි නම් වූ විදේශිකයන්ට විවෘත විය. ඒ සඳහා සිංහල රජුන් විසින් කලින් සිටි 'වේලෙයික්කාර' ආදීන් ගේ අල්ලස් ගැනීම, කැරලි ගැසීම ආදී රාජද්‍රෝහී ක්‍රියා නිසා ඔවුන් දළදා (පාද) සේවයට හෙළා, ඔවුන් වෙනුවට රාජ හක්තික රාජපුත් ආදී ආර්ය භටයන් ගෙන්වා යාපහු, දඹදෙණි රජුන් ගේ රාජ සභාවල (රජුන් ගේ) අංග රක්ෂක සේනාංකයන් වශයෙන් පත්කොට සිටි බව පෙනේ.³⁴ ආර්ය ("ආර්යන්") හමුදාපතින් ලෙස රාජ වල්ලභ ව සේවය කළ යකුරක, හාම ආදීහු සිංහල ඉතිහාසයේ කැපී පෙනුණහ. වේලෙයික්කාර දමිළ කුළී සෙනහ³⁵ වෙනුවට පත් වූ මේ ආර්ය භට පිරිස් රාජ පුත්^{35A}, වංග, කාලිංග ආදීන් වූ නිසා ආර්ය නමින් හැඳින්වුණහ.

හමීර් සංඛ

මේ ආර්ය පිරිස් අතර වෛහාන් නම් රාජපුත් වංශික හමීර් සංඛ නම් ප්‍රධානයෙක් විය. මේ නම සමීර්³⁶ යයි, ලිඛිත නමුත් ටොඩ් ප්‍රථම කාණ්ඩයේ පද්මිනීය ලංකාවේ (වෛහාන්) සමීර් සංඛ ගේ දුවකැ යි දක්වා ඇත. සමීර්, හමීර් මෙන් ම පද්මිනී, පද්මාවතී යනු ද විකල්ප රූප³⁷ ය. (මහාවාර්ය පි. ඊ. ඊ. ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතා ගේ "ලංකාවේ රාජ පුත්වරු" නම් ලිපියේ ඔහු සමීර් සංඛ නම්.)

සංඛ ගේ දුව වන අතිශය රූමත් පද්මිනී කුමරිය ගුජරාටයේ විකෝර්හි රාජපුත් වංශික රතන්සිංහ් නම් රජුට අග මෙහෙසිය වූවා ය. වීර පත්නී භාවයෙන් ලෝකය මවිත කළ ඔ අලාවුද්දීන් දිල්ලි සුල්තාන් වරයා ගේ සිර මැදිරියෙන් රතන් සිංහ් නම් තම සැමියා බේරා ගැනීමෙන් විශ්ව ප්‍රෙම කථාවක් බිහි කරවූවා ය. සුප්‍රකට භාරතීය ඉතිහාස ග්‍රන්ථ වලට පවා මේ ප්‍රවාදය ප්‍රවිෂ්ට වී ඇති පරිදි අලාවුද්දීන් සුල්තාන්වරයා අති-නිර්භීත ගුහිලා ගෝත්‍රික රාජපුත්වරුන් ගේ මේවාර් රජයේ රන්තම් හෝර් බලකොටුවට පහර දී රානා රතන් සිංහ් කුටෝපායකින් සිර කළේ ඔහු ගේ සුරූපී භාර්යාව වූ පද්මිනීය ගේ රූප ලාවණ්‍යය කෙරෙහි (මේ මුසල්මාන අධිරාජයා) වගී වීමෙනැ යි කියවේ.³⁸

1540 දී මලික් මොහමඩ් ජයාසි නම් මුසල්මාන කවියා ලංකාවේ සංඛ සෙනෙවි රදුන් ගේ දු වූ ද, මේවාර්හි රාජපුත් රජුගේ බියොව වූ ද, මේ ලංකා ආර්ය කුමරිය ගේ ප්‍රේම ගෝකාන්තය 'පද්මාවත්' නමින් දර්ශනික වීර වෘත්තාන්තයක් බවට පෙරළා දෘෂ්ටාන්ත ශ්ලෝක කාව්‍යයක් හින්දි බසින් නිර්මාණය කොට ඇත.

සිංහල රාජපුත් සබඳතා කලින් ද දැක්වූ පරිදි 11 වන සිය වසේ දී රාජස්ථානයේ අයෝධ්‍යා දෙශයේ සිට පැමිණ සිංහල කිරිටය දැරූ රාම පරපුරේ ජගතිපාල³⁹ සහ ජගතිපාල රාජ්‍යය, දුව වූ ලීලාවතී සහ මිනිබිරිය වූ යසෝධරා ද ඔවුන් දරූ වූ සුගලා, වීරවම⁴⁰ ආදීහු ද “ආර්ය ක්ෂත්‍රිය” (-අරියබත්තිය)⁴¹ නම් රාජපුත්වරු වූහ. වේලෙයික්කාර දෙමළ හට පිරිස්වල රාජද්‍රෝහි ක්‍රියා නිසා මේ වේලෙයික්කාරයන්ට දළද මාලිගා සේවා පැවරීමෙන්⁴² පසු සිංහල රජුන් ගේ අංග රක්ෂක (අගම්පඩි/අකම්පති) හමුදාව වශයෙන් ආර්ය ක්ෂත්‍රියයන් (‘අරියබත්ත යෝධා’) පත්කර ගැනීම මහාවිජයබාහු රජු ද ඇරඹෙන්නට ඇති බව පැහැදිලි ය. එහෙත් මහාවිජයබාහු ගේ රාජාභිෂේකයට පෙර සිදු වූ චෝළ සටන්වල දී අල්ලාගත්, යටත් කළ සාමන්ත රජුන් අතර කුරුකුලත්තාරයින් (කුරුකුල නායක ආර්යයන්)⁴³ ගැන ද වීර රාජේන්ද්‍ර චෝල ගේ ප්‍රශස්තිවල ලියවී ඇති හෙයින් ද, ඉනුත් පෙර පොලොන්නරුවේ රජ වූ කන්‍යාකුබ්ජ (කන්තවුජ්) හෝ අයෝධ්‍ය දේශීය ජගතිපාල රජු ද රාජපුත් වංශිකයකු වූ හෙයින් ද මේ රාජපුත් ක්ෂත්‍රිය ජන කොටස 11 වන සියවසට පෙර සිට සිංහලයන් ගේ රාජ්‍ය පාලන කටයුතුවල නිරත වූ බව පෙනේ. වුලවංසය යකුරක මහ සෙනෙවිහට සත් සියයක ක්ෂත්‍රිය ආර්ය හට හමුදාවක් සිටි බවත්, බෝසත් විජයබාහු රජු මරවා රජය පැහැර ගත් මිත්‍ර නම් ද්‍රෝහී (කුලිංග) සෙනෙවියා මරා යාපහුවේ සිටි බුවනෙකබා නම් නීත්‍යනුකූල මල් කුමරාට රජය ලබා දුන් බවත් සඳහන් කරයි.⁴⁴ මේ රාජපුත් හටයෝ සෑම විට ම රාජ හක්තික, අවංක එඩිතර නීතිගරුක පිරිසක් වූහ. රාජස්ථානී රාජපුත්වරුන් අදත් හඳුන්වන ((රාජත්/) රාවත්*, සෝලංගි, යකුරාදි නම් හා දේවාර්⁴⁵ ආදී නම් ද අදත් මෙරට ඇතැම් ප්‍රදේශවල පරම්පරාවල නම් අතර දක්නට ඇත.

මේ කරුණු අනුව, පොලොන්නරු, දඹදෙණි, කුරුණෑගල සහ ගම්පළ සිංහල රාජ සභාවල ප්‍රබල තැනක් ගත් රාජපුත් ආර්ය වංශිකයන් අනුරපුර අග සහ පොලොන්නරු සමය මුල පටන් ලංකාවට පැමිණ විවිධ ප්‍රදේශවල පදිංචි ව රාජ්‍ය නායකයන් ලෙස කටයුතු කළ බවට කොඩිරිංග්ගන්⁴⁶, පරණවිතාන⁴⁷ සහ පී. ඊ. ඊ. ප්‍රනාන්දු⁴⁸ යන මහා විද්වතුන් විසින් වඩ වඩා කරුණු හෙළි කොට ඇත.

ඉහත දැක්වූ පරිදි අයෝධ්‍ය දෙශයෙන් පැමිණ පොලොන්නරු සිංහල කිරිටය දැරූ ජගතිපාල රජු ගේ සහ රාජ්‍යය ගේ⁴⁹ ආර්ය ක්ෂත්‍රිය පරපුරට⁵⁰ අයත් සුගලා බියොව රෝහණයේ අටදහස් රට උදුන්දෙර මහරජුන ලෙස රුහුණ පාලනය කළා ය. ඔ මහාවිජයබාහු, (රාජපුත් වංශික ජගතිපාල රජු ගේ දුව) ලීලාවතී යන දම්පතීන් ගේ මිනිබිරිය (හෙවත් දු වූ යශෝදරා ගේත් වීරවර්ම ගේත්) දියණියෝ වූහ.⁵¹ පාණ්ඩ්‍ය වංශයේ මහාපරාක්‍රම බාහුට විරුද්ධව දීර්ඝකාලීන අභ්‍යන්තර (වෞර - ගරිල්ලා) යුද්ධයක යෙදුණු සුගලා රජුන හා සිරිවල්ලහ දෙදෙනාත් ඔවුන් පුත් මානාහරණත් යන මහා විජයබාහු දරු මුත්‍රබුරෝ ආර්ය වංශිකයෝ⁵² වූහ. ඒ නිසා ම ‘අරියන්වය’

* ‘රාවතාවත්ත’, ‘ටකුරක ආදිත්‍ය’ ආදී නම් විමසන්න.

නම් වූහ. මෙසේ මොවුහු සිංහල සිහසුනට ද උරුමකම් කීහ. මහාවංසයේ සඳහන් ආර්ය (රාජපුත්) වංශික යකුරක මෙන් ම මේ සංඛ භාම නම් දුරු මිණිපේ පාලක සෙනෙවියා ද සිංහල සිහසුන පරසතුරන් ගෙන් රැකදෙමින් රට රැක ගැන්මෙහි යෙදුණ දේශ භක්තික රාජ්‍ය නායකයෝ වූහ.

පද්මිනී — පද්මාවතී

1209 දී අතීකංග පැරදවීමෙන් පසු භාමට අභිලේඛනගත “රුපු විජය” යන රාජ දත්ත විරුදය ලැබෙන්නට ඇත්තේ කල්‍යාණවතී රැජින ගේ අටවන රාජ වර්ෂයේ දී ම විය හැකි ය. මහාවංසය අනුව කල්‍යාණවතී අවුරුදු හයක් ද, ධර්මාශෝක ළදරු රජු එක් අවුරුද්දක් ද රජ කළේ “ආති” (මිණිපේ ලිපිය) හෙවත් ආයස්මන්ත (මහාවංස) නම් මහ සෙනෙවි මගිනි. අනතුරුව අතීකංග ගේ දින දහනේ රජය අවසන් කළේ, මහාවංසය අනුව වික්කන්ත චමුනක්ක මහ සෙනෙවි විසිනි. මේ අවස්ථාව මිණිපේ ලිපිය සඳහන් කරන්නේ “රුපු විජය භාම සෙනාධිරාජ හිමි සන්ද කෙම මෙලෙස තමා පිළිබද මුළු රට නිෂ්කණ්ටක කොටු සෙමෙහි තබා”⁵³ යනුවෙනි.

වික්කන්ත චමුනක්ක සෙනෙවි ගේ නායකත්වයෙන් පැවති අතීකංග විරෝධී කැරැල්ලේ දී භාම සෙනෙවි කළේ “තමා පිළිබද මුළු රට” නිදහස් කිරීම ය. එ නම් මිණිපේ ප්‍රදේශය භාර සුද්ධ නායකත්වය හා ප්‍රදේශ පාලනය සුරක්ෂිත කළේ භාම විසින් බව ය. (“තමා පිළිබද මුළු රට” යනු මුළු ලංකාවම නොව, මිණිපේ ප්‍රදේශය බව හැඟේ.) මේ අනුව වික්කන්ත චමුනක්ක සෙනෙවි විසින් ලීලාවතී දෙවෙනි වරට රාජ්‍යත්වයට පත්කිරීමට පෙර සහ අතීකංග පරාජයට පසුව භාම විසින් මේ සෙල්ලිපිය පිහිටුවා ඇති බව නිශ්චිත ය. මේ වන විට කල්‍යාණවතීය (මහාවංසය අනුව) බලයේ නො සිටියත්, ධර්මාශෝක, අතීකංග ආදීන් සිංහල සිහසුන දැරුවත් ඒ නොපිළිගත් ප්‍රබල නායකත්වයක් විසින් කල්‍යාණවතී රාජ්‍යත්වය ම පිළිගෙන තුබූ බව ද මින් අනාවරණය වේ.

“විජය රාජ කුමාරයන් පටන් සුළු වසෑ මහවසෑ බොහෝ රාජ පරම්පරායෙහි සිරිලක්හි අගතැන් පත් අභාසලමෙවන් කල්‍යාණවතී ස්වාමීන් වහන්සෙට...” සහ ශ්‍රී පරාක්‍රමබාහු ස්වාමීන්ට විසිවනු දක්වා පැවැතූ ඔබිත්තු දුස් හවුරුද්දක් හනුමබෙහි රජ කළ කීර්ති විජයබාහු නිශ්ශංක ඵරපත්ත,⁵⁴ වොඩගංග, ලීලාවතී, සාහසමල්ල, කල්‍යාණවතී’ යන ශිලාලේඛන පාඨ කියන්නේ ද පොලොන්නරුවේ නීත්‍යනුකූල ප්‍රධාන රාජ පරම්පරාව මෙය බව සහ යකුරක, භාම ආදී රාජපුත් සෙනෙවිවරුන් නීත්‍යනුකූල රාජ පරම්පරාව කෙරෙහි ම දැක්වූ භක්තිය හා පක්ෂපාතී භාවය යි මෙහි ලා මට සිතේ.

අනතුරුව (1209-10) ලීලාවතී (11), (1210-11) ලෝකිස්සර, (1211-12) ලීලාවතී (111) සහ (1213-15) පරාක්‍රම පණ්ඩු යන සතර රාජ්‍ය කාලයන්ට පසුව පැමිණියේ (1215-36) කාලිංග විජයබාහු හෙවත් මාස ගේ රජය යි. මහාවංසය අනුව මාස ගේ බලය වළකමින් මෙකල මිණිපේ ප්‍රදේශය පාලනය කළේ ද, (මහාවංසයේ) සංඛ නමින් හැඳින්වන, සෙල්ලිපියේ භාම

විසින් බව යි. අතීත මර්දනය විසි හැවිරිදි වියේ දී තරම කළ ඔහු මාස ගේ අවසානය තෙක් (1209-1236) රාජ්‍ය සේවයේ අවුරුදු විසි හතක් පමණ හෙවත් වයස හතළිස් හත වන තෙක් (ඔහු) ජීවත් වී ඇත. විදේශාධාර සහිතව අතීත මාස ආදී කාලිංගයන් කළ ලංකා ආක්‍රමණ මැඩීමේ දී මේ රාජ පුත් සෙනෙවිවරුන් ද ඔවුන් ගේ මුල් මවු බිම වූ මාල්වා, රාජස්ථාන් ආදියෙන් ආර්ය භට නම් වූ රාජපුත් යුද්ධ සේනාංක ආදී යුද්ධාධාර ලබා ගැනීම සිදු විය හැකි ය. ලෙනනගත පරිදි පද්මිනී සහ රානා රත්නසිංහ අතර විවාහය ද මේ සබඳතාවල ම ප්‍රතිඵලයක් විය හැකි ය. අතීත ආක්‍රමණය (1208-9) ඉතා තරුණ වියේ දී ම භාම නමින් මැඩලූ මේ සෙනෙවියා ඉන් සය අවුරුද්දකට පසුව (1215 දී) සිදු වූ මාසාක්‍රමණය සමයේ දී සංඛ/සක්ක නමින් වූ මහ සෙනෙවි තනතුරට පත්ව, පොලොන්නරුව අසල මිණිබේ ජනපදයෙහි ගංදෙණි බලකොටුව ගොඩනඟා මාස බල ව්‍යාප්තිය වළකමින් සිටි බව මිණිපේ ලිපියෙන් හා මහාවංසයෙන් ද තහවුරු වේ.

ඔහු මේ ශූර චිරත්වය ප්‍රදර්ශනය කළේ තරුණ වියේ දී බව නිසැක ය. 1236 දී කාලිංග මාස පොලොන්නරුවෙන් ඵලවා දමන විට ද ඔහු සතළිස් වියේ තරම පසුවන්නට ඇත. මේ සංඛ සේනාපති ගේ බාල දියණියන් වූ පද්මිනී කුමරිය ගේ විවාහය සිදු වන්නට ඇත්තේ රටට නිදහස උදවු දෙවන පරාක්‍රමබාහු (1236-1270) සමයේ තරම විය හැකි ය. පොඩ් ගේ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajastan*⁵⁵ අනුව හිමිසං 1275 දී මිනෝරයේ රජව ලංකාවේ වෛහාන්වරයකු වූ හමීර සංඛ ගේ දූ පද්මිනී විවාහ කරගෙන ඇත. 1299 දී දිල්ලියේ අලාවුද්දින් සුල්තාන්වරයා තමා ම යුදසෙන් මෙහෙයමින් මිනෝරහි රත්තමහෝර් බලකොටුවට පහර දී ඇගේ සැමියා වූ රානා රත්නසිංහ සිරකොට ගෙන ගිය විට, මෙවාර්හි රැජින වූ පද්මිනී තම සැමියා සිරෙන් මුදවා ගැනීමට තරම් මැදි වියේ හුරු බුහුටි අහිරුපිණියක් වූවා ය.

මිණිපේ ලිපියේ සඳහන් භාම ගේ මලෙවි කුලය²⁵ ද එතෙක් ලංකාවේ පාලක පෙළැන්තිය දුරු ලමැනි, ඔකාවස්, සවුඵ ඇ පරම්පරා නාමවලට වෙනස් ය. පරණවිතාන මතය ද මෙය ආර්යආග ශාඛාවක් බව යි.

පී. ඊ. ඊ. ප්‍රනාන්දු මතය :

මහාවාරිය පී. ඊ. ඊ. ප්‍රනාන්දු මහතාගේ “ *Rajaputs in Sri Lanka* ” ලිපියෙහි මැය ගම්පළ 111. වික්‍රමබාහු (1357-1374) සහ v බුවනෙකබාහු (1372-1408) රාජ්‍යයන්හි අගමැතිව විසූ නිශ්ශංක අලගක්කෝනාර ගේ සොහොවුරිය වූ පද්මාවතී යැ යි අනුමාන කොට ඇත.⁵⁶ කෑරගල ලිපියෙහි හා කෝට්ටේ යුගයේ හංස සන්දේශයේ ද සඳහන් පද්මාවතී ලෙස යි, ඉන් ප්‍රකාශ වූයේ.⁵⁷

අලගක්කෝනාර සොහොවුරිය වූ මේ පද්මාවතී හැදෑරුණේ, වැඩුණේ දළ සෙන්ගමු මිකන්තරුන් ළඟය. ඕ ලමැනි කුල සිභාන (<අසිග්ගාහක) සුදුසුන් මහලේනා ගේ බිරිත්දැ වූවා ය. ගම්පළ කෝට්ටේ යුගවල රාජ්‍ය

නායක වීරබාහු ඇපා ගේ සහ වීර අලකේශ්වර ගේ මව ය. වීරබාහු ඇපා ගේ දෙටු පුත් කැරගල වනරතන සහරජ මාහිමියන් ගේ මිත්තණියෝ ය.' (භංස සන්දේශයෙහි සඳහන් වූයේ එලෙසිනි.) කැරගල පද්මාවතී පිරුවන ගොඩනැංවුණේ, ඇයට වැද පුද ගැනීමට ය.⁵⁸ මොවුන් විසූ ප්‍රදේශ වූයේ චන්මන් කොළඹ දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ කැරගල සහ කලුතර දිස්ත්‍රික්කයේ රයිගමයි. එහෙයින් මේ පද්මාවතී කුමරියන් දෙදෙනා කාලයේ පරතරයන් පරම්පරා වෙනසක් නිසා එක් අයකු කිරීමට කිසිදු ඉඩක් නැත. (මේ සෙනෙවිවරුන් ගේ පවුල්වල පෞද්ගලික තොරතුරු සටහන් කිරීමට රාජ්‍ය හා ආගමික ඉතිහාසය ලියූ භික්ෂු ලෙඛකයන්ට අවශ්‍ය වී නැත). පද්මිනී ගේ පියා වූ භාම ජීවත් වූයේ පොලොන්නරුවේ කල්‍යාණවතී-ධර්මාශෝක රාජ්‍යාදයන් (1202-1209) ආසන්නයේ ය. නිශ්ශංක අලකේශ්වර සොහොවුරිය පද්මාවතී iii වික්‍රමබාහු 1357-74 - v බුවනෙකබා (1371-1408) තරම කාලයේ ය.

භාන-භාම

පද්මිනී වර්තය ඇතුළත් පද්මාවතී කාව්‍යය වැනි ම තවත් වංශ කථා කාව්‍යයක් ලියූ රාජපුත් කවියකු ගේ නම ද, රායි-භානමාල්⁵⁹ ය. භාන, භාම වැනි ලංකා භාරතීය රාජපුත් නම් ද භාවිත ව ඇත්තේ සමකාලීනව ය. දඹදෙණි රාජ සභාවේ සේවය කළ තවත් රාජපුත් සෙනෙවියකු ගේ නම යකුරක⁵⁹-A ය. එය ද වර්තමානයේ (සිංහලයෙහි) 'තාගෝර්' ය යි භාවිත වුව ද, එහි මූල රූපය ඒ නො ව, යකුර් ය. මහාවංසයෙහි 'අලසන්ද' ('යොනාලසන්ද' ⁶⁰) ය යි යෙදුණු විදේශ ශ්‍රීක නගර නාමය⁶¹ පිළිබඳ මූල රූපය ද ඒ නො ව, 'ඇලෙක්සැන්ඩරියා' ය. ඒ අනුව (භාරතයේ ම) රාජ පුත්වරුන් අතර සුලභ ව භාරතයෙහි භාවිත වූ 'භාන' යන නාමය මෙ රට (පෙළ සකු) සංඥ නාමයන්ට අනුරූප කොට 'භාම' ය යි භාවිත වී ය යි අනුමාන කළ හැකි ය. ('සහෝදරිය ගේ සැමියා,' 'එළිය' යන අර්ථ සඳහා සංස්කෘතයෙහි ඉතා දුර්ලභ වශයෙන් යෙදුණු 'භාම' යන්නක් ඇතත්⁶², එය විශේෂ පෞද්ගලික සංඥ නාමයක් ලෙස හෙළ, පෙළ, සකු හෝ ප්‍රාකෘත සාහිත්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථවල භාවිත වී නැත) යකුර් වංශ මෙන් ම රාජපුත්වරුන් අතර ද ජනප්‍රිය නාමයක් බව මහාවාර්ය ප්‍රනාන්දු පෙන්වා දෙයි. (රාජපුත් අලි-08).

භාම-සංඛ

මෙසේ මිණිපේ ලිපියෙහි පමණක් යෙදුණු 'භාම' යන්න ම මේ සෙනෙවියා ගේ සැබෑ නිවැරදි නාමය බවත්, ඒ භාම වෙනුවට වූලවංසය ඔහුට යෙදුන යි පිළිගන්නා 'සංඛ' නාමය සාවද්‍ය ප්‍රයෝගයක් බවත්, එය විල්හෙල්ම් ගයිගර් විසින් වූලවංස සංස්කරණ ශුද්ධියේදී පුස්තකොළ අත්පිට-පත්වල වූ 'සබ්බ', 'පබ්බ' යන (අප)පාඨාන්තරවලින් හිතා මතා සාද ගත් සාවද්‍ය රූපයක් බවත් යන මහාවාර්ය සෙනරත් පරණවිතාන මතය කිසි සේත් නිවැරදි නො වේ.

දඹදෙණි සමය වන විට මෙ රට සිංහල හා භාරතීය රාජපුත් (ආර්ය) සබඳතා බෙහෙවින් වර්ධනය වී තුබූ බවත්, මෙ රට ලෙඛනගත 'සංඛ' හා එරට ලෙඛනගත 'හමීර් සංඛ' (දෙ දෙනා) වඩාත් සමකාලීන ව විසූ බවත් ආදි ලිඛිත සාධක රාශියක් ම සංඛ (සාවද්‍ය කෘත්‍රිම නාමයක් නො ව,)

ඓතිහාසික කාලීන සංඥනාමයක් බවට ඉදිරිපත් වී ඇති බැවිනි. ඉහත දැක්වූ පරිදි ඉන්දියානු ප්‍රවාද කිහිපයක පවා ලංකාවේ විසූ ‘සංඛ’ සෙනෙවිරත් කෙනෙකු ගැන කියවෙද්දී, ඒ නම ලංකාවේ වංස කථාවල ද ලියැවී තිබිය දී එය ම විශ්ව කීර්තියට පත් කාව්‍ය ග්‍රන්ථයක පවා මුඛ්‍ය චරිතයක් ව තිබිය දී අපේ වූලවංසගත එම සංඛ යන සුප්‍රකට ඓතිහාසික චරිතය ගයිගර් විසින් අපපාඨවලට මුලා වී භාම යයි වරද්ද ලියා සාද ගත් සදෙස් පදයක් ලෙස (Epigraphia Zeylanica) පුරාවිද්‍යා සෙල් ලිපි සංග්‍රහයේ පළ වී තිබීම^{63A} ඉතිහාස පුරාවිද්‍යා වේදීන් ගේ විමර්ශනයට ලක් විය යුතු ය.

මහාවාරිය ගයිගර්තුමන් ගෙන් පසු අත් පිටපත් ඇසුරෙන් මහාවංස වූලවංස දෙක ම පාඨාන්තර සසඳා, මහාවාරිය පොල්වත්තේ බුද්ධදත්ත මහ නාහිමියන් විසින් පළ කළ උනපුරණ සහිත මහාවංසයට ද සුපාඨය සේ ‘සංඛ’ යන්න පිළිගෙන ඇත.⁶³ හික් කඩුවේ ශ්‍රී සුමංගල — බටුවන් කුඩාවේ මහාවංස (සිංහල අනුවාද) පෙළට ද ‘සංඛ’ යන්න නිවරද පාඨය සේ පිළිගෙන ඇත..⁶⁴

1540 තරම මලික් මොහමඩ් ජයාසි ලියූ පද්මාවන් හින්දි කාව්‍යයට ද, ලංකාවේ සිටි ජන ප්‍රධානයකු ගේ නමක් ලෙස ‘සංඛ’ යන්න ඇතුළත් ය.⁶⁵ මේ අනුව ‘සංඛ’ යන්න සාවද්‍ය කෘත්‍රීම පදයක් නො වේ. එ පමණක් ද නො ව, 1953 දී විදුදය පිරුවනට අසූ අවුරුද්ද පිරීම නිමිත්තෙන් පළ වූ ‘විද්‍යාදය’ සභරාවේ ඇතුළත් වූ මහාවාරිය පරණවිතාන සූරින් ගේ ම ‘දඹදෙණි අවදිය’ නම් ලිපියෙහි ද

“ ලංකාවේ සිටිහමීර් සංඛ නම් ප්‍රධානයකු ගේ දු කුමරියක වන පද්මිනී නොමෝ.....” ය යි සංඛ නාමය පිළිගෙන ඇත්තේ ඓතිහාසික ප්‍රයෝගයක් වශයෙනි. තමන් ම එසේ පිළිගෙන ඇති ඓතිහාසික ‘සංඛ’ නාමය ‘සබ්බ’, ‘පබ්බ’ යන දුෂිත පාඨාන්තරවලින් ගයිගර් සෑදූ කෘත්‍රීම නමක් ය යි ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ නොහැකි ය.

සංඛ/සක්ක/සගල්නා

යථොක්ත කරුණු අනුව අභිලේඛනගත ‘භාම’ යන්න මේ සෙනෙවි රදුන් ගේ පෞද්ගලික පාරම්පරික (රාජපුත්) සංඥ නාමය වන අතර වංස කථා අභිලේඛන සාධක අනුව ‘සංඛ’ යන්න තනතුරු නාමය බවට නිගමනය කරමි. මෙසේ ම පෞද්ගලික නාමයත් තනතුරු නාමයත් අවස්ථානුරූපව එක් පුද්ගලයකුට යෙදුණු වෙනත් අවස්ථා ද රාශියකි.

කිත්ති නම් වූ කුමාරයෙක් (අභිෂේක රාජ විරුද) තනතුරු, නාමය ගෙන පසුව මහාවිජයබාහු නම් විය. මුලින් කාශ්‍යප නමින් හැදින්වුණු කුමරා පළමුවන වික්‍රමබාහු නම් විය. දඹදෙණියේ දෙවන පරාක්‍රමබාහු රජු කච්චිපම්මිණෙහි හැදින්වුණේ කලිකල් සවැනි නිරිදු නමිනි. සියබස්ලකර ලියූ

iv සේන රජු එහි සලමෙවන් නිරිදු ය. මින් පෙනෙන්නේ දෙ නමින් එකක් මුල් පුද්ගල නාමය වන අතර අනෙක නිල හෝ තනතුරු නාමය වූ බව යි. එක් යුගයක එක් පෙදෙසක විසූ ජන ප්‍රධානයකු, සේනාධිනායකයකු අවස්ථා දෙකක දී නම් දෙකකින් හැඳින්වන්නට ඇත්තේ මේ අයුරිනි.

සෙනෙවිවරුන් අතර ප්‍රධාන වූ සෙනෙවිරදුන් (සේනාධිරාජ/සේනාධි නායක) විසින් දැරූ මහසෙනෙවි තනතුර මධ්‍යතන යුගයේ සිංහල ලෙඛන-වල නම් කෙරුණේ, 'සක් සෙනෙවි', 'සගල්නාවන්' ඇ විසිනි. මේ 'සක්' තනතුරු නාමය පාලිවංසකථාගත කිරීමේ දී එය 'සක්ක', 'සංඛ' යැ යි තත්සම රූපගත කළා විය යුතු ය. සමාන නිදසුනක් වශයෙන් වංසකථාවල කුට-කණ්ණකිස්ස, කාලකණ්ණි කිස්ස ය යි පාළියට නගා ඇති නම දැරූ රජු සිංහලයෙන් සෙල්ලිපිවල ද හැඳින්වුණේ පුඬිකණ, කුටිකණ, පුටිකණ, සහ කළකන්තිස් යනුවෙනි. මේ කළකන්තිස් යන්න කාලකණ්ණි කිස්ස ය යි ද (කුටිකණ්ණකිස්ස යන්නට) අමතර ව තවත් අයුරකින් පාළියට පෙරළා ඇත. මෙ සේ ම පූර්වෝක්ත මාතලේ නාමය ද මෑතුල, මහාතිල, මහාතට, මහාතල ඇ විසින් වෛකල්පික රූප කිහිපයකට පාළියේදී පෙරළා ගෙන ඇත. මාරගල, නුවරගල ඇ සිංහල නම් ද පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ දී පාළියට නැහැණේ වෛකල්පික රූපවලිනි. අනුරපුර යුගයේ අභිලෙඛනවල සුලභ වූ සක්, සගල් යන තනතුරු නම් ද, සංඛ, සක්ක ය යි මේ අයුරින් ම පාළියට පෙරළන ලද යි සිතමි.

v කාශ්‍යප රජු සමයේ (914-923) රජු ගේ ප්‍රධාන සේනාධිනායකවරයා (සෙනෙවිරත්) නම් කෙරුණේ, සක් සෙනෙවි, සගල්නාවන්, සක්ක සේනා සක් ඇ නිල නාමයෙනි. (වෝලයන්ට එරෙහි ව, පාණ්ඩ්‍යයන් ගේ ඉල්ලීමට) දකුණු ඉන්දියාවට යුද සඳහා ගිය සක් සෙනෙවි එහි දී බෝ වූ වසංගත (උපස්සග්ග) රෝගයකින් මළ නිසා පුරස්ථාප්‍රී වූ එම සක් සෙනෙවි තනතුර රජතුමා විසින් නැවතත් ප්‍රදානය කළේ මිය ගිය සක් සෙනෙවි පුත් තම මුතුබුරාට ය.

“ සක්ක සේනාපතිට්ඨානං තස්ස පුත්තස්සද තද් ” (50-79)

“ සක්ක සේනාපතිට්ඨානං දත්වා පුත්තස්ස අත්තනො ” (50-52)

වුලවංසය සක්ක සේනාපති ය යි මෙම තනතුර භාවිත කරන ලද්දේ නව වන සිය වස තරමේ ය. එහෙත් දෙළොස් වන සිය වස පමණ වන විට (සෙනෙවි රදුන්ට කලින් යෙදූ සක්ක සේනාපති නාමය වෙනුවට) සංඛ සේනාපති යන්න භාවිත කොට ඇත.

ශිල්ප ශාස්ත්‍ර පුහුණු වූ (මහා) පරාක්‍රමබාහු කුමරා මුලින් ම ගියේ, එවකට සිටි ප්‍රධාන පෙළේ රාජ්‍ය නායකයකු හමුවීමට ය. ඔහු බදලත්ඵලී (බකලගොඩ) නම් ගමේ රාජ්‍ර සීමා රකිමින් සිටි සංඛ සේනාපති ය. වුල වංස හැට එක්වන පරිච්ඡේදය 'සංඛත්ඵලීපුරා'ගමන' (සංඛත්ඵලී පුරයට

පැමිණීම) නමින් හඳුන්වන ලද අතර පරාක්‍රමබාහු කුමරා රාජ්‍ය බලය ලබා ගැනීමේ මුල් පියවර වශයෙන් පැමිණි නගරය 'සංඛන්ථලී' නම් විය. එහි, නම මීට කලින් සඳහන් වුණේ, "සංඛනායකන්ථලී ගාම" යනුවෙනි.⁶⁶ අරුත සංඛ නායක තනතුර දැරූ ප්‍රධානියා විසූ නුවර යි. එය රාජ්‍ය සීමාවේ ආරක්ෂක බලකොටුව විය., නායකයා මහසෙනෙවි විය.

රුහුණේ රාජ්‍ය නායකයා වූ කිත්ති සිරිමෙස ද සංඛන්ථලී පුරයට පැමිණියේ, සංඛ නම් සෙනෙවියා තම මානාවුළු පුරයෙහි නවතා රාජ්‍ය බලතල ද පවරා ය.⁶⁷ අනතුරු ව මහාපරාක්‍රමබාහු ගේ රෝහණ සංග්‍රාමයේ දී ද පළමු යුද්ධ ප්‍රකාශය සඳහා යවන ලද්දේ ද කෙසධාතු නිලය දැරූ ලෝක නම් සාමන්ත නායක සෙනෙවියා සහ සංඛ නායක තනතුර දැරූ නාථ නම් සාමන්ත සෙනෙවියාත් යන දෙ දෙනා ය.⁶⁸

මණිමෙබලයෙහි (මිණිපේ) සංඛ සෙනෙවියා ද දේශ සීමා රක්ෂණය පැවරුණ මුල් කාලයේ භාම යන පුද්ගල සංඥා නාමයෙන් පෙනී සිටියේ, මේ අන්දමේ සාමන්ත (ප්‍රාදේශීය) සෙනෙවියකු වශයෙනි. මෙය මාස නම් විදේශික ආක්‍රමණිකයාට එරෙහි ව රාජ්‍ය සීමා රැක සිටි යුද්ධ සමයක් වූ හෙයිනි. මේ භාම සේනාධිරාජයන් මාසාක්‍රමණ සමයේ සක් සෙනෙවි හෙවත් සංඛ නායක තනතුරට උසස් වීමෙන් පසුව වූලවංසය ඔහු තනතුරු නාමයෙන් හඳුන්වන දී, තමා පිහිටවූ සෙල් ලිපියෙහි ලා තමා මුල් පුද්ගල නාමයෙන් ම හඳුන්වා ගත් බව පෙනේ. පද්මිනිය ගේ පියා වශයෙන් 'හමිර් සංඛ'⁶⁹ යන නම ජයාසි විසින් ඔහුට යොදන ලද්දේද, ඇය විනෝර්භි රානා රතන් සිංහට දීග දුන් මේ අවසාන භාගයේ දී ඔහු දැරූ මහසෙනෙවි තනතුරු නාමය අනුව යයි සිතේ.

නිර්ණාමික ජන ප්‍රධානියෙක්

පුරාතන හා මධ්‍යතන ලංකාවේ ඓතිහාසික ස්ථාන විස්තරය⁷⁰ නමින් සී. ඩබ්ලිවු. නිකලස් මහතා (1963) සම්පාදනය කළ රා.ආ.ස. ලෙබනයේ මිණිපේ ඇළ හා අමුණ පිළිබඳ විස්තරයේ සමහර උග්‍රතා දක්නා ලැබේ. නිකලස් මහතා මෙසේ කියයි. (කලු අකුරු ම විසින් යොදන ලදී.)

“ මහවැලි ගඟේ සිට ඇති මිණිපේ නමින් හඳුන්වන ලබන මණිමෙබල ඇළ මුලින් ම සෑදුවේ, 1 අග්ගබෝධි (575-604) ය. 11. සේන (853-887) ද මෙය සෑදූ බව කියා තිබේ. සමහර විට ඔහු මෙය ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණය කරවන්නට ඇත. ඇළේ නම අනුව දිසාව ද මණිමෙබල ය යි නම් කරනු ලැබී ය. මිණිපේ තිබෙන දහතුන්වන සිය වසේ ශිලා ලිපියක ඇළ හඳුන්වන්නේ 'මිණිබේ' නමිනි. ඇළ මුලින් ම සෑදුවේ මේකිත්තා ඇමතියා විසින් බව ද 1 පරාක්‍රමබාහු ගේ විසිවන අවුරුද්දේ දී, (1173) එය ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණය කරවන ලද බව ද, ශිලා ලිපිය පවසයි.”

“ මාස ආක්‍රමණිකයා ගේ කාලයෙහි (1214-35) දී සිංහල ජන ප්‍රධානයෙක් මණිමෙඛල දිසාවේ ගංගාදෙණි කන්ද මුදුනේ බලකොටුවක් තනා ආක්‍රමණිකයන් මෙල්ල කරගෙන සිටියේ ය. මේ ගංගාදෙණි යනු මිණිපේ සිට හැ. 15 ක් පමණ දකුණෙන් වූ වර්තමාන ගංදෙණිය යි”⁷¹

නිකලස් මහතා ගේ මේ විස්තරයට වූලවංස, ශිලාලෙඛන සංග්‍රහය (Epigraphia Zeylanica - Vol. V) සහ මිණිපේ ලිපිය හඳුන්වා දෙන පරණවිතාන මත ද පාදක කොට ඇත. නිකලස්තුමා සෙල් ලිපියේ පවා නමින් සඳහන් වන සෙනෙවියන් ගේ නම නො කියා ‘සිංහල ජන ප්‍රධානයෙක්’ ය යි නිර්ණාමික කළේ ඇයි? වූලවංසයෙහි ගංගාදෙණි පුරයෙහි සිටිය හ යි නිශ්චිත ව කී ‘සංඛ’ ගේ නගරය ගැන ද “ගංගාදෙණි යෙහි සිටියේ යැ යි කියන” යනුවෙන් සැක පහළ කළ බවක් පෙනේ. වූලවංසයේ ලියවුණු ‘සංඛ’ යන්න හෝ සෙල් ලිපියේ ‘හාම’ යන්න හෝ ඔහුට පිළිගැනී නැත. එසේ ඓතිහාසික ව ලෙඛනගත මේ නාමයන් තම සටහන්වලට නිකලස් මහතා ඇතුළු නො කළේ අනවධානයෙන් නො ව, පරණවිතාන ගේ යට දැක්වුණු මනාන්තරය නිසා එය නො විසඳුණු ගැටළුවක් කොට ගත් බැවිනි යි සිතමි.

දැන් මිණිපේ පුවරු ලිපියේ හාම හා වූලවංසයේ සංඛ එක් අයකු බවත්, මේ දෙ නම ම ඓතිහාසික හා නිදෙස් බවත් මෙයින් ශාස්ත්‍ර යුක්ති මත විසඳා හමාර හෙයින් නිකලස් මත ද නිවැරදි විය යුතු ය. එහෙත් පරණ විතාන සූරින් සංඛ නාමය ගයිගර් ගේ මනිහුමයකැයි පසුව ප්‍රතික්ෂේප කළ ද ඒ දෙ නම ම එක් අයකු සඳහා යෙදී ඇතැ යි යන්න මුලින් ම නිවැරදි ව ප්‍රකාශ කරන ලද්දේ ද පරණවිතාන සූරින් විසින් බව ද⁷² මෙහි ලා ගෞරවයෙන් සිහිපත් කළ යුතු වෙයි.

ඇළේ නමින් දිසාව හැදින්විණි ද?

ඇළේ නම අනුව දිසාව ද මණිමෙඛල හෝ මිණිපේ වූ හ යි යන නිකලස් මතය සැක සහිත ය.

ශ්‍රී ලංකා සංස්කෘතියේ විශිෂ්ටතම අංගයක් වූ සිංහල වාරි කර්මාන්තයේ විචිත්‍රත්වය හා යථාතත්ත්වය ගැන මනා අවබෝධයකින් ලියූ ආර්. එල්. බ්‍රෝනියර් විසින් ගේ පුරාතන සිංහල වාරි මාර්ග නම් අගනා කෘතියේ (1935) ප්‍රථම කාණ්ඩයේ මිණිපේ ඇළේ සහ මේ ප්‍රදේශයේ පුරාතත්ත්වය හෙළි කරන ලද්දේ මෙසේ ය.

“නැගෙනහිරින් මහවැලිගඟ මායිම් කොට ඇති ලග්ගල කඳු පාමුල පැතිර පිහිටි මිටියාවන ඉතා මෑතක් වන තුරු උඩරට රාජ්‍යයේ කොටසක් විය. පතල් ප්‍රදේශය හෝ මෑණික් ප්‍රදේශය යන නම් ඇති මිණිපේ ප්‍රදේශය පුරාණයේ පටන් ප්‍රකට ය. ඒ නමින් යුත් බිම්තැන්නේ කොට්ඨාස ඊට අඩංගු වේ.”

“1602 දී රජතුමා බැහැ දැකීමට ගිය ‘ස්පිල්බර්ජන්’ ලන්දේසි අද්මිරාල් තැන මහනුවරට යනාතර මිණිපේ ප්‍රදේශයේ පදිංචි විශාල ජන සංඛ්‍යාවක ගේ ශ්‍රී සමාද්ධිය දැක්කේ ය. තවද ඔහු සමඟ ගිය පිරිසට පළාතෙන් සොයා ගත් මැණික් ගල් රාගියක් වික්ක බව ද සඳහන් කොට තිබේ. මැණික් ගැරීම සම්බන්ධ ව දක්වන ලද මේ ප්‍රවෘත්තීන්ගෙන් පමණක් නො ව, දම්මනය යි කියනු ලබන විශාල තණ බිම්වලින් ගොවිතැන් නිසා වරක් ඒ ප්‍රදේශයෙහි ඇති වූ සමාද්ධිය ප්‍රකාශ වේ. අතරින් පතර උස් වූ ගස්වලින් ළඳු කැලෑ වලින් වඩාත් අලංකාර වූවා ය.”

“මෙහි සඳහන් දම්මන වරක් වී වැපුරු මහා කුඹුරු යායවල් විය. පරිසරය ගෙන් මේ සරු සාර ප්‍රදේශය රැක ගැනීමට සටන් කළ ආදි සිංහල රජදරුවන් ගේ යුද්ධ භූමියක් ද වූ මේ සමාද්ධිමත් ප්‍රදේශය ‘සා හොරෝනා’ සහ ‘ඔලිවර්ස්’ යන ප්‍රතිකාල් සෙනෙවියන් විසින් මුළුමනින් ම විනාශ කරනු ලැබී ය. මිණිපේ ඇළ අමුණු හා පුරාණ වාරි මාර්ග ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණය නො කළ හැකි පරිදි විනාශ කොට අතහැර දමා යාමට සිදු වූයෙන් මුළු ප්‍රදේශය පාච් ජනනීත නිසරු බවට පත් විය.”⁷³

ඉතා ම සැලකිල්ලෙන් හා මනා අවබෝධයෙන් කරුණු වාර්තා කළ බ්‍රොනියර් තුමා ගේ මේ වචනවලින් ම ‘ඇළ නිසා දිසාව මණිමෙබල වී ය’ යන නිකලස් මතය සදෙස් බව පළ වන අතර මැණික් නිසා ම මිණිබේ වූ පෙදෙසේ ඇළත් පසුව මිණිබේ/පේ වූ හ යි යන්න තව තවත් තහවුරු වෙයි.

‘මේබල’ යනු තැන්තට ද නම්. මේ පෙදෙස හරහා ගලා යන ගඟ හරහා බැදී අමුණ හා ඉන් නැවත ගලා යන මිණිපේ ඇළ ද කවි ඇසින් බලා සෙල් ලිපිය ලියූ කවියා එය ලකභන ඉණ බැදී මිණිමෙවුලකැ යි සඳහන් කරන්නේ රූපකාර්ථයෙනි. එහෙත් වංස කථාකරු මිණිපේ > මණිමෙබල ය යි ඇළේ නම පාළියට හැරවීමේ දී, ‘පේ’ (පාදය, තැන්ත, ප්‍රදේශය) යන්නේ අරුතට සරිලන පාළි ‘මේබල’ යන්න යොදා ඇත්තේ පසු කාලයේ ය. එය මුඛ්‍යාර්ථය නොව ගෞණාර්ථය යි. මිණිපේ යන්නේ මුඛ්‍යාර්ථය ‘මැණික් බහුල ප්‍රදේශය’ යන්න යි. ඇළ කැපූ පසු එයට හා අමුණට ද එය යෙදුණේ අනතුරුව ය.

ඇළේ පුළ මුල හා යක්කු

ලංකා විශ්වවිද්‍යාලය ලංකා ඉතිහාසය ඇතුළු සියලු සම්භාව්‍ය කෘති මිණිපේ ඇළේ සහ අමුණේ ආදිකර්තෘත්වය පවරන්නේ පළමුවන අග්ග-බොධි (571-604) රජුට ය. එසේ කරන්නේ මේ වූලවංස ප්‍රකාශය වරදවා තේරුම් ගැනීමෙනි.

“ මණිමෙබල නාමඤ්ච බන්ධාපෙසි ස බන්ධන.”⁷⁴

(මණිමෙබල හෙවත් මිණිපේ නමින් එතුමා අමුණු බැම්මක් බැඳවී ය.)

ඊළඟට දෙවන සේන (853-887) රජතුමා ද මිණිපේ ඇළ හා බැම්ම කරවන ලදු යි ඔවුහු පිළිගනිති.

“ගංගාය මරියාදං සො කාරෙසි මණිමෙබලං”⁷⁵

(මහාවැලි ගඟේ මණිමෙබල එනම් මිණිපේ නම් බැම්මක් බැඳවී ය.)

මෙයින් ප්‍රකාශ වන්නේ රජුන් දෙ දෙනෙකු කාල පරිච්ඡේද දෙකක දී මිණිබේ බැම්ම/අමුණ බැඳවූ බව යි. ඇත්තට ඉන් හැඟෙන්නේ දෙ දෙනා ම බිඳී ගිය මිණිපේ අමුණ නැවත නැවතක් බැඳවූ , අලුත්වැඩියා කළ බවක් මිස එය මුලින් ම නොබැඳී බව යි.

එහෙත් ප්‍රදේශයේ පවත්නා ප්‍රවාද ඇසුරෙන් බ්‍රෝනියර් පමණක් එය පවරන්නේ ධාතුසේන (455-473) රජුට ය.

“දසෙන්කැලි රජ රජකරන සමයෙහි දුම්බර කඳු තලාවල හඳගණාව නැමැති ස්ථානයේ එකල යක්කු ය යි නම් කරනු ලැබූ වැදි කොට්ඨාසයක් සිටි බව කියා තිබේ. මහවැලි ගඟ හරහා අමුණක් බැඳීමට ද විශාල ඇළක් කැණීමට ද රජතුමා ඔවුන්ට ආරාදනා කොට තිබේ.”

“සමහර තැනක මිණිපේ ඇළ නමින් දැක්වෙන ඇළේ නෂ්ටාවශේෂ-යන්ට අද වන තෙක් ම “යකා බැඳී ඇළ” ය යි කියනු ලැබේ. තව ද අමුණ පිහිටි ස්ථානයට “ය(ක්)කුන් දැව” (යකුන් විසින් සාදන ලද්ද) ය යි කියනු ලැබේ.....ජනකථා හා සුළු පිරික්සීමක් ද ඇසුරින් මේ අදහස් ප්‍රකාශ කළ සර් හෙන්රි චෝඩ් කුමා මිණිපේ ඇළ ගැන මෙසේ විස්තර කර තිබේ. “අමනුෂ්‍යයන් විසින් සාදනු ලැබූ මේ ඇළ පොලොන්නරුව දක්වා වැටී තිබේ. එහි දී මෙය ඇළහැර ඇළට යා කොට නො තිබුණත්, පරාක්‍රම සමුද්‍රය යනුවෙන් දැක්වෙන නැව් ගමනාගමනය සඳහා (ප්‍රමාණවත් ලෙස) සෑදූ වාරිමාර්ගය හා සම්බන්ධ වේ. දකුණු දෙසට හැ. 50 ක් තරම් දික්වූ මේ ඇළ ඉහත කී වාරි මාර්ගයේ ශාඛාවකි”⁷⁶.

1867 දී වැව් අමුණු (වාරිමාර්ග) දෙපාර්තමේන්තුවෙන් පළ කළ වාර්තා-වෙහි මිණිපේ ඇළ ගැන ද සඳහන් කොට තිබේ. නමුත් එය අඹන්ගඟ හරහා ගෙන ගොස් පොලොන්නරුව දක්වා සාදා තිබුණේ ය යි කියන පාරම්-පරික කථාව 1898 වන තෙක් කළ පරීක්ෂණයන් ගෙන් ස්ඵුට නො වී ය යි බ්‍රෝනියර් මහතා නිගමනය කරයි.

1985 අප්‍රේල් මුල උඩුදුම්බර ලක්ගල ඇතුළු මහවැලි කලාපයන්හි සඤ්චාරය කරත් දී නාමිනි ඔය අසල දී ඒ ප්‍රදේශයේ රජයේ සහ මහජන සංවිධාන කිහිපයක සහාපති ඇ ප්‍රභූ ධානාන්තර උසුලමින් සිටි මාරක මුදියන්සේලා ගේ පල්ලේගෙදර සෝමදස නම් ගම්පති මහතෙක් හමු විය. තමන් හිංගලයන් නොව, යක් පරපුරේ වැද්දන් ය යි සාධම්බරව හඳුන්වා දුන් ඒ මහතා මිණිපේ පුරාණ ඇළ මාර්ගය පොලොන්නරුව තෙක් වැටී තුබුණේ ය යි යන එකී ජනප්‍රවාදයත්, එම ඇළ මාර්ගය වැටී තිබුණ ආකාරය හා සලකුණු පෙන්විය හැකි බවත් වත්මන් ඇළ මග මැන සැලසුම් කොට සෑදූ දේමළ ඉංජිනේරු මහතා ඒ ගැන ඇහුම්කන් නුදුන් බවත්, ඒ නිසා ඉහත්තාවේ ඉඩම් පුරන් ව ඇති බවත් අපට පැවසී ය.

1941 පෙබරවාරි 22 දී ඩී. ඇස්. සේනානායක මහතා අතින් විවෘත වූ ලංකාවේ ප්‍රථම ගොවි ජනපද ව්‍යාපාරය වූ මිණිපේ අමුණ සහ ඇළ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණය කොට, නව අමුණක් හා වාරි මාර්ග ක්‍රම රැසක් ද සම්පාදනය කළ පසු පිහිටවූ ස්මාරක පුවරුවේ “Minipe scheme constructed in the reign of King Daaskelliya — A. D. 450” යන්න දැක්වේ. එහි “දස්කැලිය” යන රාජ නාමයත් එය ගොඩනැගූ පුවතත්, දෙක ම බ්‍රෝනියර් ගේ ‘පුරාතන වාරි මාර්ග නම් කෘතියේ (iv පරි. 1) මිණිපේ ඇළ යන කොටසේ දහතුන් වන පිටුවේ දෙවන ඡේදයේ එනුයේ මේ ආකාරයෙනි.

“දසෙන් කැලි රජ රජකරන සමයෙහි දුම්බර කඳු තලාවල හදගණාව නැමැති ස්ථානයේ එකල යක්කු යැ යි නම් කරනු ලැබූ වැදි කොට්ඨාසයක් සිටි බව කියා තිබේ.”⁷⁷ යන ලෙඛනගත ප්‍රවාදය ඇසුරෙන් එය ඇතුළත් කරන්නට ඇත.

ස්මාරක පුවරුවේ සටහන් වී ඇති “දස් කේලිය” යන්න ‘ද සෙන් කැලිය’ යන රාජාවලී මුද්‍රිත පාඨය⁷⁸ වරදවා ගෙන කෙටුවක් විය හැකි ය. මේ රජු ගේ නම පාළි වූලවංසයෙහි ‘ධාතුසේන’ ය යි ද, පූජාවලියෙහි (13 ශ.ව.) ‘දසෙන් කැලි’⁷⁹ ය යි ද, නිකායසංග්‍රහයෙහි (14 ශ. ව.) හා රාජරත්නාකරයෙහි ‘දසෙන් කැලිය’⁸⁰ ය යි ද පෙනෙන හෙයිනි.

එහෙත් මේ නිගමනය (“මණිමෙඛල නාමඤ්ච බන්ධාපෙසි ස බන්ධනං”⁸⁰ යන) වූලවංස සටහන ඇසුරෙන් ප්‍රකාශිත පරිදි පළමු වන අග්‍රබොධි විසින් හෝ (මිණිපේ ලිපියේ සඳහන් පරිදි) 11. සේන රජු ද විය යුතු’ මේ කිත්තා ඇමති ලවා හෝ මිණිපේ ඇළ හා අමුණ කරවන ලද යි⁸¹ යන පරණවිතාන මතයට විරුද්ධ ය.

ඉතිහාස පුරාවිද්‍යා විශාරදයන් පිළිගත් මතය කුමක් වුවත්, බ්‍රෝනියර් මහතා “මිණිපේ ඇළ මුලින් ම ඉදි කළේ ධාතුසේන රජතුමා විසිනි” යි යන අතිපුරාතන ප්‍රවාදයක් ප්‍රදේශයේ වැදි ජනතාව⁸² අතර තිබේ, හෙන්රි චෝඩ් ගේ සටහන් ද ඇසුරින් එය මෙසේ උපුටා දක්වා ඇත. අග්ගබොධි, සේන යුගවල සිදු වූ ප්‍රතිසංස්කරණ ‘මණිමෙඛල’ යන නමින් ම වූලවංසය සඳහන් කොට ඇති නිසා ඒවා පහසුවෙන් හැඳින් ගැනීමට හැකි වූයෙන් සෙස්සන් ඉක්මන් නිගමනවලට එසේ බැස ඇත. ධාතුසේන රජතුමා ඉනුන් පෙර (මහවැලි) ගඟ හරහා බැදී අමුණ හා ඇළ ‘මණිමෙඛල’ නමින් ම වූලවංසයේ සඳහන් නො කොට “බන්ධාපෙන්වා මහාගංගං කෙදරෙකා ටීරොදකෙ”⁸³ ය යි ලියූ නිසා දෝ මුලින් එය සාදන ලද්දේ දසෙන් රජු විසිනි යි යන්න සෙසු වියනුනට වැටහී නැත. මා දක්වන ධාතුසේන ආදි-කර්තෘත්වය සඳහා ජනප්‍රවාදයන් වූලවංස සටහනත් ඔහු කලා වැව ඇතුළු අටළොස් (මව-සොළොස්) මහ වැව් බඳවා තිබීමත් අහෙද්‍ය සාධක වෙයි.

පාදක සටහන්

1. උන පුරණ සහිත මහාවංසො — (මව/වුව.) පොල්වත්තේ බුද්ධදත්ත සං. (1959. 78.34 “ඡබ්බස්සං” (ධර්මාශෝක ළදරු රජු නමින් රට පාලනය වූ අවධිය යි)
2. *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (E.Z.) No. V, p. 154
3. *EZ*, No. V. p. 154
4. පොලොන්නරු යුගයේ සාහිත්‍ය විත්තනය හා විවාරාත්මක සසඳවන(ස. ව.)—විමල විජයසූරිය, එස්. ගොඩගේ සහ සහෝදරයෝ, 1988, පිට 116, ශි 10-14
5. *The Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period* (G.P.)—N. Mudiyanse, p. 143
Ceylon Antiquary and Literary Register (CALR) Vol. 1, p. 153.
6. මයුර සන්දේශ විවරණය, (මසං) — මුනිදස කුමාරතුංග, 1935, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65 පද්‍ය
7. මව. 78. 29 - 31
8. සව. - 100 - 101 පිටු (9-10-11-12 ඡේද)
9. සන්න සහිත සසඳවන හෙවත් කාව්‍යනිලකය (සසව.) අතුරුවැල්ලේ ධම්මපාල සං. 2478, 5 පිට 11
10. *E.Z.* v-i P. 157 (20)
11. *E.Z.* V,-i p. 158 (29)
12. හත්ඵනගල්ල විහරවංසො (හවි.) - පඤ්ඤාසාර සං. 2478, පි. 4
13. මව. 79.7 “ඒවාස්මිං මණිමෙඛලනාමකෙ”
14. මව. 49. 72 “ගංගාය මරියාදං සො කාරෙසි මණිමෙඛලං”
15. මව. 41, 34 “මණිමෙඛල නාමං ච ඛන්ධාපෙසි ස ඛන්ධනං”
16. *E.Z.* V. pp. 155-156 “We may therefore take “Mekitnā” to have carried out the work of constructing the Minipe dam on the orders of Sena-ii.”
17. *EZ.* V. p. 158
18. මව. 90 පිට, 91-10 පද්‍ය
19. වූව. 70. 21 “යක්ඛසුකර තිත්ඵමහි - නියුත්තො කිත්ති නාමකො - අධිකාරී”
19. සව. 116 පිට 9-10 පද්‍ය
20. රුවන්පා සහ මිණිපේ යනු මැණික් පෙදෙස යන අර්ථයේ විය හැකි ය. පාද>පය> පිය වෙයි. පසුව පා/වා සහ පේ රූප ගනී. ගිරිපාද>ගිරිපා>ගිරුවා වෙයි. භාෂා පරිණාමය අනුව පය/පිය රූප අග්ඛෝ යුගයටත් (6-7 ශ. ව.), පය/පා/පේ රූප සේන යුගයටත් (9-10 සිය වසටත්) අයත් ය.

20. ඒ සුඡාවලිය — මාබෝපිටියේ මෙධංකර සං. 1982. 34 පරි. 15 පිට
21. මෙබඳු ප්‍රදේශවාචී සංඥා නාම රාශියක් අනතුරුව වංශ නාම බවට පත්ව ඇත. දඹ දෙණියේ හවුළුව නම් ගම සවුළු කුලයට ද, කඳවුරුගම කඳවුරු කුලයට ද මුල් විය. පලාවතු, උමගමු, කලුන්තරු, දුනුකේවතු සහ කරඹවලාන් කුල ද එසේ ය.
22. *The Yalpana Vaipava Malai* (Translation), C. Brito, 1879, Colombo, p. 8
23. *E.Z.* V-pp. 153; *UHC.* i-ii, p. 613
24. මව. 79. 7-9
25. මව. 78-34 මෙහිලා 'මලෙවි' යන්න ගැන පරණවිතාන සූරිහු නිහඬ ය. සෙනෙවි, මලෙවි, ගැහැවි ආදියේ මුලයන් සෙනාපති, මලයපති ගෘහපති ය යි ගතහොත් මලෙවි යනු මලයරාජ, මලරජ, මලේනා යන තනතුරු නිසා බිහි වූ පරම්පරා නාමයක් සේ ගත හැකි ය. ප්‍රාන්ත භාර වූ සෙනෙවියන් මේ නමින් හැඳින් වී ඇත. 'මලෙවි' මලය රටට අධිපති, මලය රාජ වැනි පරපුරක වංශ නාමය යි සිතමි.
26. *E.Z.* V-i, P. 155
27. *Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon* (AIWC.) R.L. Brohier, 1934; p. 16.
28. ව්‍යාකරණ විචරණය (ව්‍යාචි.) — කුමාරතුංග මුනිදස, 2492, 123 පිට. "අලු, පලු, පිම් බැම් ආදිය" සම්ප්‍රදය විරෝධී ය යි ප්‍රතික්ෂිප්ත ය.
29. *EZ.* v-i, P. 153
30. රාජාවලිය (රාව.) - ඒ. ඩී. සුරවීර සං. 1976, 98 පිට සහ 223 පිට
31. *Journal of Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (JRASCB) vol. vii Pt 2 pp. 171-224 (Prof. S. Paranavitana—The Arya Kingdom of North Ceylon)
- 31-අ. *EZ.* V. 3 (1965) pp. 463-466. (ගල් පොත ලිපිය) "ගඟවස කලාණ මහ දේවින් වහන්සේ" (කාලිංග නිශ්ශංකමල්ල අග බිසොවකි.) උතුරෙහි කාලිංග රජය (උකාර.) විමල විජයසූරිය, 1984.
32. *The Art and Architecture of the Gampola Period* (GP.) Prof. N. Mudiyanse, P. 176
33. *E.Z.* vol. v-3 p. 416
34. මව. 88. 16
35. මයුර සන්දේශ විචරණය (මසං.) - මුනිදස කුමාරතුංග සං. 286, "කුළී සෙනහ" *EZ.* Vol. ii, pp. 252-253 (Slab Inscription of Velaikkaras)
- 35-අ. *UHC.* i-ii, P. 630 fn. 59 "the identification of the Aryas figuring in this episode as Rajputs was first made by Codrington (*CALR*) X. p. 88
36. *An Advanced History of India* (AHI), 1948, p. 1047 Hamir of Mervar pp. 303, 386, 387 "Hamir, Deva of Ranthambhor" pp. 302, 402.
37. Prof. P. E. E. Fernando—Rajputs in Sri Lanka- *Don Peter Felicitation Volume* (DPV) 1983, p 78 fn. 18.

38. *AHI*. p. 302

39. මට. 54. 13

40. මට. 57. 23-28

41. මට. 88. 15-16

“සදෙස පරදේසියං — සබ්බං උභය වාහිනීං
 සම්මා වෙනන දනෙන — සංගණ්ඨිස්සාමි සබ්බථා”
 “ඉති චින්තිය සබ්බෙසීං — ආදෙද්දි ධකුරකාදිනං”
 අරියබන්ත යොධානං — හනීං දතුං සමාරභුං”

42. *EZ* Vol. ii pp. 252-253

43. *Epigraphia Indica* (AI) XXI, p. 245

44. මට. 88, 02-30

45. *DPV*. p. 74

46. *University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon (UHC)* ii. p. 630, Notes on the Dambadeni Dynasty-(Ceylon Literary Register (CALR), x, 1910 p. 88.

47. *Bharatiya Anusilana* (Hindi) 1934 pt. iv, pp. 64 ff
 ලිපිමාලා — සෙනරත් පරණවිතාන, 1974. පිටු 22-26, 3 iලංකාවේ රාජපුත් ජනයා

48. *DPV*. pp. 65-80

49. මට. 54. 13-15 “ රාමන්වය සමුඛිභුතො තද් යුජ්ඣපුරාගතො
 ජගතීපාලනාමෙන විස්සුතො භුභුජන්තජො.....”
South Indian Inscriptions (SII) iii, 59 (Virasalameghan)

50. *JRASCB*, vii-2, p. 205 “Rajaput warriors in the service of Sinhalese kings in the 13th Century and that they were called Aryas”

51. මට. 57. 23-28

52. මට. 61. 12-15

53. *EZ* V-i, pp. 158-9

54. *ibid.*

55. *AAR*. Vol-i, p. 278

56. *DPV*. pp. 70-71 (Padmavati of Kēragala)

57. *JRASCB*, xxii, 65 (1912) p. 328, 2-5

“අත්ථනායක දළ සෙන්ගමු (මිකන්ථාරුත්) තමන් ලභ උන් අලගක්කෝනාර පාදයාගේ සහෝදර බුහුණනියන් පද්මාවතීන් වැදපුද ගන්නා ලෙසට කරවූ කැරගල විහාර.....”

58. *ibid*

- i. හංස සන්දේශය, සී. ඊ. ගොඩකුඹුරේ සං. පිට 33, පද්‍ය 185.
- ii. හංස සන්දේශය — සිංහල සන්දේශාවලි — නිත්තැටියේ උදිත සං. 185 පද්‍ය
- iii. University of Ceylon, History of Ceylon, Vol. i, Pt. ii p. 657
- '''' " වත්තල වෙහෙර වැඩ — වැඩ උන් වතවාසයෙනි "

නාගසේන මහ තෙරිඳුන්ට	මුතුබුරු
බෝග ඉසුරු දළ සෙන්ගමු	මිහන්තරු

ඔහු වෙත උන් උතුම් — අලගක්කෝනාර ලද

වැදූ අත්තනායක මැති	සඳුන් නේ
එදු සොවුරු පියුමවුචන්	ලඳුන් නේ
හිමිවන සිභානා සුදසුන්	මහ ලේන
වැජඹෙන ලමැති කුලයෙන් සිරි	ලැබ යෙහෙන
.....ඔහුට මුතුබුරු වන	මනනදන
නමදු වනරත්න මාහිමි හිමි	සඳුට''

(බෝග ඉසුරු = අර්ථනායක ය. පියුමවුචන් පද්මාවතී ය.)

59. *An Advanced History of India (AHI)*-Majumdar, R.C. etc. London, 1948 p. 402

59.අ. උන පුරණ සහිතො මනාවංසො (මව.) ශ්‍රී බුද්ධදත්ත සං. 88-16
"ඉති චිත්තිය සබ්බෙසං — ආදෙ යකුරකාදිනං
අරියක්ඛන්ත යොධානං....."

60. මව. 29.39 "යොන නගරාලසන්ද්‍ය — සො යොන ධම්මරක්ඛිතො"

61. *The Cambridge History of India (CHI)*-Rapson, E.J., 1935, p. 425

62. *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*-Monier-Williams, 5. 1960 P. 751 & P. 753

63.a *EZ. V.* p. 153

63. මව. 79-07, 08, 09 'තථෙව පුන රට්ඨස්මිං මණිමෙබල නාමකෙ.....
.....සංඛනාමො වමුපති

64. මනාවංශය (සිංහල) (-මවසිං) — ශ්‍රී සුමංගල - බටුවන්කුඩාවෙ සං. 1963, 81. 8. 9
10.

65. Rajputs in Sri Lanka—Prof. P. E. E. Fernando (*Don Peter Felicitation Volume*, 1983, p. 78, fn. 28; *TOD* Vol. i, pp. 307-88 "According to *TOD* Padmini was the daughter Samir Sank (Chuhan) of Ceylon."

66. මව. 61.43 ".....සංඛ නායකත්ථලි සඤ්ඤිතො ගාමස්ස"

67. මව 62.22 “නිවන්තෙත්වාන තත්ථෙව සෙනානීං සංඛනාමකං
පුත්තෙන සහ සො සංඛත්ථලී නාමං පුරං ගමී”

68. මව 73-75 “ලොකවිභ කෙසධාතුංච නාථාඛ්‍යං සංඛනායකං”

69. භාරතීය මූලාශ්‍රයවල මේ නම “සමීර් සංඛ” ය යි ද පෙනේ.

Padmavati English translation of *Jaisis Padmavat* by A. G. Shireff, Royal-Asiatic Society, Bengal, Calcutta, 1944 and a different version: *TOD* Vol. I, pp. 307-308

70. *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*(NS.)(S), Historical Topography of Ancient and Medieval Ceylon, C. W. Nicholas (JRASCB), Vol. vi (1963)

සෝමපාල ජයවර්ධන සිංහල පරිවර්තනය, (ප්‍රමලංචේචී). (1979) පිට 49

71. *JRASCB*, vi. (NS) iii, p. 43;

72. *University of Ceylon—History of Ceylon*, Vol. i. Pt. ii, p. 613

73. *Ancient Irrigation Works in Ceylon*—R. L. Brohier, (AIWC), 1934, p. 13

74. මව. 41.34

75. මව. 49.72

76. *AIWC* IV-14.

77. *AIWC*- IV. p 14

78. රාජාවලිය (රාව.) සුරවීර සංස්. 1976, පිට 196

79. ඉතිහාස සංග්‍රහ — මැ. විමලකීන්ති (පුජාවලිය) පිට 144.

80. මව. 37.14 - 38

81. *E.Z* Vol. v-i pp. 155-156

“We may therefore, take Mokitna to have carried out the work of constructing the Minipe dam on the order of the Sena—II”

82. සිංහලයන් මෙන් ම නාගරීකරණයට පත් නමින් පමණක් වැද්දෝ ය.

83. මව. 38.41

REFLECTION ON TIBETAN CULTURE
ESSAYS IN MEMORY OF TURRELL V. WYLIE

edited by

Lawrence Epstein & Richard F. Sherburne

Published by The Edwin Mellen Press, New York.

The Reflections on Tibetan Culture is a collection of twenty one essays written by different scholars on diverse aspects of Tibetan culture. As the editors have mentioned in their introduction, this work, originally planned as a Festschrift in honour of Professor Turrell V. Wylie on the anniversary of twenty-five years of Tibetan studies at the University of Washington, has, after Professor Wylie's untimely death in 1984 been issued as a commemorative volume.

Professor Turrell V. Wylie was born in 1927 in Durango, Colorado. He graduated in 1952 at the University of Washington and did his doctorate in Chinese language and literature. Simultaneously he commenced his study of Tibetan language and literature which, later, became his principal field of research. His appointment in 1958 to the Department of Far Eastern and Slavic Languages (later to become the Department of Asian Languages and Literature) at his *alma mater* afforded him the much needed opportunities to pursue his researches in Tibetan language and literature. This led him to be selected to inaugurate a Center for Tibetan Research at the University of Washington. He began this project with suitable lay and monk teachers he selected from among the Tibetan refugees in India. Thanks to Professor Wylie now the University of Washington has become one of the few American universities to offer Tibetan studies for doctorates.

The introduction contains a list of the most important contributions by the late Professor Wylie and published from 1957 to 1988. To mention, some of these are: A Standard system of Tibetan Transcription (1959), Dalai Lama (1967), Tibetan Language (1969), Reincarnations: A Political Innovation in Tibetan Buddhism (1978) and Influence of the Bodhisattva Doctrine on Tibetan Political

History (1981). These articles have been grouped under seven headings: geography, history, philosophy and textual history, language, monasticism, foreign scholars and comparative studies.

The Religious Structures at Sa-skya by Jeffrey D. Schoening is a very important article for it preserves for posterity the knowledge of the numerous magnificent buildings possessed by Sa-skya and destroyed in 1960s during China's Cultural Revolution. The earliest buildings are the four stupas (*mchod-rten*) erected in the eighth century by Padmasambhava. It has been said that the Sa-skya Monastery was built in 1073 by 'Khon Dkon-mchog-rgyal-po (1034-1102) and its proper name was the Sgo-rum Gzim-spyil Dkar-po. The monastery took its name Sa-skya from the pale (*skya*) earth (*sa*) on the side of Mt. Dpon-po Ri on which the monastery was built. This is a comprehensive article which begins with an introduction followed by a chronological description of Sa-skya buildings. Also, it has three appendices. Appendix I contains ten maps illustrating geographical distribution of the numerous buildings in Sa-skya. Appendix II is an index of the buildings. Appendix III furnishes a guide based on a seventeenth century document. The writer deals exhaustively with the buildings in the ancient city of Sa-skya located in Tibet at an altitude of 15,000 ft. above sea level. An important treasure referred to by him is the conch shell called *chos-dung dkar-po rgyang-grags* preserved in the South Monastery. It is said that this was given to Chos-rgyal 'Phags-pa (1235-1280) by Khubilai Khan.

The section on history contains three articles: The Mgar Family in Seventh Century Tibet by Hugh E. Richardson, Modern Sikkim in an Historical Perspective by Leo E. Rose and Ming Ch'eng-tsu and the monk Officials of Gling-tshang and Gon-gyo by Elliot Sperling. The first article enlightens us on the successful career of Mgar Stong-rtsan-yul-zung, the Prime Minister of Srong-brtsan-sham-po. Being a personage of the highest ability, energy and accomplishment, he succeeded in laying the foundations of a great Tibetan Empire in the seventh century AC. In the second paper Leo E. Rose examines the modern history of Sikkim and its diverse relations with the neighbours, Nepal on the west, Tibet on the north, Bhutan on the east and India on the south. Also, it relates the story of the conquest of Central Tibet in 1642 by the Great Fifth Dalai Lama, the head of the Gelugpa sect.

The six papers on philosophy and textual history represent different aspects of Tibetan culture and thought. The influence of Nagarjuna's *Mūlamadhyamaka-kārika* is surveyed in two papers. "A Translation of Chapter Sixteen" enables its readers to gain an idea of a Tibetan commentary as well as the Tibetan Buddhist philosophy. Karen Christina Lang of the University of Virginia examines the introduction of *Prasāṅgika Madhyamaka* into Tibet and shows that the study and translation of *Madhyamaka* works was well established in central Tibet by end of the eighth century A.C. The celebrated scholar Sāntarakṣita came to Tibet around 763 and taught in Lhasa for four months until the hostile elements forced him to withdraw to Nepal. On his second visit in 775 to Tibet he established the first Tibetan monastery, Bsam-yas, and served as its abbot until his death in about 788. This interesting discussion sheds much light on the lesser known areas of Tibetan heritage.

The most fascinating paper is the one by Joseph M. Kitagawa on the adventures of Kawaguchi Ekai. It reminds the reader those of Fa-Hsien, the celebrated Chinese traveller who visited Sri Lanka, India and Java in the early fifth century AC. With fortitude, hard-work and dedication, Kawaguchi succeeded in secretly entering Tibet and gaining a firsthand knowledge of the country and its people. On this visit to Tibet he stayed there from July 4, 1900 to May 29, 1902. When he came to Calcutta in December, 1905, he met the Panchen Lama who readily agreed to his proposal for exchange of Buddhist scriptures between Tibet and Japan. Also, the Dalai Lama cordially received him in 1909 at Darjeeling where the former was temporarily living in exile due to internal and external enemies of Tibet. Once the situation in Tibet was settled, he left Calcutta in December, 1913, and travelled via Sikkim along the eastern side of Mt. Kanchenjunga and entered Tibet. He presented a set of Japanese Buddhist scriptures to the Panchen Lama at Shigatse. In July, 1914, he left for Lhasa where he stayed till January, 1915 before leaving for Shigatse and Darjeeling. He was fortunate to meet the Dalai Lama twice this time. Also, he received a set of Tibetan Buddhist scriptures from the Dalai Lama to be given to the University of Tokyo. It is to the lasting credit of Kawaguchi that the writer says that he never used his wide knowledge and experience for personal gains. Furthermore, he stayed

clear of any involvement in military, diplomatic and other governmental affairs. His earnest desire was to introduce to Japan those Tibetan scriptures which he believed to be the most faithful translations of the Buddha's own teachings.

This volume contains, in all, twenty one papers written by competent authorities in their specialised fields. It is complete with abbreviations and references. The Volume, as the editors have correctly termed, is an affectionate memorial assembled and dedicated to the name of the former Professor Turrell V. Wylie of the University of Washington by his personal friends, colleagues and students. It is really a treasured collection on Tibet's history, geography, language, literature and its unique Buddhist culture and philosophy.

Somapala Jayawardhana

SOUVENIRS OF A FORGOTTEN HERITAGE

by

Gamini De S. G. Punchihewa

Printed at the Government Press, A "Desathiya" publication.

The author gives the sub-title: "A peep into the sands of time" for the first part of his book. This sub-title is appropriate for the entire book. The neatly-written essays under forty-three topics are indeed the result of "a peep into our past."

The charm of the book is aptly captured in the words of Dr. Nandadeva Wijesekara, who in his foreword goes on to say: "Gamini de S. G. Punchihewa, the author of the book, has worked and lived in this area (Gal oya) and its environs. He knows the hills and valleys and the jungle intimately. The story in this book is about the situation that has changed, about the settlements that are new and the almost depleted flora. Above everything else he writes about the people, their past and present, their traditions and folk-lore. The record, in 4 parts, is not a novel for reading through at one stretch. It serves as a book of information for the lovers of nature, for the archaeologists and anthropologists; it is indeed a guide-book for the traveller and the tourist, because the information recorded here is reliable and educative" (and if one may say so also very entertaining!)

The author's varied interests make the essays he has written attractive to the reader. His enthusiasm for our past history mingles with his concern for our cultural heritage and folk-lore. All through the book, his deep-seated affection and concern not only for man and beast, but also for other aspects of nature as our flora and fauna, are evident. His language is simple, entertaining and lively, and he talks directly to our inner selves in an intimate style that is not easy to imitate.

Mr. Punchihewa begins with the story of Dighavapi, 'reminiscing' his way through past history. Our chronicles are familiar to him, and he cites them from time to time in his journey to the past. Not only the Mahavansa, but also the works of other recent writers such as Parker are quoted by him.

I do not know whether our present generation is aware of places such as Rajagala. This rock-fortress reminds one of Sigiriya in its physical appearance. The priceless archaeological remains of this beautiful place may now be lost to us due to "Tiger" activities. The author refers to the ruins of the ancient irrigation system with channels carved out of stone, drains made for the flow of wastewater and oval-shape stones laid down for toilets. The supreme testimony of this architecture is seen in a "huge stone structure in the form of an open umbrella with the stone pillar standing in the middle."

Punchihewa's descriptions of Gal-oya and its environs are colourful because he does not write his essays from the point of view of a historian or an academic. For him, there is a personal element in each description he makes. He had visited the places he describes many a time and become part of the places themselves. There is thus a very intimate personal link between him and all that he describes. His history, his folk-lore, his archaeology—all these are permeated by this intimate personal connection which glistens like quicksilver in his essays.

In the second part of the book he moves to the terrain of the Veddhas. Mr. Punchihewa has named the Veddhas as "the lost tribe of jungle inheritors." His essays in this section begin with the story of the seven Veddha brothers. It relates how the present-day Veddhas descend from those seven brothers. This is a piece of folk-lore not known to many Sri Lankans today.

In this part dealing with the Veddhas, there is hardly any aspect of their life that is not touched by the author. Veddha folk-lore, their rituals, beliefs and customs, arts and crafts, ways of life, magic and superstitions—all these are included in his essays. The author always attempts to carve out relevant portions from other people's writings when such descriptions are considered useful and illuminating to the topic under discussion. His accounts of the Veddhas

are refreshing because of the fact that he had visited these primitive people, lived with them and developed a unique sympathy for this suffering tribe. It is this sympathy that enabled him to understand the Veddhas in a way that very few others could. I think that Mr. Punchihewa is the spiritual successor to Dr. R. L. Spittel. Both have many things common to each other. They not only wanted to learn about the Veddhas, but also desired to do whatever they could to help them. Such a personal bond does not exist between primitive people and anthropologists of today. In fact, the author places on record how he was in contact with this great man (Dr. Spittel) until his death, and pays high tribute to him. "It was after the appearance of my articles about Tikiri and his tribe in the local press that Dr. Spittel wrote to me a number of letters (till his death in 1965). His letters are still preserved as souvenirs. He was the only benevolent person who lovingly and affectionately encouraged me to meet the Veddhas often and to collect their songs, folk-lore and other customs connected with them" (184).

Two essays from Mr. Punchihewa's book which I cherish much are "the kirikoraha Veddha dance" and "the leaves from the jungle." Perhaps it is because of my interest in Anthropology that I enjoy those two essays more than the other articles in the book. The essays are not pedantic; but they contain all that is of value to an Anthropologist in a Veddha ritual and in their folk-lore. The personal experiences of the author as mentioned earlier, add a peculiar charm to the two essays.

In the third part of the book the author turns his attention to the aftermath of the Uva rebellion in 1817-1818. He re-creates the social, economic and political conditions of the time quoting from all possible literary sources. Bibile, in the Uva-Wellassa region was an area where oranges were grown in abundance. These flourishing orange plantations described by the author are no more seen today. If we, having read his book, visit Bibile to have a glimpse of the luscious orange gardens described by him, we would be very disappointed indeed. Mr. Punchihewa had at least recorded what he saw a few decades ago. How far society deteriorated both economically and socially (in a very short time!) since then could be determined with his essays, serving as a bench-mark study.

In the final section of his book, the author turns to the vanishing flora and fauna of this beautiful country. He writes relating to folk-lore about elephants and explaining how elephants were hunted in the past. The love-life of the elephant also receives his attention. Thereafter he turns to other animals and birds, and ends up with "jungle pharmacies."

Dr. Wijesekera refers to this part of his (Mr. Punchihewa's) book as 'highly educative.' "It arouses the curiosity of any reader to know more and more about the fauna and flora of Sri Lanka as a whole. From them he will turn to the study of man and his traditional culture. This, I should like to believe is the highest service the author has rendered to the present and future generations."

I am glad to recommend this book "Souvenirs of a forgotten Age" to all those interested in history, anthropology, culture, folk-lore, geography, and above all—our people and the flora and fauna of this country. The simple, intimate and captivating style in which the book is written would not be forgotten by even a casual reader. The author deserves our congratulations, and more than that—the encouragement of all of us who are living in this country. We look forward to more beautiful literary cum anthropological creations of this nature from Mr. Punchihewa in the future.

Nandasena Ratnapala

Book Review

Water in Culture: The Sri Lankan Heritage

By

J. B. Disanayaka

Professor and Head, Department of Sinhala
University of Colombo, Sri Lanka

Published by

the Ministry of Environment and Parliamentary Affairs
Sri Lanka, 1992. 150 pages.

At a time when the planet stands at the edge of extinction, doomed by an ecological breakdown, and sustainability has become a matter of grave concern for humanity, when life itself has been threatened by the rapidly diminishing sources of water, the most precious of all Nature's gifts Prof. J. B. Disanayaka's work, '*Water in Culture: The Sri Lankan Heritage*.' is a very timely and relevant enterprise. As John Still has so eloquently expressed in his '*Jungle Tide*', water is very much a part and parcel of Sri Lankan culture and heritage.

"Hill streams were tapped and their water guided into the giant storage tanks below, some of them four thousand acres in extent, and from these channels ran on to other larger tanks farther from the hills and from them to others still more remote. And below each great tank and each great channel were hundreds of little tanks, each the nucleus of a village, all, in the long run, fed from the wet mountain zone. So gradually the ancient Sinhalese conquered all, or nearly all of the plains, that are now so empty of men."

The intensity of the struggle with the physical environment which the creators of the "hydraulic civilisation" must have waged in their day, the arduousness of the labour involved in converting into fertile paddy fields the plains of the North-East of Sri Lanka which nature had condemned to lie in arid desolation has been the subject of comment by the great historian Arnold Toynbee, in discussing the genesis of civilisations. Apart from its prime role

in the sustenance of life, Disanayaka analyses the fascinating and multi-faceted instances in which water enters Sri Lankan life and also highlights its contribution to national development with a view to understanding our current problems and also seeking solutions for them.

The author's profound knowledge of Sinhala, together with his sound understanding of Sri Lankan village life with all its traditional wisdom, his familiarity with the learned and the lewd has enabled him to elucidate the close interaction between man and in the Sri Lankan context. He handles a variety of sources with consummate skill and finesse; whether it be literature, art, architecture, folklore, tradition, myth or legend, Disanayaka examines modern society and rituals and analyses them with the skill of a sociologist.

The monograph consists of 5 main sections. In the first section the different functions of water are described. Its role as a purifying agent, as a giver of life, a destroyer of evil and also as a symbol of fertility and transfer are explained with numerous examples drawn from literature and current practices. These roles are not dead, they are still very much a part of Sri Lankan life.

In the next section on Rain and Rain-makers, the importance of rain to an agricultural community is emphasised by highlighting the rain-making practices that were prevalent and still continue in Sri Lanka. He mentions the numerous instances when the Rain Gods, the King, the Tooth Relic, the Bodhi Tree and Buddha Image have been invoked to bring rain in times of drought.

In the section on Hydraulic Civilisation the author examines the administrative system based on the supply and distribution of water and the bureaucracy which managed it. The history, technology and culture of the hydraulic system is discussed. He has also shown that quite apart from its functional role, water has been used to enhance the beauty of the landscape. The water gardens at Sigiriya, described as one of the oldest landscaped gardens in the world, are the finest legacy of the hydraulic civilisation. Flowing water, stagnant water, cascading water and spouting water are used with superb finesse creating the most remarkable water gardens in Asia.

The fourth section discusses some of the themes in folkways and folklore pertaining to water: how rain affects the life of a Buddhist monk, water sports, water containers and the craftsmanship that goes with them and how water is reflected in folk art, folklore and folk idiom.

These four sections are based mainly on the cultural and religious experience of the Sinhalese Buddhists. In the final section on 'Water across Religions', the author shows that water rites are common to all cultures and takes the reader into the kovil, church and mosque, showing how water enters the ritual practices of Hinduism, Christianity and Islam.

The immediate stimulus to write this book has been the United Nations Earth Summit of June 1992, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. It is indeed a fitting prelude to this important event and the author deserves credit for having drawn the attention of the Conference to the relevance of traditional knowledge and wisdom of the East for the resolution of global problems of ecology. He has looked at it from a Sri Lankan perspective, and given evidence to show that development should have a sensitivity to environmental and cultural concerns. Finally there are many beautiful pictures which illustrate the subject matter. The printing, format, paper and cover are all very attractive and is in keeping with the excellent quality of the contents.

Lorna Dewaraja

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

The 144th ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka will be held on Saturday, 23rd March, 1991, at 5.00 p.m., at the Auditorium, Mahaweli Centre, 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

AGENDA

1. Address of welcome by the President, Dr. C. G. Urugoda.
2. Condolences :-
 - Dr. H. W. Jayewardene
 - Prof. Ralph Pieris
 - Ven. G. Nandarama Thera
 - Mr. A. L. Gunaratne
 - Dr. P. A. T. Gunasinghe
 - Dr. K. D. F. Piyaseeli
 - Mr. K. M. W. Kuruppu
 - Mr. F. A. Abeywickrema
 - Dr. A. E. F. Jayasinghe
 - Mr. Niloo Bhatt
3. Letters of excuse
4. Confirmation of the minutes of the 143rd ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.
5. Business arising out of the minutes.
6. To receive the Annual Report of the Council for 1990/91.
7. To receive the Audited Statement of Accounts for 1990.
8. Election of seven (7) members to the Council. The following nominations have been received.

Name of Candidate	Proposed by	Seconded by
Dr. H. A. P. Abeyawardena	Prof. M.B. Ariyapala	Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando	Prof. M.B. Ariyapala	Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty	Mr. H. E. R. Abeysekera	Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty
Prof. L.P.N. Perera	Prof. M.B. Ariyapala	Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna	Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne	Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
Mr. I. Raheem	Mr. W.R. McAlpine	Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva
Dr. N.T.K. Gunapala Senadeera	Mr. M.H. Sirisoma	Pundit V. W. Abhayagunawardena

9. Election of an Auditor.

10. Vote of thanks

Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe
Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretaries

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Annual Report of the Council for 1990/91

Meetings

Twelve Council meetings and fourteen lecture meetings were held during the period under review.

Condolences

The Council records with deep regret the deaths of the following members:-

Dr. H. W. Jayewardene
 Prof. Ralph Pieris
 Ven. G. Nandarama Thera
 Mr. A. I. Gunaratne
 Dr. P. A. T. Gunasinghe
 Dr. K. D. F. Piyaseeli
 Mr. K. M. W. Kuruppu
 Mr. F. A. Abeywickrema
 Dr. A. E. F. Jayasinghe
 Mr. Niloo Bhatt

Lectures—1990/91

The following lectures were delivered during the period 1st April 1990 to 28th February, 1991.

30th April, 1990—'The Evolution and Significance of the Makara Thorana'—Dr. Lakshman Ranasinghe; 14th May, 1990—'Socio-Religious Significance of the Petavattu'—Mr. T. B. Weerakone; 28th May, 1990—'The Theatre of the Buddhists in Asia with Special reference to Sri Lanka'—Mr. Bandula Jayawardhana; 11th June, 1990—'The Beginnings of Commercial Road Passenger Transportation in Sri Lanka'—Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva; 25th, June 1990—'The Political and Commercial History of the Muslims of Sri Lanka under the British'—Dr. M. N. N. Kamil Asad; 30th July, 1990—'Americans who have influenced Sri Lanka's Development in the 19th Century'—Mr. Richard M. Sherman; 27th August, 1990—'Tree Cult in Sri Lanka'—Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya; 24th September, 1990—'The Poruwa Ceremony in Southern Sri Lanka'—Mr. Palitha E. Weeraman; 29th October, 1990—'The Location of Bogambara Wewa and the King's Palace of Kandy—

1700—1815’—Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando; 26th November, 1990—‘Sri Lankan Drama in English: An Assessment’ Mr. Tissa Jayakody; 7th January, 1991—‘Indo Greek Sociological, Religious and Cultural Influences in Ancient Sri Lanka’—Mr. F. Medis; 28th January, 1991—‘The Missionaries in Sri Lanka in the early years of the 19th Century’—Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna; 25th February, 1991,—‘The British Contributions to the Development of the Laws & Legal Systems of Sri Lanka’—Prof. G. L. Peiris.

The activities of the Society continued uninterrupted. The Council meetings and Lecture meetings were well attended.

Membership.

During the period under review 10 Ordinary Members, 01 Ordinary Non-resident Member and 14 Resident Life Members were enrolled. The Society has as at 28th February, 1991, 563 Members on roll. Of these 07 are Honorary Members, 331 Resident Life Members, 47 Non-resident Life Members, 166 Resident Ordinary Members and 12 Ordinary Non-resident Members.

OFFICE BEARERS OF THE SOCIETY

Patron

His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa.

President

Dr. C. G. Uragoda.

Past Presidents

Pundit Dr. N. D. Wijesekera, B.A. (Hons.) (Lond.), B.A. (Hons.) (Tripos) (Cantab.), M.A. (Cantab.), Ph.D. (Cal.), Hon. D. Litt. (Sri Jayawardenapura)

Prof. H. W. Tambiah, B.Sc. Ph.D. (Lond.), LL.D. (Lond.), Q.C.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, B.A. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Lond.), D.Litt. (Honoris Causa) (Colombo).

Vice Presidents

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, B.A., Ph.D. (Lond.)

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, B.A. (Lond.)

Dr. (Mrs.) L. S. Dewaraja, B.A. (Hon.) (Cey.), M.A. (Cey.), Ph.D. (Lond.)

Hony. Joint Secretaries

Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe B.A. (Cey.) M.A.

Dr. S. Jayawardhana, B.A. (Lond.), Ph.D (Kelaniya), E.
Ex. S.L.A.S**Hony. Treasurer**Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva B.A. (Hons.) (Cey.), Postgraduate Dip.
Archive Administration (Lond.).**Hony. Editor**

Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

Hony. Librarian

Ms. B. D. Brohier—up to 13th November 1990

Mr. T. B. Weerakone—from 14th November, 1990.

Members of the Council

Prof. (Mrs.) K. E. Karunaratne

Mr. T. B. Weerakone—up to 13th November, 1990.

Mr. B. D. Brohier—from 14th November, 1990.

Prof. A. V. Suraweera

Mr. W. R. McAlpine

Mr. I. Raheem

Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara

Mr. K. Jayatileke

Prof. S. R. Kottegoda

Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando

Prof. S. Bandaranayake

Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva

Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena

Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty

Donations

Mr. W. J. E. Monhemius Rs. 1,000/-

Mrs. Aitken Spence & Co. 2,000/-

President's Fund 60,000/- For Purchase of books
150,000/- For Air-conditioning.

Government Grant

The Society received a sum of Rs. 100,000/- from the Government, being the annual grant for the year 1990, through the Courtesy of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Information.

Publications

During the year under review two important publications were issued.

1. Annotated Index of the Articles of the R. A. S. Journals since inception by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala. The Asia Foundation donated a sum of Rs. 50,000 for the publication of the Index.
2. The Crest Gem of poetry, Kavsilumina, the Sinhalese Classic in English verse by Mr. W. R. McAlpine and Prof. M. B. Ariyapala. The Arts Council of Sri Lanka and the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and Information donated Rs. 25,000 each to meet the cost of publication. All proceeds from the sale of the book have been donated to the Society.

These two publications were released in the presence of a large gathering of the Society and well-wishers on 19th May, 1990.

The Journal for 1990/91 is with the printer and will be out shortly.

The Royal Asiatic Society Building.

The Hon. Minister Mahaweli Development and the representatives of the Royal Asiatic Society met and agreed on the condominium plan, separate entrance for the Society and common amenities.

Incorporation of the Society

The bill has been published in the Gazette of 6th April, 1990.

Acknowledgements

The Society extends its grateful thanks to His Excellency Ranasinghe Premadasa, the Patron of the Society, who visited the Society's Library and showed a great interest in its activities.

The Council thanks Hon. P. Dayaratne, Minister of Mahaweli Development for agreeing to hand over the Society's Premises on a Condominium plan.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to the Mahaweli Authority for the use of their Auditorium for our lecture meetings.

We record our thanks to the Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information for assisting the Society in various ways.

The Council records its thanks to the retiring members of the Council.

The Council also extends its thanks to Mr. Mahendra Senanayake, Proprietor, Sridevi Printers (Private) Ltd. for printing free of charge the schedule of lectures for the year 1991, and his staff for their ready co-operation in regard to the printing of the Society's Journal and other material.

Last but not the least, the Council thanks Mr. C. L. D. Perera, Administrative Asst. Librarian and the staff of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka for their efficient service.

Library

The Honorary Librarian, Ms. B. D. Brohier who had functioned in that capacity since the last Annual General Meeting resigned from office on the 13th of November, 1990, and the Council appointed Mr. T. B. Weerakone as Honorary Librarian with effect from 14.11.90. Towards the latter part of the year under review the Council decided to appoint a Library Committee consisting of the following members of the Council:

The President;

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala

Messrs. S. G. S. G. Samarasinghe

R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya

Wilfred M. Gunasekara

I. Raheem

The Honorary Librarian (Convener)

The first meeting of this Committee was held on 20th January, 1991, and several recommendations were made to the Council on the following matters:

- (i) Purchase of essential equipment for binding;
- (ii) Purchase of new books;
- (ii) The recurring problem of the recovery of unreturned library books;
- (iv) Purchase of additional almirahs.

It is proposed to implement the decisions of the Council on the above matters in the course of the ensuing year.

2. Book Donations.

During the year under review a large number of valuable books had been donated to the Library by members, well-wishers, Government Departments and other institutions. As is customary, details of the donations will appear in the Society's journal. The Society acknowledges with gratitude the receipt of these donations.

On representations made by the President of the Society, His Excellency the President had sent a donation of Rs. 60,000 from the President's Fund for the purchase of the 'Paintings of Sri Lanka' published by the Cultural Triangle Fund. The entire set consists of 30 books out of which some of the volumes already printed have now been obtained for the Library.

Efforts to obtain donations of publications of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs, Department of Information, Department of National Museums and other Institutions have been made during the year.

3. Improvements to the Library:

- (i) Mention has to be made of the special contribution of a sum of Rs. 150,000/- from the President's Fund for the partitioning of the Library building for purposes of air-conditioning the Library area. Out of this generous contribution a sum of Rs. 91,000 was set apart for panelling of the Library and the Library Committee has recommended to the Council that the balance be utilised for the purchase of additional almirahs for the Library.

By the end of the year the panelling of the Library had almost been completed.

- (ii) During this year a stock verification of the books in the Library was conducted by Mr. A. N. J. Cruse who was paid a sum of Rs. 2000/- for completing the verification.

4. Library Staff:

The present staff of the Library includes the Librarian, Assistant Librarian / Typist, a Binder and a labourer.

The salary scale of the Staff was revised towards the end of the year on the recommendation of the Finance Committee.

In October, 1990, the peon had resigned and the binder attended to these functions in addition to his duties. He had however, continued to bind a considerable number of books during the year. As the binder, now has no additional duties to perform it is hoped that the progress in binding books will improve. The Council has decided to provide funds for the purchase of the equipment necessary for the binding of books.

25th February, 1991

Hony. Treasurer,
 Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka,
 Mahaweli Centre & R. A. S. Building,
 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha,
 COLOMBO 7.

Dear Sir,

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
 AUDIT OF THE ACCOUNTS FOR THE YEAR
 ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990**

We are pleased to forward herewith 2 copies of the audited statements of accounts for the year ended December 31, 1990.

2. We wish to make the following comments:

2.1 As in previous years income from subscriptions has been shown in the accounts on a receipt basis and no credit has been taken for subscriptions receivable.

2.2 A 'Fixed Assets Register' has not been maintained.

2.3 We have not had independent confirmations of the following balances:

	Balance on 31.12.90 Rs.
(a) N.S.B. Savings A/c. 133495/4	25,821.30
(b) —do— 141850/3	36,988.47
(c) —do— 226282/2	17,267.32
(d) —do— 141773/3	94,292.49
(e) Fixed Deposit N.S.B. A/c. No. FD/ HOB/12/15/T/S/25	179,700.00

2.4 The following receipts have not been identified.

Rs.	450.00	received in June 1990
Rs.	430.00	—do August 1990
Rs.	2.00	—do Octoper 1990
	<hr/>	
Rs.	882.00	
	<hr/>	

2.5 Provision has been made for Income Tax on the interest income for year ended 31st Decemer, 1990 at the appropriate rate. Balance payable for the current year after setting off the with-holding tax is shown in the Balance Sheet at Rs. 2,533.66.

2.6 The following Cheque/MOO deposited in the Bank have not been realised up to end of Jannary 1991:

Date of Deposit	Amount Rs.
2.6.90	200.00
18.6.90	350.00
14.7.90	250.00
30.7.90	150.00
30.7.90	280.00
	<hr/>
	1,230.00
	<hr/>

We will be pleased to clarify any other matters you may need.

3. Our Memo of Charges is enclosed for your kind attention

Thanking you,

Yours faithfully

Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co.,
Chartered Accountants

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
BALANCE SHEET AS AT DECEMBER 31, 1990

	<i>Schedule</i>	1990 Rs.	1989 Rs.
<i>CURRENT ASSETS</i>			
Library Books	1	110,175.80	36,070
Interest Receivable on Fixed Deposit	2	17,354.00	17,354
Advance paid for Printing of Royal Asiatic Society Journals		23,500.00	20,000
Staff Loan		—	200
Cash & Bank Balance	3	141,654.99	116,055
Festival Advance		500.00	—
		293,184.79	189,679
<i>LESS: CURRENT LIABILITIES</i>			
Accounts Payable	4	(6,723.58)	3,631
Net Current Assets		286,461.21	186,048
Fixed Assets	5	491,742.45	397,282
Investments	6	510,427.71	472,825
		1,288,631.37	1,056,155
<i>FINANCED BY:</i>			
Accumulated Fund	7	1,208,554.28	986,582
Specific Funds	8	80,077.09	69,573
		1,288,631.37	1,056,155

Note: No Depreciation has been provided on Fixed Assets.

We have examined the Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1990 and the annexed Account and have obtained all the information and explanations that were required by us. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet and the Income & Expenditure Account exhibits a true and correct view of the state of affairs of the Society as at December 31, 1990.

Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co.,
Chartered Accountants

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR

ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990

	1990 Rs.	1989 Rs.
<i>INCOME</i>		
Government Grants	100,000.00	100,000
Donation—President's Fund	210,000.00	—
Donation—Others	3,000.00	11,150
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	313,000.00	111,150
 <i>RECEIVED FROM MEMBERS</i>		
Life Membership Fees	12,315.00	19,497
Subscription —Current Year	12,075.26	6,340
—Prior Year	6,461.93	850
—1991	1,500.00	500
Entrance Fees	1,325.00	1,892
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	33,677.19	29,079
Sale of Journals	76,374.96	14,832
Sale of Photo-copies	2,647.25	2,796
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	79,022.21	17,628
Gross Interest (sch. No. 9)	77,420.31	48,642
Less: Withholding Tax	—	(10,428)
Fines for delays to return Books	488.00	410
Sundry Income	—	80
Recoveries for damages to Journals	—	890
Unidentified receipts	882.00	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	504,489.71	197,451
 <i>LESS: EXPENSES</i>		
Staff Expenses —Salaries	61,820.00	63,250
—Staff Tea Expenses	5,239.40	4,128
Printing Expenses —Journals	159,275.00	42,670
—A.G.M. Reports	5,525.00	3,700
Stationary	12,513.80	8,754
Postage	2,552.75	981
Sundries	5,285.95	1,514
A.G.M. & Council Meeting Lectures	62.50	41
Telephone Charges	1,305.30	1,861
Bank Charges & O/D Interest	515.75	88
Audit Fees & Accountancy Charges	3,500.00	3,800

Servicing Charges —Photo Copies	4,789.75	1,379
—Typewriter	—	90
—Polisher	—	3,200
Professional Charges	600.00	—
Income Tax Paid	—	5,435
Staff Identity Cards	—	303
Incorporation Bill Expenses	—	2,318

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

**INCOME AND EXPENDITURE ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990—(Contd.)**

	1009 Rs.	1989 Rs.
Library Stock-taking Expenses	2,000.00	—
Ex-gratia Payment—Gratuity	3,000.00	—
Advertisements	2,600.00	—
Membership Cards	352.00	—
Total Expenses	(270,910.20)	143,512)
	233,579.51	53,939
<i>Less</i> Taxation for the year	(11,607.00)	—
Net Surplus transferred to Accumulated Fund	221,972.51	53,939

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

**RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990**

	1990 Rs.
RECEIPTS	
Government Grant	100,000.00
Donation—President's Fund	210,000.00
Other Donations	3,000.00
RECEIVED FROM MEMBERS	
Life Membership Fees	13,815.00
Current Year Subscription	12,275.26
Entrance Fees	1,525.00
Arrears of Subscriptions Received	6,461.93
1991 Subscriptions Received in Advance	1,500.00
	35,577.19
	348,577.19

OTHER RECEIPTS

Interest—Sampath Bank Savings A/c	19,683.66	
Sale of Journals	76,374.96	
Sale of Photo Copies	2,647.25	
Fines for delay to return Books	488.00	
Sundry Receipts	76.00	
Interest—N.S.B. Fixed Deposit	21,564.00	
Unidentified Receipts	882.00	121,715.87
Total Receipts		470,293.06

LESS: PAYMENTS

PURCHASE OF ASSETS

Library Books & Journals	74,105.88
Partitioning of Library	85,810.00
Almirah	8,650.00
	168,565.88

OTHER PAYMENTS

Salaries	61,120.00
Tea Expenses	5,239.40
Stationary	12,589.80
Printing Expenses— Journals	139,275.00
A.G.M. Reports	5,525.00
Audit Fees & Accountancy Charges 1989	3,000.00
Sundry Expenses	5,285.95
Postage	2,552.75
Expenses for Lectures	62.50
Telephone Charges	1,246.05
Bank Charges & O/D. Interest	515.75
Servicing Charges—Photo Copiers	4,789.75
Festival Advance	1,000.00
Professional Charges	600.00

**ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
RECEIPTS AND PAYMENT ACCOUNT FOR THE YEAR)
ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990—(Contd.)**

		1990
		Rs.
Advance paid for Printing Journal XXXIV of the Royal Asiatic Society	23,500.00	
Library Stock-taking Expenses	2,000.00	
Refund of Entrance Fee & Subscriptions	1,900.00	
Ex-gratia payment — Gratuity	3,000.00	
Advertisements	2,600.00	
Membership Cards	325.00	
Total Payments		444,692.83
Surplus for the year		25,600.23

Add: Balance B/F. on 1.1.90—

Sampath Bank Savings A/c.	101,213.03	
Sampath Bank Current A/c.	13,129.75	
State Bank of India Current A/c.	1,105.63	
Cash in Hand	606.35	

Balance on 31.12.90*		141,654.99
----------------------	--	------------

* *REPRESENTED BY:*

Sampath Bank Savings A/c.	116,003.97	
Sampath Bank Current A/c.	24,755.07	
Cash in Hand	895.25	141,654.99

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

YEAR ENDED DECEMBER 31, 1990

(SCHEDULES)

SCHEDULE : 1

LIBRARY BOOKS

1990
Rs.

Balance as at 1.1.90		36,069.92
----------------------	--	-----------

ADDITIONS

29 Books from Somawati Hewavitharana Trust	2,517.00	
Ceylon Gazette 1834	759.69	
17 English Books & 43 Sinhala Books from M. D. Gunasena & Co.	5,988.15	
21 Books from Lake House Investment Ltd.	1,702.00	
Journal of Artibus Asia Vol. S.F. 115)	3,139.04	
30 Vols. Painting of Sri Lanka	60,000.00	74,105.88
		110,175.80

SCHEDULE 2

INTEREST RECEIVABLE AS AT 31.12.90

National Savings Bank—Fixed Deposit Interest for period 11.5.90 to 31.12.90 15% on Rs. 179,700/-	17,354.00
--	-----------

SCHEDULE 3

CASH AND BANK BALANCES

Cash in Hand	895.95	606
Cash at Bank — State Bank of India	—	1,106
— Sampath Bank	24,755.07	131,20
Sampath Bank Savings A/c.	116,003.97	101,213
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	141,654.99	116,055
	<hr/>	<hr/>

SCHEDULE 4

ACCOUNTS PAYABLE

Educational Publications Dept.	371.32	371
Audit Fees and Accountancy Charges for 1990	3,500.00	3,000
Telephone Charges	318.60	260
Income Tax	2,533.66	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	6,723.58	3,631
	<hr/>	<hr/>

SCHEDULE 5

FIXED ASSETS

	Balance on 1.1.90 Rs.	Additions Rs.	Balance on 31.12.90 Rs.
Typewriter	31,855.00	—	31,855.00
Filing Cabinet	1,950.00	—	1,950.00
Pedestal Fan	5,900.00	—	5,900.00
Gestetner Machine	37,500.00	—	37,500.00
Furniture & Fittings	164,216.95	—	164,216.95
Society Name Boards	13,588.75	—	13,588.75
Electric Kettle & Boiler	1,460.00	—	1,460.00
Vacuum Cleaner	4,500.00	—	4,500.00
Wall Clock	600.00	—	600.00
Canon Photo-Copier	80,000.00	—	80,000.00
Steel Cupboards	14,580.00	—	14,580.00
Glass Fronted Book Almirahs	19,518.75	8,650.00	28,168.75
Hoover Brush Polisher	4,600.00	—	4,600.00
Telephone	14,150.00	—	14,150.00
Sundry Assets	2,863.00	—	2,863.00
Partitioning of Library	—	85,810.00	85,810.00
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>
	397,282.45	94,460.00	491,742.45
	<hr/>	<hr/>	<hr/>

SCHEDULE 6**INVESTMENTS****FUNDED INVESTMENTS**

	1990 Rs.	1989 Rs.
Savings Accounts—N.S.B. A/c No. 133495/4	25,821.30	22,434
—do— A/c. No. 141850/3	36,988.47	32,137
—do— A/c. 226282	17,267.32	15,002
	<hr/> 80,077.09	<hr/> 69,573

OTHER INVESTMENTS

Savings Accounts—N.S.B. A/c. No. 141773/3	94,292.49	81,923
Fixed Deposit—People's Bank	156,358.13	141,629
Fixed Deposit—N.S.B. A/c. No. FD/HOB/ 12/15/T/5/25	179,700.00	179,700
	<hr/> 430,350.62	<hr/> 403,252
Sub-Total		
	<hr/> 510,427.71	<hr/> 472,825

SCHEDULE 7**ACCUMULATED FUND**

As per last year Balance Sheet	986,581.77	932,643
Add: Income Over Expenditure	221,972.51	53,939
	<hr/> 1,208,554.28	<hr/> 986,582

SCHEDULE 8**SPECIFIC FUNDS**

	1990 Rs.	1989 Rs.
Chalmers Oriental Text Fund	22,434.37	
Add: Interest	3,386.93	
	<hr/> 25,821.30	22,434
Chinese Records Translation Fund	32,136.84	
Add: Interest	4,851.63	
	<hr/> 36,988.47	32,137
Society Medal Fund	15,002.32	
Add: Interest	2,265.00	
	<hr/> 17,267.32	15,002
	<hr/> 80,077.09	<hr/> 69,573

SCHEDULE 9

INTEREST FOR 1990

	<i>Gross</i>	<i>W. Tax</i>
N.S.B. Savings A/c. 141773—Rs. 72,119.62	12,369.92	—
People's Bank—Thimbirigasyaya Fixed Deposit—Rs. 141,628.74	18,411.73	3,682.34
National Savings Bank —FD/HOB/12/15/T/ 5/25—Rs. 179,700	26,955.00	5,391.00
Sampath Bank Savings A/c. No. 100— 160-0002683	19,683.66	—
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	77,420.31	9,073.34
	<hr/>	<hr/>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

HONORARY MEMBERS

Beckingham (Professor)	3, Pipe Passage Lewes, East Sussex BN7 1YG, U.K. N.R.
Burkitt (Dr) M.C.	Merton House, Cambridge, England
Abdul Hussain, Mr. A.	257, Grandpass Road, Colombo 14.
Jayewardene, President J. R.	66, Ward Place, Colombo 7.
Dissanayake, Hon. Gamini	45, Alfred House Gardens Colombo 3.
Anthonis, Dr. P. R.	161, Dharmapala Mawatha Colombo 7.

LIFE MEMBERS

as at

April 30th, 1992

NAME	Membership No.	Life Mmb/ Ord. Mmb from
Abeyratne, B. K.	74	1966/1953
Aberatne, N. K.	257	1986
Abeysekera, E. E. C.	97	1968/1949
Abeysekera, Mr. H. S. R.	168	1981/1956
Abeysekera, Miss W. C. C. M.	331	1988
Abeysekera, Mr. W. V. P.	292	1987
Abeysinghe, Mr. A. M. A.	420	1992/1988
Abeysinghe, Mr. N.	244	1985
Abeywardena, Dr. H. A. P.	393	1990/1965
Abeywickrema, B. A. Prof.	124	1973/1951
Abeywickreme, Mr. D. C. G...	86	1967/1946
Aboosally, M. I. M. Hon.	169	1981
Abraham, Mr. A. J. de A.	340	1988
Abraham, Mr. V. B. S.	53	1963/1961
Adithiya, L. A.	369	1989/1965
Aloysius, Dr. D. J.	250	1985
Aloysius, Dr. R. A. R. D.	417	1992

Alwis, Pandit William	.. .. .	180	..	1982/1949
Amarasingam, Mr. S. P.	.. .. .	201	..	1983
Amarasinghe, Dr. Asoka	.. .. .	270	..	1986
Amarasinghe, Mr. D. C. I.	.. .. .	143	..	1975/1950
Amarasinghe, Mr. N.	.. .. .	291	..	1987
Amaratunge, Hon. J. A.	.. .. .	35	..	1959/1952
Amarasiri, Mr. M. S. U.	.. .. .	378	..	1989
Ariyadhamma, Ven. Tembilyana	.. .. .	256	..	1986
Ariyapala, Prof. M. B.	.. .. .	116	..	1972/1947
Arthenayake, Mr. R. N. J.	.. .. .	217	..	1984
Arunasiri, Mr. K.	.. .. .	258	..	1986
Atukorala, Dr. D. N.	.. .. .	269	..	1986
Ashuwa, Mrs. Yoshika	.. .. .	170	..	1981
Baggerly, Mr. Leo	.. .. .	38	..	1960/1958
Balagalle, Prof. Wimal	.. .. .	43	..	1961/1959
Bandaranayake, Prof. S. D.	.. .. .	289	..	1987/1975
Bechert, Dr. H.	.. .. .	39	..	1960/1958
Bennett, Dr. J. J.	.. .. .	266	..	1986
Bett, Dr. W. R...	.. .. .	08	..	1945
Bibile, Mr. K. R.	.. .. .	342	..	1988
Bondeus, Prof. R. B.	.. .. .	25	..	1952
Brohier, Ms. B. D.	.. .. .	370	..	1989/1964
Bulathsinhala, Dr. S. G.	.. .. .	290	..	1987
Capallato, Mr. R.	.. .. .	75	..	1966
Carder, Miss S.	.. .. .	366	..	1989/1984
Casie Chetty, Mr. C. D.	.. .. .	380	..	1989/1975
Casie Chetty, Mr. M. St. S.	.. .. .	87	..	1967/1949
Casie Chetty, Mr. N. Y.	.. .. .	364	..	1989/1979
Chawla, Dr. S. . .	.. .. .	296	..	1987
Chittambalam, Mr. A...	.. .. .	215	..	1984
Colin-Thome, Mr. Percy	.. .. .	335	..	1988/1979
Colley, Ms. F. L.	.. .. .	301	..	1987
Cooray, Dr. H. W. M.	.. .. .	408	..	1991
Cooray, Mr Methsiri	.. .. .	404	..	1990
Corea, Ms. I. . . . .	.. .. .	379	..	1989
Costa Sanseverino, Mrs. H.	.. .. .	416	..	1992
Crowe, Mr. P. K.	.. .. .	34	..	1957/1950
Cumarasinghe, Mr. N. Sri	.. .. .	45	..	1962/1951
Dahanayake, Mr. C.	.. .. .	293	..	1987
Daluwatte, Mr. N. R. M.	.. .. .	232	..	1985
Dayaratne, Mr. D. G.	.. .. .	149	..	1976/1951
Dayasiri, Mr. G. K.	.. .. .	214	..	1984
De Alwis, Mrs. Malathi	.. .. .	387	..	1990/1986
De Fonseka, Mrs. R. de	.. .. .	321	..	1988
De Fonseka, Dr. R. N. de	.. .. .	362	..	1989
De Fonseka, Mr. R. S. A.	.. .. .	09	..	1946
De Lanerolle, Mr. J. A. D.	.. .. .	264	..	1986/1981
De Lanerolle, Mrs. Nalanie	.. .. .	259	..	1986
De Mel, Mrs. K. N.	.. .. .	156	..	1978

De Mel, Mr. R. G. J.	..	..	..	..	125	..	1973/1948
De Mel, Mr. R. H.	..	..	..	..	126	..	1973
De Mel, W. L. P.	..	..	..	..	234	..	1985/1955
Deraniyagala, Mr. A	..	..	..	..	347	..	1988
Deraniyagala, Mr. L. H. R. P.	..	..	..	..	405	..	1991
Deraniyagala, Mr. R. I. St. P.	..	..	..	..	01	..	1939/1921
Deraniyagala, Mr. S. U.	..	..	..	..	76	..	1966
De Saram, Mr. C. J.	..	..	..	..	245	..	1985
De Saram, Mrs. F. R.	..	..	..	..	04	..	1950/1942
De Silva, Mr. Anslam L.	..	..	..	..	190	..	1983/1974
De Silva, Mr. F. N.	..	..	..	..	384	..	1989
De Silva, Mr. G. P. S. H.	..	..	..	..	371	..	1989/1964
De Silva, Mr. H. L.	..	..	..	..	222	..	1985
De Silva, Mr. L. D.	..	..	..	..	311	..	1988/1963
De Silva, Mr. L. L. K. U.	..	..	..	..	377	..	1989
De Silva, Ms. M.	..	..	..	..	117	..	1972/1949
De Silva, Mr. M. W. M.	..	..	..	..	22	..	1951/1949
Prof. De Silva, Nimal	..	..	..	..	423	..	1992
Da Silva, Mr. O. M. L. H.	..	..	..	..	46	..	1962/1953
De Silva, Mr. R.	..	..	..	..	13	..	1949/1931
De Silva, Dr. R. K.	..	..	..	..	216	..	1984
De Silva, Miss Vijitha	..	..	..	..	320	..	1988
De Silva, Mr. V. R. K.	..	..	..	..	327	..	1988
De Soysa, Mr. A. C. H.	..	..	..	..	181	..	1982
De Vas, Mr. C. A.	..	..	..	..	162	..	1979
Devendra, Lt. Com. S.	..	..	..	..	107	..	1970/1964
Dewaraja, Dr. (Mrs.) L. S.	..	..	..	..	191	..	1983/1972
De Zoysa, Dr. A. H. P.	..	..	..	..	23	..	1951/1947
De Zoysa, Mr. B. H.	..	..	..	..	15	..	1949/1947
De Zoysa, Dr. M. H.	..	..	..	..	267	..	1986
De Zoysa, Ms. Nela	..	..	..	..	268	..	1986
Dhammananda Thera, Ven. H.	..	..	..	..	98	..	1968/1952
Dharmaratne, Mr. M.	..	..	..	..	55	..	1963/1952
Dias, Mr. W. L. N.	..	..	..	..	224	..	1985
Dissanayake, Dr. A. B.	..	..	..	..	212	..	1984/1969
Dissanayake, Prof. J. B.	..	..	..	..	208	..	1984/1981
Dissanayake, Ms. M. K.	..	..	..	..	418	..	1992
Dissanayake, Mr. U. B.	..	..	..	..	118	..	9172
Don Peter, Rt. Rev. Fr. Mgr. Dr. W. L. A.	..	..	..	..	47	..	1962/1956
Dubic, Mr. R. E.	..	..	..	..	77	..	1966
Duickze, Mr. G. E. S.	..	..	..	..	240	..	1985/1957
Edirisinghe, Mr. Albert	..	..	..	..	182	..	1982
Ediriweera, Dr. S. A.	..	..	..	..	332	..	1988
Ekanayake, Dr. R. A. L.	..	..	..	..	352	..	1989
Elapatha, Mr. S. A. I.	..	..	..	..	119	..	1972
Evans, Mr. R. L. W.	..	..	..	..	287	..	1987
Fernando, Mr. A. B. J. I.	..	..	..	..	241	..	1985/1957
Fernando, Dr. A. Denis N.	..	..	..	..	163	..	1979/1968
Fernando, Dr. Ms. A. I.	..	..	..	..	411	..	1991

Fernando, Mr. Bonnie..	..	..	..	..	204	..	1984
Fernando, Mr. B. R.	..	..	..	..	14	..	1949
Fernando, Mr. Cedric	..	..	..	..	235	..	1985/1955
Fernando, Mr. Desmond	..	..	..	..	78	..	1966
Fernando, Mrs. Edith ..	..	..	..	..	166	..	1980
Fernando, Mr. K.	..	..	..	..	397	..	1990
Fernando, Dr. L. H. S.	..	..	..	..	251	..	1985
Fernando, Dr. M. R. ..	..	..	..	..	211	..	1984/1965
Fernando, Dr. Neville	..	..	..	..	252	..	1986
Fernando, Mr. Nihal ..	..	..	..	..	312	..	1988/1961
Fernando, Dr. P. V. D.	..	..	..	..	357	..	1989/1970
Fernando, Mr. W. B. Marcus	..	..	..	..	109	..	1970/1959
Fernando, Dr. W. H. ..	..	..	..	..	203	..	1984
Fernando, Mr. W. H. ..	..	..	..	..	230	..	1985
Fleischhacker Mr. P. O. M.	..	..	..	..	243	..	1985
Gair, Dr. J. W.	..	..	..	..	110	..	1970/1969
Ganesh, Mr. K.	..	..	..	..	79	..	1966/1955
Gnanadasa, Mr. M. D.	..	..	..	..	26	..	1952
Gombrich, Prof. F. R...	..	..	..	..	158	..	1978
Gomis, Bishop Oswald	..	..	..	..	392	..	1990/1972
Goonetileke, Dr. Mrs. Hema	..	..	..	..	193	..	1983
Goonetilake, Dr. Susantha	..	..	..	..	194	..	1983
Goonetilleke, Mr. N. S. A.	..	..	..	..	306	..	1987
Goonesinghe, Dr. S.	..	..	..	..	399	..	1990
Goonewardena, Mr. E. G.	..	..	..	..	120	..	1972/1961
Goonewardena, Prof. K. W.	..	..	..	..	90	..	1967/1959
Goonewardena, Mr. K. N. S.	..	..	..	..	341	..	1988
Griswold, Mr. A. B.	..	..	..	..	101	..	1969
Gunananda Thero, Ven. Y.	..	..	..	..	65	..	1965/1953
Gunasekara, Ms. D.	..	..	..	..	282	..	1987
Gunasekara, Mr. S. U.	..	..	..	..	281	..	1987
Gunasekera, Mrs. D. K.	..	..	..	..	403	..	1990
Gunasekera, Mr. R. G. G. O.	..	..	..	..	88	..	1967/1956
Gunasekara, Mr. Wilfred M.	..	..	..	..	150	..	1976
Gunatileka, Mr. W. P.	..	..	..	..	275	..	1986/1978
Gunawardhana, Mr. A. W. C.	..	..	..	..	398	..	1990
Giuawardana, Mrs. S. D.	..	..	..	..	297	..	1987
Gunawardena, Mr. H. D. J.	..	..	..	..	89	..	1967/1949
Gunawardena, Mr. L. W.	..	..	..	..	27	..	1952
Gunawardena, Prof. R. A. L. H.	..	..	..	..	195	..	1983/1960
Guruge, Dr. A. W. P. ..	..	..	..	..	406	..	1991
Hemapala, Mr. B. A. ..	..	..	..	..	421	..	1989/1992
Hettiaratchi, Mr. A. S.	..	..	..	..	372	..	1989/1964
Hewavisenthi, Mr. A. C. de S.	..	..	..	..	346	..	1988
Hoffman, Mr. T. W.	..	..	..	..	111	..	1970/1964
Horst, Ms. M. H. J. Van Den	..	..	..	..	325	..	1988
Hussein, Mr. M.	..	..	..	..	277	..	1986

Inman, Mr. M. V.	302	..	1987
Iriyagolle, Mrs. I.	363	..	1989/1987
Iriyagolle, Mr. I. M. G. A.	374	..	1989/1982
Jackson, Mr. G. B.	60	..	1964/1951
The Librarian, Jaffna Collage.. .. .	61	..	1964/1950
Jayakody, Dr. R. L.	401	..	1990
Jayasekera, Mr. A. A. H. W.	265	..	1986
Jayasekera, Dr. G.	323	..	1988
Jayasekera, Dr. M. M. R. W.	219	..	1984
Jayasekera, Mrs. S. V. S.	274	..	1986
Jayasena, Mr. K. L. A. D.	102	..	1969/1962
Jayasuriya, Dr. D. C.	225	..	1985
Jayasuriya, Mr. Peter	56	..	1963/1955
Jayasuriya, Mr. R. L.	207	..	1984
Jayasuriya, Mr. S. E. W.	202	..	1983
Jayatilleke, Mr. K.	390	..	1990/1984
Jayawardena, Dr. R. P. T.	375	..	1989
Jayawardena, Mr. J.	424	..	1992
Jayawardena, Mr. J. K. C. C.	184	..	1982/1979
Jayawardena, Mr. N. U.	247	..	1985
Jayawardena, Mr. R. A.	276	..	1986
Jayawardena, Mr. W. A.	63	..	1964/1950
Jayawardhana, Dr. Somapala	91	..	1967/1964
Jayaweera Dr. (Mrs.) Swarna.. .. .	57	..	1963/1954
Jyawickrema, Prof. N. A.	185	..	1982/1948
Jegarasingam, Mr. K.	388	..	1989/1986
Jobin, Mr. X.	354	..	1989/1973
Karunadasa, Prof. Y.	383	..	1989
Karunanayake, Dr. N.	410	..	1991
Karunaratne, Dr. (Mrs.) K.	196	..	1983
Karunatillake, Dr. H. N. S.	171	..	1981/1970
Kawanthanla, Ven. U.	310	..	1988/1987
Kirthisinghe, Mr. P. N.	92	..	1967/1961
Kitsudo, Prof. M.	103	..	1969/1968
Koelmeyer, Mr. K. O... .. .	66	..	1965/1951
Kottegoda, Prof. S. R.	186	..	1982/1980
Kulasuriya, Dr. A. S.	67	..	1965/1946
Kulatillake, Mr. P.	303	..	1987
Kulatillake, Mr. H. A. de S.	49	..	1962
Kundanmal, Mr. Muni	228	..	1985/1964
Ladduwahetty, Mr. C. J.	413	..	1991
La Sha, Mr. Peter S.	32	..	1956
Maj. Gen. Madawela, M.	382	..	1989/1984
Mahatantila, Mr. W. D. V.	218	..	1984
Mahendra, Mr. S.	28	..	1952/1950

Mahinda Thero, Ven. M.	.. .. .	99	..	1968
Manamperi, Mr. P.	.. .. .	385	..	1989
Manatunge, Mr. A. K.	.. .. .	349	..	1988
Maniku, Mr. H. A.	.. .. .	197	..	1983
Mantrithilake, Dr. H. M.	.. .. .	309	..	1987
Manukulasooriya, Mr. R. C. de S.	.. .. .	145	..	1975/1960
Marambe, Mr. J.	.. .. .	415	..	1991
Mathews, Prof. M. W.	.. .. .	146	..	1975
Medis, Mr. F.	.. .. .	414	..	1991/1986
Mendis, Mrs. Charmaine	.. .. .	206	..	1984
Mendis, Miss H.	.. .. .	231	..	1985/1956
Mendis, Dr. V. L. B.	.. .. .	345	..	1988/1986
Moheed, Mr. M. A. P.	.. .. .	226	..	1973/1949
Mohotti, Mr. S. S.	.. .. .	129	..	1973/1949
Moragoda, Mr. A. M.	.. .. .	261	..	1986
Moragoda, Mrs. J.	.. .. .	262	..	1986
Moy, Mrs. K. C.	.. .. .	319	..	1988
Mudiyanse, Prof. N.	.. .. .	112	..	1970/1959
Munasinghe, Col. B.	.. .. .	279	..	1986
Munasinghe, Mr. S. J.	.. .. .	295	..	1987
Munasinghe, Dr. Mrs. T. G. I.	.. .. .	343	..	1988/1978
Nadaraja, Prof. V.	.. .. .	81	..	1966
Nanayakkara, Dr. K. J.	.. .. .	187	..	1982/1976
Nandalochana, Mr. S. Sri	.. .. .	254	..	1986
Nelufar, Mr. M. M.	.. .. .	280	..	1986
Obeysekera, Mr. D. G.	.. .. .	07	..	1944
Obeysekera, Mr. J. P.	.. .. .	130	..	1973/1947
Palandy, Miss N. Z.	.. .. .	227	..	1985
Panawatte, Mr. K. M. A. S.	.. .. .	114	..	1971
Panditaratne, Mr. W.	.. .. .	400	..	1990
Paranavitana, Mr. K. D.	.. .. .	255	..	1986/1970
Paranavitana, Dr. Mrs. R.	.. .. .	334	..	1988
Parker, Mr. L. K.	.. .. .	36	..	1959
Pathirana, Mr. U.	.. .. .	314	..	1988/1961
Pathmanadan, Mr. N.	.. .. .	237	..	1985/1956
Paulusz, Mr. J. H. O.	.. .. .	41	..	1960
Peiris, Mr. D. H.	.. .. .	173	..	1981
Peiris, Prof. G. L.	.. .. .	355	..	1989
Peiris, Mr. H. C.	.. .. .	174	..	1981
Peiris, Mr. J. C.	.. .. .	175	..	1981
The Librarian, University, Peradeniya	.. .. .	122	..	1972/1955
Perera, Mr. A. E. H.	.. .. .	315	..	1988/1968
Perera, Mr. B. J.	.. .. .	131	..	1973/1949
Perera, Mr. B. L.	.. .. .	412	..	1991/1984
Perera, Mr. D. G. A.	.. .. .	213	..	1984
Perera, Mr. J. A.	.. .. .	260	..	1986/1985

Perera, Rev. Fr. J. K. E. N. J.	..	..	..	304	..	1987
Perera, Mr. J. L. N.	..	..	..	51	..	1962
Perera, Dr. L. P. N.	..	..	..	402	..	1990
Perera, Mr. M. D. S.	..	..	..	242	..	1985
Perera, Mrs. M. D. M.	..	..	..	132	..	1973/1955
Perera, Mr. M. J.	..	..	..	133	..	1973/1948
Perera, Mr. M. D.	..	..	..	164	..	1979/1956
Perera, Mr. P. T.	..	..	..	134	..	1973/1948
Perera, Rev. Fr. Quintus	..	..	..	50	..	1962/1955
*Perera, Mr. S.	....	..	..	348	..	1988
Perera, Mr. W. M. R. A.	..	..	..	272	..	1986
Perniola, Rev. Fr. Dr. V.	..	..	..	24	..	1951/1945
Perumal, Mr. V.	..	..	..	68	..	1965
Pethiyagoda, Mr. T. R. D.	..	..	..	361	..	1989
Piyasekera, Mr. M. A...	..	..	..	324	..	1988
Piyasena, Mr. L.	..	..	..	176	..	1981/1970
Prematilleke, Dr. P. L.	..	..	..	147	..	1975/1960
Prickett, Dr. Mrs. Martha E.	..	..	..	284	..	1987
Punnasara Thera, Ven. Pandit G.	..	..	..	300	..	1987/1977
Quere, Rev. Fr. Dr. M.	..	..	..	389	..	1990
Rafeek, Mr. M.	..	..	..	100	..	1968/1964
Raheem, Mr. Ismath	..	..	..	198	..	1983/1975
Rajakariar, Mr. A.	..	..	..	29	..	1952/1944
Rajan, Mr. A. T.	..	..	..	419	..	1992
Rajapaksa, Mr. E. D. Z. S.	..	..	..	135	..	1973/1949
Ramanathan, Dr. V.	..	..	..	360	..	1989/1988
Ralapanawe, Mr. M. S. B.	..	..	..	373	..	1989
Ranasekera, Mr. G. W.	..	..	..	17	..	1949
Ranasinghe, Mr. Bandula	..	..	..	72	..	1965/1963
Ranasinghe, Mr. D. D.	..	..	..	177	..	1981/1969
Ranasinghe, Dr. L.	..	..	..	353	..	1989
Ranawella, Prof. S.	..	..	..	249	..	1985/1981
Rasheed, Mr. I.	..	..	..	37	..	1959
Ratnasuriya, Mr. H. D. A.	..	..	..	159	..	1978/1962
Ratnayake, Dr. H. A.	..	..	..	233	..	1985/1953
Reynolds, Dr. C. H. B.	..	..	..	422	..	1992
Rodrego, Mr. A. H. H.	..	..	..	337	..	1988
Rodrigo, Mr. J. F. A. Zeno	..	..	..	209	..	1984/1986
Rockwood, Mrs. S.	..	..	..	178	..	1981/1975
Ruellus, Dr. Hans	..	..	..	151	..	1976
Russail, Mr. M.	..	..	..	139	..	1974
The Librarian, Saddharmakara Uni:	..	..	..	69	..	1965/1962
Saparamadu, Mr. S. D.	..	..	..	52	..	1962/1955
Samaranayake, Mr. S. W. K. H.	..	..	..	376	..	1989
Samarasekera, Dr. Jastin	..	..	..	283	..	1987
Samarasinghe, Dr. S. G.	..	..	..	165	..	1979

Samaraweera, Mr. V.	188	.. 1982
Schaffter, Mr. C.	253	.. 1986
Schleberger, Mr. E. L.	154	.. 1977
Schroeder, Mr. Ulrich Von	285	.. 1987
Senadeera, Dr. N. T. K. G.	365	.. 1989/1981
Senanayake, Mr. A. M. P.	359	.. 1989
Senanayake, Mr. D. A. W.	223	.. 1985/1981
Senaratne, Mr. S. G.	299	.. 1987/1987
Seneviratne, Mr. L. C.	305	.. 1987
Sellamuttu, Mr. S.	20	.. 1950
Setturaman, Dr. A. R.	248	.. 1985
Silva, Mr. L. D.	311	.. 1988/1963
Silva, Dr. Linus	179	.. 1981
Silva, Dr. M. H. P.	160	.. 1978/1952
Silva, Roland	155	.. 1977
Simon, Mrs. G. H.	58	.. 1963
Singhe, Mr. H. D.	05	.. 1943
Sirinivesa Rao, Mr. A. B.	44	.. 1961
Somadasa, Mr. W. A.	330	.. 1988
Somarathne, Dr. G. P. V.	339	.. 1988
Sourjah, Dr. R. G.	294	.. 1987
Smith, Mr. P. E. H.	199	.. 1983
Stephen, Dr. S. J.	326	.. 1988
Sugunadasa, Mr. L.	286	.. 1987
Sumanasekera Banda, Mr. S. J.	152	.. 1976
Sumanasuriya, Dr. K. T. W.	161	.. 1978/1952
Surasena, Mr. S.	273	.. 1986
Suraweera, Prof. A. V.	329	.. 1970/1962
The Librarian, Sir Baron Jayatilleke M.V.	128	.. 1973
The Librarian, Sri Jayawardenapura	42	.. 1960
Takakuwa, Miss Fumika	221	.. 1984
Tambiah, Prof. H. W.	18	.. 1949/1938
Thambimuttu, Mr. P.	31	.. 1954
Thambypillai, Prof. G. G. R.	121	.. 1972/1955
Thiagarajan, Dr. K.	205	.. 1984
Thilakasena, Mr. S.	396	.. 1990
Tillekeratne, Mr. K. A.	271	.. 1986/1988
Tiruchelvam, Dr. N.	298	.. 1987
Tissa Kumara, Mr. L. A. D. A.	333	.. 1988
Tissanayagam, Mr. R. S.	278	.. 1986
Todd, Mr. H. D.	210	.. 1984/1965
Torzen, Mrs. V. D.	167	.. 1980
Udeshi, Mr. K.	263	.. 1986
Uduwara, Mr. J.	336	.. 1988
Uragoda, Dr. C. G.	71	.. 1965/1963
Uragoda, Dr. L. C.	407	.. 1991
Uyangoda, Dr. J.	338	.. 1988
Vidanapathirana, Mr. A. S.	409	.. 1991
Vitharana, Dr. V.	59	.. 1963/1961

Weerakone, Mr. T. B.	..	..	..	..	115	..	1971/1946
Weeraman, Mr. P. E.	..	..	..	..	113	..	1970/1952
Weeramantry, Prof. C. G.	..	..	..	..	95	..	1967/1955
Weerasinghe, Mr. P.	..	..	..	..	328	..	1988/1979
Weerawardena, Mr. I. K.	..	..	..	..	351	..	1989
Wickremasinghe, Dr. (Mrs.) D. M.	..	..	..	..	391	..	1990
Wicktemasinghe, Mr. C. E. L.	..	..	..	..	96	..	1967/1946
Wickremasinghe, Mr. C. G.	..	..	..	..	394	..	1990
Wickremasinghe, Mr. E. C. G.	..	..	..	..	318	..	1988/1963
Wickremasuriya, Prof. Miss C.	..	..	..	..	220	..	1984/1981
Wijayasooriya, Prof. W.	..	..	..	..	322	..	1988/1989
Wijayatilake, Mrs. U. K. T. W.	..	..	..	..	308	..	1987
Wijayatunga, Mr. W. M. H.	..	..	..	..	356	..	1989/1979
Wijayawardhana, Dr. G. D.	..	..	..	..	123	..	1972/1966
Wijesekera, Pandit Dr. N. D...	..	..	..	..	33	..	1956

Ordinary Members

as at

April 30th, 1992

NAME	From
Abeygunawardena, Pundit V. W.	1970
Abeysekera, Mr. C.	1987
Abeysekera, H. P.	1989
Abeysinghe, Mr. V. P. A.	1984
Abeywickrama, Mr. D. S. H.	1982
Aksenov, Mr. Y. D.	1989
Alagiyawanna, Dr. K. L. V.	1985
Alltoff, Mr. J. F.	1985
Anders, Mr. G.	1991
Anuradhapura Public Library	1968
Archives, National	1960
Ariyasena, Mr. G. H.	1988
Arthanayake, Mrs. P.	1975
Asad, Dr. M. N. K.	1984
Asia Foundation	1982
Asoka Trading Co.	1980
Bastianpillai, Prof. B. E. St. J.	1981
Bastin, Mr. R. N.	1985
Berugoda, Mr. S.	1981
Billimoria, Mr. N. A. L.	1974
British, C. L.	1968
Buell, Dr. T. A.	1986

Chandraratne, Mr. R. M. M.	..	..	..	..	1989
Chadrasoma, Mr. V. K.	..	..	..	..	1988
Chaumuk, Ven. Bumtam	..	..	..	..	1988
Colombo Public Library	..	..	..	..	1964
Daniel, Mr. G. S.	..	..	..	..	1983
De Alwis, Mr. W. L. E.	..	..	..	..	1984
De Costa, Mr. Ajitha	..	..	..	..	1985
De Costa, Dr. H. J.	..	..	..	..	1990
De Lanerolle, Mr. D. D.	..	..	..	..	1985
De Lanerolle, Mr. N. D.	..	..	..	..	1975
De Silva, Dr. Ms. M. L.	..	..	..	..	1988
De Silva, Mr. R. D. C.	..	..	..	..	1974
De Silva,, Dr. R. H.	..	..	..	..	1975
De Silva Mr. Rex I.	..	..	..	..	1990
De Silva,. Mr. R. L. D.	..	..	..	..	1984
De Silva, Mr. V. R.	..	..	..	..	1984
Dhammananda, Ven. Dr. T.	..	..	..	..	1982
Dhammaviro, Dr. E. E. P. B.	..	..	..	..	1989
Dias Bandaranayake, Mrs. L.	..	..	..	..	1988
Dias, Dr. Mrs. K. D. M.	..	..	..	..	1978
Tammita Delgoda, Dr. H. S. W.	..	..	..	..	1991
Dissanayake, D. M. V.	..	..	..	..	1989
Dissanayake, Mr. H. W.	..	..	..	..	1990
Douglas, Mr. O. P.	..	..	..	..	1969
Farook U. L. M.	..	..	..	..	1989
Fernando, Mr. D. F. S.	..	..	..	..	1988
Fernando, Mr. M. T. S.	..	..	..	..	1988
Fernando Mrs. S. H.	..	..	..	..	1979
Fernando,, Mr. W. Lionel	..	..	..	..	1986
Fernando, Mr. W. S. S.	..	..	..	..	1988
Fonseka, Ms. L.	..	..	..	..	1991
Fonseka, Mr. P. D.	..	..	..	..	1988
Fujinumo, Mrs. Mizue	..	..	..	..	1991
Gunasekara, Mr. H. D. A.	..	..	..	..	1985
Gunasekara, Mr. H. M.	..	..	..	..	1984
Gunawardena, Mr. S. T.	..	..	..	..	1985
Gunawardana, Mrs. Theja	..	..	..	..	1982
Gunaratne, Mr. R.	..	..	..	..	1986
Hagger, Mr. J. J. D.	..	..	..	..	1985
Herath, Mr. Ananda	..	..	..	..	1988
Hettiarachchi, Mr. W. S.	..	..	..	..	1986
Hewavitharana, Mr. W. A. R. H.	..	..	..	..	1988
Hussainmiya, Dr. B. A.	..	..	..	..	1987
Indologie Buddhismuskande der Universitat					1973
Institute Fur Indologie	..	..	..	..	1967

Jaffna University	1978
Jayakody, Mr. Lakshman	1973
Jayasekera, Dr. M. M. K. de S.	1989
Jayasena, Mr. H.	1981
Jayasinghe, Mr. R. V.	1986
Jayawardena, Mr. Bandula	1981
Jayawardena, Mrs. C.	1979
Jayawardena, Mr. S. C.	1990
Jennings, Mr, M. F.	1991
Jelegg, Ms. G.	1992
Kadurugamuwa, Mr. U. L.	1974
Kannangara, Mr. D. W.	1981
Karunaratne, Mr. L. K.	1985
Karunaratne, Mr. T. B.	1971
Karunatileke, Mr. D. P. W.	1989
Katugaha, Dr. H. I. E.	1981
Kelaniya University	1960
Kotalawala, Dr. D. A.	1977
Kurukulasuriya, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N.	1988
Laduwahetty, Mr. Walter	1983
Lakdusinghe, Mr. S.	1984
Lehman, Mr. J. D.	1984
Lewikrom, Ven. Thawatchai	1988
Lloyd, Susan	1991
Manjusri, Mr. L. K. P.	1977
Marikar, Mr. S. I. M. Shafie	1986
Marks, Mr. Edward	1986
Martensz, Mr. P. N.	1986
Mathias, Fr. Dr. A.	1989
McAlpine, Mr. W. R.	1982
Mendis, Mr. W. T. J.	1985
Miththapala, Mr. P. A.	1985
Moldrich, Mr. D. J.	1967
Monhemius, Mr. W. J. K.	1984
Muhemmud, Mr. M. D.	1980
Naina Marrikkar, Hon. M. H. M.	1981
Nanayakkara, Mr. S. A.	1984
Nissanga, Mr. D. P.	1975
O'leary, Rev. Thomas	1988
Okudaira, Ryuji	1987
Pandita-Gunawardena, Mrs. D.	1983
Paranavithana, Capt. I. D. E.	1979
Pathmanadan, Dr. S.	1975
Pathirana, Mr. J. P.	1986
Peeris, Mr. N. J. J.	1986
Pemadasa, Mr. D.	1987

Peiris, H. L. C.	..	..	..	..	..	1991
Peiris, Mr. L. D. H.	..	..	..	..	..	1983
Peiris, Mr. L. S. D.	..	..	..	..	..	1980
Perera, Dr. R. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1989
Perera, Dr. B. F. A. L.	..	..	..	..	..	1967
Perera, Mr. C. Gaston	..	..	..	..	..	1985
Perera, Mrs. M. I. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Perera, Mrs. N. I.	..	..	..	..	..	1975
Perera, Dr. N. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Perera, Justin P. R. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Peris, Dr. Merlin	..	..	..	..	..	1983
Pieris, Miss A. D.	..	..	..	..	..	1989
Poologasingnam, Prof. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1971
Punchihewa, Mr. G. de S. G.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Rajakarunanayake, Mr. L. F.	..	..	..	..	..	1975
Rambukwella, Mr. P. B.	..	..	..	..	..	1990
Rasaratnam, Mr. R.	..	..	..	..	..	1988
Ratnayake, Mr. K. D. W.	..	..	..	..	..	1974
Refai, Dr. M. S. M.	..	..	..	..	..	1965
Roberts, Dr. M. W.	..	..	..	..	..	1966
Rupesinghe, Mr. C.	..	..	..	..	..	1990
Ryan, J. C...	..	..	..	..	..	1991
Samarasekara, Mrs. T. S.	..	..	..	..	..	1991
Samarasundera, Dr. S. A. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1975
Somasunderam, Mr. R. K.	..	..	..	..	..	1988
Samarawickrema, P. H. E.	..	..	..	..	..	1989
Sandham, Miss C.	..	..	..	..	..	1983
Sankara Narayanan, K. C.	..	..	..	..	..	1989
Senanayake, D. S. M. L.	..	..	..	..	..	1967
Seneviratne, Mr. D. G. P.	..	..	..	..	..	1983
Seneviratne, Dr. Y.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Sheinbaum, Mr. G. H.	..	..	..	..	..	1987
Sherman, Mr. R. M.	..	..	..	..	..	1988
Sirisena, Mr. M.	..	..	..	..	..	1985
Sirisoma, Mr. M. H.	..	..	..	..	..	1971
Siriwardena, Mr. E. D.	..	..	..	..	..	1989
Siriwardena, J. P. E.	..	..	..	..	..	1987
Sivanatan, Mr. M.	..	..	..	..	..	1975
Smith, Ms. L. F.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Someswaran, Mr. T.	..	..	..	..	..	1970
Sri Hari, Mr. R.	..	..	..	..	..	1984
Sugathavitana, Ven. K.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Swaminathan, Mr. J. M.	..	..	..	..	..	1988
Tarsicius, Mr. B.	..	..	..	..	..	1986
Tellaivasan, Mrs. R. D.	..	..	..	..	..	1985
Thenabaddu, Prof. M. W.	..	..	..	..	..	1967
Tittawella, Mr. A.	..	..	..	..	..	1987
Tudawa, Mrs. C. S.	..	..	..	..	..	1988

Unamboowe, Mr. T. P.	..	..	..	..	1976
Vaithanadan, Mr. M.	..	..	..	..	1980
Van Gayzel, Mrs. G. E.	..	..	..	..	1988
Vidanapathirana, Mr. U.	..	..	..	..	1986
Young, Dr. R. F.	..	..	..	..	1990
Wagner, C. E.	..	..	..	..	1988
Warnasuriya, Dr. N. D.	..	..	..	..	1988
Weerakkody, Mr. D. P. M.	..	..	..	..	1983
Weerakoon, Dr. L.	..	..	..	..	1988
Weerasinghe, Ms. C. B.	..	..	..	..	1990
Weeraratne, Mr. H. W.	..	..	..	..	1983
Weerasuriya, Miss A.	..	..	..	..	1984
Werake, Dr. M.	..	..	..	..	1983
Wijewansa, Mr. R. A.	..	..	..	..	1988
Wickremaratne, Mr. D. R.	..	..	..	..	1967
Wickremasinghe, Mr. C. S.	..	..	..	..	1982
Wickremasinghe, Mr. Wilfred	..	..	..	..	1985
Wijemanne, Dr. P.	..	..	..	367	.. 1989
Wijeratne, Mr. E. A.	..	..	..	83	.. 1966/1959
Wijeratne Hon. N. P.	..	..	..	137	.. 1973/1948
Wijesinghe, Dr. A.	..	..	..	307	.. 1987
Wijesinghe, Mr. D. I. S.	..	..	..	06	.. 1943/1931
Wijesinghe, Mr. Piyadasa	..	..	..	358	.. 1989
Wijesinghe, Mr. P.	..	..	..	317	.. 1988/1963
Wijesinghe, Mr. S. S.	..	..	..	141	.. 1974
Wijesundera, Mr. S.	..	..	..	142	.. 1974
Wijesuriya, Mr. G. S.	..	..	..	288	.. 1987
Wijetunga, Mr. V.	..	..	..	84	.. 1966/1961
Wijetunga, Dr. J. G.	..	..	..	395	.. 1990
Wijewardena, Mrs. P. A. K.	..	..	..	239	.. 1985/1956
Wikramanayake, Dr. T. W.	..	..	..	386	.. 1990
Wilson, Mrs. N. Mc Neil	..	..	..	153	.. 1976
Wimalachandra, Mrs. S. S.	..	..	..	246	.. 1985
Wimalasekera, Mr. J. B.	..	..	..	200	.. 1983

PROCEEDINGS

MINUTES 143RD A.G.M.

The minutes of the 143rd Annual General Meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, held on Saturday, 24th March, 1990, at 5.00 p m., at the Society's Office, at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7, with Dr. C. G. Urugoda in the Chair.

Present: Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Prof. W. Wijayasuriya, Mr. B. L. Perera, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Mr. N. Peiris, Mr. M. Sirisena, Mr. P. Weerasinghe, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. H. P. Abeysekera, Ms. D. Brohier, Mr. P. Manamperi, Rev. Fr. Dr. Quere, Mr. J. A. Perera, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Mr. A. H. P. Senanayake, Mr. J. P. E. Siriwardena, Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Mr. D. D. Ranasinghe, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Rev. Fr. X. Kurukulasuriya, Mr. W. J. E. Monhemius, Mr. W. A. Somadasa, Prof. G. S. Ranawella, Mr. T. P. Unamboowe, Prof. T. W. Wickremanayake, Mr. S. L. M. Shafi Marikkar, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. J. P. Obeysekera, Mr. H. R. Premaratne, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Mr. C. S. Wickremasinghe, Dr. T. A. Buell, Dr. H. A. P. Abeywardene, Mr. G. Wijesuriya, Mr. R. Sherman, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Mr. E. D. Siriwardena, Mr. R. S. Hari, Mr. S. Devendra and Dr. D. J. Aloysius, and two names illegible.

1. **Address of welcome by the President.**

The President Dr. C. G. Urugoda welcomed the members to the meeting. He highlighted the following points:-

- (a) Condominium plan for the first floor occupied by the Society's Library.
- (b) Air conditioning and microfilming of the R.A.S. Library. A committee has been appointed by H. E. the President to recommend steps to be taken.
- (c) The generous donation of valuable books to the R.A.S. Library by Dr. P. R. Anthonis.
- (d) The publication of the (i) 'Kavsilumina' in English Verse by Mr. W. R. McAlpine and Prof. M. B. Ariyapala (ii) Annotated Index by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.

2. **Condolences.**

The President proposed a vote of condolence on the deaths of the following members of the Society:-

Rt. Rev. Dr. Edmund Peiris
 Prof. D. E. Hettiaratchi
 Ven. M. Ratanasara Thero
 Prof. J. E. Jayasuriya
 Mr. Walter Wimalachandra
 Dr. M. L. S. Jayasekera
 Mr. U. E. Katugaha
 Mr. M. M. Burhan
 Mr. I. Collonnege
 Mr. J. L. M. Fernando
 Mr. S. J. Kadirgamar Q.C.

3. **Letters of excuse**

The following members had intimated their inability to attend the meeting.

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva
 Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera
 Prof. S. R. Kottegoda
 Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe

4. **Minutes of the 142nd A.G.M.**

The minutes of the 142nd A.G.M. of the R.A.S. of S.L. which was held on Friday, 31st March, 1989, at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7, were confirmed by Mr. Lakshman Jayakody.

Mr. H. Jayasena raised the question whether the last A.G.M. was properly constituted as he alleged that the Ex-President J. R. Jayawardene presided at that meeting. The President Dr. C. G. Urugoda pointed out that he himself presided and further that Mr. Jayasena himself had proposed an amendment at the meeting for the increase of subscription rates. By this Mr. Jayasena had accepted the regularity of the meeting.

When the resolution for the confirmation of the minutes was put to the house all the members present except Mr. Jayasena voted in favour of the adoption of the minutes. Mr. Jayasena voted against it.

5. **Business arising from the minutes.**

Nil.

6. **The Annual Report of the Council for 1989/90.**

The President invited comments on the Annual Report of the Council which had been circulated earlier. Mr. R. Sherman proposed and Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara seconded the adoption of the Annual Report. It was unanimously passed.

7. **The audited accounts of the Society for 1989.**

The audited accounts of the Society for the year 1989 presented by the Hony. Treasurer had been earlier circulated among the membership of the Society. Mr. Denis N. Fernando pointed out that the depreciation of the value of the assets has not been accounted for. It was agreed that this will be taken into account because it will entitle the Society to pay less taxes. The accounts were adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. Douglas Ranasinghe and seconded by Mr. B. L. Perera.

8. **Election of Dr. P. R. Anthonis as an Honorary Member.**

The President Dr. C. G. Uragoda read out the citation written by Prof. S. R. Kottegoda as he was out of the country. It briefly outlined the services rendered by Dr. P. R. Anthonis.

Dr. P. R. Anthonis spoke a few words of appreciation emphasizing how much he valued the honour bestowed on him by the R.A.S.

9. **Award of the Society's Medal to Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando.**

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala read the citation to present Mr. Fernando for the award of the Society's Medal. He outlined the work done by Mr. Fernando. The President then made the presentation of the medal to Mr. Fernando.

10. **Election of Office Bearers:**

Dr. C. G. Uragoda (President), Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja (Vice Presidents) were elected uncontested.

Hony. Joint Secretary: Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena withdrew his candidature. As a result Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana were elected uncontested as Hony. Joint Secretaries.

Hony. Librarian, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya who was elected Vice President, resigned from the Post of Hony. Librarian. This vacancy was filled by Ms. D. Brohier whose name was proposed by Dr. C. G. Uragoda and seconded by Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena.

Council Members.

The President explained that now there were 8 vacancies in the Council. (The 8th being due to the resignation of Dr. Jayawardhana on his election as Hony. Joint Secretary). Miss D. Brohier withdrew her candidature as she was elected Hony. Librarian. As a result there were 9 nominations for 8 posts. At this stage Prof. M. B. Ariyapala who had proposed the name of Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema withdrew Prof. Jayawickrema's name

with the consent of the latter. Therefore the following members were elected uncontested:- Mr. K. Jayatilake, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Prof. S. Bandaranayake, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Pundit V. J. Abeygunawardena and Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty.

11. **Election of a Hony. Treasurer.**

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva was elected uncontested. His name was proposed by Dr. C. G. Urugoda and seconded by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

12. **Election of an Auditor.**

M/s. Wickremasinghe Dayananda & Co., Chartered Accountants were elected as Auditors on the proposal of Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and seconded by Dr. (Mrs.) L. S. Dewaraja.

13. **Amendments to the Constitution.**

1. Article 26(2) to be amended to read as follows:-

'The three immediate Past Presidents each of whom had served a full term of Office'.

This was not passed because there was no 2/3 majority.

2. Article 28 to be amended to read as follows:-

'Any member of the Council including Office Bearers who absents himself from three consecutive meetings of the Council without notifying the Hony. Joint Secretaries of the cause of absence shall be deemed to have vacated his Office or Membership of the Council, unless the Council decided otherwise'.

The house decided that the existing clause was sufficient.

3. Article 59 to be amended to read as follows:-

(a) Books/Journals borrowed should be returned to the Library within thirty days. A member could borrow the same book/journal for a further period of thirty days at the discretion of the Librarian, provided no other member has applied for the same book/journal.

(b) 'A member who has retained a book or journal for more than thirty days without authority will be liable to a fine of Rs. 1/- per day per book/journal for any additional days they are retained by the member'.

(c) 'A member who has failed to return books/Journals borrowed for a continuous period of three months would be notified in writing to return them along with the fines due on them'.

(d) 'If after such notice the books/Journals are still not returned by the member, the Hony. Librarian should bring the matter to the notice of the Council without delay for appropriate action.'

- (e) 'The Council shall, at its very next meeting after such information is received, inquire into the circumstances of such delay and if no satisfactory explanation is tendered, take action to suspend the defaulting member for a specific period until the return of the books and if the member still fails to return them take steps to black-list and expel him from membership and take any other action deemed necessary for the recovery of the books/journals or their present market value'.

This was unanimously passed.

4. Article 27 of the Constitution.

Line 11 onwards to read as follows:-

'Retiring members of the Council shall be eligible for re-election provided however that (a) no such member elected under category (3) of Article 26 above shall serve continuously in the Council for more than six successive years (b) have attended not less than five meetings of the Council during the preceding year'.

This was passed.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda,
President

Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja,
Hony. Joint Secretary

The Council shall at its next meeting after such information is received, consider the report and if it is satisfied that the information is correct, it shall refer the matter to the Council for its consideration.

The Council may also refer the matter to the Council for its consideration.

Article 13 of the Constitution

Article 13 shall stand as follows:

The Council shall be composed of the following members: (a) the members of the Council who are members of the Council for the purpose of Article 13 above shall also be members of the Council for the purpose of Article 13 above; (b) the members of the Council who are members of the Council for the purpose of Article 13 above shall also be members of the Council for the purpose of Article 13 above.

Dr. C. G. ...
Secretary

Dr. C. G. ...
Secretary

Minutes of Council Meetings of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sri Lanka for the year 1990-1991

All Meetings were held from 5 p.m. at the Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo-7, with the President presiding, unless stated otherwise.

Attendance of Members is tabulated herebelow :

	1990							1991				
	10/4	8/5	12/6	10/7	14/8	11/9	9/10	13/11	11/12	8/01	13/02	12/03
Dr. C. G. Urugoda— <i>President</i>	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pandit Dr. N. D. Wijesekera	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prof. H. W. Tambiah	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	—
Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe	—	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	1	1
Dr. S. Jayawardhana	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1
Ms. B. D. Brohier	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	—	—
Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1
Mr. T. B. Weerakone	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Prof. A. V. Suraweera	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	—	1
Mr. W. R. McAlpine	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. I. Raheem	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1
Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara	1	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	—
Mr. K. Jayatilake	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	1	1
Prof. S. R. Kottegoda	1	—	—	1	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	1
Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	1	1
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	1	1
Prof. S. Bandaranayake	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—
Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena	1	—	1	—	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1
Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1

Resume of lecture by Dr. N. T. K. Gunapala Senadeera, M.A. (Lond.), Ph.D. (Kelaniya), Pundit (O.S.S.) on 'The Kunta enshrined in the Mirisavatiya Stupa, to the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka, on Monday, 20th January, 1992.

It is said in the Mahavamsa that King Dutugamunu erected the Mirisavatiya stupa by enclosing the '*Kunta*'—his royal standard—which his men were unable to remove from the place it was left on his way to Tissa-weva for water-sports. Now it is left to us to ascertain the identity of this object and assess its significance as a royal standard. A little clue towards its identification is supplied by a reference in the Dhampiya-aṭuwa-gātapadaya, a 10th century Sinhala commentarial work which describes the *kunta* as a double-pronged object.

With the help of this clue we are in a position to identify this object with a similar artifact to be seen on the summit of the Northern gate-way at Sanchi and it is named by some Indologists as 'Triratna', because according to them it represents by its three prongs the Triad of Buddhism. However, this designation does not receive the approval of others who consider it as a misnomer. The Western Indologists prefer to call it Taurine which is a well-known fertility symbol.

The 'Triratna' symbol of Sanchi is found engraved on the face of an ancient slab which is seen embedded along with other slabs paving the sala-pataramaluwa of the Ruvan-vali-saya. This artifact can be identified as a *Kunta* in the light of a clue found in the Mahavamsa in reference to a particular *asana* slab which was known as a *Kunta-asana* during the reign of King Silakala.

It is said that King who was known for his favouritism for the Abhayagiri sect had removed it from a Mahavihara institution (which was its original home) and had it installed at the foot of a Bodhi tree that pertained to the premises of the former sect. This reference makes it clear that the particular *Kunta* slab was an object of worship, and it can be surmised that this object had been later re-installed at the most leading institution of the Mahavihara, i.e. Ruvan-vali-saya.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

144. First meeting of the Council for the 144th year.

Date: Tuesday, 10th April, 1990, at 5.00 p.m.

Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

144.1.1. **Present:**

Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Ex-President, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Vice President, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Vice President, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Vice President, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Hony. Treasurer, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Member, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Member, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Member, Mr. W. R. Mac Alpine, Member, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Member, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Member, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Member, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Member, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Member, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Member, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty, Member and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretary.

BUSINESS

144.1.2 **Letters of excuse**

Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and Mr. I. Raheem had informed of their inability to attend the meeting.

144.1.3. **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday 6th March, 1990.**

These were approved, being proposed by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and seconded by Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya.

Business arising out of the minutes

144.1.4. **Unreturned Library Books.**

It was decided to request Dr. Roland Silva to replace the available five parts of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, soon and the sixth part later.

144.1.5. **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala**

It was decided to omit Prof. S. Paranavitana's article on 'Arya Kingdom in the North Ceylon' as it has already appeared in Sinhala.

144.1.6. **Chronological numbering of monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**

Postponed for the next meeting as Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara was absent.

144.1.7.

Amendments to the Membership Application Form.

It was decided to amend the item 4 to read as:-

'Title/Designation'.

Subject to this amendment, the proposed form was approved.

144.1.8.

Release of Publications.

1. It was decided to present the first copy of the 'Kavsilumina' translation by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and Mr. W. R. Mac Alpine to Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula, Chancellor, of the University of Kelaniya, and that of the 'Index' compiled by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala to H.E. R. Premadasa, President of Sri Lanka (subject to his consent) on 17th May, 1990, at 9.00 a.m. at the Mahaweli Auditorium.
2. It was further decided to invite, Hon. P. Dayaratne, Minister Lands, Irrigation and Mahaweli Development. Hon. Lalith Athulathmudali, Minister of Education and Higher Education, Hon. W. J. M. Lokubandara, Minister of Cultural affairs and Information, and Hon. P. B. Kaviratne, State Minister of Cultural Affairs.
3. Price of 'Kavsilumina' Rs. 300/- (local) and US \$ 15 (foreign) Prepublication price Rs. 200/-. Tye price of the 'Index' to be fixed by the President in consultation with Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.

144.1.9.

Payment of Rs. 2,000/- for stock taking.

Approval was granted for the payment of Rs. 2,000/- to Mr. A. N. J. Cruse for concluding the stock verification.

144.1.10.

Donation of books.

1. Dr. G. Hattotuwa—'cogita', February, 1990.
2. Mr. A. B. J. L. Fernando—'Manuscript, reference to the R.A.S. and D. B. U. Journals'.
3. Mr. K. Jayatilake — 'Sigiri Gee Nirmana'
'Jataka Sahitya Saha Vessantara'.

144.1.11.

Draft minutes of the 143rd Annual General Meeting held on 24th March, 1990.

Postponed for the next meeting.

144.1.12.

Request of Mr. E. W. Wilson for an advance of Rs. 1,000/-.

Was not approved.

144.1.13.

Dr. A. H. Mirando's letters.

A reply to be sent indicating the Council's decision.

- 144.1.14. Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva to be nominated for the Advisory Board on Cultural Property Act.
- 144.1.15. On a proposal made by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala it was decided to re-appoint the various committees at the next meeting for a period of two years.

President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.2 Second meeting of the Council for the 144th year.
- Date:-** Tuesday, 8th May, 1990, at 5.00 p.m.
- Venue:** Society's Office at, 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.
- 144.2.1. **Present:** Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. Mc Alpine, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

- 144.2.2. **Letters of excuse**
Mr. I. Raheem, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena and Prof. S. Bandaranayake had informed of their inability to attend the meeting.
- 144.2.3. **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 10th April, 1990.**
These were approved subject to the following amendments, being proposed by Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and seconded by Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna.
- Under para 144.1.1., include the name of Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara.

Business arising out of the minutes

- 144.2.4. **Unreturned Library Books.**
Five Parts of the *Epigraphia Zeylanica*, Vol. IV, sent by Dr. Roland Silva were tabled by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara.
- 144.2.5. **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**
It was decided to send to the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information, the list of articles selected for publication and request his assistance.
- 144.2.6. **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**
Postponed for the next meeting at the request of Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, who reported that part of the work has now been completed.
- 144.2.7. **Membership Application Form.**
It was decided to print 500 copies of the amended application form.
- 144.2.8. **Release of Publications.**
1. It was decided to present the first copies of the 'Kavsilumina' translation by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and Mr. W. R. McAlpine and the Annotated Index compiled by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala to Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula, Chancellor, University of Kelaniya and Hon. D. B. Wijetunge, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance, on Tuesday, 17th May, 1990, at 9.00 a.m., at the Auditorium, Mahaweli Centre.
 2. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala explained the steps taken so far.
 3. Price of Kavsilumina Rs. 350/- (local) and US 18/- (foreign including sea mail, Air Mail extra). Special price till 31st May, 1990—Rs. 250/-.
 4. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala was requested to discuss with the Printer and report back. The price to be fixed by the President in consultation with Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.
- 144.2.9. **Stock verification.**
It was decided to request the Hony. Librarian to look into the problem of missing books as revealed by stock verification carried out by Mr. Cruse.
- 144.2.10. **Draft minutes of the 143rd Annual General Meeting held on 24th March, 1990.**
Postponed for the next meeting as Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja was absent.

- 144.2.11. **Festival advance for Mr. Wilson**
The request was approved.
- 144.2.12. **Book donations.**
Dr. G. Hattotuwa—'Modus Vivendi'.
Mr. T. W. Hoffmann—'A Directory of Asian Wetland'.
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara—"Siyabas Liyage Vilapaya".
- 144.2.13. **Lecture on Mondaay, 11th June, 1990.**
As Mr. I. Raheem is out of the Island, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva will deliver his lecture on this day.
- 144.2.14. **Archaeological Congress.**
As the letter had not been addressed to the R.A.S. it was decided to lay by.
- 144.2.15. **Air conditioning and Micro filming of the Library.**
The letter dated 24th April 1990, sent by the Secretary to the President was tabled. H. E. the President had approved a grant of Rs. 150,000/- for this purpose from the President's Fund. It was decided to thank the President for his generosity
- 144.2.16. **Panadura Vāde.**
It was decided to accept the offer of Mr. Peter Jayasuriya and make two sets of the photo copies of the book to be lent by him and to give him one set.
- 144.2.17. **Membership Applications**
The application for membership forwarded by Mr. S. Felix and Mr. G. S. Gunasekera were not approved.
- 144.2.18. **Book Binder**
Ms. B. D. Brohier was requested to look into the work done by the binder and report.
- 144.2.19. **Book trolley.**
On a proposal made by Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, approval was granted for the purchase of a book trolley.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.3. Third meeting of the Council for the 144th year.
Date: Tuesday, 12th June, 1990, at 5.00 p.m.
Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

- 144.3.1. **Present:** Dr. C. G. Uragoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. Mrs K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Prof. S. Bandaranayake, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

- 144.3.2. **Letters of excuse,**
 Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja and Mr. I. Raheem had informed of their inability to attend the meeting.
- 144.3.3. **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council Meeting held on 8th May, 1990.**
 These were approved subject to the following amendments being proposed by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Ms. Brohier.
 Under para 144.2.15; delete the words 'and micro filming' from the sub heading.

Business arising out of the minutes

- 144.3.4. **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**
 The letter of 6.6.90 sent by the Director of Cultural Affairs was considered and the Council decided to draw his attention to the first letter and request financial assistance for the publication proposed by the Society. As for the request by the Ministry the Council decided that it could undertake the translation provided the Ministry is prepared to pay the cost.
- 144.3.5. **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**
 Mr. Gunasekara informed the Council that as several past numbers of the Journal are missing from the library this would take some more time.

144.3.6. **Membership Application Form.**

The proofs of the amended form have been received from the printers. These will be corrected and sent to the printers.

144.3.7. **Release of Publications.**

1. The Council thanked Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and Mr. W. R. Mc Alpine for their painstaking works namely the 'Kavsilumina' translation and Prof. M. B. Ariyapala for his 'Annotated Index' which were released on Thursday, 17th May, 1990, before a well attended distinguished gathering, held at the Mahaweli Auditorium. The first copies were presented to Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula, Chancellor, University of Kelaniya and to Hon. D. B. Wijetunge, Prime Minister and Minister of Finance respectively. Copies of both publications were also presented to Hon. W. J. M. Lokubandara, Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information. Hon. P. Dayaratne, Minister of Lands, Irrigation and Mahaweli Development and Hon. P. B. Kaviratne, Minister of Socio-Cultural Integration.

After the presentation Dr. C. G. Uragoda, President of the R.A.S. made the address of welcome, which was followed by speeches from Ven. Dr. Walpola Rahula, the Hon. W. J. M. Lokubandara and Hon. P. B. Kaviratne. A vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.

Following the ceremony refreshments were served in the Society's Library.

2. The price of the Annotated Index was fixed at Rs. 350/- (local) and U.S. \$ 20 (foreign) inclusive of sea mail. The price (foreign) of 'Kavsilumina' was also fixed at U.S. \$ 20.
3. It was decided to issue 25 copies of the Kavsilumina, free of charge to each author.
4. It was decided to send a copy of the Annotated Index to Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke for review; his address is 17, Wijerama Lane Nawinna, Maharagama.
5. It was decided to send a copy of the Kavsilumina to Prof Ashley Halpe for review.
6. It was further decided to send a copy of each of these two publications to the R.A.S. Great Britain.
7. The Council decided to advertise the two publications in the classified section of the Sunday Observer.
8. The relevant information about the two publications should be sent to the Public Library, Colombo and the Universities.

144.3.8. Draft minutes of the 143rd Annual General Meeting held on 24th March, 1990

The minutes drafted by the former Hony. Joint Secretary, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja were approved.

These should be circulated to the members along with the Annual Report for the next A.G.M.

144.3.9. Archaeological Congress.

Prof. S. Bandaranayake regretted the lapse and undertook to send a formal letter.

144.3.10 New Member.

Resident Ordinary: Mr. P. B. Rambukwella,
17, Coniston Place, Colombo 7.

This application was approved.

144.3.11 Improvements to the Library.

The President informed the Council that he has already written to the C.E.B. requesting their assistance for air conditioning. The Council requested the President to convene a meeting consisting of the Chairman, C.E.B., Mr. Denis Fernando, General Manager, Central Engineering Consultancy Board and Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva to finalise the air conditioning programme.

144.3.12 Library.

1. On a proposal made by the Hony. Librarian, Ms. Brohier, the Council decided to consult Ms. Wettasinghe for conservation of valuable old books.
2. It was also decided to obtain the services of Mr. Sabah for the same purpose.
3. List of duties should be given to the two typists.
4. Prof. S. Bandaranayake said that he was prepared to make available the free use on Sundays of the computer at the Post Graduate Institute of Archaeology for computerising the R.A.S. Catalogue provided the Society could engage a competent person. The Council thanked Prof. Bandaranayake for his kind offer and decided to avail of this service in future if necessary.

144.3.13. Letters.

1. Letter sent by Ms. J. Holm on a directory of World Religions; the Council decided to volunteer itself if and when any service was requested.

2. Letter sent by the Edwin Mellen Press offering a copy of the book entitled 'Reflections on the Tibetan Culture' for review was considered and decided to accept the offer.

144.3.14. **Incorporation Bill.**

Copies of the Incorporation Bill presented in Parliament by Mr. Lakshman Jayakody, M.P. for Gampaha District were tabled for information.

144.3.15 **Signing of cheques.**

On a proposal made by the President, the Council decided to empower Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretary to sign cheques on behalf of the Society, along with the President and the Hony. Treasurer.

144.3.16 **Condominium Plan**

It was decided to request Hon. P. Dayaratne, Minister of Lands Irrigation and Mahaweli Development to expedite this.

144.3.17 **Book Donations.**

Pundit Dr. N. D. Wijesekera — 'Deities and Demons, Magic and Masks', Part II.

Mr. S. Tilakasena — 'Sinhala Hodiya Pili Ha Aksara'.

The Council accepted these donations.

144.3.18 **Committees.**

1. **Publications Board.**

Dr. C. G. Uragoda	— President
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara	— Hony. Editor
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva	— Hony. Treasurer
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala	
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya	

2. **Finance.**

Dr. C. G. Uragoda	— President
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva	— Hony. Treasurer
Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe	— Hony. Joint. Secretary
Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya	
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara	
Mr. T. B. Weerakone.	

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

144.4. Fourth meeting of the Council for the 144th year.

Date: Tuesday, 10th July, 1990, at 5.00 p.m.

Venue Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

144.4.1 **Present:** Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Vice President in the Chair, Prof. H. B. Ariyapala, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

144.4.2 **Letters of excuse**
Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty had informed of his inability to attend the meeting.

144.4.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 12th June, 1990.**

These were approved subject to the following amendments being proposed by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.

Under para 144.3.7

After the sentence "A vote of thanks was proposed by Prof. H. B. Ariyapala" add the sentence "Mr. G. M. S. de Silva purchased the first copy of the Crest Gem of Poetry and donated Rs. 2,000/- to the Society".

At the end of the same para add "Prof. M. B. Ariyapala informed the Council that the members of his family spent Rs. 13,050/- for refreshments, the Invitation Cards, the Hand Bill, the photographer and for decorations".

Under subpara 3 at the end add "and 25 copies of the Index to the compiler—Prof. M. B. Ariyapala. Further the Council approved the donation of a book each to those who helped in the preparation and publication of both."

Under para 144.3.12: add the following paragraphs:-

5: Rare books should not be on a lending basis and that they should be classified and reserved for reference.

- 6: No books to be given to the binder till the backlog is cleared.
- 7: Some of the books with the binder have been given to him eight years ago and he is not in a position to repair these books. Such books should be given to the Archives.
- 8: When the binder has finished his work on a book, it should be left with the R.A.S. Staff who will show it to the Hony-Librarian and both parties will certify that it has been satisfactorily repaired before it is placed on the shelf.
- 9: A temporary cleaner should be engaged to clean the book shelves and the books. He is not to be assigned any other work because the cleaning of books etc. will take all his time.
- 10: The Peon should assist the Administrative Assistant with checking parcels and be near the entrance to the counter.
- 11: The typists may be given flexible hours on days Council meetings are held.

Business arising out of the minutes

144.4.4

Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala informed the Council that these were handed over to the selected members for translation. Further he said that the article on 'Skanda' has been dropped and instead an article on 'Cultural Renaissance—A lesser known pioneer Ven. Piyaratne Tissa Maha Thera' by him has been suggested to replace it. It was further decided to request the Hony. Joint Secretary to discuss with the Secretary to the State Minister of Cultural Affairs the position regarding these changes and payments etc.

144.4.5

Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.

Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara informed the Council that he requires further time to complete the work.

144.4.6

Membership Application Form.

This was sent to the Printer.

144.4.7

Improvements to the Library.

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva informed the Council that although the Ceylon Electricity Board has agreed to install air conditioning free of charge, the Society will have to bear the monthly electricity bill which will be not less than Rs. 15,000/- per month. The matter was referred to the Financial Committee for report.

- 144.4.8 **Computerising of the R.A.S. Catalogue.**
It was decided to inquire from Prof. S. Bandaranayake and Prof. V. K. Samaranayake about a suitable person to be employed on a piece rate, to do the work.
- 144.4.9 **New Members.**
Resident Life — Mr. C. G. Wickremasinghe,
28/2, Frances Rd., Colombo 6.
Dr. J. G. Wijetunga,
28 1/1, Frances Rd., Colombo 6.
Mr. S. Tilakasena,
103/22, Dutugemunu Street,
Colombo 6.
Mr. K. Fernando,
39/1, Cyril Jansz Mawatha,
Panadura.
Mr. A. W. C. Gunawardhana,
Dept. of Education,
Hiramadagama, Kahawatta.
- Resident Ordinary — Mr. S. C. Jayawardana,
16/1, Siebel Avenue,
Colombo 5.
- 144.4.10 **Letter sent by Mr. P. D. Wimalaratne, Manager, Mahaweli Centre.**
According to this letter, only the vehicles of the President and the Hony. Joint Secretaries are allowed to enter the premises. The Council felt that this is a step that prevents the Society from enjoying its rights to the premises and decided to send a suitable reply indicating the rights of the Society.

A draft will be given by Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Attorney-at-Law for the President to reply.
- 144.4.11 **Dr. A. H. Mirando's letter.**
This has already been acknowledged, and it was decided to drop the matter.

On a suggestion by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala it was decided to have only one lecture a month.
- 144.4.12 **World Guide to Libraries.**
This was referred to the Hony. Librarian for suitable action.
- 144.4.13 **Letter sent by Mr. S. N. Trivedi.**
It was decided to inform the writer that he can come or send his representative at his cost to collect whatever information available at the library.
- 144.4.14 **Letter from Museum Für Volkerkunde.**
It was decided to send a suitable reply.

- 144.4.15 **Resignation of Mrs. V. P. Liyanage.**
Letter sent by Mrs. V. P. Liyanage resigning from the post of Typist with effect from 1st August, 1990, was accepted.
- 144.4.16 **Request of the Arts Council.**
The request of 25 copies of the Crest Gem of Poetry—Kavsilumina translation by the Arts Council was considered and agreed to comply with the request and send a reply after consulting the former Chairman of the Arts Council.
- 144.4.17 **Financial position.**
Statement of income and Expenditure for the period January/June 1990, submitted by Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Hony. Treasurer was considered, and decided to allocate Rs. 20,000/- for the purchase of books during the remaining part of the year.
- 144.4.18 **Book donations.**
Rev. Fr. Dr. W. L. A. Don Peter—'Buddhist and Benedictine Monastic Education'..
Mr. K. Jayatilake—'Mayura Sandesaya' (Sinhala)
The Council accepted these donations with thanks.
- 144.4.19 **Centenary Celebrations of the Dept. of Archaeology.**
It was brought to the notice of the Council by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala that the Society which was responsible for the establishment of this department has been completely ignored, and no mention was made of it at the ceremony about the contribution by the Society.

It was decided to send a letter to the Commissioner regretting the lapse.
- 144.4.20 **Translation of Pali Commentaries.**
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala suggested that a new committee be selected at the next meeting to handle this project.

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
Vice President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.5 Fifth meeting of the Council for the 144th year.
Date: Tuesday, 14th August, 1990, at 5.00 p.m.

Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

- 144.5.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Uragoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier. Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

- 144.5.2 Before the commencement of the Council Meeting, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, informed of the tragic death of Advocate Ananda Gunaratne, a Life Member of the Society.

The Council observed two minutes silence as a mark of respect to the late Mr. Gunaratne and decided to send the relevant extract of the minutes to Mrs. Gunaratne.

- 144.5.3 **Excuses**
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya and Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva had informed of their inability to attend the meeting.

- 144.5.4 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 10th July, 1990.**

These were approved subject to the following amendments being proposed by Mr. T. B. Weerakone and seconded by Mr. K. Jayatilake.

under para 144.4.2 — after Mr. Casie Chetty add 'and Dr C. G. Uragoda' and replace the word 'his' with 'their'.

under para 144.4.16 — after 'The request of 25' add the word 'free'.

Business arising out of the minutes

- 144.5.5 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala**
The two letters sent by the Director, Cultural Affairs, were tabled and it was decided to have the translation complete by the end of August, 1990.
- 144.5.6 **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara informed the Council that he would complete this by the end of October, 1990.

144.5.7 **Improvements to the Library.**

1. It was decided to appoint a Library Board consisting of:-
The President
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara
Mr. I. Raheem
Ms. B. D. Brohier (Convenor)
2. It was further decided to request the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information to donate the publications of the Ministry and the Departments & Central Cultural Fund under the Ministry.
3. The President explained the steps taken with regard to the air conditioning of the Library. The Engineer of the Central Engineering Consultancy Bureau, Mr. C. S. Soysa has recommended the estimate of Mr. T. S. Peris for constructing the panning (rate of Rs. 100/- per square foot). This was accepted by the Council.

144.5.8 **Dr. A. H. Mirando's letter of 14th July, 1990.**
It was decided to drop the matter.144.5.9 **Centenary celebrations of the Dept. of Archaeology.**
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando said that in his lecture at Polonnaruwa, he mentioned the valuable services rendered by the R.A.S. in establishing the Dept. of Archaeology, Sinhala Dictionary and the National Museums.

It was decided to send a letter to the Commissioner regretting the lapse.

144.5.10 **New Members**
Resident Life

— Dr. S. Gooneratne,
111/1, Isipatana Avenue,
Anderson Road, Dehiwala.

Resident Ordinary — Mr. G. E. Wijesuriya,
165/2, High Level Rd., Nugegoda.

144.5.11 **Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 24/07/90.**

1. It was decided to purchase a second hand book binder's press after advertising in the 'Silumina' first and later 'Sunday Observer'.
2. It was decided to appoint on probation a labourer on the approved salary scale.
3. It was decided to approve the revised estimate of the Journal Volume XXXIII from Rs. 32,700/- to Rs. 47,000-.

It was further decided to request the Publications Board to review the procedure applicable to printing.

4. It was also decided to postpone the proposal to computerise the information on the Library.

144.5.12 Translation of the Pali Commentaries.

A new committee consisting of the following members was appointed to be incharge of this.

Dr. K. T. W. Sumansuriya

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala

Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema

Prof. Y. Karunadasa

Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe (Convener) & Dr. S. Jayawardhana.

144.5.13 The letter of Dr. A. C. Clarke dated 17th July, 1990.

It was decided to put this up on the notice board.

144.5.14 The resignation of Ven. Pra Narong Makobdee.

This was accepted.

144.5.15 New publications by the International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

It was decided to request free copies for the R.A.S. Library.

144.5.16 Sri Lanka Tourism News.

The letter of Ms. Brohier dated 7th August, 1990, and a copy of the Sri Lanka Tourism News, April/June 1990 were tabled.

The Council thanked Ms. Brohier for her kind action in writing about the 'Kavsilumina' in this newsletter.

144.5.17 Application for membership.

Dr. Richard F. Young's letter of 11th August, 1990, requesting permission to use the Library pending membership.

This was granted.

144.5.18 Book donation.

A copy of an article by Mr. Jinadasa Liyanaratne on 'Ola Manuscripts' was accepted with thanks. It was decided to thank the donor.

144.5.19 Grant of the Asia Foundation.

On a proposal made by the President, it was decided to request the concurrence of the Asia Foundation for utilising their grant of Rs. 50,000/- to pay for the printing of the Annotatsd Index (i.e. without publishing a volume of collected past articles in the R.A.S. Journal.)

- 144.5.20 **Cleaning of the toilets.**
It was decided to pay Rs. 500/- for the past and Rs. 100/- per month in the future for this job to Mr. Wilson.
- 144.5.21 **Publications Board.**
On the proposal made by the President the following members were appointed to the Publications Board, which is a constitutional requirement.
- Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President
Prof. M. B. Ariyapala
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva
- 144.5.22 Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara informed the Council that Mrs. I. Iriyagolle handed her article on 'Unique Position of Sinhala Women—a historical perspective', which was sent for publication in the current Journal Volume XXXIII—1988/89. After she received the first proof of her manuscript she wanted this withdrawn from the press, and submitted a revised version of the same article for publication. The printer has demanded a payment of Rs. 1,900/- for composing the article in question. The Editor has requested Mrs. Iriyagolle to pay this amount as the manuscript had been withdrawn at her request.

Dr. C. G. Urugoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.6 Sixth meeting of the Council for the 144th year.
- Date:** Tuesday, 11th September, 1990.
Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.
- 144.6.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

- 144.6.2 **Excuses.**
Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna and Mr. K. Jayatilake had informed of their inability to attend the meeting.
- 144.6.3 **Confirmation of minutes of the Council held on Tuesday 14th August, 1990.**
These were approved, subject to the following amendments being proposed by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja.
- under para 144.5.2 after the word 'informed' insert 'the Council'-
under para 144.5.5 alter the verb 'complete' to 'completed'.

BUSINESS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

- 144.6.4 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**
1. Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that these were completed by 1st September, 1990, and taken over by the officials of the Ministry of Cultural Affairs on 10th September, 1990.
 2. It was decided to have this as a special number of the New Series and was assigned Volume XXXV.
 3. It was further decided to request the Dept. of Cultural Affairs to expedite the payment for the translation.
- 144.6.5 **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara undertook to complete this by the end of October, 1990.
- 144.6.6 **Improvements to the Library.**
1. It was decided to appoint Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, the former Hony. Librarian as a member of the Library Board.
 2. Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that he has already sent the letter requesting the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information to donate copies of all the publications coming under his Ministry.
 3. The President informed the Council that the panelling of the Library has been entrusted to the contractors and the work has already started,
- 144.6.7 **Centenary celebrations of the Dept. of Archaeology.**
Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that the letter to the Commissioner of Archaeology regretting the lapse has been sent.

144.6.8 **Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 24th July, 1990.**

1. It was decided to purchase a second hand binder's press and a cutter after advertising in the Sinhala paper and later in the Sunday papers.
2. It was decided to look for a suitable person to be appointed on probation for the post of a labourer.
3. The invoice dated 11th September, 1990, sent by Sridevi Printers giving the cost of printing the Journal Volume XXXIII as Rs. 64,925/- was considered and approval was granted for the payment of Rs. 64,925/- for this job.
4. It was decided to sell the Journal Volume XXXIII at Rs. 150/-

144.6.9 **The Kavsilumina and the Index.**

1. On a proposal made by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala the Council decided to send 25 copies each to Lake House Bookshop for sale at a discount of 25%.
2. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala informed the Council that the cost of printing 750 copies of the Kavsilumina was Rs. 115,000/- and this was paid out of the monies received as follows:-

Donation by Mr. W. R. McAlpine Rs. 65,000/-

Contribution by the Arts Council Rs. 25,000/-

Contribution by the Dept. of Cultural Affairs Rs. 25,000/-

3. As the Journal Volume XXXIII has already carried a quotation from the letter sent by Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke, the Council decided to write to Mr. Goonetilleke apologizing for the same.
4. The Council directed the Administrative Assistant to present a statement on the stock position of the Kavsilumina and the Index, indicating the number of copies sold and the number of copies issued free.

144.6.10 **Translation of Pali Commentaries.**

1. It was decided to convene a meeting of the Committee on 25th September, 1990, at 4.00 p.m., at the residence of Prof. M. B. Ariyapala.
2. It was further decided to appoint Dr. N. D. Wijesekera as Consultant, to the Committee.
3. Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara informed the Council that he will donate all the volumes he has of the Tripitaka translations to the Society. The Council thanked Mr. Gunasekara for his generosity.

- 144.6.11 **Asia Foundation Grant.**
The President informed the Council that a letter requesting the concurrence of the Asia Foundation for utilising their grant—Rs. 50,000/- to pay for the printing of the Annotated Index without publishing the volume of collected past articles for the journal was sent.
- 144.6.12 **New Members.**
The following new members were admitted:-
- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|---|
| Resident Life | — | Mr. W. Panditaratne,
40/10, Ampitiya Rd., Kandy. |
| Resident Ordinary | — | Mrs. C. B. Weerasinghe,
94, Barnes Place, Colombo 7. |
| Non-resident Ordinary | — | Dr. Richard F. Young,
Meiji Gaukuin University,
1518, Kamikurata-cho,
Totsuka-ku,
Yokohama, JAPAN 244 |
- 144.6.13 **Letters.**
Offer of a lecture by Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando entitled 'The location of Bogambara Wewa and the King's Palace of Kandy 1700-1815' for 1991 was noted.
- 144.6.14 Offer of a lecture by Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna entitled 'The Missioneries in Sri Lanka in the early years of the 19th century' was noted for 1991.
- 144.6.15 **Photocopies of the missing R.A.S. Journals.**
The Council accepted the offer of the Acting Librarian, University of Peradeniya, to supply the Society with photo copies at the cost of Rs. 3/50 (both sides) per photo copy page, which can include four pages of the Journal.
- 144.6.16 **Key Guide to information sources on World Religions.**
The letter of Ms. J. Holm dated 17th August, 1990, was considered and it was decided to inform the writer of the Society's telephone number.
- 144.6.17 **American impact on Sri Lanka.**
It was decided to purchase a copy of this book at Rs. 140/- less 20% discount.
- 144.6.18 **Letter from the Centre for Indian Ocean Regional Studies, Perth, Australia.**
1. It was decided to send a copy of the Annotated Index pending payment.
 2. It was also decided to accept the proposal to exchange the 'Indian Ocean Review' with our annual Journal.

- 144.6.19 **Letter of Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya.**
It was considered, and an ex-gratia payment of Rs. 3,000/- was approved to Mrs. V. P. Liyanage, who resigned from the post of typist after serving the Society for a period of over five years.
- 144.6.20 **Book donation.**
The following books were presented by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala to the Society and was accepted with thanks.
1. Buddhism and its relation to religion and science.
 2. Malalasekera commemoration volume.
 3. Bavatharana Maga Ha Buddha Charitha, II, Parts 1 & II.
 4. Sri Pannasekera Charithapadanaya.
 5. Sinhala Sahithya Vansaya.
 6. Gamini Charithan (Pali)
 7. Chullavaggo II (Pali).
- 144.6.21 **Appointment of a typist.**
On a proposal made by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala it was decided to interview Miss D. I. Wickremaratchchi on the 16th September, 1990, at 10.00 .m.
- 144.6.22 **General decision of the Council.**
On a proposal made by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala it was decided that the general decisions of the Council should be implemented by the Hony. Joint Secretaries.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.7 Seventh meeting of the Council for the 144th year.
Date: Tuesday, 9th October, 1990.
Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.
- 144.7.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Uragoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. (Mrs) L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. O. M. L. H. Da Silva, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, and Dr. S. Jayawardhana Hony. Joint Secretary.

BUSINESS

144.7.2 **Excuses.**
Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara and Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty had intimated their inability to attend the meeting.

144.7.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council held on Tuesday, 11th September, 1990.**

These were approved subject to the following amendment being proposed by Mr R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and seconded by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala:-

under para 144.6.1 add 'Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena'

BUSINESS ARISING OUT OF THE MINUTES

144.7.4 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**

It was decided to invite attention to the letter of 15th September, '90, requesting the Director, Cultural Affairs to expedite payment for the translation.

144.7.5 **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**

This will be completed by Mr. Gunasekara before the next meeting of the Council.

144.7.6 **Improvements to the Library.**

1. It was decided to send a reminder to the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information regarding the request for Ministry publications.
2. The President informed the Council that the panelling of the Library is now in progress. It was decided to limit the panelling to the area set apart for the Library and to apply a suitable colourless fluid on the timber as a precautionary measure against insects.
3. The President informed the Council that he wrote to H. E. the President regarding the desirability of obtaining the set of 30 books on 'Paintings of Sri Lanka' being published by the Cultural Triangle Fund and seeking his assistance towards this. His Excellency has now generously sent a donation of Rs. 60,000/ from the President's Fund to cover the entire pre-publication cost of the set.

144.7.7 **Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 24th July 1990.**

1. It was decided to pursue the decision to purchase a second hand binders press and a cutter, after advertising in the Sinhalese paper and later in the English paper.

2. The President informed the Council that the peon has resigned to take a post elsewhere with a higher salary. Further the two girls who were interviewed for the typist's post are already employed elsewhere with higher salaries. On his recommendations the Finance Committee was requested to decide on a new salary scale within the framework of the available budget.

144.7.8 **The Kavsilumina and the Index.**

1. 25 copies each were sent to the Lake House Bookshop for sale at a discount of 25%.
2. On a proposal made by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala it was decided to send a copy of the Kavsilumina to Prof. C. H. B. Reynolds for review.
3. The Council noted the stock position submitted by the Administrative Assistant.

	<i>Kavsilumina</i>	<i>Index</i>
Number received	430	502
Number donated	85	26
Number sold*	163	63
	182	413
Balance	182	413

* This includes the copies given to the Lake House Bookshop for sale.

144.7.9 **Translation of Pali Commentaries.**

The Council noted that the meeting scheduled for 25th September, 1990, had been postponed and no new date had been fixed.

144.7.10 **Asia Foundation Grant.**

The Asia Foundation has informed the Society that it has no objection to the latter utilising the entire grant of Rs. 50,000/- towards the cost of printing the Index.

144.7.11 **Photocopying of the missing R.A.S. Journals.**

Already the order has been placed with the Acting Librarian, University of Peradeniya for the supply of the photocopies at the rate of Rs. 3/50 both sides per page.

144.7.12 **American Impact on Sri Lanka.**

Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara informed the Council that a copy was purchased and handed over to the Library.

144.7.13 **Letter of Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya.**

The ex-gratia payment of Rs. 3,000/- approved for Mrs. V. P. Liyanage has been paid.

- 144.7.14 **Appointment of a typist.**
It was decided to authorise the President to act on the recommendations on the Finance Committee.
- 144.7.15 **New Member.**
Resident Life — Dr. R. L. Jayakody,
57, Kassapa Road, Colombo 5.
- 144.7.16 **Book donations.**
Dr. Mrs. L.S. Dewaraja — ‘Sri Lanka Through French Eyes’
Hon. M. L. M. Aboosally — ‘Indian Medicine in Sri Lanka’
‘Sinhalese Medical Manuscripts in Paris’
Amnesty International — ‘Sri Lanka’
Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara — ‘Diga Nikaya Atuwawa’
‘Diga Nikaya’ 2 copies
‘Amguththara Nikaya’
‘Sanuktha Nikaya’
‘Vinaya Pitakaya’
‘Abhidharma Pitakaya’ 2 copies.
- 144.7.17 **Resignation of Mr. Wilson Perera, Cycle Orderly**
The letter of resignation dated 6th October, 1990, by Mr. Wilson Perera Cycle Orderly, was accepted.
- 144.7.18 **Letter of Senarath Panawatta**
It was decided to thank the writer for the interest shown.
- 144.7.19 **The Victor Melder—Sri Lanka Library.**
It was decided to regret the request dated 12th September, 1990, for the donation of books.
- 14.7.20 **Letter of Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke.**
It was decided to thank Mr. Goonetilleke and send him a copy of the latest Journal free of charge for information.
- 144.7.21 **Letter of Mr. W. R. McAlpine.**
It was decided to send a free copy of the Kavsilumina to the Penguin Books to be considered for inclusion in their series of classics.
- 144.7.22 **Mahavamsa.**
The letter dated 13th September, 1990, sent by the Chairman, Associated Newspapers Ltd., was tabled and decided to purchase a copy.

- 144.7.23 **Proposed structural changes.**
Copy of the letter dated 8th October, 1990, sent by the Secretary to the Ministry of Mahaweli Development to the Managing Director, M.E.C.A., requesting a sketch plan showing the proposed structural changes was tabled, for information.
- 144.7.24 **Raja Maha Viharas of Kandy.**
It was decided to purchase a copy of this book by Mr. L. Weerakoon.
- 144.7.25 **Annual donation of M/s Aitken Spence and Co. Ltd.**
It was noted with appreciation that a donation of Rs. 2,000/- has been received from the above company.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.8 Eighth meeting of the Council for the 144th year.
- Date:** Tuesday, 13th November, 1990.
- Venue:** Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.
- 144.8.1 **Present:** Dr. C. J. Uragoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. Mc Alpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Prof. S. Bandaranayake, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretary.

BUSINESS

- 144.8.2 **Excuses.**
No intimation had been received.

144.8.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 9th October, 1990.**

These were approved subject to the following amendments, being proposed by Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna and seconded by Mr. T. B. Weerakone

- under para 144.7.1 — add 'Mr. K. Jayatilake'
 under para 144.7.19 — immediately after the word 'regret' and before 'the request' insert the word 'that' and at the end, add the words 'could not be complied with'.

144.8.4 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**

Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that a reply had been received from the Director, Cultural Affairs, informing that the matter is under consideration. It was decided to request the Director to expedite the payment.

144.8.5 **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S.**

Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara submitted his report which was referred to the Hony. Joint Secretary for comment.

144.8.6 **Improvements to the Library.**

1. Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that he has spoken to the Private Secretary to the Hon. Minister of Cultural Affairs and Information and that the latter undertook to send an early reply regarding the request for the Ministry's publications.
2. The President informed the Council that the panelling of the Library is almost complete.

An advance of Rs. 40,000/- was paid to the contractor. If any money remained from the amount given from the President's Fund, it was decided to ask him permission for utilising it for improvements of the Library e.g. purchase of books.

144.8.7 **Kavsilumina.**

1. A copy has been sent to Prof. C. H. B. Reynolds for review.
2. As requested by Mr. W. R. McAlpine, it was decided to send a free copy to Penguin Books to be considered for inclusion in their series of classics.

144.8.8 **Translation of Pali Commentaries.**

It was decided to fix a meeting of the Sub-committee as early as possible and a report.

144.8.9 **New Members.**

- Resident Life — Dr. L. P. N. Perera,
 30, Sudarshana Mawatha,
 Nawala, Rajagiriya.

— Mrs. D. K. Gunasekara,
Sevana,
Baramane, Pilimatalawa.

— Mr. Methsiri Cooray,
33/2, Melbourne Avenue,
Colombo 4.

Resident Ordinary — It was decided to call for more
details from Mr. M. M. Salih,

144.8.10

Book donations.

Mr. O.M.L.H. da Silva 'Fidalgos in the Kingdom of
Kotte'

Mr. H.A.I. Goonetilleke 'Mass Communication in Sri Lanka'
'July 1983 and the National question in
Sri Lanka: a bibliographical guide'
'Scientific Documentation in Sri Lanka
Prologomena to Co-operation &
Co-ordination'

'The Sri Lanka Insurrection of 1971:
A Selected Bibliographical Commentary'
'Quinquennial Index'

'The Meaning and Purpose of a
National Library for Sri Lanka'

Dr. P. R. Anthonis =RAS, CB Vol

	VII, Pt. 3	No. 25	1882	
	XIII	45	1894	
	XVI	50	1899	
	XX	60	1908	
	XXVI	1 71	1918	
	XXVIII	1-4 73	1920	
	XXXI	1-4 82	1929	
	XXXII	1-4 85	1932	
	XXXV	4 96	1943	
	XXXVIII	2 106	1948	
	II	1	1952	N.S.
	II	2	1952	N.S.
	III	1	1953	N.S.
Ceylon. Hist. Jl.	I	1	1951	
	I	2	1951	
	II	3 & 4	1953	
	III	1	1953	
	III	2	1953	
	III	3 & 4	1954	

Cey. Hist. & SocialSc. Vol. 1, No. 1 — 1958

- 144.8.11 **Lecture Programme—1991.**
Referred to the Publications Board for report. It was decided to have a meeting of this Committee at 9.30 a.m., on Saturday 24th November, 1990.
- 144.8.12 **Annotated Index.**
The review sent by Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke was referred to the Publications Board.
- 144.8.13 **Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 24th July, 1990.**
The decision to purchase a second hand binding press and a cutter to be pursued.
- 144.8.14 **Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 14th October, 1990.**
1. The Council approved the proposed salary scales and the cadre effective from 1st December, 1990. All officers will be placed at the bottom of the new scale.

AA/Librarian	Rs. 22,800	— 10 x 480	— 27,860
Typist	18,000	— 10 x 480	— 22,800
Binder	14,400	— 10 x 360	— 18,000
Labourer	12,000	— 10 x 360	— 15,600
 2. It was decided to purchase a set of available Pali Commentaries published by Hewavitharana Trust.
- 144.8.15 **Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 21st October, 1990.**
It was decided to approve the recommendations:
1. To re-designate the post of Typist as "Assistant Librarian/Typist".
 2. To appoint Miss D. G. C. Senanayake as Asst. Librarian/Typist with effect from 2nd December, 1990.
 3. To fix the new qualifications for the post:
 1. A pass in 'O' Level Examination or its equivalent
 2. A pass in Part I of the Sri Lanka Library Services Association Examination or any other equivalent Examination.

or

Five years experience as a Assistant Librarian or of equivalent status in a recognised library.
 3. English typing 30 words per minute.
- Conditions of appointment: Subject to a probationary period of six months.

144.8.16 Minutes of the Finance Committee held on 7th November, 1990.

It was decided to approve the recommendations:

1. To re-designate the post of labourer as Library Attendant/Peon.
2. To appoint Mr. P. G. Abeyratne as Library Attendant/Peon with effect from 2nd January, 1991.
3. To employ Mr. P. G. Abeyratne on a casual basis on pro rata on week ends until 31st December, 1990.

144.8.17 Resignation of Ms. B. D. Brohier, Hony. Librarian.

The letter sent by Ms. Brohier requesting permission to resign the post of Hony. Librarian and expressing her willingness to serve as an ordinary member of the Council was considered. It was decided to accept the resignation of Ms. Brohier and to appoint Mr. T. B. Weerakone as Hony. Librarian and Ms. Brohier as an ordinary member of the Council in place of Mr. Weerakone.

144.8.18 Resignation of Miss H. M. C. Perera, Typist.

The letter sent by Miss H. M. C. Perera resigning from the post of Typist with effect from 1st December, 1990, was accepted.

144.8.19 Society's Building.

The letter of 28th September, 1990 sent by Hon. P. Dayaratne, Minister of Lands, Irrigation and Mahaweli Development, the copies of letters dated 15th October, 1990 sent by the Secretary, Mahaweli Development and Director General, MASL, were tabled. The President undertook to write to the Secretary, Ministry of Mahaweli to get the work expediated.

144.8.20 Maldivian History

Letter undated sent by Mr. Ibrahim Nashia Suttar offering Rs. 10,000/- and requesting photocopies of several articles and publications was considered. It was decided to accede to the request.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA**Minutes of the Council Meeting**

144.9 Ninth meeting of the Council during the 144th year.

Date: Tuesday, 11th December, 1990

Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy
Mawatha, Colombo 7.

- 144.9.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Uragoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, G. P. S. H. de Silva Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. (Mrs.) K. E. Karunaratne, Ms. B. D. Brohier, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiya-wanna, Prof. S. Bandaranayake, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretary.

BUSINESS

- 144.9.2 **Excuses.**
Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty had informed of their inability to attend the meeting.
- 144.9.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 13th November, 1990.**
These were confirmed proposed by Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya and seconded by Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya.
- 144.9.4 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**
The Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that there is no reply to the second reminder addressed to the Director, Cultural Affairs. It was decided to request early payment as the Society is under obligation to the translators.
- 144.9.5 **Chronological numbering of the monthly meetings of the R.A.S**
The report submitted by Dr. S. Jayawardhana was considered. It was decided to accept the recommendations and keep the chronological table compiled by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara for reference.
- 144.9.6 **The Library**
- 1 Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena volunteered to assist the Society in getting the Ministry's publications.
 2. It was noted that the Director, National Museums had indicated that she was prepared to issue free copies of the publications of her department.
 3. It was agreed that the utilisation of any balance out of the sum donated by the President could be considered later when the accounts of the panelling are ready.
 4. Approval was granted for the purchase of one almirah made of jak wood. This order could be given to the contractor who constructed the panelling.
- 144.9.7 **Kavsilumina.**
It was decided to issue a copy free of charge to Mr. K. Harischandra who has already sent a review.

- 114.9.8 **Translation of Pali Commentaries.**
It was decided to convene a meeting of the Sub-Committee as early as possible.
- 144.9.9 **Lecture Programme—1991.**
The lectures recommended by the Publications Board were approved.
- 144.9.10 **Annotated Index.**
It was decided to accept the recommendations of the Publications Board and publish the review sent by Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke in the Journal.
- 144.9.11 **Book donations.**
Dr. J. M. Hattotuwa, 'Gratis Dicta' (2 copies)

Hon. M. L. M. Aboosally : 'Ravigupta's Siddhasara & New Light from the Sinhala Version'.

Mr. H. A. I. Goonetilleke:
'University its Library and the Undergraduate'
'Writings on Ceylon Epigraphy'
'Samuel Newell, Hearld of the American Mission to Ceylon 1813 - 1814'
'The Sri Lanka Journal of Humanities—Vol. 1, No. 2, Dec. 1975'.
'A Bibliography of the Published writings of Senerat Paranavitana 1924-1970'
'Navasilu 2'
'General Elections and Electoral Behaviour in Sri Lanka; A Basic Guide to Selected Literature'.
- 144.9.12 **Books purchased :** Kanka Vitharani
 Peta Vatthu
 Majjhima Nikaya Vols 1-4
 Theri Gatha
 Thera Gatha
 Jataka Pali Vols 1-6
 Vibhaga
 Vinayatthakatha Vols 1-4
 Diga Nikaya Pt. 1
 Dhammapada Pt. 1
 Pancappakarana Vols 1-2
 Cariya Pitaka
 Dhamma Sanganippakarana
- 144.9.13 **Letter of Mr. P. G. Abeyratne.**
The request for an office cycle was turned down. It was agreed that the present payment of a cycle allowance of Rs. 100/- be continued.

144.9.14 **Society,s Building.**
The President informed the Council that the Mahaweli Authority of Sri Lanka is now taking action to construct the separate entrance to the Library.

144.9.15 **Letter of Mr. Paul van der Velde.**
It was decided to list the lecture Mr. Paul van der Veldo wished to give for either March 18th or 1st April, 1991, whichever is convenient to him as a special lecture.

Dr. C. G. Urugoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

144.10 Tenth meeting of the Council during the 144th year.

Date: 8th January, 1991.

Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

144.10.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatileke, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Prof. S. Bandaranayake, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretary.

BUSINESS

144.10.2 **Excuses.**
Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara had intimated their inability to attend the meeting.

144.10.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on 11th December, 1990.**

The minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 11th December, 1990, were confirmed subject to the following amendments being proposed by Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and seconded by Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna.

under para 144.9.2. add 'Dr. S. R. Kottegoda'
under para 144.9.6., sub section 4, after the word 'almirah'
insert the words 'for Rs. 6,000/-'

- 144.10.4 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**
As there is no response from the Director, Cultural Affairs, it was decided to request Hon. P. B. Kaviratne, Minister of Cultural and Social Intergration to look into this and expedite the payment.
- 144.10.5 **Library.**
1. Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Hony. Librarian, undertook to convene a meeting of the Library Board and submit a report on the requirements of the Library for the next Council meeting.
2. Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando volunteered to expedite the activities connected with panelling of the back room, air conditioning and the construction of a separate entrance.
- 144.10.6 **Translation of Pali Commentaries into Sinhala.**
It was decided to convene a meeting of the sub-Committee before the Council meeting.
- 144.10.7 **Lecture Programme for 1991.**
It was decided to print the programme as recommended by the Publications Board and approved by the Council.
- 144.10.8 **Purchase of books.**
The under mentioned Pali Commentaries were purchased:-
1. Anguttaranikaya—Pt. II
2. Jataka Pali—Pt. VII
3. Sutta Sangaha
4. Samyuttanikaya—Pt. I
- 144.10.9 **Special Allowance for the binder.**
Request of Mr. R. M. Weerakone, the book-binder for an allowance for covering up the duties of the Office Peon was considered.

Approval was granted to pay Rs. 200/- for this work.
- 144.10.10 **New Members.**
Resident Life : Mr. L. H. R. P. Deraniyagala,
Newbury, Gregory's Road,
Colombo 7.

Resident Ordinary : Mr. R. I. de Silva,
Hepporawatte, Dampe,
Madapatha, Piliyandala.

Mr. H. W. Dissanayake,
5/4, Watarake Road,
Bope, Galle.

Dr. H. J. de Costa,
496/3, Havelock Road,
Colombo 5

Mr. R. D.'Arcy Luckhart,
Oblate College, Ampitiya.

Mr. N. G. R. Fernando,
16, Peter's Lane, Dehiwala.

- 144.10.11 **Maintenance Contract in respect of the Canon Copier.**
The contract letter dated 3rd December, 1990, sent by M/s. Metropolitan Agencies Ltd., regarding the renewal of the maintenance contract for 1991, was considered.

It was decided to renew it provided this is cheaper than making payments per service basis.

- 144.10.12 **Fukuoka Asian Cultural Prizes.**
A sub-committee consisting of the following were appointed to consider this and recommend suitable candidates. This committee was authorised to send their nominations direct to Japan.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya
Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando
Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva
Dr. S. Jayawardhana.

It was also decided to convene a meeting of this committee at 9.30 a.m., on Saturday, 12th January, 1991.

- 144.10.13 **Annual General Meeting.**
The Annual General Meeting was fixed for Saturday, 23rd March, 1991, at 5.00 p.m.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

- 144.11 Eleventh meeting of the Council during the 144th year.

Date: 13th February, 1991.

Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

- 144.11.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Urugoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Prof. S. Bandaranayake, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

144.11.2 **Honorary title of Kalasuri.**

With the permission of the Chair, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya Vice President, made a special announcement on Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Hony. Editor, who has been selected for the conferment of the Honorary title of 'Kalasuri', by His Excellency the President and wished him good health and long life

144.11.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday, 8th January, 1991.**

These were confirmed, being proposed by Mr. Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Dr. K. T. W. Sumansuriya.

144.11.4 **Translation of selected articles into Sinhala.**

A sum of Rs. 35,000/- had been received from the Ministry of Cultural Affairs and duly acknowledged by the Society. It was decided to pay at the rate of Rs. 175/- per page in the original.

144.11.5 **Library.**

1. The Report dated 11th February, 1991, of the Library Committee was considered and it was decided to write to M/s. Amila Enterprises, 481, Udahamulla, Nugegoda, regarding their quotation dated 5th February, 1991, to request them to arrange for us to see a machine turned out by them.
2. To request the Secretary to His Excellency the President to obtain a complimentary copy of the 'Annotated New Translation of the 'Mahavamsa' by Dr. A. W. P. Guruge.
3. To allocate Rs. 65,000/- for the purchase of binding equipment.
4. To write to the defaulters requesting them to return the books borrowed by them.

- 144.11.6 **Translation of Pali Commentaries into Sinhala.**
Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Hony. Joint Secretary, undertook to convene a meeting of the Sub-committee before the next Council meeting.
- 144.11.7 **Canon Copier Servicing contract—1991.**
It was decided to request a revised estimate on the basis of inspecting the same in three months.
- 144.11.8 **Fukuoka Asia Cultural Prizes—1991.**
Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretary, informed the Council that the committee met on 12th January, 1991, and decided to recommend the two names of Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and Dr. C. G. Uragoda and that these nominations were submitted to the Fukuoka Foundation.
- 144.11.9 **New Members.**
Resident Life — Dr. A. W. P. Guruge
194/1, Dutugemunu Street, Nugegoda.
— Dr. L. C. Uragoda,
78/5, Nawala Old Road., Rajagiriya.
- 144.11.10 **Book donations.**
Mr. G. H. de Soysa — 'Nava Mahavamsa'
Dr. M. Roberts — 'People Inbetween'.
- 144.11.11 **Draft Budget—1991.**
The draft budget for 1991, dated 26th January, 1991, and submitted by Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Hony. Treasurer was approved.
- 144.11.12 **Letters:**
1. **Somawathie Hewavitharana Trust.**
It was decided to purchase the two books listed in the Post Card of 5th February, 1991.

'Udanattakatha'	Rs. 104.00	
'Sutha Nipatha attakatha'	162.00	Rs. 266/-
 2. **Schmidt Periodicals GmbH.**
The request dated 7th January, 1991, regarding the sale and re-printing of the journals was referred to the Publications Board.
 3. **K. P. Bagchi & Co.**
The list of books sent by this company was referred to the Hony. Librarian.

4. **Special Lecture—Paul van der Velde—18th March, 1991.**

The letter of 14th January, 1991, sent by Mr. Paul van der Velde, was considered and decided to accept the offer of a special lecture on 18th March, 1991.

5. **Mr. M. M. Salih.**

The letter dated 24th January, 1991, requesting membership application submitted by the above named was considered and decided to reject the application.

6. **Techno-cinex (Pvt) Ltd.**

It was decided not to accept the estimate of the above company for repairing the metal name board.

144.11.12 7. **Power supply for air-conditioners and dehumidifiers.**

The letter dated 11th February, 1991, sent by the Ceylon Electricity Board and the letter dated 30th January, 1991, sent by St. Anthony's Consolidated Ltd., were tabled and Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando volunteered to get this done.

8. **Sansoni Warehouse Ltd.**

It was decided that the publications listed in the letter of 28th January, 1991, sent by the above company was not necessary for the Library.

9. **Dr. Michael Roberts.**

The letter dated 9th February, 1991, sent by Dr. M. Roberts was considered and decided to request him to return the book he has borrowed before any decision is made on his request regarding 'resident membership'.

144.11.13 **The 144th Annual General Meeting—23rd March, 1991.**

The Council finalised the seven members of the Council who will be retiring under Article 27 of the Constitution. They are:-
(a) Ms. B. D. Brohier, (b) Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty (c) Prof. Senake Bandaranayake (d) Prof. S. R. Kottegoda (e) Mr. Ismeth Raheem (f) Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando and (g) Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna.

144.11.14 **Purchase of an Electric Typewriter.**

On a proposal by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala it was decided to purchase an electric typewriter.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President.

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary.

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Minutes of the Council Meeting

144.12 Twelfth meeting of the Council during the 144th year.
Date: 12th March, 1991.
Venue: Society's Office at 86, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.

144.12.1 **Present:** Dr. C. G. Uragoda, President in the Chair, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne, Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Mr. W. R. McAlpine, Mr. I. Raheem, Mr. K. Jayatileke, Prof. S. R. Kottegoda, Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Mr. O. M. L. H. da Silva, Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty and Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. S. Jayawardhana, Hony. Joint Secretaries.

BUSINESS

144.12.2 **Excuses.**
 Dr. Mrs. L. S. Dewaraja had intimated her inability to attend the meeting.

144.12.3 **Confirmation of the minutes of the Council meeting held on Tuesday 13th February, 1991.**
 These were confirmed subject to the following amendment, being proposed by Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva and seconded by Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya.

Para 144.11.5: delete the words 'binding equipment' and insert the word 'books'.

144.12.4 **Translation of the selected articles into Sinhala.**
 On a proposal by the President it was decided to make an additional payment for five pages in respect of the articles on 'Mulgirigala', which is partly in a smaller type.

144.12.5 **Library.**

1. It was decided to explore the possibility of purchasing a binder's press and cutter.
 Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva volunteered to assist the Library Committee.
2. Hony. Librarian informed the Council that the letter to the defaulters will be ready in about a weeks time.

144.12.6

Translation of Pali Commentaries into Sinhala.

Mr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Hony. Joint Secretary has arranged a meeting of the Committee for the 15th March, 1991.

144.12.7

New Members.

Resident Life : Dr. H. W. M. Cooray,
75/1, D. S. Senanayake Mawatha,
Colombo 8.

Ordinary : Mr. G. Anders,
5, Rotunda Gardens, Colombo 3

: Ms. S. Lloyd,
5, Rotunda Gardens, Colombo 3.

144.12.8

Book donations.

1. 'Mahavamsa' edited by Dr. A. W. P. Guruge was received from H. E. the President of Sri Lanka.

Dr. C. G. Urugoda informed the Council that this was made possible by the information given by Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

2. 'Tennents' Ceylon, Volumes I & II, with the signature of Tennent donated to the Society, subject to the condition that a set of the two volumes of the reprint be sent to the donor, Rev. R. D'Arcy Luckhart, Oblate College, Ampitiya. The Council greatly appreciated the donation and directed the Hony. Joint Secretary to thank the donor and send a set of two volumes of 'Ceylon'.

3. Mr. G. H. de Soysa—'Nava Mahavamsa'—second copy.

4. Dr. Sivali Ratwatte — 'Budu Maga', through the courtesy of Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara.

144.12.9

Special lecture—Dr. Paul van der Velde—18th March, 1991.

The President informed the Council that the lecturer has arrived and the lecture will be held as scheduled.

144.12.10

The 144th Annual General Meeting.

1. The Hony. Joint Secretary informed the Council that the Agenda and the Report of the Council is with the printers and will be posted by 18 March, 1991, the latest.

2. It was decided to forward a copy of the Agenda together with a letter from the President to H. E. the President Ranasinghe Premadasa, President of Sri Lanka.

144.12.11 **Nominations received.**

The following seven nominations had been received and as such there will be no contest.

1. Dr. H. A. P. Abeywardena.
2. Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando.
3. Prof. L. P. N. Perera.
4. Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna.
5. Mr. I. Raheem.
6. Dr. N. T. K. Gunapala Senadeera.
7. Mr. M. St. S. Casie Chetty.

144.12.12 **Letters.**

1. **Ravaya Communications, monthly.**

It was decided that this was not necessary for the Library.

2. **Essays in honour of Dr. Ananda Guruge.**

This was referred to the Library Committee.

3. **Power supply for air-conditioning.**

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando informed the Council that he has already contacted the Mahaweli Centre and would pursue this. The C.E.B. had by its letter of 22nd February, 1991, informed that an order has been placed with the manufactures in Japan for the supply of a dehumidifier and that the same would be available in about three months time.

4. **Separate entrance.**

The copies of the correspondance sent by the Mahaweli Engineering and Construction Agency to (1) M/s. Mihindu Keerthirathe Associates Ltd., (5.3.91) and (2) Sri Lanka Lands Reclamation & Development Corporation (21.3.91) were tabled.

Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando undertook to pursue the same.

144.12.13 **Any other Business.**

1. It was decided to convene a meeting of the Publications Board at 2.00 p.m., on Tuesday, 19th March, 1991.
2. It was decided to refer the various book lists to the Library Committee for consideration and make suitable recommendations.
3. On a proposal by the President it was decided to purchase a copy of the 'Fresh Water Fishes of Sri Lanka' at Rs. 1,950/- (pre publication price).
4. It was decided to refer the losses of the Library Books reported by the borrowers to the Library Committee to consider and make suitable recommendations in respect of each case.

Dr. C. G. Uragoda
President

Dr. S. Jayawardhana
Hony. Joint Secretary

**Publications added to the Library during
the period 1. 4. 90 - 31. 3. 91**

- Maha Binikman Kāvya by C. A. Don Senevirathna
Pancha Maha Vādāya —
Uman Dā Kava by Madihe Siri Sumitha Thera
Kathikāvath Sangara by D. B. Jayatileka
Kav Muthuhara by Kirama Dhammananda Thera
Sālalihini Sandēśyaya by Sri Rahula Thera
Sinhala Puvathpath-Sangraha Ithihāsaya Ed. by Kalukondayāve Pragñāsekarā-
bidāna Thera
Sanskruṭha Sāhithya Ithihāsaya by A. Berriediale Keith
Desheeya Waidya Shabdha Kōshaya by Kirielle Gñānavimala Thera
Subashithaya Com. by Kumaratunga Munidasa
Adimāsavivādādikarana Thēnduwa by Labugama Sri Lankānanda Thera
Būduḡuna Alankāraya by Ven. Weedagama Maithri Thera
Būduḡuna Alankāraya by Ven. Weedagama Maithri Thera
Gana Devi Hālla Saha Vadan Kavi Potha by Ven. Weedagama Maithri Thera
Purāna Thunsaranaya by Ven. Weedagama Maithri Thera
Kav Muthuhara by Kirama Dhammānanda Thera
Dīpawamsaya Ed by Kiriālle Gñānawimala Thera
Lakdiva Budusamaye Ithihasaya by Ven. Walpola Sri Rāhula
Sinhāla Wāḡvidya Mūladharma by W. F. Gunawardhana
Bava Sanna Sahitha Lowāda Sangarāwa by Ven. Weedagama Maithri Thera
Dhvanyaloka Viwaranaya by G. S. B. Senanayake
Sinhāla Thūpavamsaya by W. S. Karunatilake
Buddha Gaddya Saha Sakaskaḡaya by W. S. Karunatilake
Sinhala Kathikāvath Hā Bikshu Samājaya by A. V. Suraweera
Nuthana Sinhala Sāhithya by K. D. P. Wickremasinghe
Rājasinha by Budkimchandra Wattopaddyaya
Dampiyā Aṭuwā Sannaya (Yamaka Wagga Com by Vithārandeniye Chandra-
jōthi Thera
Lankā Janatāva by Nandadeva Wijesekera
Pūjāwaliya by Buddha Putra Thera
Purāna Indiyāve Kāsi by P. L. Prematileka
Indiyāve Aithihāsika Būmi Sithiyam by Kudawālle Deerananda Kalyani-
wansa Thera
Lankā Pāli Sāhithya by Gunapala Malalasekera
Sumugudā Kavvya Sangrahaya by Mahasēna Thera
Maddya Kāleena Lankā Sanskruthiya by Wilhelm Geiger
Sinhale Āndu Kramaya by Sir John D'oily
Mahāyāna Monuments in Ceylon by Nandasena Mudiyanse
Selected Examples of Indian Art by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy
Anthropological Gleanings from Sinhala Literature by Nandadeva Wijesekera
Christian and Oriental Philosophy of Art by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy
A Tex.-Book of Rural Science by L. J. Peter Perera
English-Sinhalese Dictionary by G. P. Malalasekera
The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy
The State and Religion in Ceylon Since 1815 by Tennakoon Vimalananda

- Vikrama Bahu of Kandy: The Portuguese and the Franciscans (1542-1551)
by O. M. da Silva
- The People of Ceylon by Nandadeva Wijesekeera
- South East Asia's new Civilisation by Alawa Letok Nitsuj
- The Sanskrit Theatre and Stagecraft by E. W. Marasinghe
- An Historical Relation of Ceylon by Robert Knox
- Sri Wickrama, Brownrigg and Ehelepola by Vimalananda Tennakoon
- Jaffna and the Sinhala Heritage by E. T. Kannangara
- Introduction to Indian Art by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy
- Early Indian Architecture: Palaces by Ananda K. Coomaraswamy
- Discovering Ceylon by R. L. Brohier
- The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka by L. S. Deweraja
- Jaffna under the Portuguese by Tikiri Abeyasinghe
- Changing face of Colombo by R. L. Brohier
- Currents of Asian History by Vernon L. B. Mendis
- Colonialism in Sri Lanka by Asoka Bandarage
- Ceylon-History in Stone by R. Raven-Hart
- Food and the People by R. L. Brohier
- Public Corporations in Ceylon by A. R. B. Amarasinghe
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