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CORRECTION

Figure No. 7 on page 91 of Volume XLII has been inadvertently included in the paper titled "Sodasamangala". The author of this paper, Mr. T. B. Karunaratne, disclaims any knowledge of this figure.

We apologise for this serious mistake.

--*Editor*



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Vol. XLIII

1998

CONTENTS

	Page
Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya and Ratna Wijetunge Portuguese Borrowings in Sinhala	1
Bruce D. Cain Comments on V. Vitharana's Sri Lankan - Maldivian Cultural Affinities	13
Deloraine Brohier Flashback to the Dutch Burghers of Ceylon in the mid-fifties ...	33
Alan Strathern Representations of Eastern Religion: Queroz and Gonzaga on the first Catholic Buddhist Disputations in Sri Lanka ...	39
K. Arunasiri Jet streams foreshadowed in Pali texts?	71
Toponymy Section	77
Ananda S Kulasuriya List of Place Names in the Island mentioned in "Inscriptions of ceylon by Prof. S. Paranavitarna	
Book Reviews	
S. Devendra Fishing Craft and Gear of Sri Lanka... .. by the Department of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources ... HNDP/Faq SRL/91/022 Marme Fisheries Management Project, Colombo.	93
Frederic Medis Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan, by Osmund Bopearachchi and Aman Ur Rahman	96
Asanga Tilakaratne Vain Debates: The Buddhist - Christian Controversies of nineteenth century Ceylon, by RV Young and GPV Somaratne. ...	97
Readers' Comments	
V. R. de Silva	111
Notes & Queries	
Sirimal Ranawella	113
Office Bearers and Members of the Council 1996/1997... ...	i
Proceedings	
Minutes of the 150th AGM	ii
Minutes of the 151st AGM	vi
Annual Report of the Council for the year 1996/1997 ...	x
Minutes of the Special General Meeting, October 24, 1998 ...	xvi
Report of the Honorary Treasurer - 1996	xviii
Abstracts of Council Minutes - 1996/1997	xxix
New members admitted during the period 10/02/96 to 31/12/98	

JOURNAL
of the
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Vol. VIII

CONTENTS

1. The History of the ...
2. The ...
3. The ...
4. The ...
5. The ...
6. The ...
7. The ...
8. The ...
9. The ...
10. The ...
11. The ...
12. The ...
13. The ...
14. The ...
15. The ...
16. The ...
17. The ...
18. The ...
19. The ...
20. The ...
21. The ...
22. The ...
23. The ...
24. The ...
25. The ...
26. The ...
27. The ...
28. The ...
29. The ...
30. The ...
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36. The ...
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38. The ...
39. The ...
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Portuguese Borrowings in Sinhala

by

Shihan de Silva Jayasuriya* &
Ratna Wijetunge**

Abstract

This paper deals with lexical and phonological borrowings from Portuguese in Sinhala. It discusses the rationale for lexical borrowing and illustrates with examples familiar to Sri Lankans. It analyses the pattern of vocable change from Portuguese to Sinhala. Fifteen phonological rules that apply when words are borrowed from Portuguese into Sinhala have been identified.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze lexical and phonological borrowing from Portuguese into Sinhala. The Portuguese, (although they first visited Sri Lanka in 1505) began to establish trading posts and fortresses in the island from 1517 onwards. They were displaced by the Dutch in 1658. The Portuguese presence in Sri Lanka led to the development of a Portuguese-based Creole, Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole, which has survived to-date. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is considered to be a subset of Indo-Portuguese (the Portuguese-based Creoles in coastal India and Sri Lanka). Dalgado (1) considers Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole to be the most important Indo-Portuguese due to its vitality and its influence on Sinhala. Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole has been the medium through which Portuguese words were innovated into Sinhala.

Borrowing which occurs through contact and/or imitation introduces into a language or dialect elements from another language or dialect. Borrowing includes phonological borrowing, syntactic borrowing and lexical borrowing. The most common form of borrowing is lexical borrowing, as the lexicon of a language is more loosely formulated than its phonemics and its grammar.

The *topazes* (*mestiços* i.e., offspring of unions between the Portuguese and Sinhalese) were bilingual in Sinhala and Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole. Bilingualism leads to two linguistic phenomena - code mixing and code switching. Lexical borrowing, however, is different from code mixing, although it may not be easy to

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distinguish the difference between them in practice. Code mixing is where the non-native items are not adapted morphologically and phonologically. It involves the transfer of linguistic elements from one language to another. Bilingual speakers use elements from Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole in an utterance in Sinhala and vice versa. Code switching, on the other hand, refers to the switch bilingual speakers make between two languages. It refers to the alternation between Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole and Sinhala made in the same utterance by bilingual speakers. Code mixing and code switching are both language-contact communication strategies. However, in code mixing there is a base language and it is possible to detect monolingual chunks in an utterance which alternate with chunks calling upon the rules of both languages. Typical utterances of code mixing and code switching have been schematized by Hamers & Blanc (2) as follows:-

Code mixing: $/L_x/(L_xL_y)/L_x/(L_yL_x)/L_x/etc$

Code switching: $L_x/L_y/L_x/L_y/L_x/etc$

This paper consists of two parts: lexical and phonological borrowings. The first part deals with lexical borrowing and the second part with phonological borrowing. Lexical borrowing is a process which could introduce foreign vocabulary items to the lexicon of a language. Since the vocabulary is the most visible part of a language, lexical borrowing is perceived as affecting the language in its very being. However, lexical borrowing is considered to be easier when the languages concerned are typologically similar (for example, between Old English, Norse and French). Portuguese and Sinhala are not typologically similar. Borrowing is unlikely if the languages are divergent and speakers cannot understand each other (3). The evolution of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole (whose lexifier language is Portuguese) and its longevity have contributed to the process of borrowing from Portuguese into Sinhala (see figure 1). Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole is spoken by less than five thousand people today. A survey of Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole songs has been conducted by de Silva Jayasuriya (4) and the Portuguese and English translations of some of these songs have been provided by de Silva Jayasuriya (5,6).

In this context it is worthwhile considering the reasons for borrowing. Many linguists have pointed out the Need-Filling Motive as the main reason for borrowing (3). The Need-Filling Motive accounts for words on new experiences, new objects and new practices which are borrowed. In addition, borrowing can occur due to the Prestige Motive, a phenomenon associated with the prestige of the community that speak a particular language. It is widely acknowledged that lexical items are freely borrowed from the dominant language in

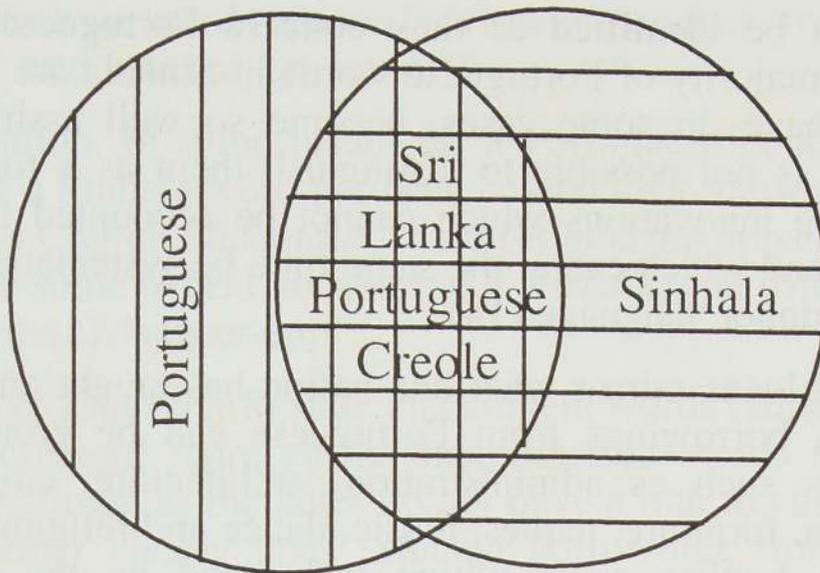


Figure 1

a contact situation (7). People emulate those whom they admire or wish to be identified with.

According to Appel & Muysken (8) lexical borrowing occurs in a variety of social and cultural contexts: invasions, conquest and domination by a majority culture, limited immigration and economic dependence and coexistence in a colonial setting. Weinreich (9) gives the following reasons for lexical borrowing:-

- (a) through cultural influence
- (b) rare native words are lost and replaced by foreign words
- (c) two native words sound so much alike that replacing one by a foreign word resolves potential ambiguities
- (d) there is a constant need for synonyms of affective words that have lost their expressive force
- (e) through borrowing, new semantic distinctions may become possible
- (f) a word may be taken from a low-status language and used perjoratively
- (g) a word may be introduced almost unconsciously, through intensive bilingualism.

Gunasekara (10), Perera (11), Hettiaracchi (12) and Sannasgala (13) have provided examples of Sinhala words with Portuguese etyma. There are Portuguese Loan Words (i.e. morphemic importations without substitution) in Sinhala. (Importation involves bringing a new pattern into a language, while substitution involves replacing something from another language with a native pattern.) The borrower adopts the donor's word along with the object or practice. Portuguese loan words

in Sinhala can be identified as they concern Portuguese objects or practices. The majority of Portuguese words in Sinhala are loan words. These words have, in some cases, become so well assimilated into Sinhala that it is not possible to distinguish them as a foreign word. Loan words are innovations which cannot be accounted for in terms of inheritance and which can at the same time be systematically related to items in a donor language (14).

Cultural loans mirror what one nation has taught another. Most of the Sinhala borrowings from Portuguese can be grouped within semantic fields such as administration, architecture, cuisine, dress, education, flora, furniture, names, music, dance and religion, which are aspects of Sri Lankan socio-culture influenced by the Portuguese. Cultural borrowings, however, are mutual and we also find Sinhala words in Portuguese.

	Sinhala	Portuguese	Gloss
e.g.	<i>goma</i>	<i>goma</i>	'dung'
	<i>talago (yā)</i>	<i>talagoia</i>	'iguana'
	<i>sinhala</i>	<i>Chingala</i>	'Sinhalese'

Intimate borrowing, on the other hand, occurs when languages are spoken in what is topographically and politically a single community. It occurs during conquests and the language of the conqueror is called the upper/dominant language while the language of the conquered is called the lower language. Borrowing is from the upper language to the lower language and accounts for words not connected with cultural novelties. According to Bloomfield(15) the lower language may survive and the upper language may die out, if the conquerors were not numerous and especially if they did not bring their own women. In Sri Lanka, however, Portuguese has survived for five centuries, even though the number of Portuguese who colonized the island were not numerous and they were not usually accompanied by women, Sri Lanka Portuguese Creole served as a *lingua franca* until the mid-19th century when English took over this role due to the British presence from 1796 to 1948.

There are also Portuguese Loan Blends (morphemic importations and substitutions) in Sinhala. The borrower imports part of the model and replaces part of it from his own language. It concerns borrowing a word from the Portuguese lexicon and grammatically adapting it into Sinhala. For example, *gōva mala* 'cauliflower', *gōva gediya* 'cabbage', *sapattu mala* 'shoeflower', *pādiri unnānse* 'priest', *Pāp unnānse* 'Pope', *sāntu(varaya)* 'Saint' which consist of a Portuguese word and a Sinhala word. The Portuguese words are *gōva*: *cova* 'cabbage', *sapattu*: *sapatu*: *sapato* 'shoe', *pādiri*: *padre* 'priest', *Pāp*: *Papa* 'Pope', *sāntu*: *Santo*

‘Saint’; the Sinhala words are *mala* ‘flower’, *gediya* ‘fruit’, *unnānse* an honorific and *varayā* an honorific.

In addition, in some instances, a Portuguese concept has been borrowed and a Sinhala word has been coined - e.g. *dēvastānaya* ‘place for deities’ for Church, *japamāle* ‘chain for uttering prayers’ for rosary. There are also some hybrid vocables: e.g. *pīrisi-kōppa* (Sinhala) : *pirescupo* (Portuguese) ‘saucer-cup’.

Appel & Muysken(8) state that content words (adjectives, nouns, verbs) are borrowed more easily than function words (articles, pronouns, conjunctions) as the latter do not have a link to cultural content, while the former clearly does. Sinhala borrowings from Portuguese substantiate this hypothesis.

Most of the Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala belong to core vocabulary (i.e. words referring to items basic to a human society). Non-core vocabulary refers to elements of very specific material and non-material culture and organization of society. The meanings of some Portuguese words evolved after the Portuguese period of colonisation ended in Sri Lanka. For example, in contemporary Sri Lanka, *pādiri* (Sinhala) : ‘priest’ only but in Portugal, *Padre* (Portuguese) : ‘priest’ or ‘father’. Most Portuguese borrowings in Sinhala refer to concepts or materials introduced by the Portuguese. Therefore almost exclusively nouns are borrowed. This is not surprising as the most important reason for borrowing is to extend the referential function of a language; reference is established mainly through nouns.

There are also some Portuguese verbs in Sinhala. However, an auxiliary, *venna* ‘to be’, *karanna* ‘to do’, *bandinna* ‘to tie’ or *yanna* ‘to go’, for example, is added to the Sinhala form, e.g.

Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
abençoar	<i>bansāru karanna</i>	‘to bless’
acafelar	<i>kapalāru karanna</i>	‘to plaster’
ajudar	<i>udavu karanna</i>	‘to help’
casar	<i>kasāda bandinna</i>	‘to marry’
cantar	<i>kantāru karanna</i>	‘to sing/chant’
pintar	<i>pintāru karanna</i>	‘to paint’
raivar	<i>rayiva venna</i>	‘to be angry’
reformar	<i>reparamādu karanna</i>	‘to reform’
reparar	<i>reparāru karanna</i>	‘to repair’
rondar	<i>rōnde yanna</i>	‘to patrol/to go around’
taxar	<i>taksēru karanna</i>	‘to rate/appraise’

In addition, there are also some adjectives which have been borrowed from Portuguese into Sinhala. e.g.

Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
Asiano	<i>āsiyānu</i>	'Asian'
Asiatica	<i>āsiyātika</i>	'Asiatic'
curtu	<i>kurtu</i>	'short'
dobrado	<i>debarādu</i>	'double/two-fold'
grosso	<i>gorōsu</i>	'coarse'
inteiro	<i>intēru</i>	'entire'
lesto	<i>lēsti</i>	'ready/prepared'
pancado	<i>pankādu</i>	boastful'
Português	<i>prutugīsi</i>	'Portuguese'
quente	<i>kēnti</i>	'angry'
rosa	<i>rōsa</i>	'pink'
tonto	<i>tōntu</i>	'giddy/dizzy'

In fact, some borrowed Portuguese words are used in preference to the Sinhala synonyms [indicated within square brackets]¹³. e.g.

Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
bastão	<i>bastam(a)</i> [<i>sārayatiya</i>]	'stick'
pintura	<i>pintura(ya)</i> [<i>rūpaya</i>]	'picture'
semana	<i>sumāna(ya)</i> [<i>satiya</i>]	'week'
soldado	<i>soldādu(vā)</i> [<i>sebalā</i>]	'soldier'
tacho	<i>tācci(ya)</i> [<i>valañda</i>]	'pan'

According to Weinreich(9), the transfer or reproduction of foreign words must, except for loan words with entirely new context, affect the existing vocabulary in one of three ways: confusion between the new and old word; disappearance of the old word; survival of both the old and new words with a specialization in context.

With respect to phonological borrowing, Hettiarachchi(12) examines the Portuguese influence on Sinhala and states some phonological changes that the Portuguese words underwent when they were borrowed into Sinhala. It is possible to identify some phonetic rules, based on the phonological behaviour of Sinhala words, which have been borrowed from Portuguese. Speakers replacing the foreign sounds by phonemes of their own language (phonetic substitution) inform us of the acoustic relation between the phonemes of the two languages.

Comparing the forms in the donor and recipient languages (Portuguese and Sinhala) gives the correspondences between the languages at the time of borrowing, and their differences are to be ascribed to the differences in the phonological systems of the languages concerned.

Rule 1

$$[\text{O}] \longrightarrow [va] \left\{ \begin{matrix} u \\ o \end{matrix} \right\} = \#$$

(The suffix -va is added to the borrowed Portuguese words if they end in a final vowel 'u' or 'o').

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	gasto	<i>gāstuva</i>	'payment'
	regimento	<i>regimentu(va)</i>	'regiment'
	sapato	<i>sapattu(va)</i>	'shoe'
	soldado	<i>soldādu(vā)</i>	'soldier'
	tombo	<i>tōmbu(va)</i>	'record/archive'

Rule 2

$$[\text{O}] \longrightarrow [ya] \left\{ \begin{matrix} i \\ e \\ a \end{matrix} \right\} = \#$$

When the final vowel of a Portuguese word is 'i', 'e' or 'a', the Sinhala word adds a 'ya' after the final vowel.

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	noticia	<i>nōtisi(ya)</i>	'notice'
	lustre	<i>lustara(ya)</i>	'brightness'
	sala	<i>sāla(ya)</i>	'hall'
	tanque	<i>tānki(ya)</i>	'tank'

Rule 3

$$\left(\begin{matrix} \text{nasalized} \\ \text{vowel} \end{matrix} \right) \longrightarrow \left(\begin{matrix} \text{nasal} \\ \text{consonant} \end{matrix} \right) = \#$$

When a nasalized vowel occurs in Portuguese, it changes into a nasal consonant in Sinhala, before or at the end of a word.

regua	<i>rēgu(va)</i>	'custom house'
alua	<i>alu(vā)</i>	'a sweet'

However, you also observe exceptions to this rule as shown below:-

ue \longrightarrow e

e.g. quejo (Portuguese) = *kēju* (Sinhala) 'cheese'

ai \longrightarrow a

e.g. baioneta (Portuguese) : *bayinettu(va)* (Sinhala) 'bayonet',
 taipe (Portuguese) : *tāppe(ya)* (Sinhala) 'wall'

Rule 5

o \longrightarrow y/V-V

(a glide is inserted between vowels)

When Portuguese has a sequence of two vowels, a 'y' is inserted in Sinhala.

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	Adriano	<i>adriyan</i>	'Adrian',
	Asiatica	<i>asiyātika</i>	'Asiatic'
	baile	<i>bayila</i>	'baila dance'
	diamante	<i>diyamanti(ya)</i>	'diamond'
	vigiador	<i>vijayadōru</i>	'watcher'

Rule 6

[f] \longrightarrow [p]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	farelo	<i>paralu</i>	'wheat bran'
	figura	<i>pigura</i>	'figure of survey'
	forca	<i>pōraka(ya)</i>	'gallows'
	fraude	<i>porōda(ya)</i>	'deceit/fraud'
	rafinado	<i>rapinādu</i>	'refined'

The phonology of the Portuguese language is different from Sinhala. Therefore Sinhala replaces the sound 'f' with the sound 'p'. It is interesting to note that the Sinhala alphabet includes the letter 'f' today. The basic trend to incorporate 'f' into Sinhala must have begun due to its contact with Portuguese.

Rule 7

0 \longrightarrow V/C-C

(a *svarabhakti* vowel is inserted between two consonants)

In Portuguese words with clusters of consonants, where at least one consonant is a semi-vowel, a *svarabhakti* vowel is inserted between the two consonants of the Sinhala word.

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	arco	<i>ārukku(va)</i>	'arch of building'
	colchao	<i>kuliccam(a)</i>	'mattress'
	grado	<i>garādi(ya)</i>	'railing/trellis'
	lacre	<i>lākiri</i>	'sealing wax'
	listra	<i>listara(ya)</i>	'brightness'

Rule 8

[g] \longrightarrow [k]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	figado	<i>pīkudu</i>	'liver'
	guitarra	<i>kittārama</i>	'guitar'
	vigário	<i>vikāri</i>	'vicar'
	vinagre	<i>vinākiri</i>	'vinegar'

Rule 9

[l] \longrightarrow [r]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	bilro	<i>bīralu</i>	'bobbin'
	cabeleira	<i>havariya</i>	'wig'

Rule 10

[r] → [l]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	bilro	<i>bīralu</i>	'bobbin'
	pranch	<i>palañci(ya)</i>	'scaffolding'

Rule 11

[b] → [v]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	biscoito	<i>viskōtu</i>	'biscuit'
	cabaleira	<i>havariya</i>	'wig'

Rule 12

[b] → [p]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	bomba	<i>pompaya</i>	'pump'
	trombeta	<i>trompettu(va)</i>	'trumpet'

Rule 13

[v] → [b]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
	varanda	<i>barāñdaya</i>	'verandah'
	varrao	<i>barama</i>	'boar, pig'
	verruma	<i>buruma</i>	'gimlet'

Rule 14

[v] → [p]

e.g. Salvadoru (Portuguese) : salpadōru (Sinhala) 'saviour'

Rule 15

[nh] → [ññ]

	Portuguese	Sinhala	Gloss
e.g.	cafrinho	<i>kapriñña</i>	'kaffrinha'
	companha	<i>kompañña</i>	'company'

frasquinho	<i>fraskiñña</i>	'little flask'
ravkinho	<i>ravkiñña</i>	'violin'

We have dealt with the lexical and phonological borrowings from Portuguese into Sinhala in this paper and formulated phonological rules. Evidence is not found in our research to indicate syntactic borrowings from Portuguese into Sinhala. In conclusion, we—agreeing with other linguistic researchers - would like to point out that lexical and phonological borrowings are easier than syntactic borrowings.

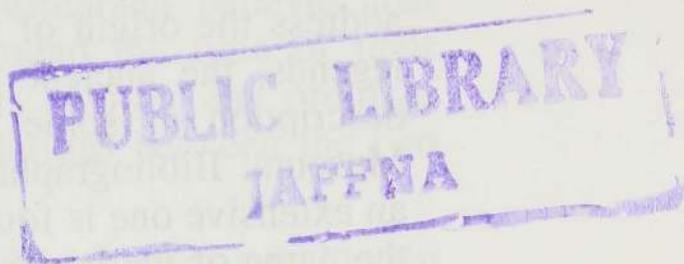
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Comments on V. Vitharana's Sri Lankan-Maldivian Cultural Affinities

By

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Vitharana, V. 1997. *Sri Lankan-Maldivian Cultural Affinities*. Mattegodagama, Polgasovita, Sri Lanka: Academy of Sri Lankan Culture. (231pp). Available from: Buddhist Cultural Centre; 125 Anderson Road, Nedimala, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka.

Sri Lankan-Maldivian Cultural Affinities by V. Vitharana (1997) is a recent publication that catalogues a vast array of cultural artefacts which Maldivians and Sinhalese share ranging from language, palaeography, pre-Islamic religions (both folk and organised), architecture, poetry, handicrafts, etc. Given the scarcity of scholarly material on the Maldives, this latest work is met with great enthusiasm by researchers interested in that island nation. Unfortunately the work's potential is never fully realised because of a multiplicity of errors stemming in part by Vitharana's lack of knowledge of the Maldives and the Maldivian language (Divehi), by a very selective presentation of material, and by a failure to provide a broad enough regional context for the current study. It is even more unfortunate that because of the current state of knowledge regarding the Maldives, many of these errors will go unchecked. In this review, I will address some of these, and if possible, ameliorate them. There are, however, some very significant contributions in *Cultural Affinities* that pertain to the antiquity of some of the cultural features which the Sinhalese share with the Maldives, and with his knowledge and scholarly research in all things pertaining to the Sinhalese, Vitharana sets these forth clearly.

Vitharana wishes to show that the Maldivian's cultural roots are entirely and solely of Sinhala origin, and that the Maldivians themselves are descendants of Sinhalese who migrated there over several centuries from perhaps around the 5th c. A.D. up until the 11th c. A.D. (Vitharana 1997). After a geographical and historical overview (chapters 1 and 2 respectively), he presents supporting evidence of his thesis in a number of areas: the Divehi language (chapter 3), pre-Islamic archaeology (chapter 4), and cultural features of the Islamic period

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(chapter 5). Conclusions are given in chapter 6, *The Peopling of the Maldives*. A number of appendices augment this study. The first three offer critiques of other researchers' work; M.W.S De Silva (1972), Maloney (1980), and Heyerdahl (1986) respectively. Other appendices address the origin of the Girāvaru people in the Maldives, Maldivian legends, the ancient Sinhalese sailing craft called the Yātrā, and a description of some Maldivian Buddhist artefacts in the Colombo Museum. Bibliographies are provided at the end of each chapter, and an extensive one is found at the back of the book. These do not provide the name of the books' publishers, regrettably. Several plates illustrate some of Maldivian artefacts, but these are by no means comprehensive. A very helpful index is given in the back.

The introductory material on the Maldives in chapters one and two gives a good overview, especially of the history (pp.1-13). Vitharana's compilation of possible and probable ancient references to the Maldives from a wide range of sources is very useful. Vitharana provides ample evidence that the Maldives had a well organised social structure by the 5th c. A.D. as described by Fa Hsien in 413 A.D. (Giles 1953), and it is probable that one of the first references to the Maldives dates back to Ptolemy in the 2nd c. A.D. (McCrindle 1927). Vitharana presents a number of other references as well and discusses each in terms of their likelihood of referring to the Maldives (pp. 6-8). The absence of any map of the area detracts from presentation of geographical background in chapter one. In the same chapter, Vitharana wrongly states that there is a paucity of beach-crabs in the Maldives (p.2). Evidently, the author was not able to travel to any other island besides the capital, and did not have access to reliable information. In the historical overview (ch. 2) Vitharana claims that the change from the *ēvēlā akuru* 'ancient letters' to *dives akuru* was due to the Islamicization of the Maldives, "thus symbolising the current trend to relinquish all that was possible of the old pre-1153 period (p.9)." However, both of these scripts are quite alike with some stylistic variation. Like mediaeval Sinhala scripts which they resemble, they both run left to right. Perhaps Vitharana meant the change from *dives akuru* to *tāna* (Thaana) in the 16th c. - 17th c. A.D. Thaana is a unique creation of the Maldives that runs right to left like Arabic, and is still very much in use today (Gair and Cain 1996).

Vitharana's discussion of the Maldivian (Divehi) language in relation to Sinhala in chapter three (pp. 14-95) demonstrates both an inadequate knowledge of the former and a thorough grounding in the latter. Vitharana begins this chapter by citing a number of writers beginning with Chitty (1830) who rightly claim that Divehi and Sinhala are closely related. Geiger (1919) is cited extensively here and throughout the chapter, and much is made of Geiger's hypothesis that

Divehi came from Sinhala as late as the 10th c. Vitharana then states, "...the probable period of eight centuries of independent evolution of the Divehi language accounting for all the difference that exists [between Sinhala and Divehi] (p.16)." So, Vitharana believes that Divehi was not a separate language until around the time of their conversion to Islam in the 12th c. Yet, he fails to offer any proof of this, and merely catalogues a number of similarities between the two languages.

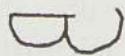
To substantiate his claim, he needs to demonstrate that Divehi conforms to all the sound changes, and morphological patterns found in Sinhala up until the 12th c. Once a sound change is found in Sinhala that does not occur in Divehi, he could pinpoint the approximate time the languages separated from their proto form. Unfortunately, such careful historical linguistics is not found in this chapter. If he had made careful comparisons, he would have discovered that Divehi and Sinhala show some evidence of divergence some 800 years prior to the 12th c. I give here only one example. An umlaut process was present in Sinhala as early as the 4th c. A.D. in which long vowels \bar{a} , \bar{u} , and o became \bar{e} \bar{i} , and e respectively when followed by i in the nucleus of the next syllable. These long vowels later shortened around the 8th c. A.D. (Karunatilake 1969). So, whereas Pali has *dāni* 'thereupon', Sinhala has *dæn*. Divehi has *den* and except for the height of the fronted vowel, appears to conform to the umlaut pattern. On closer examination however, one finds that the vowels u and o do not umlaut in Divehi past tense verbs: Di. *fumi* 'jumped', Si. *Pænna* 'jumped' (where the /i/ ending was later dropped). If it is the case that Sinhala immigrants continued coming in droves after the 4th c., and that Sinhala was spoken in the Maldives as late as the 12th c., why are the umlaut patterns not the same? One reasonable interpretation of this data suggests that the umlaut rule for the two languages is not the same and that the Divehi and Sinhala separated from their parent language prior to the 4th c. A.D. As that parent language is not the same as either of its daughters, I question the appropriateness of Vitharana identifying it as Sinhala (pp.28-29), and prefer instead the more neutral term of "Proto-Sinhala-Divehi"

Vitharana continues his presentation of the Divehi language with a section on palaeography, and claims that the *ēvēlā akuru* script in 12th c. copper land grants (called *lōmāfānu*) is a "unique and incontestable source of evidence to the origin of the Maldivian people and their pre-Islamic culture. Hence, it is intended in the present study to focus due attention on this script only (p.17)." Surely, Vitharana knows that there is no direct correlation between scripts and ethnic identity and history. (Are the people of Pakistan Semitic because they have an Arabic based script?) He goes on to show that this script is also

found on some stele featuring demonic faces, that are perhaps some of the oldest writing found in the Maldives. He traces the *ēvēlā* writing back to Sri Lanka, and suggests that the script came to the Maldives with the “original immigrants” and followed similar lines of development as the mediaeval Sinhala script from their Brāhmic origins (p.23). He also tries to tie the shape of certain characters like the two <m>’s to two different immigrations, one <m> coming with one wave of immigration and another with the later (10th and 11th c. respectively). Vitharana thus perpetuates the idea that script usage is tied to ethnic identity somehow. He is careful to note some of the differences of the *ēvēlā* and mediaeval Sinhala scripts (p.20-21), but doesn’t give reasons why such differences exist. In this connection, Vitharana rejects any South Indian influence on the script whatsoever (p.161), and is apparently in disagreement with Bell’s observation about Maldives former script, namely, “The obvious affinity of the old writing - not so much with Mediaeval Sinhalese as to the Tulu of the Malabar Districts of Southern India, which lie opposite the Lakkadive and Maldivian Islands; or doubtless, even more nearly to an older Grantha type of Tulu-Malayalam...” (Bell 1919). Such statements by Bell whom Vitharana calls an “accomplished researcher and scientist” (p. 174) do not enter the discussion at this point.

Vitharana makes much of the shape of <sa> in the *ēvēlā akuru* and states that its shape is, “uncommon to all inscriptions of Sri Lanka, except one,” a 7th century four word epigraph at Mulgirigala, located five miles north of Tangalla on the South Central coast of Sri Lanka. He further concludes that emigrants from this region left for the Maldives around the 7th c. A.D. (p.23). Unfortunately, Vitharana furnishes no example of the Mulgirigala <sa> for the reader to compare the two. I give both below:

ēvēlā akuru <sa>:



Mulgirigala<sa>:



The *ēvēlā akuru* <sa> facsimile is based on photographs of the stele provided courtesy of the *Kon Tiki Museum*, and the Mulgirigala <sa> comes from *Epigraphia Zeylanica* (Karunaratne 1984: 118, and Fig.32). The Mulgirigala <sa> is very much like the one found in the Vessagiriya inscriptions of the 6th c. A.D. (EZ iv, plate 15). Based on my observations of these characters, I fail to see how the *ēvēlā akuru* <sa> is the same as that in Mulgirigala, and consider Vitharana’s conclusion based on the supposed similarity between the two as premature.

After discussing the old scripts, Vitharana goes on to make some comments on the Thaana alphabet but without furnishing any examples

of it. He mistakenly identifies it as a “syllabary” (p.25). Thaana characters have no inherent vowels as other Indic scripts do, and vowels must be explicitly noted through the use of diacritics. In cases where no vowel follows the consonantal character, a special diacritic called “sukun” (⁰) must be used. He errs even further by stating, “The halfnasal before the voiced stops... is vocalised in Divehi as in Sinhala, although it is not symbolically represented in written Divehi.” The half-nasal or prenasalised stop is represented in Thaana by the letter <n> (), followed by the stop character. The prenasalised stop /ⁿg/, for example, is represented by:  (reading from right to left). It is also wrongly stated that Sinhala half-nasal becomes full nasal in Divehi as in Si *æⁿ gili* ‘finger’ and Div. **ingili*, and that in some words the nasal was dropped altogether as in **kibu* ‘crocodile’ (p.27). The correct Div. forms are actually *iⁿ gili* and *ki^m bū* respectively. In the case of the latter, the half-nasal is sometimes not written and Vitharana may have confused a transliterated form of the word for the actual pronunciation. He also states that Div. has no retroflex *ŋ* in its alphabet. This is only partly right. In the standard dialect, *ŋ* had ceased to be contrastive with *n* in the standard dialect by the middle of this century, but it is still contrastive in the Addu Atoll dialect, and in some idiolects of the former nobility in Malé (Xavier Romero-Frias, personal communication). The Thaana symbol for *ŋ* is . Vitharana also claims that orthographic <ai> is pronounced as long *ā* in Divehi (p.26). This is true only for some dialects (i.e., Malé). In other areas <ai> is pronounced as [ā] or [ai]. For the sibilants, he mistakes the Divehi <ṣ> with Sanskrit <ṣa> (p.28). The former is uniquely Maldivian and derived from *t*, and symbolised in Thaana as . Compare 12th c. Divehi <raṭa> with modern <raṣ> ‘island’ (phonemically /raṣ/, pronounced as [raʔ]).

In phonological comparisons, Vitharana often overstates his case for the late Sinhala origin of Divehi. When he gives lists of correspondences between Sinhala and Divehi, for example, he does so by stating that the Sinhala sound “becomes” the Divehi sound (p.30). This is true even when the Divehi form reflects the older sound. As a case in point, Vitharana claims that Sin. /æ/ becomes Div. /a/ as evidenced in Sin. *nækæt* and Div. *nakat* ‘asterism’ (misrepresented as *nakayi*). However, the Sanskrit is *nakṣatra*. Unlike Geiger’s work (1919), the Sanskrit, Pali, Prakrit forms are not provided in these lists of correspondences, and the reader must rely on Vitharana’s judgement.

This section is further marred by the author’s lack of knowledge of some of the basics of Divehi phonology. He wrongly states that Sinhala /m/ becomes Divehi /n/ as in Si. *kæ* “dum” > Dir. *he* “dun” ‘clothing’ (p.35). In actual fact, finally all nasals neutralise to [y] in Divehi as they do in Colloquial Sinhala, but when followed by a vowel

initial suffix such as *-ek* ‘a, an’, the underlying form resurfaces as in *hedumek* ‘a piece of clothing’. Vitharana’s confusion probably stems from sources that give the official Maldivian Romanised form that writes <n> for the neutralised nasal. The same might be true of Vitharana’s treatment of what is written in some sources as <h>. Vitharana wrongly takes this as the aspirate /h/, and draws faulty conclusions based on it. The official Romanised <h>, actually stands for word final glottal stop [ʔ] which is the allophonic neutralisation of /k/ and /ʃ/: /fak/ [faʔ] <fah> ‘saw tooth’, and /raʃ/ [raʔ] <rah> ‘island’. So, Vitharana’s conclusion that Sinhala /t/ has now softened to /h/ in Divehi is simply wrong (p.37). I also mention here that word final /t/ in Divehi neutralises to glottal word finally as well but creates a y-offglide on the preceding vowel in addition, so that /fot/ ‘book’ is pronounced as [foʔ]. In official Romanisation, word final /t/ is written <iy> as in *foiy* ‘book’. Vitharana has confused things further by metathesis of the <iy> in the data he provides (/fot/ rendered as *foyi*), and takes the resultant *yi* as the actual phonological form. He renders Div. ‘hand’, for example, as *ayi*, whereas the actual word is /at/ [aʔ]. In other cases, consonants that are allophonically glottal word finally are left out altogether; *o ‘camel’ for /oʃ/ [oʔ], *ko ‘do’ for /koʃ/ [koʔ]. Ironically, had Vitharana known the phonology, he would have seen even closer and more consistent correspondences between Divehi and Sinhala.

Other errors in this section include: the failure to mark half-nasals and/or writing them as full nasals (**ambi* ‘wife’ and **abi* ‘woman’ for *a^mbi* in both instances), rendering /ʃ/ as /r/ (**muri* ‘hammer’, **naran* ‘dancing’ for *muʃi* and *naʃan* respectively), simply wrong forms (Si. *kaṭu*, Div. **kara* ‘thorn’ for *kaʃi*), and a multiplicity of incorrect glosses. Typographical errors are also quite common, but this is inevitable perhaps in such an extensive work. On the whole, the accuracy of the Divehi data in this section is highly suspect. Had Vitharana availed himself of easily accessible sources such as *Say it in Maldivian* by Hasan Maniku and J. B. Disanayaka (1990), he would have understood the basics of how the Romanised script works, and would have also found an excellent source of vocabulary.

The area of morphology also suffers from inadequate research. Vitharana appears to rely entirely on Geiger’s (1919) work, and does not avail himself of more current information. So, in recounting the verb conjugations he replicates Geiger’s error of conflating different tenses (p.44). For example, one finds *balaifi* ‘saw’ grouped with *ai* ‘came’ as past tense forms, when in reality the former is perfect. It is regrettable that Vitharana apparently did not check with his colleagues at Colombo University who together with Maldivian scholars have carried out extensive field work on Divehi as reported in their

Historical and Linguistic Survey of Dhivehi (Wijesundera, S, et al. 1988) This unpublished but widely circulated work would have furnished him with far more accurate information. On nominal morphology, Vitharana is rather original in drawing a parallel with Sin. -æ with the [æ] articulation found in the Malé pronunciation of the Divehi locative case -gai [gǣ] by overlooking the -g (p.42). The two are not etymologically related. The source for the Div. locative case is unclear, but it may be related to the Persian *gah* meaning 'place', and shows up only after the 12th c. A.D.

This chapter closes with several glossaries that if it were not for some of the errors cited above, would be a tremendous contribution. The accuracy of the data is questionable. There are some Divehi words given that I have not met with, and the source of them is not cited (i.e. *asa* for 'pupil'). I will not belabour that point here as a list of such questionable forms would be long and tedious. The glossary giving the numerals does merit some special attention however (pp.62-68). The list of numerals cited are accurate, and Pali and Hindi forms are also provided along with the Sinhala. His analysis of the numbering system, though, is contestable. In every case where the Divehi numeral conforms more closely to Pali (i.e., '3' Si. *tuna*, Div. *tin*, Pa. *ti*) he claims that it is borrowed. If Maldivians were speaking the same language as Sinhalese practically until the time of Islamic conversion as the author claims, then it is not at all clear why the former would borrow from Pali when the latter did not.

Vitharana also challenges De Silva's observation that the Divehi counting device that utilises multiplication is unknown in Sinhala. De Silva (1970) is referring to such numerals as *hat diha deek* '72' made up of '7', '10', and '2' to be figured by $(7 \times 10) + 2$. Vitharana insists that such numerals are in Sinhala as well as seen in examples of poetic renderings that are made of all kinds of combinations of multiplication and addition. He admits that the Sinhala poetic expressions are "too cumbersome for every-day use," and further suggests that in Divehi as well, "...this is not a 'counting device' as such. No Maldivian would keep counting... *aṣuḥatti* '68', *onahayitari* '69' *hatdiha* '70' ...he would end this by *hayitari* '70' (p.67)." Vitharana confuses two different counting systems here. There are actually three counting systems in the Maldives: the duo-decimal system '72' *fāhiti/fāheti* (12×6), the multiplication and addition system '72' *haytdihadēk* ($7 \times 10 + 2$) and a typical Indic system; *dāhattari* (Maniku 1995). The duo-decimal system has fallen into disuse, but the other two are very common in daily life. De Silva's observation stands, therefore. Furthermore, it is not yet known where either the duo-decimal system or the multiplication and addition system came from. For the former Maloney (1980) claims that it is nowhere to be found in South Asia, but one

like it existed in Mesopotamia. They apparently are not of Sinhala origin.

Although the Divehi data presented in this chapter is somewhat dubious, there are some genuine contributions made here for those who have access to Divehi elsewhere. For many of the linguistic forms which Divehi and Sinhala share, Vitharana has painstakingly cited where such forms can be found in Sinhala classical literature and inscriptions. For example, the participle *gos* 'having gone' is in both languages, and Vitharana finds it in the 10th c. Sinhala work *Dhampiyā Atuvā Gætāpadaya* (Jayatilaka, 1932). He does the same in the glossaries as well. Of particular interest are the shared forms found in the Divehi copper plate land grants of the 12th c. and Mediaeval Sinhala (pp.47-55). These provide a wealth of information, and speak highly of Vitharana's scholarship in the area of classical Sinhala.

In chapter four, *Pre-Islamic Archaeology of the Maldive Islands* (p.96-121), Vitharana discusses a number of archaeological finds that pre-date the advent of Islam in the islands. These include heads and figures of the Buddha, a figurine of the goddess Tārā, some human effigies, sculptured faces of demons, votive slabs, and the remains of Buddhist edifices. His conclusion is that all this evidence points back to Sri Lanka, and to the particular forms of Buddhism practised there, and he may very well be correct. However, Vitharana does not really address how much these artefacts might have in common with the Buddhism in the entire region, and in South India in particular. Some of these artefacts are unlike those in Sri Lanka, but the idea that they may indicate a general Buddhist influence in the history of the South Asia is never seriously considered. One engraved Buddha figure, for example, features hair depicted "in comparatively large triangular shapes pointing upwards" in a way not depicted in Sri Lankan art (p.98). While noting this peculiarity, Vitharana does not look anywhere else in the region beyond Sri Lanka for its source. Likewise for the Tārā goddess figure of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The Maldivian Tārā has right leg hanging down, left one tucked up against the body in the *pralambapāda mudrā* position. In Sri Lanka, a figure of Tārā was found at Tiriyāyi from 8th c. but in *pralambapapāda* pose (both legs hanging downward) (pp.98-99). The figures are similar but different. Furthermore, this clear artefact of Mahāyāna Buddhism begs the question of how widespread Mahāyāna was throughout Southern India, but Vitharana does not address that issue. It is not, however, a Sinhalese-Maldivian affinity unshared with their neighbours.

Two of the most interesting artefacts discussed in this chapter are the stelae featuring carved demon faces and *ēvēlā akuru* writing (pp. 102-109). He describes both in detail (one rectangular block, the other conical), and furnishes a preliminary attempt at transcribing the

characters, and some translated phrases as well. Pictures of these, and a facsimile of the writing are found in the plates in the back of the book. This may be one of the most valuable contributions of *Cultural Affinities*. I know of no one else who has furnished such detail about these stelae. I would add to his observations by pointing out that on the conical stele are four symbols surrounding a demonic face, two on each side: the vajra and sword on the right, and the axe and bow on the left. These give clear indications of the Mahāyāna nature of these sculptures. He sees parallels between these faces with the demon masks of Sri Lanka, and with those on the *bali* effigies made of clay, “specially those of *dēva sanniya*, and *maru*, *kava* and *nāga rākṣas* (Goonatilaka 1978) and on the *yak* (demon) *bali* of the planetary ritual called *bali yāgaya* - the *dasā krōdha*, *asura maṅgala* and the four *hin bali* (Sedaraman 1964).” As these Sinhala figures are not easily accessible for many readers, it would have been good to include at least some line drawings of them so that the reader could make comparisons. In my own research, I could not clearly identify any of the stele figures with Sri Lankan masks. Such common depictions as fangs are not determinative. In that respect some of the Maldivian demon figures resemble the *Bhairawa* of Nepal. What Vitharana fails to note is that the very nature of these figures is not found anywhere else in South Asia. They are stelae, not masks. Some have suggested in this regard that the figures resemble the stelae found in Indonesia. Research concerning their origin is still under way.

Vitharana correctly identifies the inscriptions on these stelae as some type of mantra, possibly to ward off evil spirits. Such mantras are said to be common in southern Sri Lanka as well, the same area where demonic masks originate (pp. 107-108). These mantras are difficult to make out partly due to nature of the coral limestone inscriptions, and partly due to the cryptic nature of such mantras. Vitharana has made a good start at it, however, and I am glad to see his findings in print. There is a question here again of how common such mantras were in the region some fifteen hundred years ago, along with the demonology and exorcism belief system they attend.

After discussing the various artefacts, Vitharana concludes that the type of Buddhism practised in the Maldives was exactly the same as that found in Sri Lanka, and that the remains indicate a time frame of the 8th c. A.D. and afterwards (pp. 119-120). Without a wider context, the reader cannot conclude this so easily. It is not a question of whether or not the ruins found in the Maldives are like those in Sri Lanka, but whether or not the commonality of the features shared in the Buddhist artefacts in Maldives and Sri Lanka are unique in Southern India area, and to what extent. How do all these artefacts relate to the Buddhism that once flourished in South India? How do the Buddhist artefacts

found in the Southern Atolls compare with those in the North? Does one area reflect more Sri Lankan influence than another? Does the distribution of Buddhist ruins tell us anything about how widespread Buddhism was in the Maldives, and how monolithic was it? While Vitharana has made a valuable contribution to this study, it is by no means complete.

In chapter five, Vitharana continues to compare various cultural features shared between the Maldives and Sri Lanka that have continued in the Islamic period, and some remain to this day (pp. 122-131). This section includes everything from mat weaving to belief in demons and astrology. Here again, many of the items are not unique in the region, but no indication is given on how the cultural artefacts fit into the South Asia area as a whole.

Chapter five also includes a discussion about Maldivian poetry. The author claims that a genre of poetry in the Maldives known as *raivaru* came only from Sinhala influence. He cites three verses in the *Muvadevdāvata* (12th c. Si.) that supposedly fit the Divehi *raivaru* syllable pattern of 8-11-11-11 in the four line pattern conforming to the Si. *gajagāmi* or *gajagæmi* meter. Maloney, on the other hand, has suggested that *raivaru* may have developed from similar patterns in Tamil Sangam (period) poetry, and he notes that all four major Dravidian languages feature rhyming of the initial syllable as found in *raivaru* (Maloney 1980). Whatever the case may be, the four line pattern to which Vitharana refers is not Divehi *raivaru* and his claims about its origin are highly questionable. Divehi *raivaru* consists of either three line or six (or more) line stanzas. The metre is not calculated in terms of syllables, but of metric weight. Syllables with short vowels have one mora. Closed syllables and syllables with long vowels or diphthongs have two. For the three-line *raivaru* stanza, the pattern is 12-13-11 morae for each of the three lines respectively. The six-line stanza is 10-12-12-12-13-11 morae. In addition, there is a rhyming pattern whereby the first syllables of every line rhyme, as do the last, except that the last two stanzas set up a final syllable rhyme with themselves. In order to conform to this pattern, permutation of syllables in any given line is allowed (Dhivehi 1998). As complicated as it may seem, *raivaru* was widespread until very recently, and used on all occasions. Fishermen would engage in spontaneous *raivaru* competitions when they met other boats. Potential lovers used *raivaru* when gauging the affections of another, and parents used *raivaru* to give advice to their children. It is indeed sad to see this rich cultural heritage on the wane among the current generation.

The final chapter of *Cultural Affinities* brings together the various “evidences” of the close relationship between the Maldivian and Sinhala cultures, and Vitharana’s conclusions (pp. 131-152). First,

he rejects speculations that a Dravidian race may have inhabited the islands earlier than the Sinhala immigrants, as some have suggested by identifying the Nagas of early Sri Lankan Pali chronicles with that ethnic group.

He then goes on to cite several writers who speak of Maldivians being ethnically related to the Sinhalese: Gray (1888), Bell (1940), Maniku (1980), and Maloney (1980). This is, of course, true, but researchers are also careful to note that there is ethnic mixture as well (*ibid.*). There is a difference in claiming that Maldivians “are descendants of the Sinhala people” (p.135), and that they are *primarily* related to the Sinhalese. As many travellers through the atolls can attest, there are some significant differences in the physical appearance of the Maldivians in skin tone, build, hair quality, shape of the nose, and eyes that attest to the racial mix. Vitharana concedes that others came to the Maldives as well, but suggests that all other groups were small and fused into the Sinhala majority culture that was “somewhat uniformly” settled in all the islands (p. 139). In Vitharana’s scenario none of these other groups made any contributions to the cultural make-up of the Maldives. The impression one gets from Vitharana’s description is that the Maldives is nothing more than an out-post of Sinhala mediaeval culture.

Part of Vitharana’s proofs include the assertion that there is no evidence to the prevalence of any other script besides the *ēvēlā akuru* (which he claims is only of Sinhala origin) (p.135). This assertion is somewhat inaccurate, depending on what is meant by “prevalence”. The *ēvēlā akuru* is found only on two copper plate grants, and a few demon sculptures. Those two copper plates (*lōmafānu*) also feature a Nagari script in the signature seal of the king, and in the names and titles of the ministers who witnessed the document (*Loamaafaanu* 1982) (Maniku and Wijayawardhana 1986). This suggests that the Nagari script was considered prestigious at the time in much the same way that Arabic is today. This Nagari script has also been found on the lid of some type of votive box that was unearthed in Maalhos of Ari Atoll. The writing is probably a mantra of some type. The box itself is made of coral limestone (an indigenous item), and features symbols associated with Mahayana Buddhism. The presence of both scripts give testimony to influences from different areas.

Vitharana also claims that there is no evidence to the currency of any other language except one closely related to Sinhala. Maloney has pointed out, however, that Dravidian influence is seen in the language in a number of areas, including some island names (Maloney 1980). As is well known, place names are one of the most conservative

features of a language. Vitharana (p. 173) addresses only one of the sixteen islands Maloney cites.

Another assertion that Vitharana makes is that there is no evidence of the practice of any formal religion other than Buddhism. Certainly Buddhism was wide spread throughout the islands as it was in the entire region, but it may be premature to say that there was no other religion practised. Among pre-Islamic artefacts found in the Maldives is another coral limestone box featuring several engraved images on its sides. One of these is of a male figure dancing. The dancer has what appears to be a snake draped around his arms, and may be the image of Shiva. Another image appears to be of a venerated sage. Efforts are currently underway at the National Centre for Linguistic and Historical Research (Male) to positively identify this artefact. As is the case elsewhere, Vitharana's categorical statements are difficult to accept without reservation.

With the addition of some qualifications, Vitharana's conclusions become reasonable, namely that the Maldives was settled in *large measure* by Aryans from Sri Lanka who spoke an early form of Sinhala, and that the religion which they brought with them was Buddhism. Theirs became the *dominant* culture of the islands. The question then arises as to when these settlers first came. Vitharana (pp.140-141) gives a good summary of various positions held in the literature on the subject: beginning of the Christian era (Gray 1888), beginning or some time early in the Christian era (Bell 1940), as late as the 11th - 12th c. A.D. (Geiger 1900). The author rightly recognises the problem that there is no way to establish how far back the first settlers might have come. He cites the observations of ancient travellers, and the carbon dating of stupa remains as evidence that the islands were well developed by the middle of the 6th c. A.D. (Heyerdahl 1986). So, the first settlers from the Sinhala of Sri Lanka had to be prior to this time. Vitharana also believes that significant migrations continued from Sri Lanka up until the 11th c. A.D. As to the particular place from which these settlers came, Vitharana suggests the South and Southwest coastal areas of Sri Lanka and puts forth sound arguments for this, including a description of the area's sea-going expertise at the beginning of the Christian era (p. 143). He further suggests that these settlers were proto-Karāvas, a fishing community in southern Sri Lanka, and presents very convincing evidence for this, including the method of fishing, and the resemblance of many family names (pp.147-148).

Throughout *Cultural Affinities*, Vitharana is diligent to deny any other contributing cultural influence in pre-Islamic Maldives than that of the Sinhalese. Such a strong stance puts him at odds with other scholars on the subject, and he must address some of their reasons for believing otherwise. This is what he attempts to do in the Appendices

I-III (pp.153-186) which deal with theories put forth by De Silva (1970b), Maloney (1980), and Heyerdahl (1986) respectively. For the last of these, his criticism of Heyerdahl's evidence for ancient sun god worshippers as the Maldives original inhabitants is well argued, and insightful. I wish, however, that he had discussed the scholarly publication of Heyerdahl's expeditions as given in *Archaeological Test-excavations on the Maldive islands* (Skjølsvold 1991).

The first of the appendices (pp. 153-162) challenges the claims made by De Silva in *Some Observations on the History of Maldivian* (1970b). De Silva put forth several arguments for why he believed that there was a pre-Sinhala substratum in the Maldives that came from Aryans that settled there at the same that Sri Lanka was settled (circa 5th c. B.C.). De Silva also suspects that some of the resemblance between current Divehi and Sinhala is due in part to the Dravidian influence on both languages. De Silva advances several linguistic arguments, and some of these are weak and easily defeated (Reynolds 1974 and 1978). Vitharana defeats another by successfully challenging De Silva's assertion that the Divehi copula marker *-akī* is of pre-Christian-Sinhala origin. He does so by carefully analysing the supposed occurrence of this copula in the *Dhampiyā Aṭuvā Gaṭapadaya* (p. 159). Vitharana challenges some other of De Silva's claims as well, but not as convincingly. He makes no assault, however, on one of De Silva's most interesting observations, namely, that the behaviour of the palatals in Divehi is very different from that in Sinhala in many instances. For example, Sans. *rujā* 'pain' is Div. *riha*, *rissum*, but Si. *ridum* (1970b: 159), thus Sans. *j > h* for Divehi, but *> d* for Sinhala. This pattern is seen in many words, and suggests that the proto **j* in these words conforms to different sound rules than those found in proto-Sinhala as early as the 2nd c. A.D. (Karunatillake 1969), and it is difficult to find a plausible reason for why such forms exist. These forms may be the relics of an earlier sub-stratum as De Silva has suggested, but the matter is far from being settled.

The most exhaustive and documented study of the Maldives to date is that of Clarence Maloney's *People of the Maldive Islands* (1980). With his strong background in Dravidian societies, Maloney points out several ways that the Maldivians may have been impacted by their closest neighbours to the north, and proposes that a Tamil-Malayalam sub-stratum exists in the islands. He gives ten sound arguments for this, and documents each one carefully. The onus is on Vitharana to mount a convincing challenge to Maloney's research (pp. 163-179). Vitharana's tactics in this regard are very disappointing. Maloney speculates about Maldives' early history by tentatively identifying the Nagas of Sri Lanka legend with a Dravidian people. According to legend, the Nagas were the original inhabitants of Sri

Lanka, and were expelled by the Aryan invaders. Maloney conjectures that the Maldives was their place of exile. He also speculates that Gujaratis, who have an ancient tradition of seamanship, settled in some of the northern atolls. Vitharana takes great exception to such theorising, and is vitriolic in his attack, describing Maloney as “cock-sure”, etc. Vitharana (p. 166) writes, “...the author (Maloney) is *certain* that ‘ship wrecked Gujaratis and exiles were the early settlers in the Northern Islands (1978) (emphasis mine).” But Maloney has been misrepresented, compare: “It *may be*, therefore, that shipwrecked Gujarātīs, as well as exiles, were early settlers on the northern islands of the Maldives group (1980) (emphasis mine).” Maloney is only presenting his ideas as a possibility, a lesson that should not be lost on the author.

The ten pieces of evidence that Maloney (1980) gives of a possible Tamil-Malayālam substratum are:

1. Girāvaru legend (a group in Maldives who claim to be of Dravidian ancestry)
2. Dravidian vocabulary items in Divehi not coming via Sinhala.
3. Dravidian-like kinship system.
4. Matrilineal patterns in queens and matrilineal inheritance (a pattern seen in Lakshadvīp and matrilineal groups in Kerala),
5. Ward system of governance called “atiri”.
6. Residual caste system probably adapted from Kerala.
7. Dance and poetry forms “clearly derived from Tamil and Malayālam”.
8. “Old elements of religion” and names of spirits that are Hindu in origin.
9. Physical appearance
10. Names of some islands derived from Tamil-Malayālam.

Many of these Vitharana never addresses, and of those he does address, his reasoning is faulty, as seen elsewhere in this review. Rather than dealing substantively with Maloney’s arguments, he cites errors of glossing and the like, and sometimes makes errors of his own in doing so. For example, Maloney (1980) cites *vo* (Addu *veṣā*) ‘lamp’ as from Sans. *vartti* with no Sinhala cognate. Vitharana incorrectly writes *vō* and proclaims, “No known phonetic laws would permit it [the change to *o*] (p. 171)”. I beg to differ. The correct form is Di. *voṣ*, cognate with Sinhala *væṭa*, and derived from Sans. *varti* ‘wick’. (Turner

1966-1971). Maloney did not provide the Sinhala cognate, and nor did Vitharana. The Divehi /o/ is due to the ablaut of the vowel preceding a retroflex consonant, but Addu dialect *veṣa* shows umlaut without subsequent ablaut. After dealing superficially with some of Maloney's arguments, Vitharana exclaims, "So, that is all the substrata... such a sub-stratum simply does not exist (p.174)."

Often the discussion in this appendix takes on a very emotional tone. Consider Vitharana's reaction to Maloney's use of the word "export" to describe the spread of Buddhism in the Maldives (p.175):

No worse insult may be cast on the role that Sri Lanka played in the task of the preservation and diffusion of Theravāda Buddhism in the Asian region. Export implies that a commodity is dispatched from one country to another on the basis of trade, i.e., with the motive of gathering profit in money and material. The diffusion of Buddhism from Sri Lanka was the result of a spiritual activity performed by learned and devoted monks and nuns at the risk of their very lives on the invitation of eminent personalities of the recipient country.

One wonders why Vitharana has taken offense when the context of Maloney's statement reveals nothing derogatory about Buddhism.

Another area which raises Vitharana's rancour is anything that suggests Dravidian influence in the Maldives. Again he misreads Maloney: "Now here is a statement which takes the cake (!): 'old *Dravidian* writing came from Sri Lanka... at the time' (75), i.e. to the Maldives." Maloney (1980) actually wrote: "Old *Divehi* writing came from Sri Lanka at that time [9th to 12th centuries, a time of Buddhism's expansion]." Maloney thus agrees with Vitharana by stating that *ēvēlā* script came from Sri Lanka around the 9th c. To misquote a colleague and then attack the misquote in such strong terms is hardly professional.

Vitharana's criticism of Maloney continues even more severely. He believes that Maloney has paid undue attention to the supposed exceptions (i.e., those that are not Sinhala) in both culture and language, and describes the situation as "inexplicable" (p. 179). Vitharana thus accuses Maloney:

Reading through these few pages containing some extracts from a few chapters of the learned scholar's work of several hundred pages and our brief comments thereto, one may come to realise the pains *that the author [Maloney] has inadvertently taken to keep a people and their language away from whatever honour that is their due, and to confer prestige upon another people and their language even at the cost of logical and historical aberration.* That such an exercise demands intellectual exertion

of a high order is beyond doubt, much as the fact that it gives food for thought to inquiring minds. But it tends to feed the general readership (which under normal circumstance constitutes the majority, by far) with subject matter of a highly *dubious nature which may contribute to misunderstanding and discord between peoples* If such a situation is brought about consequently, it would be very, very unfortunate! (p.179) (emphasis mine).

In other words, Maloney has through mere conjecture, and dubious research, deprived the Sinhalese of some of the glory that is their due, and appropriated it for Dravidians, and worse still, for Tamils in particular! That such sentiments are found in a purported scholarly work is striking to say the least, but it does serve to furnish the reader a clear indication of the bias in which the research was carried out.

Perhaps we may never know who was in the Maldives first. Dravidians, Aryans (either from the subcontinent or Sri Lankan soil) or perhaps another people are all possibilities. Given the location, it is reasonable to assume that the islands were peopled to some extent in ancient times, and given the proximity to both Sri Lanka and closer proximity to southern India, it is reasonable to expect that immigrants came from both places and others as well. Given the spread of the islands, it is most probable that the history of the country is not homogeneous. We would expect different patterns of settlement and contact between the islands in the far north and the far south. So, a more moderate stance would be to suggest that the Maldives are ethnically and culturally mixed, but that a proto-Sinhala element came to dominate as evidenced by both the pre-Islamic religious artefacts and the Divehi language (which appears to come from the proto-Sinhala-Divehi language of the third century A.D.). But these are my tentative conclusions, not Vitharana's. A definitive study on these matters remains to be done. Such a study would need to do the following:

1. Describe the major cultural traits of the Maldives, including the language.
2. Identify which of these are:
 - a) part of the wider South Asian context
 - b) uniquely shared with the Sinhalese
 - c) uniquely shared with South India/Dravidian societies, and not with the Sinhalese
 - d) uniquely Maldivian.

3. Evaluate each of the above in terms of what they tell us about contact in the area, and possible time frames for when such contact took place.

Perhaps the study that comes closest to doing the above, at least in nonlinguistic areas, is Maloney's (1980), but much remains to be done. Researchers who desire to go still further will find much helpful information in Vitharana's *Cultural Affinities* about what Sinhala and Maldivian cultures have in common. Caution is advised, however, as Vitharana's presentation is very selective and void of a wider South Asian context, and his account of Divehi distorted.

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Flashback to the Dutch Burghers of Ceylon in the mid-fifties

by

Deloraine Brohier

“In literally every walk of life in Sri Lanka, the Dutch Burghers made an outstanding contribution. In doing so, they showed that our national life could be enriched, that there is a contribution to be made, by all the citizens of our diverse society, if only they look beyond the narrow constraints of ethnicity.” These were the words of our present Minister of Foreign Affairs, at a private gathering he hosted on the departure of an outgoing Ambassador for The Netherlands.

Fifty years ago, the Burgher community registered an undeniable image in the composition of the Island's peoples. In terms of statistics, in 1948 the Burghers numbered 42,000 in a total population of eight million, which is close to 0.6 per cent. In terms of their presence in society, and their contribution to the national life of the country, the Burghers made conspicuous impression. In the professions - at the Bench and Bar, as reputed judges and leading lawyers and in the medical field, as skilled surgeons and proficient physicians, Burgher names predominated. In the public sector, as administrators, many were heads of their government departments, as well as in the technical services like that of irrigation, survey or railway. Even in the military and in the defence services - the Army or Navy or Police, the Burghers distinguished themselves. Also in the private sector - the plantation companies and agency houses, in banks and in mercantile enterprises they held senior positions.

Many are the outstanding personalities we can recall, and names that can be remembered. Some of the senior Civil Servants, listing only a few in the 1940s and 1950s, are R.S.V. Poulier, A.E. Christofelsz, L.L. Hunter and R.Y. Daniel; also younger men like W.J.A. (Bert) van Langenberg and Neville Jansz. Alan Demmer was head of the Railway, as was Cecil Speldewinde in Inland Revenue and Louis Blaze in Health.

In the arenas of sport, the Burgher boy - and even the girl, won their laurels. Generations of Kelaarts or Schokmans in cricket, Clair Roeloffsz in Rugger, Doreen Sansoni held her place in Tennis as All Ceylon Women's Champion, the De Kretser sisters in athletics and

the Arndt brothers in swimming. These are only a few picked out at random. In the media - as writers and editors of *Lake House* or the *Times* groups of newspapers, many a Burgher man or woman quietly wielded his or her pen. There were Hilaire Jansz, Jan Modder, and Kenneth Joachim. Pearl Ondaatje, Merle Swan and Mil Sansoni were heard over the airwaves of Radio Ceylon. In the arts - Irene Vanderwall was a talented concert pianist, Aubrey Collette was a clever cartoonist and there was Beling of the 43rd Group of Painters, while George Bevan and George Keyt had begun to be recognised.

Historians, archaeologists, professors and teachers, there were who were Dutch Burghers, such as Andreas Nell, C.W. Nicholas or the R.L.'s, Spittel and Brohier. In the University of Ceylon were many Burghers and besides, there were educationists like L. E. Blaze and Cyril Jansz who founded Kingswood College, Kandy and St. John's College, Panadura, respectively. Gladys Loos and Constance Blacker are remembered as Principals of two leading girl's schools in Colombo.

These men and women of the Burgher community have left great legacies for posterity. Not only associated by name, but as handing down to generations of Sri Lankans who were to follow, the outstanding and lasting contributions of their specializations.. With many, their work was undertaken beyond and outside the prescribed duties of the offices in which they had to serve. Spittel, a Surgeon and much in demand, found time and satisfaction in tramping remote jungle fastnesses to study the Vaeddaas. Nell, one of the Island's early Ophthalmologists and first resident Head of the Victoria Memorial Eye Hospital, spent his weekends amongst the ruins of Anuradhapura and Kurunegala and left invaluable Notes and Memoirs on what he discovered. C.W. Nicholas, Excise Commissioner, was an acknowledged authority of stone and monument. R.L. Brohier, the Surveyor, was to research our ancient irrigation systems, and the lore and legend of our country. E.F.C. (Lyn) Ludowyck, Professor of English in the University of Ceylon, published works quite outside his sphere of academia, to include the publications of "A Modern History of Ceylon" and "Footprints of the Buddha".

These men are sometimes criticized for following in the footsteps of their British Colonial peers - a Tennant, a Davy and a Pridham. But while the latter documented, it was new research that some of the Dutch Burgher scholars followed.

Sometimes too, one hears the trite remark that the Burghers of the past filled only the lower rank desks in banks and mercantile establishments as clerks and pen-pushers. It is true, many a Burgher boy was content with the routine job and shift work. The Cable and Wireless department, for example, was manned by a high percentage

of Burgher lads. This was for the reason, in many cases, that they wished to spend their evenings in the sports fields.

Those who make critical generalizations are overlooking the more outstanding contributions which time has proven, in the fact that fifty years later, scholars and historians acknowledge the works of the Dutch Burgher.

There are many today, of the ethnic communities in the Island, who are old enough to remember the mid-fifties in Ceylon and the people who were known at the time of our Independence. When the subject of the Burgher comes up in conversation, as ever so often it does, the remark is made, "the country has lost much by the departure of the Burghers"

Such was the echo of our Foreign Minister when he said, "their departure has greatly impoverished our public life". He elaborated by adding, "Alas! There are very few Dutch Burghers left in Sri Lanka. They began to melt away perhaps most markedly in the '50s" - and in the decade that followed. Which brings me to the Present. What of today? What is the measure of the Burgher by Sri Lanka's present generation? Who or what is the Burgher or specifically, the Dutch Burgher?

Many a person uses the term loosely and in a most generalized manner. This led the writer's father, the late Dr. R.L. Brohier, to state in the early 1980's, which were the closing years of his life: "Burgher, as a 'term' nevertheless survives, in a form which is misused, misapplied and misunderstood through many garbled interpretations".

Nowadays, there seems little understanding of who really is a Burgher - their origin or when and how they came to be settled in this Island. It is not my intention, however, to elaborate on the subject here save briefly to clarify.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines 'burgher' as a "freeman or citizen of a burgh or borough" and clarifies the term "burgh" as alluding to a town or city. The word "burgher," this undisputed authority states, is of 16th century origin. The term, as far as we know, was never used in Sri Lanka till the the Dutch introduced it - when they settled in the Island in the 17th century (1656-1796). During this period, as in other Dutch Colonies, there were two classes - one designated as "Company Servants", the other named, "Burghers" These latter were, as the English historian Cordiner clarified, "the greater part of them, and admitted by the Dutch to all the privileges of the citizen".

In 1802, when the Dutch colonial possessions in the Island were formally transferred to Great Britain - many of the Dutch Company

officials and a few settlers retired to Batavia or went back to Europe. There were then left in the Island about 900 families, Burgher or Dutch citizens - those of European origin.

Under the new colonial administration of the British, this community (Hollandse Natie) in Ceylon, began to be designated as, "Dutch and Burgher inhabitants" In course of time the appellation resolved itself to "Burghers". Their descendants are the people to whom the term "Burgher" is correctly applied,

My father, R.L. Brohier defined: "the Burgher is not (therefore) an ethnographic name, and has nothing to do with race. The term is of historic origin and refers to a political community which had a distinctive character when it entered under the sway of the British Government" (Changing Face of Colombo: by R.L. Brohier: 1984). In this substantive work, he further described that the community of citizens left behind when the Dutch capitulated, "came to be designated on a generic basis".

In public utterances the present politician and those who are in authority often refer to the Burgher specifically in alluding to the country's community groups. In similar context, at national festivals and on occasions when the three or four ethnic majorities in our population are represented, so is the Burgher. Though why the Burgher girl is costumed, wearing a wide-brimmed hat, full skirt with ruffles and lace, seems strange and quaint to me!

The point I wish to make is that the few Dutch Burghers who have remained in Sri Lanka, fair of skin and undoubtedly Europeanized, in their lifestyle and attire, are taken to be foreigners by the general mass of the Island's people in our present day. "What country do you come from?" or "How long have you been here?" are the questions asked of me even though I have spoken in the national language, made known my knowledge of the country, as also empathizing in the emotions and aspirations of the true born and bred Sri Lankan. The Burgher - the Dutch Burgher - is taken to be a foreigner, a tourist visitor, an expatriate sojourning in the Island only briefly. Dubious is the reaction when it is pointed out by me that I was born here in Sri Lanka, have lived here all my life, have had my education in local schools and the Ceylon University - and have chosen to remain in Sri Lanka. Moreover, that there are five generations of the family who had settled in the Island, as from 1777.

In the 1950's, the Burghers began their exodus. Many emigrated to Australia, others over the following decade, to Canada or to the U.K., The first generation of emigre's looked back with nostalgia to the Island of Ceylon as their birthplace. Their children are now citizens of the particular country the family has chosen to settle in.

The last national and general census of Sri Lanka was taken in 1981. The Burgher was then grouped as a community with others marginalised. Together, this group formed 0.3 percent of a total population which had doubled and risen from what it was in 1946. But the Burgher is still named as a particular entity in our population.

The Hobson Jobson glossary of colloquial words and phrases, published in 1902, states that the word Burgher, "has three listed applications, one of which is meaning citizen... and only used in Ceylon". It was also used by the Boers of the Transvaal in South Africa. Almost one hundred years after the publication of this glossary, the term continues to survive in Ceylon, now Sri Lanka. For how long more into the future we may ask?

The first national and general census of 25 March was taken in 1951. The Bureau was first grouped as a temporary unit under the Department of Statistics. This group included a part of the population which had doubled and then fell again in 1951. The Bureau is still working as a permanent unit in our population.

The Bureau is now working on a permanent basis and has been established in 1952, since the word Bureau has been used in the population census of which is meaning census and only used in 1951. It was also used by the Bureau of the Ministry of Health in 1951. Almost all the data from the population census of 1951, the first census in the history of Ceylon, was 25 March. For the first time in the history of Ceylon.

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**Representations of Eastern Religion:
Queyroz and Gonzaga on the first Catholic-Buddhist disputa-
tion in Sri Lanka**

by

Alan Strathern¹



Abstract

This article goes back to the disputation of 1543, held at the court of Bhuvanakabāhu VII shortly after the first Catholic mission arrived in Ceylon. This episode is intriguing for all sorts of reasons but our investigation is stymied by a puzzle: why is it that our only two sources for what happened differ so markedly? The answer is that one of the accounts, that given by Fernão de Queyroz, is largely fictitious. The more truthful account does provide a hint of an insight into how these early Portuguese missionaries approached other religions. It may also offer a clue as to the kind of argument employed by Buddhists against this belligerent new religion. But most of the article pursues a quite different agenda: why did Queyroz fictionalise this meeting, and why did he make the unlikely mistake of putting a speech about Hinduism into the mouth of his Buddhist protagonist? To answer these questions we need to enquire into Queyroz's own theological beliefs and how they fit into a wider picture of European thinking about non Christian religions. For example, Queyroz, like many others of his time, believed that all religions were ultimately monotheistic. In this way it is hoped that a shaft of light is thrown onto the mind of a man who is often described as the most important source for the period of Portuguese influence, over 150 years of Sri Lanka's history.

Introduction

The history of religious disputations in Sri Lanka has recently begun to attract scholarly attention. This owes something to the Second Vatican Council which called for a new drive to find the common ground between the religions of the world. In Sri Lanka itself, this had some resonance with the debate over which religions could truly be called Sinhalese. Could there be a Catholic Church free from connotations of European imperialism? In this climate, those moments when Buddhism and Christianity came directly face to face have acquired a new relevance. The 1990's have seen a number of publications on the

1. Trinity College Oxford, OX1 3BH, England.

famous debates of the British period, which use the extensive records to analyse the ebb and flow of argument in great detail (1). Yet by this time Buddhists and Hindus had been living with Christianity for centuries. What happened when they met for the first time? If the theme of many accounts of the 19th C debates is that of tragic mutual misunderstanding, what can we expect from their 16th C predecessors? This is one incentive for going back to the beginning of the history of inter-religious contact, to the disputation of 1543, held shortly after the first Christian mission had arrived on the Island (2).

During the first waves of European expansion in Asia, disputations were a most important (though not necessarily effective) aspect of evangelism. Where missionaries ventured beyond the coastal pockets of Portuguese or Spanish influence they often found themselves at the mercy of powerful territorial rulers. If the prince remained heathen, the mission stood little chance of success. Yet the missionaries had to demonstrate their truth in the face of other competing claims to it. At the courts they would meet learned elites, whether they were Islamic scholars, Hindu Brahmins, Buddhist monks or Confucian counsellors, representatives of a religion or worldview issuing from a long tradition of scholarship based on a set of foundational texts. These traditions were often philosophical in a proper sense and the literati were likely to be most familiar with abstract reasoning. In other words, if missionaries wanted to convert a lord, they would have to dispute.

In the case of Ceylon, the situation was this: the Portuguese had been involved in Ceylon since 1505, but initially they had little impact beyond the trading post in Colombo. Their chance came in the 1520's with the break-up of the Kingdom of Kotte, the pre-eminent state of the Island. There were now two major players at odds with each other, Bhuvanakabāhu in Kotte proper and Māyādunne ruler of Sitawake. That division lasted until the end of the century, and was the principal fault line to be exploited by the Portuguese. Māyādunne and his son Rājasinghe were belligerent and ambitious and pressed unceasingly for supremacy. From the late 1520's Bhuvanakabāhu began to turn towards the Portuguese for help against his warlike brother. Clearly in some desperation, he sent an embassy in 1541 to Portugal asking for the King to recognise the succession of his grandson Dharmapāla, and for military support. He also asked for missionaries to be sent to Ceylon and a delighted Dom João III (r. 1521 - 1557) dispatched a small group headed by Father João de Villa de Conde of the province of Piedade. Bhuvanakabāhu may well have been hinting that his conversion would be the pay-off for Portuguese favour. Certainly the missionaries assumed that the baptism of the King would proceed naturally and smoothly, which helps to explain their later frustration and despair. But Bhuvanakabāhu himself never had any intention of being baptized. The

missionaries found themselves in a situation where - for all the potency of Portuguese diplomacy - they were ultimately dependent on the benignity of a heathen King. They also found an entrenched intellectual elite, with their own ideas about salvation and morality and the nature of reality: the Buddhist Sangha (or monastic order). There were really very few options open to Fr. João, and it is not surprising that he soon asked for a formal disputation in order to demonstrate finally the truth of his evangelism.

That disputation is the only one for the whole period of Portuguese involvement in the island (1505 - 1658) for which our sources purport to describe what was actually said (3). There are many other reasons why the historian should be drawn to this episode. The evidence for this period, reasonably extensive in many other ways, tends to tell us little about how the two cultures understood each other. Some of the coastal Sinhalese may have come into contact with monotheistic Islam, but Christianity and its fervent preachers represented something altogether new. And how did the missionaries come to terms with the old and sophisticated traditions of Theravāda Buddhist thought? The formal debate can make these otherwise elusive attitudes suddenly explicit. Consider what Jacques Gernet and others have achieved with the disputations in China between Matteo Ricci's Jesuits and Confucian advisors. Gernet's *China and the Christian Impact* lies firmly in the tradition of *l'histoire des mentalités*; he uses the extensive records of the debates in order to reveal the contrasts between the mentalities of China and Europe at this time. He was after the underlying assumptions that shaped thought, and he therefore concentrated on those occasions where debate broke down, or the participants seemed to be talking at cross-purposes, unable to escape their most fundamental patterns of belief (4). Our disputation is considerably earlier than those in China. Indeed it must be one of the earliest in the Portuguese expansion for which we have records. We would not expect it, therefore, to reach the sophistication of the later encounters. But this in itself would be illuminating.

Although all of these considerations may attract our attention to the Ceylon disputation in the first place, they cannot be our reasons for dedicating an article to it. For our evidence is simply not comparable to that enjoyed by historians of the Chinese debates. The debate has been recorded by Francesco Gonzaga in the second volume of his history of the Franciscan Order (5). Paulo da Trindade also narrates the episode but his account follows Gonzaga's very closely and he adds no significant information (6). Fernão de Queyroz describes the same event in his *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão* completed in 1687. These two sources, Queyroz and Gonzaga, are the only ones that offer information on the content of the debate (7). However it is not

a simple matter to extract information from them. We are forced, like the ancient historian, into a long period of historiographical wrestling. It is true that when we finally turn to Gonzaga we should be able to glean something about how Joao's mission approached the intellectual opposition. We can even pick up on a stray clue that offers a glimpse of sixteenth century Sinhalese Buddhism itself. But the investigation leads us into different territory.

This is because, when we emerge from the historiographic mud, we find ourselves clutching one awkward conclusion: Queyroz's account is largely fictitious. This is certainly unfortunate because it is also much more full and detailed. However a new range of questions hoves into view. Just how did Queyroz go about constructing his fiction and to what purpose? We are, after all, faced with the rather intriguing scenario of a high-ranking Portuguese Churchman trying to think himself into the shoes of a Sinhalese Buddhist monk. In the process we shall have cause to reflect on his historical methods in general and his approach to Eastern religions. It should be admitted from the outset that we will learn more about the mind of Fernão de Queyroz than we will learn about the events of 1543. This is not such a bad thing, as Queyroz is routinely referred to as the most important source for the whole period of Portuguese involvement - one hundred and fifty years of Sri Lanka's history. Yet there have been surprisingly few methodical studies of Queyroz as an historian.

Moreover Queyroz's mind - as displayed in this fiction - repays research because he can be used as a good example of just how far the Portuguese understanding of Sinhalese Buddhism had progressed during their long period of contact with it. Queyroz was writing from Goa, a few decades after the Portuguese had been ejected from Ceylon by the Dutch. In one sense therefore he stands at the culmination of Portuguese writing about the Island. We may assume that he used nearly all the texts that were available at that time and he also made it his business to talk with a good many of the clergy and officials who had worked there. And we shall see that he was hungry for material on religion in particular. If there was an expert on Sinhalese Buddhism in the late seventeenth century Portuguese Empire, it was probably Fernão de Queyroz. At least our sources do not allow us to propose a more proficient candidate.

Comparing the Two Accounts

We know, at least, that Gonzaga and Queyroz are describing the same event (8). Both place the incident at the same point in time, shortly after the arrival of the Fransiscan mission. Both authors give the impression that Father João had been labouring hard and forcefully to convert the king and a debate ensued with the Buddhist opposition.

Moreover, in both accounts Father João, frustrated at the lack of response from the audience, asks for a trial by fire in order to demonstrate that divine power is on his side. Yet the trial does not happen. This feature is distinctive enough to demonstrate the identity of the two accounts (9).

On the other hand, these are just about all the similarities that one can muster. The differences between the two accounts have not received sufficient attention. Gonzaga provides us with a much more detailed build-up. We learn that the friars were invited to the court a few days after their arrival. They were treated with courtesy, and soon afterwards João began to impress upon Bhuvanakabāhu the need to save his soul. He reminded the King of his promise to convert, conveyed by his ambassador to Portugal. Bhuvanakabāhu denied that he ever made such a promise. The ambassador himself then returned, carrying the letters and decrees from Portugal, which spurred Bhuvanakabāhu to offer financial patronage to the mission. But the friars replied that they did not want money, they only wanted the King's conversion, and they emphasised that the great friendship of the King of Portugal was at stake. When Bhuvanakabāhu prevaricated, the friars ask him at least to grant them the favour of no longer sequestering the property of Christians. This was acceded to, but João continued to find him intractable. The ambassador was then brought to court in order to confirm that a promise was indeed made to the King of Portugal. But the ambassador denied making any 'promise'; he had only been expressing his personal expectations. And so João turned at last to the option of a disputation, and for "the wise men of the kingdom, and all the ministers of the idols" to be brought as opposition (10).

There is only one paragraph of build-up in Queyroz. At the start of the chapter we are told: "Father João de Villa de Conde was likewise labouring to convert Boneca-bau to the faith of Christ by smoothing over the political difficulties that customarily hold back Princes in these changes (11)." "If you convert then your people will follow you, and Portugal will be there to protect you," João argues. Nowhere in the various conversations that Gonzaga summarises is this argument presented, yet it is the only one that Queyroz gives us – apart, that is, from a routine reference to the greater importance of salvation over human considerations. It is more striking that it is not João who calls for a disputation, but rather, "a Ganez [a Buddhist monk] in authority publicly withstood the Apostolic Preacher... ", according to Queyroz (12). A long speech follows.

Regarding the debate itself, there is absolutely no resemblance between the two accounts. Unfortunately Gonzaga cannot provide us with much detail; indeed it is brief enough to reproduce here:

Fra João spoke, "O king, since we have assembled here for the sake of having a disputation about the true law that is to be followed, ask your party to come forward and to propose the principle point of their law and their difficulties so that I may satisfy them". The king replied, "I will not do that at all, since that is your responsibility. You of your own accord called for this disputation." Then Fra João said, "Very well, let it be so, but on the agreement that your wise men satisfactorily reply to all my questions and propositions". When they finally agreed, he asked them: first, 'what sort of thing is a God?' Second, 'What does paradise mean?' Third, 'What sort of thing is an angel?' Fourth, 'What is a holy person?' Fifth, 'What is a demon?' Sixth, 'What is a virtue?' Seventh, and last, 'What is a vice and a sin?'

When these questions had been proposed, they were not able to give a satisfactory answer and they began to squabble among themselves and to become more confused. Only the king, with three others, who seemed to him more expert, tried to stammer out a satisfactory reply to those questions. But in vain, for since they lacked the light of the Holy Spirit, the more effort they put into the attempt the more confused did they become. Hence a wave of loud laughter arose from the audience, and also a murmur that neither the King nor his experts were able to defend their common law, a thing that the gentiles felt very deeply.

Fifteen days were spent in disputations of this sort. As the king and his party made little or no progress, or rather were losing a great deal of authority and praise, and also esteem among the people, the King ordered to put an end to this disputation. The reason he adduced is that very many learned men, who were also most dignified and outstanding for every kind of virtue, and his own predecessors, had died in paganism, even though each of them had been most solicitous for his own salvation. Hence it was enough for him to stand by the law of his ancestors and of such men, since he was not any better than they were, and he would be happy to be numbered among them.

Fra João, taking occasion of such a reply spoke up, "Since neither you, O most serene king, nor your wise men are able to explain the questions proposed by me, and you refuse to debate with me any further, I beg of you at least to grant me that I may explain what these questions mean, and at the same time make clear to you many of the truths which concern your own salvation and touch you personally." The king replied, "I will on no terms permit that; it is not necessary at all. For, whatever I have received from my parents and drunk in at my mother's breast, that I know for certain is most true and quite sufficient to obtain salvation. I do not strive or desire to know or understand anything else, because I judge it to be entirely superfluous (13).

It is only then that João asks for a trial by fire, or, failing that, a trial by crocodile-infested river. The King refuses once more, and João asks him if this means that he is spurning the friendship of the King of Portugal. Bhuvanakābāhu says that no political considerations will induce him to convert, but that he will allow the friars to preach and convert with freedom.

We find nothing of this in Queyroz. His account is much more formulaic. First the "Ganez" gives a long speech, presented to us

verbatim, in which he gives a summary of Buddhism, and then Fr. João makes a lengthy reply expounding a theory of the origins of paganism. At the end of his speech he proposes the trial by fire. Neither speech mentions the seven questions, or anything else in Gonzaga. There are times when he directly contradicts Gonzaga's account. Queyroz tells us that the trial by fire was aborted because João, "did not meet with equal courage in the Ganez, who rather scoffed at his words". Gonzaga reports that it was the King who obstructed the trial, deeming it "not at all necessary (14)." How can we determine which account has a greater claim to the truth?

The reliability of Gonzaga's account

Francisco Gonzaga's report was written much closer in time to the events described. We also know something of its derivation. Gonzaga, as General of the Order, was able to compile his comprehensive history of the Franciscans by relying on reports sent to him by his deputies across the world. One of his deputies was Fr. Gaspar de Lisboa who was Custos of the Custody of Saint Thomas from 1584 to circa 1591. Fr. Gaspar was thus ordered to write a 'memorial' of his Custody (which covered India and Ceylon). He took this responsibility very seriously and he dispatched researchers to the various lands under his jurisdiction. These researchers may have actually written up sections of the final reports (15).

We may assume that Gonzaga's narrative is substantially as Fr. Gaspar sent it: Gonzaga had no specific attachment to or knowledge of Ceylon, India, or the East generally and was therefore more likely to remain faithful to his source without being tempted to embellish it. As we have seen, Gonzaga's account gives us a picture of conversations taking place over a number of days, which then culminate in a disputation, and describes actual exchanges between João and the King. It is possible that Gonzaga was keen on displaying this incident because it allowed the Franciscans to claim a glamorous tradition of debate to rival that boasted by the Jesuits - and a counterpart to the iconic Jesuit Francis Xavier, who was embarking on his fruitful discussions with the Buddhists of Japan in the 1540s. However, the narrative is not completely subject to the desire to aggrandize missionary endeavour for it sounds two distinctly bathetic notes: once when the King tells João that if he wants the debate then he must start it off; and again when the King brushes off his dramatic gesture of a trial by fire/crocodile as unnecessary. There would seem to be no motive for including these except for a desire to record what happened.

From the contemporary letters that have survived one does get the sense that João was urging the King hard, but they make no explicit reference to the disputation (16). However a letter of Bhuvanakābāhu

himself to João de Castro (Governor of India 1545 - 1548) in November 1545 contains a few echoes of the context as Gonzaga describes it (17). The King is very keen to emphasise that, after the return of his ambassador, he offered the friars money, which they refused. This incident also appears in Gonzaga's account (18). Then Bhuvanakāhu addresses the issue of the confiscation of Christian lands, a major bone of contention over these first years. At the end of the letter the King repeats that he had never intended to convert: "No one, whether great or small, calls anyone father except his own. I am unable to believe in any other God besides my own..." This is, admittedly in response to the more recent visit by the Portuguese ambassador, Duarte Barbudo, but its general consonance with Gonzaga's account of Bhuvanakāhu's sentiments in 1543 gives the latter an air of plausibility. Lastly, a trivial marker of Gonzaga's authenticity is provided by João's reference to "a river abounding in poisonous crocodiles" in the neighbourhood. We know that such a river existed from a letter of 1552 (19).

Incidentally, it is interesting that Gonzaga indulges in a brief digression on the *Bramenes* or *langatares* - thereby equating Hindu and Buddhist holy men as one and the same. This digression is probably taken directly from Gaspar de Lisboa, because at one point he writes, "They are very well spoken of to us...", implying some direct contact with 'them' - the native priests. If this is so, then it seems that the perception of experienced missionaries in the 1580's was still influenced by a classical model of a generic 'paganism (20)'. Sinhalese Buddhist monks (or *bhikkhus*) are equated with, "Druids among the Gauls, Gimnosophists among the Egyptians, the Flamens and other priests among the Romans." This might help to explain why their role is conceived as involving, "superstitious ceremonies to placate the gods, or rather the demons, to offer sacrifice to idols, and to intercede for their people." Needless to say nothing of Buddhist doctrine is comprehended or relayed. After all, "Such is the blindness of these wretched men who follow such detestable superstitions, or rather insanity" (21).

Queyroz: Historical methods and the Buddhist speech

Queyroz offers no clues as to what his source might be (22). His account offers no parallels with contemporary documents. In fact it seems highly artificial; there is no conversation, only the two set-piece monologues. The *bhikkhu* does not try to respond to the Christian threat except by restating the "Buddhist" view, and João's reply does not engage with his assertions. The two speeches hardly radiate verisimilitude. The Buddhist disquisition is most peculiar; as we shall see João's speech seems even less credible, if only for the fact that it is so unrelentingly academic. Even when describing João's initial exhorta-

tions, Queyroz cannot help putting a reference to what Herodianus said of Marcus Aurelius in his protagonist's mouth (23). He goes on to substantiate his argument with reference to Ancient Egypt, pagan Rome and a liberal sprinkling of classic authorities.

The only historian to have commented directly on the authenticity of these two speeches is Schurhammer. In a long essay in German from 1928 he has a terse footnote which says, simply, 'freely invented' ("frei erfunden") and refers us to the more sober report by Gonzaga (24). Is this implausible, given what we know of Queyroz's methods elsewhere? The plain answer is no. Tikiri Abeyasinghe's long article remains the only attempt at a thorough analysis of Queyroz's methods. Pointing to a number of the more implausible speeches, he stated quite firmly that, "no one today would argue seriously that Queyroz had verbatim records of [them]" (25). Father Simon Perera, who was generally enthusiastic about Queyroz's reliability, admitted that speeches were his weakness; sometimes they are "transparently his own composition and are only a literary device to convey his own comments" (26). Early modern historians often took their cue from classical writers such as Tacitus and used the fictional speech as a kind of pause for reflection on the action (much like the theatrical soliloquy), to heighten the dramatic tension, and, of course, as a good opportunity to display one's literary talents. One can see the device employed by other Portuguese writers such as Zurara and Faria e Souza; Queyroz was not so cavalier by the standards of his time.

In this early section of the narrative, where Queyroz's sources were most scanty, he seems to have been particularly willing to resort to invented speech. He does not refrain from putting words into the mouth of the illustrious Francis Xavier, including one long exchange with the Governor over what to do with the problem of the anti-Christian monarch of Jaffna – of which it is difficult to imagine that records had been made. Perhaps most implausible is the meeting a few years later between the Saint Xavier and Bhuvanakabāhu, who is made, weirdly, to give a little discourse on the follies of Buddhism and proclaim that the only thing obstructing his baptism is the fear of alienating his lieges. We know that Xavier probably did meet him, to pass on some letters from the King of Portugal. But Bhuvanakabāhu's 'speech' is completely incongruous with what we know of his religious policy (even as Queyroz himself describes it). In reality Bhuvanakabāhu was becoming steadily more anti-Christian at this time (27). It would not be overly cynical, therefore, to assume a similar origin for the disputation speeches.

But speeches can be more or less invented. Was Queyroz basing his account on any kind of source? Let us look a little more closely at the words of the Buddhist representative. He starts off impossibly

enough, by referring to the Spartans, Athenians, Egyptians, Abyssinians and the Chinese, who all barred entry to foreigners because of the social evils that resulted from their new cults. He points to the corrupting influence of other sects on Sinhalese Buddhism. Then comes the middle section, a highly detailed description of cosmological belief. The description of Buddhist doctrine itself is confined to one very unsatisfactory sentence right at the end. The Buddha came to Ceylon, "declaring that the salvation of man consisted in chastity and fasting, the essential points of our religion, which are observed with great strictness, as also the transmigration of souls" (28).

The content of the long middle passage is somewhat unexpected. For analytical purposes we can divide it into two sections, (a) and (b):

- (a) Our Books show that there is a cause, superior, and ruler of the rest. On this depend the Angels and souls, and he is the mover of the others, a spirit incorporate, infinite and omnipotent; and for this reason he is generally called *Xarves Zibaru*. His attendants though Holy, are neither eternal nor equal to him in power, the first being most pure, the second less so, and the last the jailors of hell. There is none to equal the first; with the second group live men; and with the perverse those who have erred. As this misery is not the greatest, there are others for rebellious sinners, such as the bodies of impure animals. As a consequence we know that there is glory for the good and suffering for the wicked; and that therefore we are born with a destiny either for Heaven, which we call *Xervago*, or for Hell, called by us *Naranca*, in the company of Diagal and Saytan, the names of the principal Demons. Nor are we unaware that there is another place where light faults are expiated during a limited time. We acknowledge that man proceeds either from Divine elements or from that same matter of which the world is composed. We have moreover ten precepts, of which we observe four with great rigour, namely not to kill, steal, drink wine, or take another's wife: and if owing to our frailty we violate them, we make satisfaction to God by pilgrimages, alms, fastings and sacrifices, whereby we placate the
- (b) wrath of the Supreme Regents, which being superior before whom the others bow down, are five, and though in our Book *Tivarum* they are given various names, I will give the usual ones, so that this statement may not be confusing. The first called Xadaxivao dwells in the first heaven; the second Rudra by name in the region of fire: the third known as Maessura in the air: the fourth called Bisnu in the water: the fifth and last on earth under the name of Brahema: with this distinction that Bisnu and Rudra are the chief ones by whom the world is preserved the first creating and the second augmenting what Brahema consumes. And their effects, though in appearance different from one another, we hold to be uniform, and therefore we give them one single name, viz: Maha Murte, which means the Supreme Three, born of the first cause, to whom are subordinated the seven heavens, each distant from each other by 600 leagues. In the first are the fixed stars and the planets; in the second the Gods; in the

third the penitents; in the fourth the Angels; in the fifth the chaste; in the sixth the Regents; in the seventh the Virgins (29).

PART B is impressively detailed and full of proper nouns and numbers. It is not a rough assemblage of general information; Queyroz was working from a source of some sort and one whose author had been quite anxious to record indigenous beliefs in detail. But that source could have had nothing to do with a speech by a Buddhist monk, let alone that given at the 1543 disputation. This is because the beliefs it records are Hindu! The monk's initial comments are thereby rendered nonsensical. Our venerable *bhikkhu* would begin his speech by complaining about how corrupting foreign influences are obscuring the true Buddhist wisdom - and then proceed to expound Hindu dogma. The 'speech' is then incoherent and implausible.

The *Tivarum* (or *Tevaram*) is a part of the Tamil Saiva canon, the *Tirumurai* (30). It is quite clear that in this passage Queyroz is reproducing Saivite teachings - garbled, certainly, but idiosyncratic enough to make the identification clear. His account of the Gods pervading the five elements is not too wide of the mark; in fact the *Tirumurai* gives it as:

	Element	Function
Sadasiva	ether	salvation
Isvara (or Mahesvara)	air	holding in bondage
Rudra	fire	withdrawal ('destruction')
Visnu	water	preservation
Brahma	earth	emission ('creation')

As the above table shows, his account of the functions of the Gods is more simplified and he has entirely mixed up just which God is supposed to do what. The name *Maha Murte* [*Mahamurti*] would in fact mean something like Supreme Form, but it might be a corruption of *Mahamurtitrayam*, or 'the triad of the supreme forms', who were indeed Brahma, Visnu and Rudra (31).

So PART B treats us to some colourful exotica, an exuberant multiplicity of worlds and deities and their peculiar names - for many Europeans it was the fabulous mathematics of scholastic Hinduism that caught the attention. And we know that Queyroz was working closely from a text derived from the teachings of a particular canon. But if we turn to PART A, where the more basic features of doctrine are dealt with, we find it at once much more familiar and more vague... In all of this part there is only one feature that clearly evokes Buddhism. The "ten precepts" could well refer to the ten basic rules for ordained

monks, and while there are five major precepts rather than four, Queyroz misses out only one of them, the injunction against lying (32). As for the other doctrines, it is true that sixteenth century Sinhalese Buddhism had incorporated heavens and hells and the such like into a general belief system. This makes any simple allocation of doctrines to 'Hinduism' on the one hand and 'Buddhism' on the other, rather more complicated. Yet the reference to "...a cause, superior and ruler of the rest. On this depend the angels and the souls..." is alien to Buddhism of any stripe (33). And since the speech then dives straight into Saivite cosmology, it is likely that the majority of PART A derives from Hinduism too.

But one can only make PART A correspond to some general aspects of Hinduism in a very loose sense. The bare bones of it are: we are told of the 'First cause' who created the universe; and of a chain of beings which leads from an omnipotent God down to mankind; we learn how human beings are judged at their death and then punished in the heavens and hells of the afterlife; and we learn of the ten moral precepts and the recompenses that must be made if they are not observed. Hinduism has been stretched into a recognisably Christian form. Indeed all the most fundamental and really distinctive concepts of Hinduism have been ignored. The soteriological core, of reincarnation and liberation, has been barely considered. The workings of karma are hinted at by the reference to sinners going into "the bodies of impure animals", but it is conceived of in terms of Christian-style divine judgement and hellish punishment. And we are solemnly informed that one of the principal demons of Hell is called Saytan! We cannot be absolutely sure that Queyroz was responsible for such a heavily Christianised rendition of Hinduism. It is possible that he was relying on a European source whose author had simply and naturally been on the look out for features that corresponded to his idea of what a religion was. Yet it is clear that this synthetic concoction of doctrine suits Queyroz's purposes very well. As we shall see, the echoes of Christian belief, nicely set up Fr. João's reply, is entirely devoted to investigating the parallels between Christianity and Oriental religions. We shall also discover that this presentation of 'native belief' is satisfyingly consonant with Queyroz's theological convictions. From this perspective, the Buddhist speech appears most plausibly as Queyroz's own inept synthesis.

But why would Queyroz clumsily insert a Hindu account into this speech? It is, in fact, most puzzling that Queyroz would make such a mistake. Several times in Book One Queyroz warns *us* against not distinguishing the two. Indeed, it becomes a point of academic pride: "It is absolutely necessary not to confuse this Sect [of the Ganezes] with that of the Veddaos or of the Brahmenes, a mistake into which

some have fallen, because both are received in Ceylon and in all India beyond the Ganges, in Tartary and in Japan" (34). And Queyroz also thought of himself as something of an expert on the complexities of heathen idolatry. He believed, like many other Jesuits of the time, that understanding the language and beliefs of a people was of prime importance for their conversion (35). Throughout the *Conquista* he regularly refers us to other projects of his on the subject of Eastern religion, a Latin theological and philosophical treatise, and his *Perfeito Missionario* - both of them intended to enable missionaries to refute their ideological foes (36).

He knows that the Sinhalese are the only Buddhists in South Asia and he can give a comprehensive list of Buddhist countries further east (37). He is aware, moreover, that Buddhism changed as it spread. He gives a very long account of Chinese Buddhism, taken from his colleague in China, Fr. Simon Pereyra, in order to contrast it with its Sinhalese counterpart (38). Queyroz is quite well informed about the life of the Buddha and the institutional structures of Buddhism and the education and career of the Buddhist monk and so on. Queyroz also realises that Sinhalese religion is a mixture of Buddhist philosophy and Hindu influences - even if he cannot quite grasp the relationship between the two: "Though this sect is the most renowned in Ceylon, especially among the noble folk, they admitted also that of the Veddos, especially their seven lesser Gods" (39). He knows that the priests of temples to gods such as Kataragma and Vishnu are entirely different to *bhikkhus*. Only occasionally does he seem to betray some confusion, or, at least, to treat Buddhism and Hinduism as part of the same general Indian religiosity (40).

All of this makes his gauche handling of the disputation speeches all the more surprising. We cannot attribute it to sheer ignorance. One can suggest three possible explanations. Firstly, he may have been misled by a source which appeared to be a description of the religion of Ceylon, but which was in fact a description of Ceylonese *Tamil* beliefs. We have seen how the doctrines he cites are clearly taken from the Tamil Saivite tradition. The Tamils of Ceylon seem to have attracted a disproportionate level of missionary interest in their souls and in their language. Many of the more anthropologically-minded missionaries in Ceylon, such as Fr. Negrão, worked in Jaffna. It is interesting that the doctrines given in the 'Buddhist's speech' are clearly distinct from the detailed picture of Hinduism which he gives in Book One. Compare, for example, Queyroz's discussion of the major triumvirate of Gods in the two places. In Book One their names are spelt in a variety of ways (*Brama, Vixnu and Rudra*) but they are all different to those given in the speech. Book One also gives a different and more straightforward account of the divine functions, with Brahma

creating, Visnu preserving and Rudra destroying. On the other hand, elsewhere in that book, Queyroz also presents us with the actual Sinhalese Buddhist versions of the Hindu Gods (41). This makes it difficult to see how Queyroz could have confused Tamil beliefs with the religion of the whole island.

Let us turn to other explanations then. The second and most charitable thesis is that, quite simply, he lacked information on the actual content of Buddhist doctrine. Knowing that there was some cross-over between the two, he deliberately used this Hindu source to fill the gaping holes in his account of Buddhism. He does complain, at one point: “and if those who had read the documents of Ceylon had been more curious and had not been weary of giving us more detailed information, we could have shown more clearly from what they relate of his life [the Buddha’s] the additions made by Chinese malice” (42). This is an unflattering testament to the incuriosity of the Portuguese in Ceylon. In many respects Queyroz had considerable historical resources at hand, and he certainly had enough knowledge of Hinduism to form the basis of some major studies. But it was clearly much more difficult to find out about Buddhist ideas. No doubt the abstractions of the *dhamma* were not easily digested by the missionary mind. Indeed, regarding doctrine per se, he is never able to give much more information of the soul, and ten precepts, notable for strictures against meat and alcohol. However, even the above quotation demonstrates that it is in the life of the Buddha that he expects to find the core of Buddhist teaching. He does give us the *life* of the Buddha, as “recorded in the Chingala scriptures” and it is not such a bad summary, and he clearly also had some access to the popular ‘jataka’ stories (43). Just as Christ’s message is witnessed in the story of his life and death, so Queyroz may have assumed that the heart of Buddhism lay in the lifetime of the Buddha. He was bound to be disappointed.

Lastly, the third and most compelling explanation is that he sometimes forgot that he was writing about Buddhism at all. The work is strongly flavoured by the desire to glorify missionary endeavour and here we have the showdown between the true faith and the enemy - between, in one sense, God and the Devil. In this situation the exact character of that enemy would matter less than its role as the opponent to Christianity, as a kind of ‘native religion’ or ‘heathanism.’ The distinction between Buddhism and Hinduism may be noteworthy for academic reasons, but in terms of the grand narrative of the expansion and victory of Christianity it is more or less meaningless. We know that Queyroz was very concerned with this business of refutation: his two theological works set out to arm missionaries with winning arguments. In these projects the ‘native religion’ was presumably the Hinduism of his own Goanese locale. Those projects, we shall see, spill

over considerably into the *Conquista*. Book One of the *Conquista* is ostensibly an overview of the customs and beliefs of Ceylon. But in Book One Queyroz regularly slips into discussing India rather than Ceylon and spends much more time discussing the 'Heathendom of this Hinduism' - than he does discussing Buddhism. For the 1543 disputation, Queyroz, perhaps, again switched into refutation mode, and his target became 'Eastern religion' rather than any one manifestation of it.

Queyroz on non-Christian religion and Fr. João's reply

We are told that Fr. João waited patiently for his opponent to finish and then stood up to make his reply. His speech is a learned account of the theory that all pagans had received a dim appreciation of revelation, but had perverted or ignored it. João refers to,

...the faint lights which you shed amidst darkness on divine things, of which your ancestors obtained some knowledge, either from the Hebrews who formerly lived here, or from those who followed them. This opinion is confirmed by what St. Paul said: "that the gentiles knowing God did not give him thanks, but fell into abominations and sins." There is sufficient proof for us to say that throughout the Orient there was some knowledge of the Most Holy Trinity, as may be seen from the Symbols and figures of various pagodes, though disguised under strange names and expounded with many errors in the vedos of this heathendom.

Notice that João is now talking about, "the vedos of this heathendom"! Indeed Queyroz seems to be assuming that his protagonist is now facing Indian Hindus, perhaps even Hindus with some connection to the traditions of the St. Thomas Christians, for João says, quite mysteriously, "Read one of the books you have, which you have maliciously hidden, composed by Valver, a native of Melipur and a contemporary of St. Thomas. There you will find the unity of the Trinity, the Incarnation of the Son..." (44). This adds considerable support to the argument that Queyroz had forgotten or ignored the specific context of the disputation in order to present the dramatic confrontation of Christianity vs. heathenism. Not only stymied by his sources (whether Tamil or non-existent), he also lost sight of the event as his theological concerns crowded in.

In fact João's (or rather his fictional alter ego's) argument here is intriguing, for it assumes that there are nuggets of truth amidst all the dross of pagan superstition. He says, "For this reason our Doctors permit the reading of Pagan books in order to expurgate them from error, and because of the inconsistencies between falsehood and truth, it is easier to confirm the latter, as I undertake to do with your books" (45). Of course this was no doubt one of the major tasks which Queyroz himself set out to accomplish in his works of eastern theology-and this

may be a pre-emptive defence against those who found his immersion in such devilish subjects to be somewhat suspicious. And in Book One of the *Conquista* Queyroz also devotes much attention to the problem of how heathen religions came to contain doctrines which resemble those of the Judaeo-Christian tradition. This preoccupation is the key to Queyroz's whole presentation of the debate - in fact "João's" speech is almost a summary of these earlier musings! Queyroz has two kinds of explanation for these analogies: the historical diffusion of ideas and their roots in innate human qualities. He is at pains to emphasise, first of all, that the Buddha was not a Hebrew and did not teach the Mosaic law. Instead his ten precepts bear a resemblance to the ten commandments because both are "Natural precepts given by God as author of reason" (46). However Oriental beliefs in general, particularly the Vedic traditions, do show the traces of contact with the Hebrews, whose customs must have been absorbed and then corrupted over time. The analogies come thick and fast in Chapter 21 where Queyroz discusses the degradation of Hebrew doctrine. So we learn of the Hindu belief in a first cause, "unborn and uncorruptible, without beginning and without end.. But when they come to the application of this doctrine they say a hundred-thousand absurdities..." (47). The heathens also have knowledge of the Holy Trinity, with three persons and only one God, but, alas, they do not "understand this lofty mystery, but rather profane it with a thousand abominations" (48). A few pages of comparisons later, we learn how knowledge of the cleansing sacrament of Baptism had degraded over time into the Indian belief in the spiritual purity of rivers. Queyroz is really quite ingenious in finding a Hebrew origin for Hindu practices and beliefs, however outlandish, and we know that this must have constituted a major theme of his Latin work (49). In other words this is one of Queyroz's personal academic obsessions, a particularly treasured hobbyhorse which he wheeled out once more when constructing João's speech for the disputation.

Queyroz's belief that Eastern peoples had some contact with revealed tradition also helps to explain his account of another intriguing episode, the alleged debate between Buddhist monks at Dinavaca (50). Apparently one of the monks had voiced an heretical opinion, close to the Christian position, and was imprisoned. He was then secretly baptized by a follower of Xavier. When the convert was brought before the head of the Buddhist order (in Burma, apparently!) he gave a speech, saying, "If an earthly King punishes with banishment and rewards with (honourable) Places those who have deserved well or ill, how is it possible that the King of heaven punishes with perpetual peregrination one who has earned his love by merit? Does it not seem to you an ill-founded error to try to conceal truth under folly? Have you perchance an ancient Book which teaches you this? I know for sure that you have maliciously buried what they teach you to the contrary."

Even the choice of words comes close to João's speech at the disputation. We can detect the imagination of Queyroz at work here again.

Queyroz was not alone in being struck by the analogies between Oriental heathen religion and Catholicism, and he clearly had a real desire to explain how these could have come about (51). We can do no more than gesture to the fascinating intellectual context that informed his ideas, for Queyroz was hardly original in the fundamentals of his thought. It is true that Christianity has placed a high premium on the exclusivity of its membership. Yet in the early modern period there were a number of intellectual tendencies that militated against this. In fact it was the very equation of Christianity with human progress that lay at the heart of the problem, for Christian revelation had to be unique but evidently many features of religion, and civility itself were not. In the early Church this gave rise to debate over how to assess the authority of classical thinkers, those thinkers who had been the benchmark of wisdom for so long, yet were also, confusingly, pagans denied the light of revelation. Queyroz contributes to this debate himself and he seems particularly keen to make higher reason dependent on revelation: "If some Greek Pagans reason rightly, it is because of the knowledge they had of sacred scripture" (52). This was not unorthodox as there were many weighty authorities who had expressed this idea. St. Augustine himself had explained Plato's 'monotheism' by saying that the philosopher must have been familiar with Hebrew scriptures. The early modern period saw a flourishing neoplatonism which developed increasingly elaborate and mystical ancestories linking up all forms of religion past and present.

This was partly because Europeans were becoming more aware of their own pagan, classical heritage. But equally as important, in the long run, were those missionaries encountering the ancient civilizations of the East. The Jesuits, often dazzled by these new cultures, developed a strong tradition of rapprochement. It began with Alessandro Valignano in Japan, who argued that the best way to gain converts was to take an 'accommodationist' line, to try to stress the similarities between West and East and to live as one's host lived. He inspired some famous names: Roberto de Nobili in India, Matteo Ricci in China. In both those places accommodationism did in fact veer over into heresy. Queyroz was certainly more conservative than those who were condemned in the Chinese and Malabar Rites controversies, but he cannot but have been aware of them and their field of concern shows up in his work.

Queyroz also benefited from the ethnographic advances of the seventeenth century. A number of missionaries achieved a more sophisticated understanding of Hinduism by attempting to reach the

philosophical foundations that lay behind the superficial excesses of idolatry. In India, it was particularly Dutch Protestants such as Abraham Roger who used learned pagan informers to reveal the secrets of the Brahmanical scriptures. Roger was impressed enough by what he saw to argue that the light of revelation had penetrated this far, and something of it must have remained. Queyroz did not have a mind as penetrating or open as Roger but he would have concurred with his conclusion.

The problem of how civilised people could be ignorant of Christianity was in fact only one aspect of a larger problem, which grew more acute as the European awareness of faraway peoples expanded: how could God have denied the chance of salvation to so many? One solution to this problem was offered by theories that imagined a pre-revelation original Christianity. Guillame Postel (1510 - 1581), for example, argued that there were vestiges of the true religion all over the globe, preserved by natural reason alone in those regions which the Messiah had not touched. He explicitly equated Buddha with Christ (53). Two quite orthodox ideas could shore up these dangerous conclusions. The literal interpretation of Genesis also demanded that mankind had sprung from one source, Adam, who had come face to face with his creator. His offspring therefore might preserve a dim memory of that first contact. It was simple enough to imagine that the history of religious diversion was essentially a history of amnesiac corruption. It is partly for this reason that Bartholomé de Las Casas could argue that Amerindian religion held enough remnants of truth to act as a kind of preparation for evangelism. The second chain of thought runs like this: Heathen religions were obviously the work of the devil. Yet the devil himself cannot create anything, he can only corrupt what has already been made. False religion is therefore a corruption of true religion. This is why Queyroz makes Father Joao insist on "the indecencies and superfluities which the Devil introduced into your books" (54).

Eastern religion was, in part, a diffused and corrupted Christianity. (Diffusionism was a powerful explanendum for explaining all sorts of analogies. The doctrine of reincarnation, for example, was routinely held to be an offspring of Pythagoras' teachings on the transmigration of the soul). However, Queyroz's thinking was also underpinned by a firm belief in the universality of the monotheistic urge. This derived from man's faculties of reason to apprehend the book of Nature as scripted by God, and also from a deep instinct. He is quite explicit about this: "one must know that in all this East there is no people who deny that there is a God; but admitting that there is one, no one knows what he is, which confirms [the opinion] that the knowledge of the existence of God is an innate Notion and a truth

which God impressed on our souls when we were first created....” (55). Clearly this idea - again, routine for the period - works to crush much of the distinctiveness of other world-views, yet one should not be too quick to criticise Queyroz for this; for one thing, Hinduism, with which he was most familiar, was, in a sense, ultimately monotheistic, and the devotion accorded to the Buddha by his followers can *appear* in a similar light.

These were positive beliefs, consciously held, but they must have formed the assumptions from which his thinking proceeded. It is fair enough to assume that Queyroz would have had difficulty imagining a picture of the universe devoid of an ultimate divine presence. One could see this as a basic difference in mentality of the kind that Gernet’s work highlights so effectively: a fundamental assumption that acts as a stumbling block to effective dialogue. It may have been especially difficult to grasp the idea of karma: the notion that punishment or reward for earthly behaviour is the result of a mechanistic process rather than the intercession of a judgmental consciousness. For subcontinental traditions, *it is in the order of things* that immoral behaviour will lead to an unfavourable reincarnation, in the same way that lighting a fire will cause heat. In Western monotheism reality can only be organised and given meaning through subjection to a divine will.

We should not allow the rhetoric of mentality to go to our heads, if only because there had been, of course, a long tradition of Christian theology demonstrating the existence of God from first principles. Moreover, there were contemporaries of Queyroz who were able to open their minds a good deal wider. It should also be pointed out that there is a passage in Book One where Queyroz refers to an interpretation of Buddhism which does grasp some of these fundamental conceptual differences: “(but it is false)...that he denied the immortality of the soul and attributed all the successes and human events to fate and the planets; whereby they deny the first cause, attributing everything to chance, a principle most in keeping with ingratitude” (56). This account, wherever it comes from, does approximate to Buddhist teaching. It is not quite right to say that the Buddha denied the immortality of the soul, for in fact he denied that the soul, or any kind of permanent self, could exist in the first place. However the former could clearly arise as a degraded version of the latter, while the denial of a first cause and its replacement by fate and chance does gesture towards the notion that the universe is not overseen by an ultimate consciousness, but works according to innate laws.

However this passage is highly ambiguous. There are two possible interpretations: (1) Queyroz is saying that certain Buddhists believe that the Buddha taught these doctrines. He would then be acknowledging that it is possible for people to hold such religious

beliefs, however misguided. (2) Queyroz is saying that certain European commentators have erroneously attributed these doctrines to the Buddha, in which case he would not be acknowledging the existence of such religious beliefs. There is a linguistic case to be made for the first interpretation (57). It would also explain his remark on the 'ingratitude' of such beliefs, which might make more sense as a condemnation of actual practice rather than a condemnation of the consequences of an academic hypothesis. On the other hand, there are also good reasons for holding to the second hypothesis (58). After all, nowhere else does he describe Buddhism in these terms (and if he did this, would sit uncomfortably with his stated beliefs in the universal instinct for monotheism).

We do know that whatever Queyroz was telling us about what his contemporaries (Sinhalese or European) *thought* about the Buddha, he was sure that the Buddha himself could not have taught such doctrines. This is the crucial point. Queyroz was not so bound by a rigid mentality that he could not begin to formulate, at least crudely, such alien conceptions, and we should admit the *possibility* that he could have been able to attribute them to deranged minorities in the present. But he could not imagine them to be the creed of such a major religious figure as the Buddha; this truly would scupper his belief in a universal monotheism. Moreover the one item of dogma that Queyroz does positively assign to Buddhism in this passage is the transmigration of the soul. It is one of the very, very few Buddhist doctrines that Queyroz is able to point to in the whole of the *Conquista*. And it is easy to see how this fact, so firmly established, could seem to rule out any suggestion of the mortality or non-existence of the soul. Indeed it is still one of those features of Buddhist thought which newcomers find so hard to grasp: how could the Buddha have taught both reincarnation of the self and its illusory nature? In translating Buddhist ideas of reincarnation into the ready-made category of Pythagoreanism, Queyroz was only following a long European tradition. But in doing so he denied himself access to the subtleties of doctrine that would resolve this contradiction. And he also denied himself the chance to take seriously the one interpretation of Buddhism that approximated to its teachings. Queyroz was not only let down by the poverty of his sources, but also by the limits to his comprehension.

Naturally all this goes to explain why Queyroz's representation of Buddhism is so garbled, and why João's speech has the tone of a parent chastising a child for going astray. We can see, too, how it twists the convert monk's speech in the Dinavaca debate, which makes the Buddha into "the King of Heaven", a monotheistic overseer who punishes and rewards the behaviour of mortals (59). Queyroz cannot understand (though he may never have had the chance to) that

“perpetual peregrination” happens regardless of the Buddha, and that this has nothing to do with salvation, which concerns the individual’s escape from reincarnation. It also explains why Queyroz can give the common chant of “Buddham saranam gacchami” fairly accurately, as “Buddum Sarnão Gachão”, but translate it as “Buddum be Mindful of me” rather than the correct sense of “I take refuge in the Buddha” (60).

There are two final historiographic conclusions to be drawn from this discussion, neither of which reflect very well on Queyroz. Queyroz most probably had access to Gonzaga’s material. Gonzaga’s account is reproduced, sometimes word for word, in Paulo da Trindade’s *The Spiritual Conquest of the East*. Queyroz explicitly acknowledges his use of Trindade at least twice, and most commentators have seen no reason to doubt that he had Trindade’s major work to hand (61). Felix Lopes, in his edition of Trindade, does suggest caution in attributing all analogous passages to Trindade (because they could derive from a common source) (62). But we know Queyroz did have a copy of Trindade for consultation. We therefore have to conclude that he deliberately ignored some crucial information as to what happened at the disputation, and replaced it with fictional speeches which rehearsed his own theological theories. Few modern historians have taken his speeches at face value. But we now have cause to doubt Queyroz whenever his narrative touches upon religious matters. It is possible that Queyroz was influenced here by the avowed purpose of the *Conquista*—to show that it is both desirable and practical for the Portuguese to wrest the island from the Dutch and win Sinhalese souls for Catholicism. By turning the occasion into a stylised demonstration of Christian rhetorical superiority, he is undermining the notion that the Buddhist monks might provide some intellectual opposition. In the Theravada Buddhist countries of South-East Asia, Catholic missionaries had often simply failed to detach the people from their traditional beliefs; the spiritual conquest of Ceylon, Queyroz hints, will not face such obstruction (63).

Secondly, we have cause to doubt the one paragraph of build-up to the disputation that Queyroz gives us. There, João’s exhortations are presented (again with a stylish touch of classical reference) as revolving around trying to persuade the King that there are no political disadvantages to conversion. The reader may recall that this is not an issue in Gonzaga’s account, nor is it referred to elsewhere. Queyroz, on the other hand, often uses it to explain Sinhalese royal recalcitrance... it begins to seem like another *idée fixe* (64). It may be that Queyroz was influenced by reports of early confrontations with monarchs in India (65). In modern narratives one often finds an echo of Queyroz in the suggestion that Bhuvanakabāhu was dissuaded from conversion from fear of alienating his people. We should listen instead

to Bhuvanakabāhu's own letters where he refuses baptism on the grounds of personal belief and cultural identity (66).

The Missionary Mind in the 1540's: a Clue from Gonzaga's Account

If we want to learn about what actually happened in the 1543 debate we would do better to turn to Gonzaga's account. Unfortunately, the absence of any suspiciously long and detailed speeches may inspire our trust but it frustrates our curiosity: the content of the disputation is glossed over. However the seven introductory questions which Fr. João launches are interesting and revealing. For Fr. João does not ask 'is there a God', or 'is there an angel' but *what* these things are, as if they were all universally recognised facts, only mistakenly represented by heathens (67). The conclusion is not so staggering perhaps: that early sixteenth century Franciscans were not the most avid cultural relativists. However, one does get the sense that Father João was singularly unprepared for the business of coming to grips with other belief systems. He was, we know, expecting Bhuvanakabāhu to convert immediately, and the disputation was something of a last resort (68).

His questions rest upon premises particular to Christian thought. The last one, on the difference between a sin and a vice, is particularly incongruous, as it refers to a quite fine distinction between an action which is simply bad, and one that will tell against you at the point of divine judgement. It only makes sense in terms of Christian conceptions about punishment and the afterlife and so on. One could, at a push, try to see this as an attempt to open a discussion on how to establish the relationship between behaviour and salvation. But the list as a whole has a miscellaneous aspect, with little sense that a mind has been hard at work organising a strategy for overcoming a radically different ideology. Perhaps, Fr. João finding himself on the spot so to speak, resorted to questions with which he was quite familiar. Dialectics were one common method of learning doctrine, and João may have been recalling the disputations of his schooling. The questions also have a distinct catechismal quality, in which case Fr. João may have been instructing his audience as if they were children, in the manner of some of his early Franciscan counterparts in the New World at this time.

At any rate, his questions were simply not abstract enough to initiate any meaningful inter-cultural dialogue. It is, then, hardly surprising that the result was confusion and squabbling. We should remember too that it took a long time for the Franciscans to seriously apply themselves to the study of Sinhalese, and that this conversation would have been conducted through a translator. Even if the questions could be given some sort of sense by the Buddhists, would their

answers not appear to be gibberish? Some modern writers appear to follow our sources in making the occasion a Christian victory (69). It would be better to consider it a philosophical mess. It may be that the sheer sight of their esteemed priesthood puzzled by this strange new challenge was enough to cause a stir among the audience and discomfort to the King—it could not but have raised the profile of Christianity. But Gonzaga's comment that Bhuvanakabāhu stopped the debate because the Royal party were losing esteem, seems like an odd inference. The disputations had been going on for fifteen days! (70).

Gernet's work on the disputations in China sets out to show the impossibility of dialogue, but some of the sources he cites reveal a surprisingly high level of abstract debate. The Confucian advisors certainly comprehended Christian doctrine well enough to make the criticisms of it that any intelligent atheist would do today, to point out its internal contradictions. In India Roberto de Nobili immersed himself in Vedic teaching and was capable of winning over Brahmins with his grasp of their scripture. In Japan too we hear of many occasions where debate reached an impressive lucidity. Yet these famous dialogues all belong to one tradition – Jesuit, even Italian, – beginning with Valignano and transported to other heathendoms by De Nobili, Jerome Xavier, and Matteo Ricci. The disputation in Ceylon tells us rather about Franciscans, and those of an earlier age, only a few decades after Vasco da Gama had first landed in India. Their Jesuit contemporary, Francis Xavier, laboured under debilitating misapprehensions in his discussions – initially, at least, for over time we can see his thinking become more sophisticated (71). Also at this time Fr. João's mystical brothers in the New World were expecting grand conversions in keeping with the climactic last age, and it often seemed, for a while at any rate, that their expectations were fulfilled. João may have shared their optimism; at least his disgust when the providential narrative did not go to plan seems to suggest as much and he did not persevere for long enough this first time to make much progress. We cannot know if the history of inter-faith dialogue in Ceylon came to develop a measure of profundity during the years of Portuguese involvement. After this initial encounter, our sources give us little to work on and not much ground for hope.

A Glimpse of Sixteenth Century Buddhism: Another clue from Gonzaga

Gonzaga's account of the disputation proper is so brief, and so obviously shaped by a Christian mind-set, that it might seem presumptuous to try to reconstruct the arguments of the Sinhalese Buddhist party. However one of the King's (alleged) statements may cast a stray beam into the murk. After the disputation had concluded Fr. João asks once more for the opportunity to explain his creed. Let us quote the passage again:

Fra João, taking occasion of such a reply, spoke up, "Since neither you, O most serene king, nor your wise men are able to explain the questions proposed by me, and you refuse to debate with me any further, I beg of you at least to grant me that I may explain what these questions mean, and at the same time make clear to you many of the truths which concern your own salvation and touch you personally." The King replied, "I will on no terms permit that; it is not necessary at all. For, whatever I have received from my parents and drunk in at my mother's breast, that I know for certain is most true and quite sufficient to obtain salvation. I do not strive or desire to know or understand anything else, because I judge it to be entirely superfluous.

In this context, Bhuevnakabahu's reply is a little puzzling: he seems, on the surface, to be merely reiterating that he will stick to the traditional methods for achieving salvation rather than contemplate these new foreign ideas. This might be what our author was intending to convey: that the King was not advancing any argument as such, but merely stubbornly adhering to familiar beliefs. However it is possible that we may see here a trace of an actual argument of the Buddhist party, unwittingly recorded and preserved by whoever the first-hand source was, and then by Gaspar de Lisboa and Francesco Gonzaga. What the King seems to be emphasising here is not that these Christian teachings are wrong *per se*, but that they are irrelevant. Each of his three sentences make this point: Gonzaga's explanations are *not necessary*; the King's own beliefs are already *quite sufficient*; other ideas are *entirely superfluous*.

This seems to be an echo of the Buddha's own teachings on such questions regarding the existence of God or gods, and the origins of the universe and so forth. For the Buddha held that these questions were not amenable to philosophical reasoning, and that they detracted moreover from the much more important question of how to achieve salvation. For the Buddha, then, the supernatural was indeed irrelevant to the business of liberating oneself from the suffering of ordinary existence. In a modern Sri Lankan context, Richard Gombrich was once told by a monk that, 'belief in gods is not a matter of religion (72).' The King may have been saying something along these lines: you have been talking for fifteen days of gods and demons and the heavens and creation, but all of this, the Buddha said, does not touch upon the central problem of the human condition.

Of course, once we arrive at this stage of source analysis, peeling of first the presumptions of our sources, and then those of the contemporary missionaries, any statement of what was going on in Sinhalese minds is going to be very tendentious. Our relative ignorance of how Buddhism functioned at this time should also make us proceed with caution. We cannot assume that the Buddhism of the original scriptures, or indeed that of a twentieth century monk will correspond

to conditions in the sixteenth century. We do know that Hinduism was increasingly influential (particularly at court) and that an elaborate cosmology and whole pantheon of Gods had been incorporated into the Sinhalese religious system. Was it possible at this time to detach oneself from this system to the extent of appreciating the Buddha's original teachings on such matters? Would a King be sufficiently educated in the scriptures to make such an argument? These contentions are not easy to substantiate (73). But it is possible that here we have some evidence that the court of Kotte preserved a faithful reading of the Buddha's philosophy into the sixteenth century.

Footnotes

1. See R. Kloppenberg, *A Buddhist – Christian encounter in Sri Lanka: The Panadura Vada*, Sri Lanka 1994; R. Fox Young and S. Jebansen *The Bible Trembled: The Hindu – Christian controversies of 19th Century Ceylon* University of Vienna 1995; R. Fox Young and G. P. V. Somaratne, *Vain debates: The Buddhist – Christian controversies of 19th Century Ceylon*, University of Vienna 1996; E. Harris PhD for the University of Kelaniya 1993. See also the article by Kamalika Pieris in *The Island* 1/2/99 and A.J.V. Chandrakanthan, *Catholic Revival in Post-Colonial Sri Lanka, a Critique of Ecclesial Contextualisation*, Colombo 1995.
2. The date of the disputation is not certain. Gonzaga gives the impression that it took place a few weeks after the arrival of the mission in September 1543. However we know that it took place before Bhuvanakabāhu's ambassador was returned to Goa, and a letter of Bhuvanakabāhu tells us that the ambassador was in Goa in late November. See Fr. V. Perniola *The Catholic Church in Sri Lanka. The Portuguese Period. Volume 1 1505 – 1565*, Dehiwala, Sri Lanka 1991, [henceforth 'Perniola I'] Document 24, p. 48. The disputation must have occurred in October or November 1543.
3. If we can believe Queyroz, there was another confrontation between Fr. João and a Buddhist around 1547. Fernão de Queyroz, *The Temporal and Spiritual Conquest of Ceylon*. Translated by S. G. Perera, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi 1992 [Volume 1 hereafter 'Queyroz I'] p.258. I have amended Perera's translation where it seems necessary, with the help of Professor Tom Earle. The Portuguese version used here is *Conquista temporal, e espiritual de Ceylão*, ed. by P.E. Pieris, Colombo 1916. When quoting from the Pieris edition I have used italics to show where abbreviations have been expanded. In a letter of 1561, the Jesuit Anriques working in Mannar, mentioned that he was having regular debates- "Whenever an occasion presents itself that a learned pagan comes to this Island, I do my best to have a discussion with him." (Perniola I, Doc. 152, p.401). Presumably this could have been a routine practice for many missionaries. The only other comparable event occurs in 1626, when Paulo da Trindade tells us that Fr. Peixote descended from his pulpit in Kottawatte to swat aside the arguments of two *bhikkhus* who attended his sermon. Paulo da

- Trindade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente*, ed. Fernando Felix Lopes, parts I, II, III, Lisbon 1962 – 1967 [hereafter ‘Trindade’] Part I, pp. 148, 149.
4. J. Gernet, *China and the Christian Impact*, Cambridge 1985. It is acknowledged that Gernet’s work, for all its greatly impressive conclusions, is vulnerable to many of the usual criticisms that beset the history of mentalities.
 5. All references to Fr. V. Perniola’s translation in Periniola I, Doc. 23. Crucial phrases have been checked against the Latin original: Francesco Gonzaga, *De origine seraphicae religionis Fransiscanae eiusque progressibus...* Part II, Venice 1603, pp. 1404 – 1410.
 6. Trindade Vol. III, pp. 25 – 37.
 7. That Fr. João had several debates in Ceylon, one of which culminated in an offer of a holy ordeal, is mentioned in other sources, but without comment on what was actually said. See, for example, Manueel de Faria e Souza, *Asia Portuguesa*, Porto 1945 – 7, Vol iv. p.96.
 8. Previous writers have asumed this. See Perniola I, p. 43, footnote 1; W. L. A. Don Peter, *Education in Sri Lanka under the Portuguese*, Bolawalana 1978, p.255, footnote 66; L. Bourdon *Les Débuts de l’Evangélisation du Ceylan vers le milieu du xvie siècle d’après des documents récemment publiés*, Lisbon 1936, p.13. The latter work devotes the most attention of any modern history to the 1543 disputation. However it sometimes contains unwarranted inferences about the motives of those involved and it follows Gonzaga’s narrative too credulously. Don Peter’s account in 1978 (above) p. 254, and in his, ‘Religious debate at Kotte’ in *Historical gleanings from Sri Lankan Church History*, Colombo 1992, relies on Trindade rather than Trindade’s source, Gonzaga.
 9. As mentioned in footnote 3 above, Queyroz tells us about another disputation involving João, in 1547. Queyroz alleges that a trial by fire did actually take place this time. It is difficult to see why some writers have assumed that Queyroz is referring to the 1543 disputation here, thereby contradicting Gonzaga’s report that the trial was turned down. See M. Quéré, ‘Beginnings of the Portuguese mission in the kingdom of Kotte’, *Aquinas Journal*, Vol. 5, No. 1, Aquinas College, Colombo 1988, p.96, footnote 23. Perniola I, p. 44, footnote 1, appears to imply it. Bourdon 1936, p. 13, footnote 2, might be the first to make the error. For Queyroz, of course, also describes the earlier confrontation and its anticlimactic outcome. It is possible that the later confrontation could be fictional, in which case Queyroz might have taken the *idea* of such an ordeal from the earlier event. This will be discussed in a future article. We find Fr. João’s miraculous trial by fire reported in Europe some years after Queyroz. See G. Schurhammer and E. Voretzsch (eds.), *Ceylon sur Zeit des Königs Bhuvanaka Bāhu und Franz Zavers 1539 – 1552*, Leipzig 1928, p. 50.
 10. Perniola I, Doc 23, p. 42. For the King’s line on the alleged promise to convert see Perniola, I, Doc. 42, p.97.

11. Queyroz I, 238.
12. *ibid.* In the 1547 confrontation, peculiarly enough, João's exhortations bear a closer resemblance to those described by Gonzaga for the 1543 debate.
13. Perniola I, Doc. 23, pp. 42, 43.
14. Queyroz I, 241 – 242; Perniola I, Doc. 23, p.44.
15. See Trindade Vol. I, p.28, footnote 5. Gaspar's memorial has not survived, but we know from a letter that it was completed. See the entry for Fr. Gaspar in F. F. Lopes, *Fontes narrativas e textos legais para a Franssiscan order in Portugal* ['Narrative sources and legal texts for the history of the Franciscan order in Portugal'] 1949, p.99. F. F. Lopes 'Os Fransiscanos no Oriente Portugues de 1548 a 1590' ['Franciscans in the Portuguese East from 1548 to 1590'], *Studia* 9, 1962, reproduces several long letters by Fr. Gaspar to Gonzaga, one of which mentions his methods in compiling the memorial: "Mas isso que pude aver á mão, he certo, porque veo a minha mão autenticado por tabeliães publicos, por mandado dos capitães das fortalezas e terras com iuramento dos sanctos Evangelhos e perguntadas pessoas anciãas e de experiencia e sciencia das cousas e tudo a instancia de patentes minhas que passava a Padres que ia isso fizessem. ...entenda que diversos religiosos a compuserão, dando a cada hum sua parte pera a comporem em latim..." (p.75). Schurhammer and Voretzsch 1928, p.23, suggests that Gonzaga used a report made by members of Fr. João de Villa de Conde's mission. This is presumably an inference based on the high level of detail that Gonzaga is able to provide. It is possible, at least, that Fr. Gaspar de Lisboa had access to their writings.
16. Perniola I, Doc. 34, p. 67; Doc 35, p. 70; Doc 42 p.96.
17. Perniola I, Doc 42, pp. 94-98. The date is given here as the 12th, but it is a translation of TT ST. Lour. III ff. 346, which in fact dated the 15th.
18. Perniola I, Doc 42, p. 96. Bhuvanakāhu repeats this in a letter of November the following year: *ibid.* Doc 76, p. 181. It would appear that the King had taken his ambassador's advice (as relayed by Gonzaga, Perniola I, Doc. 23, p.39) quite to heart: "Furthermore, whatever the king would give the friars would be deemed a gift to the King of Portugal himself."
19. Perniola I, Doc 23, p.44. Perniola draws our attention to the mention of this river in Doc 122, p.335.
20. One can see this catch-all category of Paganism in the *Ropica Pnefma*, or 'Spiritual Merchandise' (1532) of João de Barros, the famous Portuguese humanist and chronicler of the East. He assumed four world-religions: Christianity, Judaism, Islam, and Paganism. See C.R. Boxer, *João de Barros: Portuguese Humanist and Historian of Asia*, 1981, pp. 52f.
21. All quotations from Perniola I, Doc 23, pp. 45, 46. It is clear that the writer is not referring to Buddhist temple officaries or Hindu Brahmins - who might

well be said to fulfill such intercessionary roles - but the actual Sangha, for he describes their distinctive saffron apparel and their alms-begging.

22. Negrão is often seen as being an important source for this period in Queyroz. However, Paulo da Trindade, who otherwise uses Negrão extensively for his Historical work, used only Gonzaga's account of the disputation, indicating that Negrão could not offer any information on this event. In any event, we shall see that Queyroz's 'sources' had little to do with the disputation anyway... Queyroz might have relied on Negrão for material on eastern religion in general. For a contemporary's description of Negrão's inquiring research methods see the letters of Pietro della Valle: E. Grey (ed.) *The Travels of Pietro della Valle in India*, from the old English translation of 1664 by G. Havers. London 1892. Vol 1, pp. 108 – 110. Afonso Dias da Lomba is mentioned as a source for Sinhalese Buddhism in Queyroz I, p.120.
23. Queyroz I, 238.
24. Schurhammer and Voretzsch 1928, p. 43, footnote 2. Although the fact that Bourdon 1936 and Don Peter 1992 follow Gonzaga/Trindade is an implicit rejection of Queyroz's account.
25. T. Abeyasinghe, 'History as polemics and propaganda: an examination of Fernão de Queiros' 'History of Ceylon'', *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society (Sri Lanka Branch)*, Vol xxv (N.S), 1980-1, p.55. The two disputation speeches are included in the list of implausible speeches.
26. S. G. Perera, *The 'Conquista' of Queyroz, the only history of the Portuguese in Ceylon*, Ceylon Historical Association, Colombo, Jan 1925, Leaflet no.1. p. 17. See also the comments on Queyroz's methods in Schurhammer and Voretzsch 1928, pp. 41, 49.
27. For Francis Xavier and the Governor, Martim Affonso de Sousa, see Queyroz I, pp. 247ff; Xavier and Bhuvanakabāhu, p.266. For the meeting between these latter two see Perniola I, p.58, footnote 1.
28. Queyroz I, p.240.
29. Queyroz I, p. 239. Perera's translation is open to question in a number of places in this passage. For the Portuguese see Pieris 1916, pp. 188, 189. Perera translates, "Seus assistentes, sendo Santos, nem são eternos..." as, "His attendants, *though Holy*, are neither eternal... It could equally be, "His attendants, *being Saints*, are neither eternal..."! The text appears to be faulty where we have "Com o que apalacamos a ira dos Supremos Regentes; *que* como Superior, a quem os mais se humilhão, são sinco". (One would expect 'Superiores', so that it agrees with 'sinco'). Perera gives it as, "...whereby we placate the wrath of the Supreme Regents, who, including the Superiors before whom others bow down". Regarding the functions of the gods, Perera renders, "o *que* consome Brahema", as, "what Brahma consummates", whereas it should be, "what Brahma consumes". (Thanks to Professor Earle).

30. I owe the identification of this passage with the *Tirumurai*, the Tamil Saiva canon, to Professor Sanderson (All Souls College, Oxford) whose personal correspondence is also the source for all the information on Saivism reproduced here. The *Tevarum* itself does not contain the doctrine presented here, being instead a collection of devotional hymns.
31. Again this is the suggestion of Sanderson (p.c. 1/3/99). He points out that the *aya - of traya -* is frequently pronounced as if it was *- e*.
32. Although Sanderson suggests (p.c. 1/3/99) this could equally be a reference to a version of the ten brahmanical rules of morality, albeit a list influenced by one of the brahmanical 'major sins' (*Mahapatakas*), that of drinking liquor.
33. ...“hūa causa superior, e regente das mays. Dasta dependem os Anjos, e as almas...” (Pieris 1916 p.188). Sanderson proposes (p.c. 6/3/99) that the 'angels' mentioned might be a reference to the Rudras, who are often mentioned as a class between God and the (bound) souls in Saivite literature.
34. Queyroz I, p.118; see also p.120.
35. See G. Schurhammer, 'Unpublished manuscripts of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz S.J', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, vol. V, Part II, 1929, p. 223, footnote 1. In this article Schurhammer lists all the known writings of Queyroz. They include a polemic on the mission-field of Abyssinia (Queyroz was elected Patriarch of Ethiopia in 1671). This has a chapter on the religious groups in the country: pagans, muslims, Jews, schismatics.
36. See Queyroz I, pp. 79, 80, 141 and throughout Book One. In Queyroz's Necrologue, written shortly after his death in 1688, the author refers to the "*Perfeito Missionario em que confutava os erros de todas as seitas, obra de muito trabalho, muita erudição e muito proveitoza*". Published in Schurhammer 1929 above, p.227.
37. Queyroz I, pp. 87, 140.
38. Queyroz I, pp. 122 – 140.
39. Queyroz I, pp. 120.
40. See Queyroz I, p. 115 and p. 139, where he seems to place Brahmin Yogis and Sinhalese *Bhikkhus* in the same tradition. Queyroz often refers to Buddhist monks as Yogis. See for example, Queyroz I, p. 256.
41. See Queyroz I, p. 120 – 121, where he deals with such recognisably Sinhalese deities as Kataragama. Queyroz indicates a number of times that the people of Jaffna follow a different religion to the Sinhalese. See, for example, Queyroz I, p. 41.
42. Queyroz I, p. 141.
43. Queyroz I, p. 115 – 120, 266.

44. Queyroz I, p. 241. There is no sign that João is discussing Buddhism.
45. Queyroz I, p. 241.
46. Queyroz I, p. 142. For the following see pp. 120, 141f.
47. Queyroz I, p. 150.
48. Queyroz I, p. 151.
49. Queyrox, I, p. 158: "Many other resemblances we could point out, but these are enough to confirm our statement, and there shall not be wanting a place in another work to continue the subject at greater length."
50. Queyroz I, p. 236 – 7. This episode deserves some close attention, because it may offer an insight into Buddhism at this time: was the Christian threat resulting in intellectual controversy within Buddhism itself?
51. Early Portuguese Chroniclers, for example, were often struck by analogies between Hinduism and Christianity. A. M. Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India. Volume 1: from the beginning up to the middle of the 16thC*, Bangalore 1984, p. 518, mentions Diogo do Couto, Duarte Barbosa, Fernão Muniz and Tomé Pires. For a good introduction to the intellectual context of diffusionist ideas see S. MacCormack, 'Limits of Understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman and Amerindian paganism in early modern Europe' in K.O.Kupperman (ed.) *America in European Consciousness 1493 – 1750*, London 1995.
52. Queyroz I, p. 166. But Asian science is scuppered by the absence of the light of Faith.
53. See D. F. Lach, *Asia in the making of Europe*, Bk2, Vol 2, Chicago 1965, pp. 267f. For some reason these theories found particular sympathy in France. Thevet's *La Cosmographie Universelle* of 1575, links ritual bathing in the Ganges with Baptism, just as Queyroz would do one hundred years later (ibid. p. 14).
54. Queyroz I, p.241.
55. Queyroz I, p.80.
56. Queyroz I, p.120.
57. The relevant passage is: "Querem hūs, que ensinace a adoração de hum sō Deos, penitência, e misericórdia; sobre o *que* contão dele impossieys exemplos; mas he falso, *que* lhes desse os dez preceytos dos mandamentos; acreçentando dous: que não bebessem uinho, nem matassem couza uiuente, *que* negara a immortalidade da alma, e todos os sucessos, e acontecimentos humanos atribuiria ao fado, e aos Planetas; donde negão a primeyra causa, atribuindo, tudo â uentura; principio conaturalissimo da ingratição. Outros querem *que* lhes ensinasse a ley de Moyses; mas he por *que* confundem esta seyte com a dos Veddãos..." (Pieris 1916, p. 93) There is a problem of language in the sudden

shift of tense, from 'desse', imperfect subjunctive, to 'negara'. In modern Portuguese the -ra form is pluperfect indicative, but in the seventeenth century it still retained, to some degree, a subjunctive or conditional sense. If Queyroz does habitually use the -ra tense with an indicative meaning, then it would suggest that he is no longer listing these as dogmas falsely attributed to the Buddha. It may be that the text is corrupt, and that something, perhaps 'dizem', is missing. (My thanks to Professor Earle for his help with this difficult passage).

58. The other theories about the Buddha in the quotation above *are* those held by wrong-headed western academics. Later on in Book One he criticises at length those who think that the Buddha was influenced by the ten commandments and the law of Moses. If we do not wish to posit a hypothetical lacuna in the text then an equally plausible interpretation would be to read it as 'mas he falso... *que* negara'.
59. See Queyroz I, p. 257.
60. Queyroz I, p. 120.
61. Queyroz II, pp. 721, 723. See also S. G. Perera's Introduction in Queyroz I, p. 17; the entry for Trindade in Daya de Silva, *The Portuguese in Asia 1498 – 1800: An annotated bibliography*, Zug, Switzerland 1987; A. Meersman and E. Pieris, *Chapters on the introduction of Christianity to Ceylon*, Chilaw 1972, p.10.
62. Lopes' footnote 3 to Trindade Vol. I p.4.
63. Elsewhere Queyoz himself refers to the barrenness of the South-East Asian mission ground: "And as the Religious of this Sect [of the Buddha] have a great reputation outside China, it has been a very difficult matter to convert any of his sectaries, which has been the experience especially in the kingdoms of Arracan, Pegu, Siam, Laos and others of lesser name." (Queyroz I, p.141).
64. See, for example, Queyroz I, p. 266.
65. See Affonso de Albuquerque's interviews with the Raja of Cochin, where a similar exchange occurs. Mundadan 1984 above, p. 361.
66. Don Peter 1992, p.15, repeats the political motive. But see Bhuvanakabahu's letters: Perniola I, Doc 42 p.98; Doc 99 p.249.
67. For the Latin, see Gonzaga 1603, p. 1406. As Dr. Bryan Ward – Perkins has confirmed, the Latin is quite clear; João is asking 'what' not 'is'.
68. João was so disappointed that he left in a sulk after 6 months without informing the King. (Perniola I, Doc 42 p. 96).
69. See Bourdon 1936, p. 13; also M. Quéré, 'Beginnings of the Portuguese mission in the kingdom of Kotte', *Aquinas Journal* Vol 5, No. 1, June 1988, p. 79, although Quéré does chastise the chroniclers for unduly dramatising the affair.

70. Bourdon 1936, p. 13, follows Gonzaga nevertheless. Indeed if the disputation did go on for fifteen days then Gonzaga's general characterisation seems strange. Fr. João says, at the end, "since neither you, O most serene king, nor your wise men are able to explain the questions proposed by me." It is difficult to imagine that those seven questions had been at issue for the whole period.
71. See Neil S. Fujita, *Japan's encounter with Christianity: the Catholic mission in pre-modern Japan*, New York 1991 pp. 6, 29, 44, which highlights the miscommunication in such encounters, especially as a result of the problem of translating theological concepts into Japanese.
72. Richard Gombrich, *Precept and practice: traditional Buddhism in the rural highlands of Ceylon*, Oxford 1971, p. 176.
73. Other scholars will be better equipped to answer such questions, and the author welcomes their suggestions.

“JET STREAMS” Foreshadowed in Pali Texts?

By

K. Arunasiri*

The term “JET STREAM” is not familiar to the ordinary reader even today, except for the advanced Geography student. The term is comparatively new and its history does not go beyond 50 years, namely the second World War period. In short it is a natural phenomenon related to the upper atmosphere. To quote from the Oxford Dictionary “Jet Stream is a narrow current of very strong winds encircling the globe several miles above the earth” (1). In spite of the advancement in science and technology, it remained unknown till then. The strong winds subsequently named “JET STREAMS” were encountered and discovered accidentally for the first time towards the end of the World War II by military aircraft that were flying at the highest possible height for practical reasons. To quote from the Encyclopaedia Britannica (Vol.X, 160-164).

“Atmospheric Jet Streams were discovered towards the end of World War II by U. S. bomber pilots over Japan and by German reconnaissance aircraft over the Mediterranean. A jet stream is a strong narrow air current, concentrated along a nearly horizontal axis in the upper troposphere or stratosphere; characterized by wind motions that produce strong vertical and lateral shearing action, and featuring one or more velocity maxima. Normally a jet stream is thousands of kilometres long, hundreds of kilometres wide and several kilometres deep.

The strongest winds known in Jet Streams have been encountered in Japan where they were discovered by U.S. bomber pilots towards the end of World War II. On account of their strong winds jet streams play an important role in the economy of air traffic. The Head Winds must be outlasted by extra fuel which takes up useful cargo space. Clear air turbulence (CAT) is often associated with the strong vertical wind shears. They are a hazard to passenger and crew safety, and by the increased stresses on the air frame, decrease the useful life of the aircraft” (2).

It is proposed that the phenomenon “JET STREAM” as it is called today, was known to early Buddhists twenty-five centuries ago,

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though it was accidentally detected by high flying aircraft in the mid twentieth century, which I propose to discuss in the present article. It is observed that *Verambavāta* (or *verambhavāta*) found in the Pali texts and exegetical literature refers to the JET STREAMS. Tracing the origin of the term P. T. S. Pali-English Dictionary has identified it as a dialectical attribute of the wind and gives the meaning as “wind blowing in high altitudes”. Further its Buddhist Sanskrit version is given as *Vairambha* quoting from *Divyavadāna*, *lalitavistara* and *Mahāvastu*. According to the Cullaniddesa a text of exegetical value written before the commentarial literature, *Verambavāta* is one among many other varieties of winds, as one may gather from the following excerpt.

“**Vātāti puratthimā vātā pacchimā vātā, uttarā vātā dakkhiṇā vātā sarajā vātā arajā vātā, sītā vātā uṇhā vātā, parittā vātā adhimattā vātā, kālā vātā, verambā vātā, pakkhā vātā supañṇā vātā talapañṇā vātā vidhūpanā vātā**” (5).

An examination of the various contexts in which the term *Verambavāta* used in the Pali Literature reveals, that it has been used in a general sense in addition to its specific meaning.

Though *Verambavāta* specifically means a very strong wind in the upper atmosphere, it has also been used to describe any strong wind in the lower altitudes.

According to *Tikanipāta* of the *Aṅguttaranikāya*, once when Buddha was staying at the town of *ĀLAVI* he spent the night in the open air under a tree, in a cold winter night. In the following morning Prince *Hatthālhaka*, while on his morning walk, saw the Buddha and inquired respectfully whether Buddha was able to sleep comfortably.

Sītā bhante hemantikā ratti, antaraṭṭhako himapātasamayo, kharā gokaṇṭhakahatā bhūmi tanuko pañṇasantharo, viralāni rukkhassa pattāni, sītāni kāsāyavatthāni, sīto ca verambhavāto vāti. atha ca pana bhagavā āha. evaṃ kumāra sukhaṃ asayittham”.

“Reverend Sir, the winter night is cold. Eight days of mid-winter (heavy) snow fall. Rugged is the ground damaged by the hooves of cattle. Thin is the spread of leaves (used as bed), spare is the leaves of the tree (under which Buddha was sitting). The yellow robes are cold and the *Veramba* wind blows, yet the Exalted One says “yes Prince I slept comfortably” (6).

According to its commentary (*Manorathapūraṇi*), (7). *Veramba* winds are the winds that blow from all the four directions. It is further

Except the instances specifically mentioned, all PALI quotations are from P. T. S. editions.

added that the winds that blow from one, two or three directions are not called *Veramba* winds.

This explanation of the term *Veramba* is not found elsewhere. However, it is clear that the *Verambavāta* referred to in the above context is not the ferocious wind in the upper altitudes, but a gust of strong wind blowing on the surface.

In the *Theragathā*, (8) also there is another instance where VERAMBAVĀTA is used in respect of a normal strong wind on the surface.

Apart from the above sporadic instances, it is clearly seen that the term *Verambavāta* has been specifically used to denote the strong winds in the upper atmosphere; the discussion on which to follow would explain, that it is the “Jet Streams” discovered during the second World War.

In the *Samyuttanikāya Verambasutta of Labhasakkāra Samyutta*, the Buddha takes the example of a bird torn into pieces by the *Veramba* wind, to explain the fate of the monk who enters a village for alms, without having restrained his senses.

“Upari bhikkhave ākase Verambā nāma vātā vāyanti. tattha yo pakkhi gacchati, tam enam verambavātā khipanti. tassa verambavātakhittassa aññeneva pādā gacchanti, aññena pakkhā gacchanti aññena sisam gacchati aññena kāyo gacchati”

“O. Brethren in the upper atmosphere there blows a wind called *Veramba* wind. Whatsoever bird that flies there is caught by the *Veramba* wind. Once hit by *Veramba* winds his legs, wings, head and the body are torn and thrown in different directions”.

Samyuttanikāya commentary while commenting on the *Verambasutta* provides more information on the *Veramba Wind*.

“Verambavātā ti evam namakā mahā vātā; kidise pana ñhane te vātā vāyanti ti? yattha ñhiassa cattāro dīpa uppalinipattamattā hutva paññayanti. yo pakkhī gacchati ti navavuṭṭhe deve viravanto vatasakuṇo tattha gacchati”.

“*Verambavātā* means winds known so. Where do they blow? Where one sees the four great continents (*Cattaro Dīpā*) apparently the earth as (small) as a lotus leaf. The bird go there means: After the first rains birds called *Vātasakunā* fly over there singing” (10).

Here *Samyuttanikāya* commentary very clearly says that *Veramba* winds are found in the upper altitudes. It is also interesting to note that the range *Veramba* winds blow is given here as whence *Cattaro Mahā Dīpā* (apparently the earth) is seen as small as a lotus leaf.

Mrs. Rhys Davids in her *Samyuttanikaya* translation, Book of *Kindred Sayings* (11) has translated *Verambavāta* under reference as Hurricanes. But Hurricanes are the cyclones associated with the lower atmosphere with a speed of 65 (75 m.p.h.) knots. Her translation does not give the real nature of *Veramba* wind in the upper atmosphere whose speed is calculated in the region of 300 knots.

Sammohavinodanī the commentary of *Vibhaṅga*, gives the height that *Veramba* wind blows as a *Yojana* which is equivalent to 7 miles or 11 km. This comes very close to the lower limit of the height variation of the Jet stream as calculated today which is between 10 - 50 km altitude.

“*Veramba vātā ti yojanato upari vāyanavātā*” (12).

Jātakapāli which represents the earliest stratum of Pali Literature provides valuable data to identify *Veramba* winds as the Jet Streams. There in the *Gijjhajātaka* the advice supposed to have been given by a vulture to his young son is given as follows.

**“Pariplavantam paṭhavim yadā tāta vijānahi
Sāgarena parikkhittam cakkamva parimaṇḍalam
Toto tāta nivattassu māssu etto param gami.**

**Uddham patto sa vegena balī pakkhi dijuttamo
Olokayanto vakkaṅgo pabbatāni vanāni ca
Addasa paṭhavim gijjho yathā sāsī pitussutam
Sāgarena parikkhittam cakkamva parimaṇḍalam**

**Tanca samatikkamma parameva pavattatha
Tanca vatasikhā tikkhā accahās balim dijam.
Nāsakkhātigato poso punareva nivattitum
Dijo vyasanamāpādi verambānam vasam gato**

“(On your flight upwards) O son, when you see the earth surrounded by the ocean revolving like a circular wheel, stop there do not proceed further

The great bird with strong wings and crooked neck flew upwards looking at forests and mountains

As advised by the father, the vulture saw the earth surrounded by the ocean round like a wheel

He passed the limit and flew beyond. The powerful bird could not stand the (*Veramba*) winds and perished” (13).

It is interesting to note in this context that the height where *Veramba* winds blow is given as the height where the earth is visible like a round wheel.

Migālopajātaka of Jātakāpali gives another similar instance where a vulture is supposed to have advised his disobedient son thus

**Na me rucci migālopa yassa te tādisā gati
Atuccam tāta patasi abūmim tāta sevasi**

**Catukaṇṇam va kedāraṃ yadā te paṭhavi siyā
Toto tāta nivattassu māssu etto paraṃ gami**

**Santi aññepi sakuṇā pattayāna vihaṅgamā
Akkhittā vātavegena naṭṭhā te sassati samā**

“*Migālopa* my son, I am not happy with your movements You are flying too high, beyond your sphere.

When the earth is visible to you like a square field stop there my son, do not go beyond. There are birds who were drawn by the (*Veramba*) winds and perished (14).

Here the height at which the *Veramba* wind blows is given as the height where the earth could be seen as a (small) square field.

In the *Verambasutta*, *Gijjhajātaka* and *Migālopa Jātaka* above referred to, it is said that the birds who dare to fly over to the region of *Veramba* winds, are torn into pieces. Similarly, as mentioned at the beginning the Jet Streams cause problems to the present day mighty air crafts. The aircrafts need additional fuel to face Jet Streams that are hazards to the safety of the crew and the passengers.

The fragmentary evidence found in the Pali texts and the commentaries, of the strong winds called *Verambavāta* in the upper atmosphere should not be compared with the data of the Jet Streams collected by modern accurate equipment. But it is clear that both speak of the same phenomena in the upper atmosphere. Therefore it should be clear that the Buddhists knew the existence of Jet Streams at least 25 centuries earlier than world War II bomber pilots over Japan or German reconnaissance aircrafts over the Mediterranean, who discovered it accidentally.

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TOPONYMY SECTION

Note The Toponymy Committee of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka was formed in 1993. Its objectives are to investigate, document and study Place Names in the island, that occur in inscriptions, literature, documents, both local and foreign, and to provide such information to scholars interested in the subject.

The database of such information at the RASSL will have researched/communicated information available in written or oral form on the origin/change of names of villages, cities, towns, roads, rivers, mountains, or any other significant natural phenomena which would be worth documenting for posterity.

This first monograph by Prof Ananda Salgado Kulasuriya contains names found in the publication, *Inscriptions of Ceylon Vol I and Vol II, Part I*, edited by Prof Senarath Paranavitana. The identified place-names are given in both chronological and alphabetical order. The chronological table will show the names in use during such periods and the places where such names were found. Herein, it would be interesting to see the names that have continued to be in use from the pre-Christian era to the present, and in what form they are now in use.

Both Tables provide the names of the place as mentioned in the inscription, the name of the inscription as it is identified today and given in the publication referred to, the type of inscription, whether it belongs to the pre-Christian or Christian era, the probable or known date, its location, and whether it finds mention in the *History of Place Names* by C W Nicholas. The abbreviations used to indicate the details are given in the page before the Tables.

The Toponymy Committee works on a purely voluntary basis, and it welcomes any information on the subject.

Frederick Medis

Haris de Silva.

Members, Toponymy Committee

List of some Place Names in the Island mentioned in “Inscriptions of Ceylon by Prof. S. Paranavitarna, dated to the 3rd c. BC to 3rd c. AD

by

Ananda S. Kulasuriya

Introduction

At a meeting of the Toponymy Committee of the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society, Sri Lanka (RASSL) held on 20. 05. 95, it was suggested that a list of names of villages occurring in literary works and inscriptions be compiled. Although the original suggestion was to prepare a chronological list of names, it was subsequently agreed to compile a list of such names to be arranged in alphabetical order. The Committee decided to proceed with the compilation of place names and committee members volunteered to undertake different parts of the proposed work. The present compiler who agreed to prepare a list of place names occurring in *Inscriptions of Ceylon*, Vol. I and Vol. II - Part I - by S. Paranavitana, 1970, 1983 was entrusted with the task of compiling the list and presenting it in a format agreed upon by the Committee. The place names were, in each case, to be accompanied by other relevant information such as the name of the inscription, its geographical location; the province and district of occurrence, approximate date and so forth. The present compilation wherein the information is presented in tabulated form, is the outcome of that undertaking.

As its title indicates, this monograph comprises a list of place names found in the inscriptions included in the two volumes mentioned above. The first volume contains the texts and translations of all inscriptions engraved in the earliest form of the Brahmi Script found in Sri Lanka, and have been included in Section A. They make a total of 1124 records. All of them but 41 are found in caves. They range in time from the 3rd century B.C. to the 1st century A.C. Section B of the volume includes the cave inscriptions in the later Brahmi script. They include 134 texts and are generally attributable to the 1st century A.C. The total number of lithic records comprising the volume is therefore around 1255, drawn from 1234 inscriptional texts. The second volume (only Part I of which has been published so far) contains rock and other inscriptions from the reign of Kutakanna Abhaya (41 B.C. - 19 B.C.) to Bhātiya II (140 A.C. - 164 A. C. - 164 A. C., written in the late Brahmi script. It will thus be seen that the inscriptions taken altogether span a period of five centuries, three centuries before the commencement of the Christian era and two thereafter, The first part of Volume II contains only 84 epigraphs. Part II which is intended to complete the volume will include the author's Introduction and a Glossary.

The use of the term 'cave inscriptions' by Paranavitana needs some qualification. The term denotes those records "which are contemporaneous with the fashioning and dedication of the caves to the Sangha. Inscriptions engraved on the walls or roof of a cave, after its dedication to the Sangha, containing

in most cases donations made for religious purposes, are therefore not included in this Volume” (*op.cit* author’s Preface).

Apart from providing much valuable information on the palaeography, grammar and history of these ancient inscriptions, the author furnishes a detailed analysis of the sites of the inscriptions, giving (1) the names of the sites arranged alphabetically, together with the names of the administrative divisions in which they are located and (2) the sites arranged according to the Districts and smaller territorial units (*Palātas, Pattus, Kōralēs* etc.) together with some invaluable general observations on the sites. In addition, there is a map showing the find-spots of the inscriptions. The Historical section of the Introduction (pp. xlvi-cxxix) contains a Section (16) entitled Place-Names (pp. cxxv-cxxix). This last-mentioned section contains critical comments by the author and other information which are indispensable to the student of place names. Taken together they provide a helpful guide for the understanding and identification of place names in early lithic and literary records.

Paranavitana himself gives a list of the ancient place names to be found in the inscriptions which have been cited and translated, together with the modern names of the sites in which they occur (pp. cxxv-cxxvii). It will be seen that the list of names given in the present monograph is (more than three times as many). This is because by far the greater number of names has been taken from the inscriptions contained in the Second Volume (i.e. Vol. II, Part I).

The geographical location of the sites of inscriptions reveals an interesting feature of their distribution. It is to be noted that the sites are scattered widely throughout the Island except in the Northern Province, a part of the Central Province and parts of the Western and Southern Provinces. The 220 odd sites from where the records have been collected are located in sixteen of the twenty-two districts into which the Island was then divided. The six districts left out are Jaffna and Mannar in the North, Nuvara Eliya (where a solitary site is marked) in the Centre, and Kalutara, Galle and Matara in the southwest and south. There is a preponderance of sites in the Anuradhapura and Kurunāgala districts, with Hambantota and Ampāra districts in the deep south and southeast, not far behind.

Not the least important of the critical observations of Paranavitana are those relating to the formation of place names occur in the documents “as epithets prefixed (*sic*) to personal names.” Here it would be more correct to say “as epithets affixed to personal names.” This statement is not illustrated by even a single example and there is not to be found even one instance of such a name in the list which the author gives, though doubtless they, could be found in the texts themselves. Secondly, the formation of these ancient names follows a pattern which is also noticed in their modern counterparts.

The way in which epithets, usually adjectives or descriptive phrases referring to the character or an important quality of a person, are combined with personal names to form place names is spelt out. The author differentiates five methods by which place names are so formed. They are, to quote the author’s words:



- (1) "by forming compounds with *vasika*, meaning 'resident of' or by the addition of the derivative suffixes *-ka*, *ika* or *iya*, with the meaning of 'connected with, resident of etc'";
- (2) coming before the word (*gamika* or *bujhika*, which are epithets prefixed (*sic*) to personal names, to indicate the village over which the individual named exercised authority or derived revenue from;
- (3) coming before *pugiya*, *nagariya* and such words indicating the location of such corporations;
- 4) as the name of a tank, forming a compound with *hamika* and used as a title of an individual; in the case of princes who derived titles from such tanks, the word *hamika* is omitted;
- (5) in the case of a mariner, by being compounded with *-ga* to indicate the name of the seaport to which he usually sailed in his ship."

Regarding (1) although there are plenty of examples of names formed with the addition of the derivative suffixes *-ka*, *ika* and *iya*, no examples are available of compounds formed with *vasika*. The solitary instance which may be cited as very nearly an illustration of the latter is *Tubadavasaka* occurring in the Mahakapugollāva inscription. It is the name of a village in Hurulupalāta in the Anuradhapura District of the North Central Province and may be translated as 'residence of Tubada'. Names of the former category, i.e. those formed with the addition of the derivative suffixes *-ka*, *ika* and *iya* are not uncommon. *Dubalagamaka* of the Nilagama inscription, 1187 and the *Molahitivyavelegala* inscription II, 3, *Hinakadaka* of the Periya Pulankulama inscription, 1169, *Kadahalaka* of the Galge inscription 1122 (*No. 98*), *Kadagirika* of the Dimbulagala inscription, 284, *Kalanika* of the Mandagala inscription, 577, *Canigamiya* of the Maha Alagamuva inscription, 219, *Corikiya* of the Iccilampattai inscription, 385 and *Rakitagamiya* of the Dambulla inscription, 840 are examples. Category (2) refers to names formed with personal names affixed to the word *gamika* or *bujhika*. Examples of place names ending with the element *bujhika* are not available though many instances of names ending in *gamika* are to be found. *Banagamika*, a name occurring in the Mutugalla inscription, 309 and meaning 'of Banagama', *Dakabarigamika* of the Kotalakimbiyava inscription, 1197, *Devaputagamika* of the Mutugalla inscription, 315, and *Maradagamika* of the Bakkiāla slab inscription, II 14 are examples. These names are sometimes prefixed to personal names as is the case *Devaputagamika* above, where the epigraph reads '*Devaputa-gamika-Sonahalene*' meaning 'the cave of Sona, village-councillor of Devaputagama'. *Madukasaliya* of the Gonagala inscription may be cited as an example of the third category of names which come before *pugiya*, meaning 'belonging to a corporation' from *puga* = corporation. The inscription reads '*Madukasaliya of the pugiyana*' meaning 'of the members of the Madukasaliya corporation'. *Utinagariyana* occurring in the Kongala inscription, 538 is an example of a place name preceding *nagariya* where the text runs '*Utinagariyana*' = 'citizens of Utinagara'. No examples of place names forming a compound with *hamika* have been encountered in the present list, i.e. names belonging to category (4). *Paranavitana* takes the names formed with the suffix *-ga* as referring to a

mariner: category (5). Barukacaga occurring in the Bagavalena inscription, 1183, is taken to mean 'going to Barukaca, identified with Bharukaccha, the name of a port in Western India in early times.

The second important point the author makes is that the formation of ancient place names follows a pattern that is similar to that which is noticed in their modern counterparts. Many names are made up of components (usually two in number) in which *gama*, *nagara*, *vapi* (*vavi*), *giri*, *pavata*, *goda* etc. are added as second members to the names of a person, tree or animal. Paronavitana observes that some of the personages figuring in the inscriptions appear to have contributed their own names in the formation of certain place names which have remained for two thousand years up to the present day. The case of the record of a grant made by a certain *parumaka* (chief) mentioned in inscription No. 944 refers to the cave of one Utara. The site of the inscription is even now called Uturu-pavu (= the hill of Utara).

The name Digavapi (Kuduvil inscription, No. 480) and its identification as the ancient Dīghavāpi is interesting from a historical-geographical point of view. The name has been taken as corresponding to the Elu form Digā which could be a contraction of Digavapi itself but is not found in isolation and figures in such compound formations as Digāmañḍulla. As Paronavitana observes, the donor of the Kuduvil cave came from Digavapi or Dīghavāpi its better known name. The latter was one of the earliest Aryan settlements in the south-eastern principality of Ruhuṇa (Rohana). It became an important Buddhist centre and was one of the sixteen places (*solosmahasthāna*) believed to have been visited by the Buddha. Vēraiāḍi, at a distance of some four miles from Kuduvil and where there are remains of a colossal *stupa* has been identified with the ancient Dīghavāpi.

In one of the inscriptions from Yāngala No. 706), in the Hambantota District one of the donors is described as a *parumakane* (chieftainess) named Yasadā who came from Anuradagama. It is possible that the Anuradagama mentioned there is different from a place bearing the same name in the North Central Province which came to be known as Anurādhapura, the celebrated capital of the Rajarāṭa kingdom. But it is equally possible that such a place was located in the south-eastern quarter of the Island.

A question that arises is: how far is one justified in adopting the forms of certain names in the manner in which they have been eventually determined? For instance, is it correct to adopt the names Banagamika, Corikiya, Canagamiya, as the ancient names of the places by which they were known and as they have been taken in the present list, instead of Banagama, Corika and Canagama respectively which might well have been their original forms? In like manner, is Hakulaviya the proper form or Hakulavi the name of the village, Rakitagamiya or some such form as Rakitagami or Rakitagama the original form? Again it is not clear why names such as Kaḍagirika should be preferred to Kaḍagiri, Kalaṇika to Kalaṇi, or Mukadugamika to Mukalu or Makalugama.

Toponymy Data Entry Format

Provinces : Numbers given from North to South

Districts : first digit has been derived from the number given to the Province to facilitate sorting by Province.

Northern : 1

Jaffna	11
Kilinochchi	12
Mullativu	13
Mannar	14
Vavuniya	15

North Central : 2

Anuradhapura	21
Polonnaruwa	22

North Western : 3

Puttalam	31
Kurunegala	32

Eastern : 4

Trincomalee	41
Batticaloa	42
Amparai	43

Central : 5

Matale	51
Kandy	52
Nuwara Eliya	53

Western : 6

Gampaha	61
Colombo	62
Kalutara	63

Sabaragamuwa : 7

Kegalle	71
Ratnapura	72

Uva : 8

Badulla	81
Monaragala	82

Southern : 9

Galle	91
Matara	92
Hambantota	93

Abbreviations:

Ins	=	Inscription : its site
T	=	Type
C	=	Cave
G	=	Gold Plate
P	=	Pillar
R	=	Rock
S	=	Slab
E	=	Era
1	=	BC
2	=	AC
P	=	Province
D	=	District
Rem	=	Remarks : N/ Page No = Ref. in History of Place Names by C. W. Nicholas, <i>JRAS(CB) Vol. VI, Special Number, 1959.</i>

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST

Placename	Ins	TE	Date	P	D	Rem
Baramanagama	Bakkiāla	C 1	19-9	4		43
Kaladagaviya	Tumbullegala	C 1	19-9ac	2	21	
Panitakaviya	Dūvegala	C 1	1c-2cAD2		21	
Amaratana	Mihintalē	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Akujamahagamaha	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Anuḍigama	Lenagala	C 1	3c*	7	71	
Ahalipavata vihara	Nelugala	C 1	3c*	4	42	
Adakacaka	Kōngala	C 1	3c*	4	43	
Atukatahakara	Kaduruvāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Avaladaketa	Gallena vihāra	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Acanagaraka	Tōnigala	C 1	3c*	3	33	
Anuḷapi-vapi	Haṅdagala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Baṇagamika	Mutugalla	C 1	3c*	2	22	
Cahanilaya	Kusalānakanda	C 1	3c*	4	42	
Canatiśapavata	Rajagala	C 1	3c*	5	52	
Bamanagara	Torava Mayilāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Canigamiya	Maha Alagamuva	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Cemagama	Yaṭahalena	C 1	3c*	7	71	
Barukacaga	Bagavālena	C 1	3c*	5	52	
Citalapavat vihara	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Bhojakāṭa	Aṅḍiyāgala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Corakiya	Iccilampattal	C 1	3c*	4	41	
Bohogiri	Patravel vihāra	C 1	3c*	8	82	
Culadaka	Ganēkanda	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Caladahagama	Ātvehera	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Culagiriya	Velgam vehera	C 1	3c*	4	41	
Bamanavila	Kāsimottai	C 1	3c*	4	42	
Culapulahakulketa	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Batasanagara	Lenagala	C 1	3c*	7	71	
Acagirikatiśapavata	Tōnigala	C 1	3c*	3	33	
Aba-velaka	Mandagala	R 1	3c*	9	93	
Botiyaganaka		C 1	3c*			
Dakabarigamika	Kotalakimbiyāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Dakagamaketa	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Devaputagamika	Mutugalla	C 1	3c*	3	31	
Abatōṭa	Delvita	C 1	3c*	3	34	
Badagana	Kaduruvāva	R 1	3c*	3	32	
Mahakumanaka	Tamaragala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Nakaragana	Thūpārāma	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Nacadaka-aḍi	Nacciyarmai	S 1	3c*	4	41	
Yavavavika-vavi	Sāssēruva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Loṇapi	Mihintalē	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Maḍavala		C 1	3c*			
Erekapi	Nāttukanda	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Maḍukasaliya	Goṇagala	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Gajadabutaka	Avukana	C 1	3c*	2	21	

Viharabija	Maharatmalē	C 1 3c*	2	21
Šalivaya	Yatahalena	C 1 3c*	7	71
Pilagamaka vāvi	Ratnapāsāda	S 1 3c*	2	21
Kubaragama (vavi)	Vilevāva	C 1 3c*	2	21
Garidaganaka	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Kubaragoda vaviya	Ipulvehera	S 1 3c*	2	21
Giributaya	Ambalava	C 1 3c*	3	32
Kulagama	Riḍivihāra	C 1 3c*	3	32
Girikahota	Ilvehera uḍa malē	C 1 3c*	4	42
Rakavila	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93
Lodoraka	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Rakasapahana gama	Aluthalmillāva	C 1 3c*	2	21
Rajakola	Aluthalmillāva	C 1 3c*	2	21
Vaḍamanagama	Galgamuva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Upāṣonapi	Kirimakulgolla	C 1 3c*	7	72
Lokeya	Vadahagala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Ilubarata	Anurādhapura	C 1 3c*	2	21
Rakitagamiya	Dambulla	C 1 3c*	5	51
Valahala keta	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93
Upaligama	Yatahalena	C 1 3c*	7	71
Payelipavata	Mōlahitiyavelēgala	C 1 3c*	2	22
Paṭalagama	Yaṭahalena	C 1 3c*	7	71
Tiragama atana	Perimiyankulama	C 1 3c*	2	21
Kaḍapivapi	Avukana	C 1 3c*	2	21
Mahakubara	Tamaragala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Ratakaravakapiti	Tennakōngama	C 1 3c*	3	32
Mahapulagakutaketa	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93
Utarapara atanehi	Tammānnākanda	C 1 3c*	2	21
Paśaṇadariyagama	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93
Majaka	Haṇdagala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Paracavagama	Sāssēruva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Kalaṇika	Mandagala	C 1 3c*	9	93
Vilaketa	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93
Toṭagamiya	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93
Kaṇikaraṇaṭiya	Sāssēruva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Mukalu (gamika)	Nūvarakanda	C 1 3c*	3	32
Viharaviya	Dūvegala	C 1 3c*	2	22
Malugama	Hannanegala	C 1 3c*	4	42
Karabaka (kubata)	Tamaragala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Tihalaka	Perimiyankulama	C 1 3c*	2	21
Karajhinitiśagama	Henannegala	C 1 3c*	4	42
Kaśabanagara	Henannegala	C 1 3c*	4	42
Katakanakaraka	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Telakaṭaha	Kayikavāla	C 1 3c*	3	32
Tavirikiya nagara	Tōṇigala	C 1 3c*	3	31
Palvilka-ara	Ratgallegama	C 1 3c*	3	32
Maradagamika vavi	Bakkiāla	S 1 3c*	4	42
Kolagama	Pidurāgala	C 1 3c*	5	51
Marukuṭa	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93
Masakala-balakan	Tennakōngama	C 1 3c*	3	32

Girgamaka-adi	Lainmalai	C 1 3c*	4	42
Mataligamika	Haṅdagala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Pehekaragamaka	Galkandegama	C 1 3c*	2	21
Padagamakagama	Ridivihāra	C 1 3c*	3	32
Matikavili	Sässēruva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Uparikaḍa	Dambulla	C 1 3c*	5	51
Maṭukagama	Dambulla	C 1 3c*	5	51
Yasisa	Gallena vihāra	C 1 3c*	3	32
Puyuganakaraka	Mahamūkalan yāya	C 1 3c*	3	32
Kaḍahalaka	Galgē	C 1 3c*	2	21
Mayahala	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Upalavi	Mihintale	C 1 3c*	2	21
Tubaḍavasaka	Mahakapugollāva	C 1 3c*	2	21
Kanikarapali	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93
Nokapika	Henannegala	C 1 3c*	4	42
Karajavika	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Punadagama	Sässeruva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Punapitaka vavi	Torava mayilāva	C 1 3c*	3	32
Polonakaraka vaviya	Periyankulama	C 1 3c*	2	21
Nuvaravāva	Nuvaravāva	C 1 3c*	2	21
Giri uta vavi	Thūpārama	C 1 3c*	2	21
Hinakaḍaka	Periya puliyankulama	C 1 3c*	1	15
Ritigala	Ritigala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Paḍuvasagoḍa	Gallena-vihāra	C 1 3c*	3	32
Kaṇiyutagama	Vihāregala	C 1 3c*	4	43
Nakaragana	Ratgallegama	C 1 3c*	2	21
Dubalayahatagama	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93
Vajakahen tata	Tennakōngama	C 1 3c*	3	32
Duhataragama	Yaṭahalena	C 1 3c*	3	32
Isiraman	Vessagiri	C 1 3c*	2	21
Nakoḍapika-vapi	Haṅdagala	C 1 3c*	2	21
Paḍagama	Avukana	C 1 3c*	2	21
Tisapavata	Tōnigala	C 1 3c*	3	31
Vadalpitanivaviya	Ipul vehera	C 1 3c*	2	21
Upalavi bajaka	Pālumākiccāva	C 1 3c*	2	21
Karajikakagala	Malvatta	C 1 3c*	4	43
Naśika	Yāngala	C 1 3c*	9	93
Nelagama	Delviṭa	C 1 3c*	3	32
Sivanakaraka	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93
Sivanagara	Yaṭahalena	C 1 3c*	7	71
Nilayanagara	Yaṭahalena	C 1 3c*	7	71
Abanagara	Ranagirimada	R 1 3c-1ac	3	34
Abaḍiya	Gallena vihāra	R 1 3c-1c	3	34
Dubalaḡamaka	Mōlahiṭiyavelēgala	C 1 41-19	2	22
Lodori	Mōlahiṭiyavelēgala	C 1 41-19	2	22
Nakadiva	Vallipuram	C 2 1-2c	1	11
Kiridivata	Kāsimoṭṭai	C 2 1-2c	4	42
Kolahobaka	Kāsimoṭṭai	C 2 1-2c	4	42
Kalaha-naka	Dūvegala	C 2 1-2c	2	22
Godapavata-patana	Tamaragala	C 2 1-2c	2	21

Pahanavilata	Kāsimottai	C 2 1-2c	4	43
Kalapahanaka vava	Sinādiyagala	C 2 1-2c	2	21
Vakaraaviya	Dūvegala	C 2 1-2c	2	22
Magana-nakara	Sinādiyagala	C 2 1-2c	2	21
Tabaka vana	Nelugala	C 2 140-164	4	43
Kanavaka-keta	Ganēkanda	C 2 140-164	3	32
Tenagama	Ganēkanda	C 2 140-164	3	32
Durakubara	Galgirikanda	C 2 140-164	2	21
Kaḍagirika	Dimbulāgala	C 2 140-164	2	22
Kabubavilakini	Tennakōngama	C 2 140-164	3	32
Kabubakadara	Ganēkanda	C 2 140-164	3	32
Kehaketa	Ganēkanda	C 2 140-164	3	32
Katari-vasana	Ganēkanda	C 2 140-164	3	32
Mahatubari	Pahalausgollāva	C 2 140-164	2	21
Punatanagamaha	Ganekanda cave	C 2 164	3	32
Ambalava	Ambalava vihāra	C 2 1c	3	34
Panadata maha kubara	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Pahanaviya	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Mihintalē	Mihintalē	C 2 1c	2	21
Pitvikaketahi	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Matulaka-kuba	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Kadisaga-gama	Angomuva	C 2 1c	2	21
Kadatagama	Dunumañdalākanda	C 2 1c	2	21
Hakulaviya	Hittaragamahinna	C 2 1c	2	21
Hajiyaketahi	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Gutapavata	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Vavalapagama	Ambalavavihāra	C 2 1c	4	42
Utara araka	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Sivaka Ketahi	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21
Nikula vilaka	Ūwegala	C 2 2c	2	22
Asinivatkceta	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Nagapavata	Bambaragastalāva	C 2 2c	4	43
Mayihiniyi	Kallanciya	C 2 2c	2	21
Mataviya	Habāssa	C 2 2c	8	82
Manikaragamakavaviya	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Manikaragamaka	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Pajalaka vaviya	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Nakara	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Atalasata	Ganēkanda	C 2 2c	3	31
Punakadaka vavaka	Diyabatta vihara	C 2 2-3c	3	32
Gagapavata	Timbirivāva	C 2 2-3c	2	21
Varanakutaka	Diyabattavihāra	C 2 2-3c	3	32
Pahana-kubara	Pahala-Tammānnāva	C 2 2-3c	2	21
Tikanaka viharahi	Diyabatta vihāra	C 2 2-3c	3	32
Manikaragalaka	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Dubalkubura	Pahala Tammānnāva	C 2 2c	2	21
Pakaravasaka-keta	Pahala-Tammānnāva	C 2 2c	2	21
Upala ara	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Punava	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Kalagama-keta	Sāṅdagiri	P 2 2c	9	93
Kokebe	Kokebe	C 2 2c	2	21

Payagalaka	Nelugala	C 2 2c	4	42
Kadarajiya	Ipulvehera	S 2 2c	2	21
Jabukubara	Pahala Tammännāva	C 2 2c	2	21
Managamaka(keta)	Pahala Tammännāva	C 2 2c	2	21
Vadamanaka aha avi	Nelugala	C 2 2c	4	42
Harayada pataha	Kok-ebe	C 2 2c	2	21
Gavidaviya	Habässa	C 2 2c	8	82
Mahagama	Kokebe	C 2 2c	2	21
Racitaviniya keta	Pahala Tammännāva	C 2 2c	2	21
Totagamaka ali	Nelugala	C 2 2c	4	42
Nagala-ava	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Anugakubura	Tamaragala	C 2 2c	2	21
Nakaviya	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21
Abalakumbura	Pahala Tammännāva	C 2 2c	3	33
Abaviya	Habässa	R 2 2c	8	82
Aritagama vapi	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Aritagama vapi	Mihintalē	R 2 7-19	2	21
Aganagama	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Punaka	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Baralipana	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Nilaraji	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Magana (nakarika)	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Karabadara	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Kanagama	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Kalinigama	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21
Kabota-agana	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21

ALPHABETICAL LIST

Placename	Ins	TE	Date	P	D	Rem
Abaaḍiya	Galleṇa vihāra	C 1	3c-1c	3	34	
Abalakumbura	Pahala Tammānāva	C 2	2c	3	33	
Abanagara	Ranagirimaḍa	C 1	3c-1ac	3	34	
Abatoṭa	Delvita	C 1	3c*	3	34	N/106
Aba-velaka	Maṇḍagala	C 1	3c*	9	93	N/65
Abaviya	Habāssa	C 2	2c	8	82	N/54
Acagirikatiśapavata	Tōṇigala	C 1	3c*	3	33	N/88
Acanagaraka	Tōṇigala	C 1	3c*	3	33	N/88
Adakacaka	Kongala	C 1	3c*	4	43	
Aganagama	Mihintalē	C 2	7-19	2	21	N/165
Ahalipavata vihara	Nelugala	C 1	3c*	4	42	N/33
Akujamahagamaha	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	N/61
Amaratana	Mihintalē	C 1	3c*	2	21	N/166
Ambalava	Ambalava vihāra	C 2	1c	3	34	
Anuḍigama	Lenagala	C 1	3c*	7	71	
Anuḷapivapi	Haṇḍagala	C 1	3c*	2	21	N/162
Anugakubura	Tamaragala	C 2	2c	2	21	
Aritagama vapi	Mihintalē	C 2	7-19	2	21	N/171
Asinivatkaceta	Galgirikanda	C 2	2c	2	21	
Atalasata	Ganēkanda	C 2	2c	3	31	
Atukatakahakara	Kaduruvāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Avaladaketa	Galleṇa vihāra	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Badagana	Kaduruvāva	R 1	3c*	3	32	
Badakaraatana	Vallipuram	C 2	1-2c	1	11	N/84
Bamanagara	Torava Mayilāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Bamanavila	Kāsimottai	C 1	3c*	4	42	
Baṇagamika	Mutugalla	C 1	3c*	2	22	
Baralipana	Mihintalē	C 2	7-19	2	21	
Baramanagama	Bakkiāla	C 1	19-9	4	43	
Barukacaga	Bagavālena	C 1	3c*	5	52	
Batasanagara	Lenagala	C 1	3c*	7	71	N/122
Bhojakata	Āṇḍiyagala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Bohogiri	Patravel vihāra	C 1	3c*	8	82	N/22
Botiyaganaka		R 1	3c*			
Cahanilaya	Kusalānakanda	C 1	3c*	4	42	N/31
Caladahagama	Ātvehera	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Canatisapavata	Rajagala	C 1	3c*	5	52	
Canigamiya	Maha Alagamuva	C 1	3c*	2	21	N/167
Cemagama	Yaṭahalena	C 1	3c*	7	21	N/122
Citalapavat vihrahi	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	N/163
Corakiya	Iccilampattal	C 1	3c*	4	41	N/188
Culadaka	Ganekanda	C 1	3c*	3	32	

Culagiriya	Velgam vehera	C 1 3c*	4	41	N/178
Culapulihakulketa	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Dakabarigamika	Kotalakiṃbiyāva	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Dakagamaketa	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Devaputagamika	Mutugalla	C 1 3c*	3	31	
Dubalagamaka	Mōlahiṭiyavelegala	C 1 41-19	2	22	N/109
Dubalayahatagama	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93	N/63
Dubalkubura	Pahala Tammānāva	C 2 2c	2	21	
Duhataragama	Yāṭahalena	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Durakubara	Galgirikanda	C 2 140-164	2	21	
Erekapi	Nattukanda	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Gagapavata	Tiṃbirivāva	C 2 2-3c	2	21	N/170
Garadidagara	Piduragala	C 2 140-164	5	51	N/110
Gajadabutaka	Avukana	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Garidaganaka	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Gavidaviya	Habāssa	C 2 2c	8	82	N/54,63
Girgamaka-adi	Lainmalai	C 1 3c*	4	42	N/98
Girir uta vavi	Thūpārāma	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Giributaya	Ambalava	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Girikahota	Ilvehera uḍa male	C 1 3c*	4	42	
Godapavata-patana	Tamaragala	C 2 1-2c	2	21	N/67
Gutapavata	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	N/170
Hajjiyaketahi	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	N/170
Hakulaviya	Hittaragamahinna	C 2 1c	2	21	N/171
Harayada pataha	Kok-ebe	C 2 2c	2	21	
Hinakadaka	Periya puliyankulama	C 1 3c*	1	15	
Ilubarata	Anurādhapura	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/158
Isiraman	Vessagiri	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/148
Jabukubara	Pahala Tammānāva	C 2 2c	2	21	
Kabota-agana	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21	N/165
Kabubakadara	Ganēkanda	C 2 140-164	3	32	N/99
Kabubavilakini	Tennakōngama	C 2 140-164	3	32	N/162
Kaḍagirika	Diṃbulāgala	C 2 140-164	2	22	
Kaḍahalaka	Galge	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/89,154
Kadapivapi	Avukana	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Kadarajiya	Ipulvehera	C 2 2c	2	21	
Kadatagama	Dunumaṅdalākanda	C 2 1c	2	21	
Kadisaga-gama	Angomuva	C 2 1c	2	21	
Kaladagaviya	Tumbullegala	C 1 19-9ac	2	21	
Kalagama-keta	Saṅdagiri	C 2 2c	9	93	
Kalaha-naka	Duvegala	C 2 1-2c	2	22	N/182
Kalanika	Mandagala	C 1 3c*	9	93	N/20
Kalapahanaka vava	Śinādiyagala	C 2 1-2c	2	21	N/153
Kalinigama	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21	N/165
Kanagama	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21	N/
					180,162

Kanavaka-keta	Ganēkanda	C 2	140-164	3	32	
Kaṇikaranatiya	Sässēruva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Kanikarapali	Situlpavu	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Kaṇiyutagama	Vihāregala	C 1	3c*	4	43	
Karabadara	Mihintalē	C 2	7-19	2	21	
Karabaka (kubata)	Tamaragala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Karajavika	Kaduruvāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	N/99
Karajhinitisagama	Henannegala	C 1	3c*	4	42	N/32
Karajikakagala	Malvatta	C 1	3c*	4	43	
Kaśabanagara	Henannegala	C 1	3c*	4	42	N/32
Katakanakaraka	Kaduruvāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	N/99
Katari-vasana	Ganēkanda	C 2	140-164	3	32	
Kehaketa	Ganēkanda	C 2	140-164	3	32	
Kiridivata	Kāsimoṭṭai	C 2	1-2c	4	42	
Kolagama	Pidurāgala	C 1	3c*	5	51	N/110
Kolahobaka	Kāsimoṭṭai	C 2	1-2c	4	42	
Kubaragama (vavi)	Vilevāva	C 1	3c*	2	21	N/169
Kubaragoda vaviya	Ipulvehera	S 1	3c*	2	21	
Kulagama	Ridivihāra	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Lodoraka	Kaduruvāva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Lodori	Mōlahiṭiyavelegala	C 1	41-19	2	22	
Lokeya	Vadahagala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Loṇapi	Mihintalē	C 1	3c*	2	21	N/165
Madavala		C 1	3c*			
Maḍukaśaliya	Gōnagala	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Magana (nakarika)	Mihintale	C 2	7-19	2	21	N/81,153
Magana-nakara	Sināḍiyagala	C 2	1-2c	2	21	
Mahagama	Kokebe	C 2	2c	2	21	N/170
Mahakubara	Tamaragala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Mahakumanaka	Tamaragala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Mahapulagakutaketa	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Mahatubari	Pahalausgollāva	C 2	140-164	2	21	
Majaka	Haṇdagala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Makau [gāmaka]	Navavakanda	C 1	3c*	3	32	N/103
Malugama	Hannanegala	C 1	3c*	4	42	N/32
Managamaka(keta)	Pahala Tammännāva	C 2	2c	2	21	
Manikaragalaka	Galgirikanda	C 2	2c	2	21	N/155
Manikaragamaka	Tammännākanda	C 2	2c	2	21	N/161
Manikaragamakavaviya	Tammännākanda	c 2	2c	2	21	N/161
Maradagamika vavi	Bakkāila	S 1	3c*	4	42	
Marukuta	Situlpavuva	C 1	3c*	9	93	
Masakala-balakan	Tennakōngama	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Mataligamika	Haṇdagala	C 1	3c*	2	21	
Mataviya	Habāssa	C 2	2c	8	82	N/54,170
Matikavili	Sässēruva	C 1	3c*	3	32	
Matukagama	Dambulla	C 1	3c*	5	51	N/108

Matulaka-kuba	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	
Mayahala	Kaduruvāva	C 1 3c*	3	32	N/99
Mayihiniyi	Kallanciya	C 2 2c	2	21	
Mihintale	Mihintalē	C 2 1c	2	21	
Mukalu (gamika)	Nuvarakanda	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Nacadaka-adi	Nacciyarmali	S 1 3c*	4	41	
Nagala-ava	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21	N/100
Nagapavata	Bambaragastalāva	C 2 2c	4	43	N/20,115
Nakadiva	Vallipuram	G 2 1-2c	1	11	N/84
Nakara	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21	
Nakaragana	Thūpārāma	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/95,165
Nakaragana	Ratgallegama	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Nakaviya	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21	
Nakoḍapika-vapi	Haṅdagala	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/162
Naśika	Yāngala	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Nelagama	Delvita	C 1 3c*	3	32	N/106
Nikula vilaka	Ūwegala	C 2 2c	2	22	N/38
Nilaraji	Mihintalē	C 2 7-19	2	21	
Nilayanagara	Yaṭahaleṇa	C 1 3c*	7	71	N/122
Nokapika	Henannegala	C 1 3c*	4	42	
Nuvaravava	Nuvaravāva	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Paḍagama	Avukana	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Paḍagamakagama	Riḍivihāra	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Paduvasgoda	Galleṇa-vihāra	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Pahana-kubara	Pahala-Tammānnāva	C 2 2-3c	2	21	
Pahanavilata	Kāsimoṭṭai	C 2 1-2c	4	43	
Pahanaviya	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	
Pajalaka vaviya	Tammānnākanda	C 2 2c	2	21	
Pakaravasaka-keta	Pahala-Tammānnāva	C 2 2c	2	21	
Palvilka-ara	Ratgallegama	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Panadata maha kubara	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	
Panitakaviya	Duvegala	C 1 1c-2cAD2		21	
Paracavagama	Sāssēruva	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Paśaṇadariyagama	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Pātalagama	Yaṭahaleṇa	C 1 3c*	7	71	
Payagalake	Nelugala	C 2 2c	4	42	
Payelipavata	Mōlahitiyavelegala	C 1 3c*	2	22	
Pehekaragamaka	Galkandegama	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Pilagamaka vavi	Ratnapāsāda	S 1 3c*	2	21	N/106
Pitvikaketahi	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	
Polonakaraka vaviya	Periyankulama	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Punadagama	Sāssēruva	C 1 3c*	3	32	N/98
Punaka	Mihintale	C 2 7-19	2	21	
Punakadaka vavaka	Diyabatta vihara	C 2 2-3c	3	32	N/96
Punapitaka vayi	Torava mayilāva	C 1 3c*	3	32	N/93

Punatanagamaha	Ganekanda cave	C 2 164	3	32	
Punava	Galgirikanda	C 2 2c	2	21	
Puyuganakaraka	Mahamukalan yāya	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Racitaviniya keta	Pahala Tammānāva	C 2 2c	2	21	
Rajakola	Aluthalmillava	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Rakasapahana gama	Aluthalmillāva	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/126
Rakavila	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Rakitagamiya	Daṃbulla	C 1 3c*	5	51	
Ratakaravakapiti	Tennakōngama	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Salivaya	Yāṭahaleṇa	C 1 3c*	7	71	N/122
Sivaka Ketahi	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	
Sivanagara	Yāṭahaleṇa	C 1 3c*	7	71	N/63
Sivanakaraka	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Tabaka vana	Nelugala	C 2 140-164	4	43	
Tavirikiya nagara	Tōṇigala	C 1 3c*	3	31	
Telakaṭaha	Kayikāvala	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Tenagama	Ganekanda	C 2 140-164	3	32	
Tihalaka	Perimiyankulama	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/172
Tikanaka viharahi	Diyabatta vihāra	C 2 2-3c	3	32	N/96
Tiragama atana	Perimiyankulama	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Tiṣapavata	Tōṇigala	C 1 3c*	3	31	N/93,103
Totagamaka ali	Nelugala	C 2 2c	4	42	N/33
Totagamiya	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93	N/63
Tubaḍavasaka	Mahakapugollāva	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/169
Upala ara	Tammānākanda	C 2 2c	2	21	
Upalavi	Mihintalē	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/161
Upalavi bajaka	Pālumākiccāva	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/161
Upaligama	Yatahalena	C 1 3c*	7	71	N/122
Uparikada	Daṃbulla	C 1 3c*	5	51	
Upaṣonapi	Kirimakulgolla	C 1 3c*	7	72	
Utara araka	Tamaragala	C 2 1c	2	21	N/96
Utarapara atanehi	Tammānākanda	C 1 3c*	2	21	N/158
Vadalpitanivaviya	Ipul vehera	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Vadamanagama	Galgamuva	C 1 3c*	3	32	N/33,94,161
Vadamanaka aha avi	Nelugala	C 2 2c	4	42	
Vajakahen tata	Tennakōngama	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Vakaraviya	Duvegala	C 2 1-2c	2	22	
Valahala keta	Situlpavuva	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Varanakutaka	Diyabattavihāra	C 2 2-3c	3	32	
Vavalapagama	Ambalavavihāra	C 2 1c	4	42	
Viharabija	Maharatmalē	C 1 3c*	2	21	
Viharaviya	Dūvegala	C 1 3c*	2	22	
Vilaketa	Situlpavu	C 1 3c*	9	93	
Yasisa	Gallena vihara	C 1 3c*	3	32	
Yavavavika-vav	Sāssēruva	C 1 3c*	3	32	

Fishing craft and gear of Sri Lanka

Dept. of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, UNDP / FAO / SRL / 91 / 022 Marine Fisheries Management Project. Colombo, Sri Lanka. Published in Sinhala, Tamil & English.

The Dept. of Fisheries had undertaken the publication of this book as a Project, its purpose being to establish a reliable data base for the development of a fisheries management policy. An introductory message states: "there is no single publication with the capacity to consolidate and make available required information... for effective fisheries management and development decisions" and that "the main purpose of the book is to produce a reference document to be used by the field staff of the Department..." To this extent, this publication largely succeeds and there is no reason to doubt that it will prove a useful handbook to field officers. It may even be of some use to policy- and decision makers. However, it will remain that, and that only. Researchers (for whom, too, this book is presented as "valuable reference material") however, will find many lacunae and a lack of a historical perspective. In fact, the Director of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, while calling this "a major accomplishment" admits that "there is no doubt room for further improvement and hopefully this inventory can be updated and improved upon". His honesty is, indeed, laudable.

The comments made hereafter is not meant to be carping, as it has already been accepted that the book succeeds in its stated objective. Yet, a Review in this Journal should reflect the concerns and interests of its own members and readers.

For the benefit of policy- and decision-makers, what would have been useful would have been an attempt to bring together all known material pertaining to the technology of marine fisheries, including the different types of craft and their distribution pattern around the coast. Compiling a book through the processes of drafting Terms of Reference, selection of Consultant firms through competitive bidding, Technical Evaluation Committees, Contracts, Draft manuals, Experts Committees, Experts Workshops, Critical Review Workshops, Second and Third drafts is hardly likely to produce works of lasting value. If these were all required by departmental procedures, the publication should have remained an in-house publication. But the subject concerned is definitely of interest to researchers too, both national and international - as has been accepted. Hence, a deeper approach to the subject,

particularly in the areas of historical evolution, technology of boat-building, an index of earlier research on the subject and technically accurate illustrations should have been adopted.

“Historical evolution” means an understanding of why particular types of vessels and gear evolved in Sri Lanka. This would help proper decision making: the popularity of fibreglass clones of logboats would illustrate why they are accepted by fishermen. Similarly, the non-proliferation of the Bay of Bengal Project’s plank-built “oru” with the southeast Asian pivoted outriggers (SRL 19 type” fig. 135) would illustrate the dangers of under-estimating the strength of culturally-determined practices.

“Technology of boat-building” means correct descriptions, in detail, of both traditional and modern craft, including construction methods and materials (types of wood, cordage, use of metal fittings, etc.). The proper analysis of these would be useful in deciding on the material to replace them, when necessary, i.e. even in fibreglass “oru”, the outrigger booms and balance log are yet made of wood.

“An index of earlier research” simply means a Bibliography on the subjects of craft, gear, methods, species, etc... The compilers of the book seem not to have read the pioneering works of such as Edye (1833) and Paris (1844) or of Lewis (1913) and Hornell (“Fishing and Coastal Craft of Ceylon”, 1944), who were employed by the Fisheries Dept. in this century. More seriously, they seem not to have read the Fisheries Research Stations Bulletins: particularly “A Guide to the Fisheries of Ceylon” (Bulletin No.8 of 1958) and Canagaratnam & Medcof’s “Ceylon’s Beach Seine Fishery” (Bulletin No. 4). A comparison of the Fisheries data of the 1950s with those of today would give much food for thought for decision-and policy-makers. There is so much material available in Sri Lankan publications and Libraries, many of which are in the Library of this Society, that there can be no reason for omitting a proper Bibliography. I need only to refer readers to the Bibliography given in Bulletin No.8 above.

“Technically accurate illustration” means just that. The illustrations - small sized line drawings with no indication of scale or even perspective - are most inadequate. It is quite distressing to see the many maps of Sri Lanka which show a grossly misshapen Sri Lanka. This cannot be accepted in an official publication. Why could not such an accepted norm as the Transverse Mercator Projection have been used? Similarly, the other illustrations are inexcusably amateurish with the figs. 122 and 139 being particularly bad. The meticulous draftsmanship of Edye and Paris, the black-and-white photography of Lewis, Hornell and the Bulletins are superior to the computer-generated line drawings in this publication.

Yet, in spite of the above comments-which are made from the point of view of this Journal's readers – the book succeeds in its primary objective of being a handbook for easy reference. The Appendices, particularly the Classified List of Fishing Gear and Methods, List of Craft with Gear Used and Main Species of Fish Caught in Different Gears, will be of great value to Field Officers as a basic tool. The illustrations of the fish, in black-and-white, and indistinctly printed – leave much to be desired. Again, they are much inferior to the photographs of forty years ago in Bulletin No. 8.

The Fisheries of Sri Lanka have a long and interesting history. While the value of this book for field officers is not in question, its value to policy-makers and researchers is severely limited. The Fisheries of Sri Lanka deserve to have been treated better.

S. Devendra

Pre-Kushana Coins in Pakistan

by

Osmund Bopearachchi & Aman ur Rahman

Published by Iftikar Rasul, IRM Associates (Pvt) Ltd. Pakistan
Pages 237, Plates 77.

In this scholarly work on the numismatic history of Pakistan, Osmund Bopearachchi has published the collection of Aman ur Rahman numbering over 1000 coins.

At the time of the British East India Company, Charles Masson and James Prinsep were pioneers who recorded their insights into the history of rulers who succeeded in holding sway over the eastern extremities of the empire of Alexander the Great. The subsequent work of Cunningham and Whitehead was built on that premise.

In their beautifully-presented book, Bopearachchi and Rahman have covered a broad spectrum of Pakistan's coinage, ranging from those used in the ancient Central-Asian trade with the present-day Pakistani region to the 5th century B.C. coins of the Achaemenid kings of Iran, and as far as the Indo-Parthian issues of the 1st century A.D.

Osmund Bopearachchi has emerged as an eminently capable researcher into the early history of Afghanistan and Pakistan through their numismatic heritage; and he has certainly done himself proud with a fascinatingly well-illustrated publication of this nature to his credit. It is certainly good to know that this work is recognized as an aid to the re-discovery of Pakistan's ancient history.

In the section on Indo-Scythian and Indo-Parthian issues he has drawn extensively on the exhaustive treatise of M.Mitchiner whose incorrect identifications, especially of the mint-monograms, have been rectified in this publication. Technically the book is well-presented, and other than for a very few printing flaws, leaves nothing to be desired. The photographic illustrations by Aman ur Rahman, the owner of the collection, are well-arranged and display some of the finest specimens of the moneyer's art of the period.

Although the book contains absolutely no reference to Sri Lanka, it has to be borne in mind that a negligible number of Indo-Greek and pre-Kushana coins have surfaced from time to time in ancient sites in this country.

Frederick Medis

Vain Debates: The Buddhist Christian Controversies of Nineteenth Century Ceylon

by

R V Young & G P V Somaratne

Vienna. 1996. pp. 236

RV Young and GPV Somaratne's *Vain Debates* is the latest addition to the much discussed subject of inter-religious debates in the nineteenth century Sri Lanka, (which was then called Ceylon). According to the authors, the key feature in their treatment of the subject is that they make use of some hitherto unused or lesser used materials, in particular, Ola-leaf tracts containing Buddhist responses to Christian critiques belonging to the first half of the nineteenth century, a period which marks the early phase of religious inter-actions during the British colonial rule.

According to the authors, the inter-religious controversies during the nineteenth century have several 'benchmarks'. The first is the publication of *Christiayani Prajnapti* by Daniel Gogerly, the Wesleyan minister in 1849. The second occurred in 1862, the year when the Buddhists acquired the printing technology. They in fact established two printing presses, one in Colombo and the other in Galle. The third benchmark is the triumph of Mohottiwatte Gunananda in 1873, and the fourth was in 1883, the year when what is known as 'the Kotahena riot' took place. Although these benchmark events have been known to and discussed by other scholars long before Young and Somaratne, the two authors treat these events as pivotal in reconstructing the story of one of the most crucial periods of the modern Buddhist history of the country.

The first chapter of the book discusses the background and the methodology. The second sets out the historical setting of the debates. Starting from the third, the discussion is on benchmark events. The treatment of the authors of the first three benchmarks of their story, to a great extent, is based on literary sources: the first is centred on

was published in 1826 the textual studies in the Pali Buddhist canon had not properly started in Europe. (A Brief History of Buddhist Studies in Europe and America. Bharat-Bharati. Varanasi. 1976. pp. 13-20). It is more probable that Gogerly drew inspiration from scholars like Benjamin Clough and George Turnour, who were already in the country working on Pali texts.

Gogerly's *Christiyani Prajnapti* which, according to the authors, "was an incisive work of polemical apologetics based on some of the most exacting research then being done by European scholars in the Pali Canon" (1). The third chapter is devoted to an account of Gogerly's impact on the inter-religious debates in the country. The authors make clear how Gogerly set the tone of the subsequent Buddhist-Christian debates by raising controversial doctrinal issues from the Pali Texts. The second phase of the controversies was conducted through tracts from both sides. The Christians had an advantage over the Buddhists for they owned printing presses from the beginning, and they were able to produce material in print on a mass scale whereas the Buddhists had only Ola-leaves at their disposal. Starting from 1862 the Buddhists too were able to produce printed tracts on mass scale for it is during that year that they acquired a printing press. The fourth chapter focuses on this phenomenon. The third and the culminating point of the inter-religious debates is marked by the debate at Panadura. It is the subject matter of the fifth chapter. The sixth and last chapter discusses the developments subsequent to the Panadura debate: the rise of theosophy and its conflicts with Gunananda and others, the role of Dharmapala and finally, the riot at Kotahena.

The account presented above does not, by any means, try to summarize the extremely rich and complex content of the book. The volume brings out many interesting and important aspects of these series of events that spanned nearly a century. It also brings out interesting pieces of information on the personal life of those figuring prominently in the events under review. However, the view of the present reviewer is that the chief merit of the book lies in the interpretative aspect which arises from the entire narration. At the very outset of the book the authors outline the objectives in the following words:

"our intention in this monograph is to map the general contours and developmental phases of a socioreligious revival movement of the nineteenth century insofar as that revival was articulated in reaction to Christianity" (p.33).

Expanding on this goal the authors further say:

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1. It is not quite sure whether 'the most exacting research then being done by European scholars' referred to here had become a reality by this time. According to de Jong the Pali studies in Europe really started in the last few decades of the nineteenth century. Although the first Pali grammar by Burnouf and Chr. Lassen was published in 1826, the textual studies in the Pali Buddhist canon had not properly started in Europe (A Brief History of Buddhist studies in Europe and America. Varanasi Bharat-Bharati, 1976, pp. 13-20). It is more probable that Gogerly drew inspiration from scholars like Benjamin Clough and George Tumour, who were already in the Country working on Pali texts.

“our goal has been modest, to clarify the historical record and contribute to a better understanding of what the symptomatic features of revivalism in the Buddhist South were. We are not theoreticians, nor was the construction of a comprehensive paradigm for the interpretation of revivalism in Ceylon or any other Theravada Buddhist society our objective” (p.34).

However, quite contrary to these claims, the narration of the authors has been, from the very outset, based on interpretation. I do not mean by this that the nature of all narratives of historical events is an interpretation of some sort. What I mean is, *Vain Debates*, starting from its very title, is meant to be an interpretation of the inter-religious controversy, in particular, with regard to its Buddhist aspect.

The thesis of the book is that the debates conducted by Buddhists and Christians in the nineteenth century Sri Lanka are ultimately vain. They draw this conclusion on two main grounds, one theoretical and one historical. The theoretical ground takes as its premiss the attitude towards learning religion articulated by the Buddha in one of the discourses in the Majjhimanikaya, namely, the Alagaddupamasutta (Discourse on the Parable of Water-Snake). The very last paragraph of the book articulates this premiss:

“Their protest was symptomatically unidirectional; it recognized no other adversary than Christianity... The pity is that much of the best in that Dhamma was compromised in the process of voicing their protest... The ultimate vanity of the Buddhist-Christian debates of the nineteenth century is, therefore, that the revivalists failed to convince even themselves that the Dhamma could be safeguarded without grasping it like a snake by the tail”

In making concluding remarks on the Panadura debate the authors cite this Buddhist criterion in more detail:

The Buddha too, as Dowbeggin had, once employed a simile of a snake to describe those who, like them, had abused his teachings to gain the advantage over others in debate merely in order to achieve a this-worldly acclaim; a person who grasps hold of the Dhamma out of self interest, he said, was like a person who grasps a snake by the tail; it will recoil and bite the hand that holds it. The futility of grasping the Dhamma in this way was then explained as follows in the Alagaddupamasutta (Discourse on the Parable of the Water-Snake) of the Majjhima-Nikaya: Herein, monks, some foolish men master dhamma:... These, having mastered the dhamma, do not test the meaning of these things by intuitive wisdom; and these things whose

meaning is untested by intuitive wisdom do not become clear; they master this dhamma simply for the advantage of reproaching others and for the advantage of gossiping, and they do not arrive at the goal for the sake of which they mastered the dhamma. These things, badly grasped by them conduce for a long time to their woe and sorrow.”

Considering that the Dhamma did indeed appear to have been grasped by extremists such as Gunananda like a snake by the tail, and that moderates such as Hikkaduve had acquiesced in their doing so, the question is not whether, but how badly, the hand that held it would be bitten”(p.180) (2).

Based on these two quotes, the former that summarizes the argument of the entire book and the latter that clarifies the position regarding the most crucial inter- religious event in the century, it is reasonable to say that the book under review is a critique of the debates between Buddhism and Christianity from the Alagaddupama point of view or from an early Buddhist point of view. There cannot be anything wrong, in principle, in making such a critique. However, the way the two authors have done so raises some serious problems of methodology and interpretation.

In looking at a phenomenon that took place in a particular historical setting under specific religious and social circumstances from a doctrinal point of view of early Buddhism, the authors seem to give the impression that theirs is the only right way to do so. This is to take an event from its social and historical context and to place it in a purely theoretical setting. This can definitely be one way of looking at these events, but not the only way, and not at all one that can do justice to the historical nature of the series of events under review.

The historical premiss on which the authors hold their claim may be summarized in the following manner:

The Christians who came to Sri Lanka in the early nineteenth century wanted to understand Buddhism, and for that they wanted to engage the Buddhists in debates. What they wished was a response from the Buddhists but, to their utter dismay, what they received instead was a reaction. The Buddhist monks who were responsible for this reaction did so, in different degrees, by violating the spirit of the teaching of the Buddha. The debates, in this manner, did not contribute to mutual understanding between the Buddhists and Christians. Therefore they are vain.

2. The authors come to their favorite discourse on the parable of water-snake again at p. 195

In this reasoning, the very first premiss, that the Christian missionaries who came to Sri Lanka challenged the Buddhists in debates in order to understand them, is historically wrong. These missionaries were quite firm in their minds that they had the right religion and that all the other religionists were pagans who were bound to hell. There was no question of mutual understanding. It was not an issue. What they wanted was to replace Buddhism (and Hinduism) with their own religion. As the authors admit themselves the Buddhists were drawn into debates by the Christians. In doing so, they were trying to use a method they had successfully tried elsewhere. The sole purpose was the victory and elimination of Buddhism from the religious scene. The problems started when they gradually realized that this was not easily done, and that they had grossly underestimated the strength of the indigenous religion. For example, after a very serious defeat at the Baddegama debate, George Parsons, the main Christian participant, seems to have realized the danger of antagonizing the Buddhists. The authors comment on some of Parsons' remarks by stating that "these were many signs he saw of the *futility of debate* as fuel to feed the boiler of controversy" (p.146) (*italics added*). From the point of view of those Christians who participated in the debates they started seeing the futility of challenging Buddhists because their own strategy started backfiring on them. However, for the authors the debates were futile for they did not contribute to mutual understanding. The truth of the matter is that this mutual understanding was not at all an issue. It was surely so on the part of Christians who believed that they could replace Buddhism with their own religion within a very short period of time.

In addition to attributing to the missionaries a benign motive of working towards inter-religious understanding, the overall portrayal of European rulers in Sri Lanka by the authors has been overtly sympathetic. On the general religious policy of these powers the authors make the following observation:

While it is false to say that the Christianization had been imposed on Ceylon by any of the European powers, which anyway were constrained by commercial incentives not to antagonize the indigenous population, it was certainly true that a system of inducements was put into effect that favoured baptism and the acculturation of the colonial mentality" (p.39)

(On inducements, see also p.40). What is meant to be covered by the euphemism 'inducement' in the history of colonial Sri Lanka, in particular in the field of general education, is too well-known to be elaborated. The authors support their claim by saying that "the Sinhalese, not excluding even the bhikkhus among them, continued to be enamoured of the blandishments of Europeanization and Christianization" (p. 40). It is known that the opposition of the Buddhist clergy

to British rule gradually waned during the second half of the nineteenth century, and that the monastic leaders such as Hikkaduwe Sri Sumanagala and many others were not opposed but well disposed to British power although they opposed Christianity vehemently. Therefore it is not true to say that they were enamoured by both Europeanization and Christianization. On the British religious policy, particularly up to 1850, which clearly favoured Christianity, the well-known historian KM de Silva states the following:

A peculiar feature of the social policy of this period [1833-1850] was the importance attached to religion. This was partly due to evangelical influences (mainly through James Stephen) at the Colonial Office, and to men like Stewart Mackenzie (1837-41) and a host of subordinate officials in Sri Lanka who believed in the urgency of converting the 'heathen' to Christianity; and partly to the agitation of missionary organizations for a redefinition of the relationship between Buddhism and the colonial government in the island. During his brief tenure of office as secretary of state of the colonies in the late 1830s, Lord Glenelg had laid it down that the conversion of the people to Christianity should be a vital aspect of state policy in Sri Lanka. His successors during this period shared this belief to a greater or lesser extent. The new policy naturally implied active state support of missionary enterprise... (*A History of Sri Lanka*. Oxford University Press. Delhi: 1981, p. 265).

As de Silva explains further, although this policy became somewhat relaxed in the second half of the century the overall Christian-biased character was maintained throughout British rule. Therefore the characterization of the situation by the authors is far from being factual.

Throughout the book not only have the debates been described as vain but also those who participated in them have been described in quite unfriendly terms. As we saw in one of the quotes all those who participated from the Buddhist side have been portrayed as the violators of the spirit of the teaching of the Buddha. It is a known fact that such monastic leaders as Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala were behind the public speakers such as Mohottiwatte Gunananda, not only by giving them moral support but also by providing necessary doctrinal background and information. As was clear in one of the above quotes, the authors found fault with both these groups for grasping the Dhamma in the wrong manner.

Their portrayal of Mohottiwatte Gunananda, one who brought the entire process of hostile debates effectively to an end, has been consistently negative. In the eyes of the two authors, Gunananda was

an 'extremist' (p.160 and many other places), or a 'maverick, if not actually a renegade, approachable and thoroughly at home in the hurly-burly of secular life-perhaps too much so' (p.223). His supporters have been described as 'cohort of extremists' (p.160 & 184). In the eyes of the authors, Gunananda and his supporters, 'maverick amarapura bhikkhus' "were not deterred by their vows from assuming roles that might have been more appropriate for the laity" and in their behaviour they were 'regardless of vinaya' (p.115). Furthermore, the authors go into details of Gunananda's personal character involving his money transactions and cast doubts on the validity of his *upsampada*. The point of all this information, which could prove valuable in some other contexts, is to discredit the entire process of debate on the ground that he has been a monk of questionable morality. This *ad hominem* argument clearly does not have anything to do with his performance at Panadura and other debates. Furthermore, it may be true that the contemporaries of Gunananda had questioned some aspects of his public behaviour; but whether he was characterized by his contemporaries as an extremist or maverick or renegade remains open to question. In the particular context of debate surely Gunananda was not perceived in those terms by his contemporaries; instead he was considered a hero and a saviour. Therefore the deprecatory terms referred to above betray the subjective sentiments of the authors themselves. Such condemnation is an indicator of their overall negative and subjective interpretation of the debates.

The authors reaffirm their verdict on the debates on what they call intellectual 'ground'. What follows is an example:

Our approach is nonetheless one that seeks to reconstruct not only the sociological dynamics in the Buddhist-Christian controversy but also the intellectual grounds on which it was constructed, in the belief that contrastive ontologies and soteriologies of Buddhism and Christianity did matter to the individuals involved, orators and spectators alike. We are therefore compelled to ask whether the Panadura debate was a marked improvement over the previous four in terms of the clarification-if not also the resolution-of conflicting truth-claims such that Buddhism as Buddhism could be said- as it often is in Sri Lanka today- to have prevailed over Christianity as Christianity. Even if measured only by the progress each party had made in moving the debate beyond the initial conceptual hurdles that the previous chapters have attempted to identify, the Panadura debate was a stunning disappointment. In this perspective Gunananda's "triumph" was nothing more-but certainly also nothing less-than the victory of an individual of formidable prowess in debate over other individuals who professed Christianity but with less consummate rhetorical skills (p. 156).

In the last chapter, the authors virtually repeat the same conclusion in the following manner: Little else had been gained except the unparalleled opportunity it afforded for individuals to assert themselves and their presumptions in opposition to each other, whether in favour of Buddhism or Christianity (p.217).

In the first place, it is historically untrue to say that those Buddhists and Christians were worried about the *conflicting truth claims* of each other's religions. The philosophical worry over conflicting truth claims and developing religious interpretations based on the resultant relativism (See *An Interpretation of Religion* by John Hick. New Jersey. 1989 for a good example of this type of relativist articulation of religion) was not even a reality for these debaters. What the authors try to attribute to them is something that came to existence only with the so-called demise of Logical Positivism somewhere around 1950's. Therefore the attribution of such a post-positivist position to these debaters is simply unrealistic. The debaters of both sides were quite convinced on the veracity of their own religions; what they simply wanted was to prove it in front of the public. Referring to a remark by Gunananda at the Gampola debate, the authors complain that 'Gunananda failed to see the commonality between Vessantara and Jephthah on any level at all' (p 150). I do not think the ignorance attributed to Gunananda is the real issue here. It is simply a matter of not wanting to see any commonality, for the issue was anything but finding the truth.

Nothing can be farther from the truth to say that the Panadura debate was only a personal triumph for Gunananda. The authors seem to take Gunananda as one isolated individual all out to prove his oratorical skills. A sense of generosity forbids me from attributing to the two authors such an unimaginably naive and simplistic view of history. Perhaps it may be the case that they simply refuse to see the implications of this crucial event in the context of the history of Buddhism in Sri Lanka (3). The following statement meant to summarize the aftermath of the Gunananda's debates: "The era of the imperturbable bhikkhu reticent in public affairs, eyes downcast and face screened by a fan, had come to an end' (p 115), is an exaggeration and a result of little knowledge of the monastic tradition in Sri Lanka.

Subsequently the authors compare Dharmapala apparently with Gunanada:

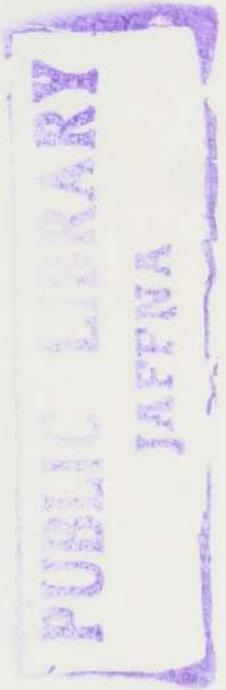
-
3. The authors do see effect of the Panadura debate: "...one must also register dismay at the impact the Controversy has had on Sri Lanka insofar as Buddhists have become virtually unable to reflect objectively on the institutionalization of demagoguery at the expense of the very best in their own principles and tradition" (pp. 179-80). If this is the fate befallen on Buddhism in Sri Lanka today, though one do not know whether or not it is so, I am sure that it is very far fetched to hold Gunanada responsible for it.

We have evidence of a reification of the once creative energies of the revivalists and a failure on their part to open up significantly new avenues of thought, expression and practice, apart from the militant defense of traditional Buddhism. Dharmapala in contrast did indeed open up authentically new pathways for the Sinhalese to be Buddhist in the modern era (p.219).

Here again the authors repeat the same kind of mistake as their earlier one: Gunananda and Dharmapala represent two different eras in which they had to address two different situations. Gunananda was a religious leader whose immediate concern was the challenge posed to Buddhism by Christian missionaries. By the time of Dharmapala that problem was non-existent, at least, not in the same magnitude. He saw a challenge more from the Westernization than Christianization. Therefore, no one can find fault with Gunananda for not doing what Dharmapala did. Furthermore, it was not the aim of Gunananda to find ways for Sinhalese to be Buddhists. Although it was for Dharmapala, Sinhaleseness was not an immediate issue for Gunananda.

Finally, the stand of the authors on the role of the debates in nineteenth century Sri Lanka gives rise to some problems of interpretation and methodology. What I take to be the problem of interpretation arises in this manner: According to the authors (as quoted above) by engaging in the debates in the manner they did, Gunananda and others (including such sages as Hikkaduwe Sri Sumangala) had taken the Dhamma in the wrong manner comparable to a person who takes a water-snake from the wrong end. Thereby all the participants have got their hands bitten in some degree or other. If not only the so-called extremists such as Gunananda but also the so-called moderates had their hands bitten by the snake which suggests that, in either manner, responding to Christian challenge was something these monks should not have done. What the authors seem to maintain is that, when the Christian missionaries challenged the Buddhists to debate, they should have kept quiet, confining themselves to their kutis (isolated quarters for meditation) (4). In support of their interpretation, as I have already shown, the authors quote Alagaddupamasutta repeatedly. Through this quotation and interpretation the authors attribute a position to early Buddhism according to which the Buddha prohibited his monastic disciples to engage in anything connected with the defense of the Dhamma. In other words, the authors accuse those who engaged in

4. The authors indicate that the missionaries expected a response but they got, instead, a reaction (p.42) Again this is a misrepresentation of history. The missionaries did not need a response; they simply needed to replace Buddhism (and Hinduism). To reconstruct missionaries as needing a response is to read the present enlightened inter-religious dialogue into the past where the participants had never heard of such a thing.



debates of contradicting the teaching of the Buddha (“This was increasingly a reified revivalism, *a veritable contradiction in terms*” (italics added) p.184). Is this interpretation of the position of early Buddhism correct? This I would consider as a problem of understanding and interpreting the text. A broader question that arises from this kind of interpretation is what, if at all, should the Buddhist religious organization have done when another religious organization confronts it with the clear aim of elimination? First I would like to address the problem of interpretation.

Debates, inter-religious debates in particular, are not new to early Buddhism. There are many instances where the Buddha participated in such events in order to defend his teaching and, at times, to show the meaninglessness of the teachings of the others. In the discourses we find many instances when monks come to Buddha and report to him what others say about the teaching and seek the advice of the Buddha how to meet those challenging arguments. All this evidence suggests that defending one’s religious teachings in the face of criticism by others is very well recognized in early Buddhism. On the other hand, there are an equally large number of instances where the Buddha discourages debates. These are debates that are contentious and conducted with the sole aim of winning an argument for the sake of argument only. KN Jayatilleke’s explanation will be useful to clarify the seemingly incongruous situation:

The Buddha’s attitude to the numerous theories which were being propagated and defended on rational grounds at this time seems to have been to ignore them. The evidence of the texts indicates that he refrained from joining issue with these dialecticians and rational metaphysicians in debates as far as possible, like some of the skeptics, though he seems to have accepted the challenge when they came to him with questions for the purpose of debate. The attitude of the Buddha is probably summed up in his own statement that ‘when a debate has arisen the sage does not enter it (vadanca jatam muni no upeti Sn. 780) (p.408).

In spite of this overall attitude of refraining as far as possible from debates, Jayatilleke further says that ‘the Buddha did reason with those who came to debate with him’ (p.408). What is clear is that the Buddha did not initiate debates but he was not hesitant to defend his teaching against criticism. The Buddhist debaters in the nineteenth century, who did not initiate debates but were forced to defend their teaching and the tradition, did not do anything different from this.

In the Alagaddupamasutta, which the authors quote exclusively, the Buddha discourages the practice of studying the Dhamma for the

sole purpose of running down others. Now when we view the circumstances relating to nineteenth century Sri Lanka we know that Buddhists were drawn into debates by Christians who wanted to defeat Buddhism in public and thereby establish the credibility of their own religion (see p. 159 on how the Panadura debate originated and the authors' own statement) (5). If the Buddhists fared very well (I mean, convincingly and in a rhetorically well-articulated manner) there is no reason to find fault with them. Gunananda and others cannot be accused of using the Dhamma to disparage others and thereby for self-embellishment. Therefore the critique of the debates by the authors from the early Buddhist perspective is not applicable in this context. This totally misplaced critique results, as I have pointed out above, from a historically unrealistic view that debates were mere instances of personal glorification or failure of isolated individuals.

Instead of developing a critique from an early Buddhist perspective, perhaps, the authors could have fruitfully developed a Biblical critique of the initiators of the debates and tried to articulate what Jesus would have said about this whole phenomenon. Seeing that the two authors are very serious about developing a fundamental Buddhist critique this omission seems to be a noticeable deficiency. Adding to this, I have found only one instance where the authors put both sides of the debates as violating the spirit of each one's religion: "This was all done in a spirit antagonistic to the best principles in both religions" (p.180). Apart from such rare exceptions, the Christian side has not been referred to in any negative manner. This overly sympathetic portrayal of the Christian missionary movement is something that pervades the entire account of Young and Somaratne. In other words, the book is openly evangelical. This becomes a problem when the supposed objective is to develop an academic and scholarly analysis. *Vain Debates* is a clear example of the misperceptions that can result when one's personal religious inclinations interfere with one's sense of objectivity.

One visible deficiency in the book is that the authors do not seem to be aware of more recent research covering the same period. For instance, Elizabeth June Harris' 'Crisis, Competition and Conversion: The British Encounter with Buddhism in Nineteenth Century Sri Lanka' (unpublished PhD thesis presented to the Postgraduate Institute of Pali and Buddhist Studies (University of Kelaniya) in 1933 and some of her other published work cover, among many other things, the same material covered by the authors, but brings out a different appraisal. According to Harris, the Buddhist attitude to Christianity was initially

5. "...there can be no question but that the burden of responsibility for the aggravation of religious tension in Ceylon during the nineteenth century is to be attributed entirely to the aggressive evangelization of the island by Protestant Christian missionaries".

marked by polite acceptance and tolerance, and subsequently by willingness to dialogue. But towards the last part of the century it had become an opposition (p.582). Harris' account shows that this change on the part of Buddhists resulted from the knowledge that Christians were trying to show that Buddhism was false (p.588). This conclusion of Harris shows that what really happened is not what the two authors say (see footnote # 4), but quite the opposite. It is really the Buddhists who faced a reaction when they in fact expected a response from the missionaries (6). The authors view their task, as we saw in one of the quoted passages, as a study of Buddhist revival in the nineteenth century insofar as it was a reaction to Christianity. If Harris is right, the very basic assumption of their project seems to be seriously flawed.

A broader question that arises from the critique of Buddhism developed by the two authors is: what should the Buddhists have done in a situation where their very existence was threatened? We found that the early Buddhist critique the authors develop in this context is not applicable on account of the fact that their interpretation itself is questionable. In addition to this, we must not forget in this context that here we are dealing with the Sri Lankan Buddhist tradition which is Theravada with its own specific history. Even if how they behaved is contradictory to early Buddhism, if they behaved consistently within their own tradition following the historical role assumed by it, one cannot find fault with people like Gunananda. Gunananda may be taken to task if he violated the spirit of the Sri Lankan Theravada tradition. If the Theravada tradition itself was in contradiction with early Buddhism that has to be dealt with at a different level. The point I am trying to make is that disregarding the fact that religions too have histories, taking historical events out of their context and passing judgments on them distort a clear perspective and assessment of historical events.

Notwithstanding its ill-fated attempt to defend colonial religious policy and the aggressive behaviour of the Christian missionaries to Buddhists in nineteenth century Sri Lanka, *Vain Debates* is an interesting book to read. Its discussions on 'protestant Buddhism', and the division of Kammatic and Nibbanic Buddhism are worth commenting on. Concerns of space prevent me from doing so. Much of the value of the book lies in its account of the inter-religious relations during the first few decades of the nineteenth century. In particular, its account on early defectors from Buddhism to Christianity are interesting, and helps understand the historical roots of the suspicion the Buddhist monks have up till today about even those who have left them to become ordinary civilians.

6. "If serious dialogue was courted, the monks had always been willing to respond with courtesy" (Harris. p.610.)

Finally, in *Vain Debates*, I find some interesting implications for inter-religious dialogue which has been a lively subject in the country's religiosity for the last several decades. The book shows that inter-religious controversies by no means are over. After more than a century since the Panadura debate, today, they need not be as gross as to two opposing parties vociferously confronting each other in public debates, but can be subtle and refined and appear in the form of a scholarly monograph published by a prestigious publishing house. The lesson to be learned from *Vain Debates* is that, old or new, subtle or gross, both inter-religious controversies and controversies over inter-religious controversies contribute little to inter-religious understanding which is worth trying.

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(University of Kelaniya)

Colombo.

The first part of the book is devoted to a general survey of the history of the country from the earliest times to the present day. The author has endeavored to give a full and complete account of the various events and circumstances which have shaped the course of the nation's progress. He has drawn upon a wide range of sources, and has endeavored to present a fair and impartial view of the facts as they are. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is well adapted for the use of students and the general reader.

The second part of the book is devoted to a detailed account of the various events and circumstances which have shaped the course of the nation's progress. The author has endeavored to give a full and complete account of the various events and circumstances which have shaped the course of the nation's progress. He has drawn upon a wide range of sources, and has endeavored to present a fair and impartial view of the facts as they are. The book is written in a clear and concise style, and is well adapted for the use of students and the general reader.

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READERS' COMMENTS

From Mr. V. R. de Silva

- a) **Indigenization of the Muslim in Sri Lanka by Lorna Dewaraja in the Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995, pages 427-439**

Page 431:

In the above paper, Lorna Devaraja says "During the period under survey, the sources indicate that the *fisher folk or karave* (sic) and the **Muslims** both of whom were trading in the interior bringing salt and dried fish from the coast were affiliated to the *madige badde* or transport department¹ In support of this statement she quotes page 231 of **her own book**, *The Kandyan Kingdom of Sri Lanka*. However that source refers only to fisher folk and does not equate them with the Karavas. The relevant reference is as follows: "The *madige* people, both the *fisher folk* and the *Muslims*, performed a useful service to society". As such the reference given by her to equate *fisher folk* with the *Karavas* does not support it.

John D' Oyly's *A Sketch of the Constitution of the Kandyan Kingdom* too, from which Devaraja quotes extensively, has similar references to fishers of the *Madige* department but D'Oyly quite rightly does not equate them with the *Karavas*. Devaraja appears to have also overlooked D'Oyly's following observations which show that these so called fisher folk had their own chief approximating a *Dissava* in rank: "*This department is sometimes placed under the disave of the four Korales but frequently assigned to a separate Chief nominated by the King, who in that case is styled by Inferiors Madige Disave*". "*The sum of 300 Ridi is issued from the Treasury to the Chief for the purchase of Areca..... The Chief divides it amongst his people.....*"

b) Page 434:

On page 434 of the same paper, Lorna Devaraja says that the *Diyawadana Nilame* was appointed by the King from the ***Radala aristocracy*** (sic) and for no apparent reason says that the occupants on the temple lands were tenants of the *Diyawadana Nilame*. She goes on to say that the Kariya Karavana Rala was appointed by the *Diyawadana Nilame* from the ***Sinhala Aristocracy***. She gives no references in support of any of the above statements.

- c) **Two Pillar Inscriptions of Dappula IV (924-935) by S Ranawella. pages 141-157**

Page 156:

Väriyan

In the above paper which appears in the same journal, Sirimal Ranawella has interpreted the word *Väriyan* as ***tuskless elephants***. However,

he fails to give any explanation, references or the etymology for his definition. Epigraphists such as Paranavitana, Codrington and Wickremasinghe have interpreted this word to mean 'agricultural labour'

Codrington has equated *Vāriyan* with the Tamil word *Varak Kudi* which means seasonal labour. Most inscriptions refer to peasants as *Kudin* and *Vāriyan* and both these groups appear in inscriptions together with cows and bulls as: "*gal gon variyan*" (cart bulls and cultivators), "*gal mivun variyan*" (cart bulls and cultivators), "*kiri geri*."

*galmivun noganna isá Vāriyan, vāri sal noganná isá*²⁸ (milk cows, cart oxen, cultivators and their share of harvest shall not be taken). Such inscriptions indicate that the *Vāriyan* too were treated as chattels similar to other types of peasants and given away together with buffaloes and oxen when agricultural lands were gifted to temples or to others.

A tuskless elephant is known in Sinhala as an *Aliya* and not a *Variya* and a tusker is called an *Etha*. A *Variya* was clearly a peasant.

NOTES & QUERIES

From Dr Sirmal Ranawella

- a) **Supplementary information on the interpretation of the word *Variyan* vide *Sesquicentennial Volume of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka 1845-1995*, 1995, pp. 141-157**

The word *vāriyan* occurs in a large number of *Attāṇi* Pillar inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries. D. M. De Z. Wickremasinghe, who edited and published a good number of them, is of the opinion that this word is equivalent to that of *vārak-kuḍi* in Tamil, meaning, 'seasonal labour', for he states that "I am inclined to treat it, for the present at least, as a Sinhalese form of the word *vārika* occurring in the Jetavanārāma Sanskrit inscription. Tamil *vārak-kuḍi* means 'a cultivator of the soil'; he has rendered it into English as 'the farm labourers' or labourers'¹ Parānavitana, following Wickremasinghe, has rendered the term *vāriyan* and its adjectival form *vāri* into English as 'workmen'; and *vāri-sāl* as rice given rotation (by the villagers),² In the *A Concise History of Ceylon*, of which Parānavitana was a co-editor, the term *vāri* is interpreted as 'forced labour'³ He, however, while commenting on the word *vāri*, which occurs in the Kondavattavan Pillar inscription of King Dappula IV, has remarked that *Vāri* appears to have been the officers concerned with the corvee, i.e. the men who had to work for the king for certain stipulated periods (*vāra*).⁴ But, according to Codrington, *vāri-sāl* means 'the rice supplied for the use of *vāriyan*'.⁵

C. E. Godakumbura has given a different interpretation to this word; he states 'The word usually occurs in groups with *gāl*, *gālgon* and *mīvun*. Sometimes *vāri-sāl* also comes into the group. The word in its oblique plural *vāriyan* or the stem form, *vāri*, is governed by the gerund *no-gannā koṭ* meaning "should not appropriate" 'It would appear that when *vāri* is used before *perenāṭṭiyam* it means an official, but *vāriyan* or *vāri* when used with *gon* and *īmvun*, often immediately before these two words, means something else. Since this word occurs with *gon* and *mīvun* can it not mean a kind of oxen? Compare the modern use, *vayiri gonā*.⁶

As it is quite evident from the context of the text of several inscriptions of the ninth and tenth centuries that the *vāriyan* were a kind animal and not human beings, the interpretation given to that word as labourers or workmen

1. EZ., Vol. I, p.53.f.,n., 7, 171, 175, 199, 207; Ez., Vol. II, pp.5, 13, 33, 38, 43, 49.

2. EZ., Vol. III, pp. 141, 269, 277

3. A Concise History of Ceylon, ed. C. W. Nicholas and S. Parānavitana, p. 168;

4. EZ., Vol. II, p.269; EZ., Vol. V,p. 140, f. n. I.

5. EZ., Vol. III< p. 141, f. n. 1

6. EZ., Vol., V, p. 298

by both Wickremasinghe and Paranavitana cannot be taken as proved. On the other hand, the interpretation given by Godakumbura, too, although convincing, is not tenable. Therefore, we intend to examine the available evidence found in some contemporary inscriptions in order to find out the actual meaning of the word *vāriyan* or *vāri*.

As has been pointed out by Godakumbura, the term *vāriyan*, usually occurs in groups with *gon*, *gāl-gon*, *mīvun*, and *gāl-mīvun*. In the Bandāra Ratmale pillar inscription of King Sena III (938-946) it occurs along with *kiri-geri* (milch cows), *kiri-mīvun* (milch she-buffaloes), *geri* (oxen), *gāl-gon* (cart-bulls), and *gāl-mīvun* (cart-buffaloes).⁷ In the Tambutta Pillar Inscriptions of King Kassapa IV it appears along with *gāl-mīvun* and *māṇḍillan* (goats).⁸ The last named inscription has forbidden the tethering of cart buffaloes, goats and *vāriyan* in a certain village in respect of which some immunities had been granted by the King. The fact that the word *vāriyan* occurs along with some animals, and the reference to their tethering, indicate that the *vāriyan* were a kind of beasts. The Kiriherikanda pillar inscription of King Udaya II (887-898) has mentioned a different kind of *vāriyan* called *maga-vaṭṭnā vāriyan* (*vāriyan* engaged in road works).⁹ The Aṁbagamuva rock inscription of King Vijayabāhu I (1055-1110) mentions yet another kind of *vāriyan* called *adanā vāriyan* (hauling *vāriyan*).¹⁰ The Aturupolaygama pillar inscription of King Dappula IV (924-935) contains a regulation informing the people of a certain village, in respect of which some immunities had been granted by the state, that the *vāriyan* 'shall not be taken to the twelve great reservoirs.'¹¹ The Noccipotana pillar inscription of King Kassapa V (914-923) has warned the public not to take *vāriyan* onto the dams of the river in a particular village, and another pillar inscription of the same King found at Polonnaruva have notified the people not to lead *vāriyan* along the two banks of the canal onto the river-dams.¹² These instances suggest that by taking these animals along the banks of the reservoirs or irrigation canals, and river dams they may cause damages to those dams and banks of the rivers, reservoirs and canals; a human being treading on them will not cause any damage to those dams or banks of the reservoirs, rivers and canals. Therefore, it is evident that the word *vāri* denotes a kin of beasts. As village oxen, buffaloes, cart-bulls, cart-buffaloes and goats are mentioned along with *vāriyan*, and a few contemporary *Attāni* Pillar inscriptions have debarred *ātun* meaning, tusker elephants from entering some land in favour of which certain immunities had been granted,^{13,14} it suggests that that term denoted some other animal, that is *ali*, the domesticated tusk-less elephants. The term *maga-vaṭṭnā vāriyan* can thus be rendered as 'the elephants engaged in road work', and that of *adana-vāriyan* as 'hauling elephants'

7. K. W. Goonewardena Felicitation Volume, pp 37, 38 lines B, 29-31, C. 1-5

8. ASI, No. 511

9. ASI, No. 2320

10. EZ., Vol. II, pp. 212, 214, line 47

11. EZ., Vol. V, pp. 387, 389, lines 13-15 on side B

12. EZ., Vol. II, pp. 7, 8, lines 7, 8 on side B; ASI No. 69

13. Spolia Zeylanica, Vol. 35, Parts I and II, p. 359

14. EZ., Vol. VI (2), pp. 118

Accordingly the term *vāri-sāl* also can be interpreted as ‘the rice supplied for the use of domesticated elephants.’ The *Kautilya’s Arthasāstra* which instructs the Superintendent of Elephants not to capture young elephants, tusk-less elephants, diseased elephants and female elephants, has prescribed as the daily ration for an elephant (of seven aratnis in height) one drōṇa of rice, along with few other items of food.¹⁵

The word *varaṇan*, which is an alternative term for ordinary elephants, seems to have some connection with that of *vāri*; it may have been derived from the word *vāri* for an elephant’s girth is called *varatta* in Pali. Thus it is evident that the word *vāri* had been used to denote the domesticated (tusk-less) elephants referred to as *ali*, a word which occurs along with that of *ātun* (*ali ātun*) in the literature of the later periods. It is our view that, while the word *ātun* denotes tusker-elephants and that of *vāriyan* or *vāri* denotes domesticated tusk-less elephants, which later came to be known as *ali*

15. Kautilya’s Arthasastra, Translated by R. Shamasastri (Sixth Edition. 1960) pp. 151-152

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Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, B.Sc. Hons. (Cey), Ph. Eng. (ITC, Nether-
lands), M.Sc. (ITC Netherlands), F. I. Sur. Eng. (SL), Fellow of the
National Academy of Sciences

President

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

Vice Presidents

Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, B.A. (Lond). Ph.D. (Kelaniya)

Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, B.A. (Cey), LL.BM.A. (Penn.), Ph.D. (Co-
lombo)

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara

Hony. Joint Secretaries

Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, B.A. Hons. (Cey), Diploma in Archive Admin-
istration (The Netherlands), Ph.D. (UNSW)

Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera, B.A. Hons. (Cey), M.A. (Kelaniya),
Former C.C.S.

Hony. Treasurer

Lt. Com S. Devendra B.A. (Cey)

Hony. Editor

Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, B.A. Hons (Cey), Academic Postgradu-
ate Diploma in Archive Administration (Lond)

Hony. Librarian

Kalasuri Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardane M.A. (Kelaniya)

Members of the Council

- Mr K.. Arunasiri** B.A. Hons (Cey), M.A. (Kelaniya) SLAS
Mr Methsiri Cooray B.A. (Cey), LLB (Cey), Attorney-at-Law
Mr Desmond Fernando M.A. (Oxon) (Lincoln's Inn), President's Counsel, Barrister-at-Law, Attorney-at-Law (SL)
Mr K. Jayatilaka B.A. Hons (Lond) (Ceased membership of the Council from 25.11.96)
Prof Mrs K. E. Karunaratne B.A. Hons (Cey), M.A. (Essex), PhD (Colombo)
Dr. H. N. S. Karunatileka B.A. Hons (Cey), M.A. (Harward), MPA (Harward), MSc (Lond), PhD (Lond)
Prof A.S. Kulasuriya BA Hons (Cey), Docteur de l'University (Paris), Professor Emeritus (Peradeniya)
Rev Fr. Dr. X N. Kurukulasuriya M.A. MTh (Rome), PhD (Arch Rome)
Mr S. Lakdusinghe BA Hons (Vidyodaya), M.A. (Sri Jayewardenepura) (From 27th May, 1996).
Mr. Frederic Medis FCSA (Hons)
Prof Vini Vitharana M.A. PhD. (Lond), PhD (Cey)
Mr. T. B. Weerakone Attorney-at-Law B.A. (Vidyodaya) Diploma in Buddhist Studies M.A. (Kelaniya)
Prof Wimala Wijayasooriya Pundit B.A. Hons. (Cey), M.A. (Cey) (up to 27th January, 1997)
Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga B.A. Hons (Cey), M.A. (Lond), PhD (Lond)

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Minutes of the 150th Annual General Meeting
(152nd Year of RASSL)

1. **Date and Time** : Saturday, 29th March, 1997, at 3.30 p.m.
Venue : 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha, Colombo 7.
2. **Present** : Office Bearers - 1996/97: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, President in the Chair, Past Presidents: Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Vice-Presidents: Dr. S. G. Samarasignhe, Kalasuri Wilferd M. Gunasekara, Hony Jt Secretaries: Dr. K. D. Paronavitana, Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera, Hony Treasurer: Lt Com. S. Devendra, Hony Editor: Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Hony. Librarian: Pundit V. W. Abayagunawardana. Members of the Council: M. Frederick Medis, Prof (Mrs) K. E. Karunaratne, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya, Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatileka, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Mr. K. Arunasiri, Mr. T. W. Weerakone.
Members : Dr. H. A. P. Abeyawardena, Ms. Deloraine Brohier, Mrs. Ishavari Corea, Mr. L. H. R. P. Deraniyagala, Mr. Tissa Devendra,

Mr. W. L. N. Dias, Mr. L. H. R. P. Deraniyagala, Mr. Tissa Devendra, Mr. W. L. N. Dias, Mr. H. L. W. Dissanayake, Ms. Padma Edirisinghe, Prof. Anoja Fernando, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Ms. Padma Edirisinghe, Prof. Anoja Fernando, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Dr. J. A. P. Jayasinghe, Mr. M. P. Nadesan, Mr. J. P. Obeyesekera, Prof (Mrs) R. Paravitana, Mr. B. L. Perera, Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera, Mr. G. S. B. Senanayake, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. Oliver Weerasinghe, Mr. Chandrasiri Weligamage, Mr. Chula Wellappili, and Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake.

3. **Notice of the Annual General Meeting**

Hony. Jt Secretary, Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera read the Notice summoning the 150th Annual General Meeting of the Society.

4. **Address by the President**

The President, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, welcomed the members present at the meeting and briefed them of the progress of activities of the Society during the year 1996/97.

5. **Condolences**

The President, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya announced the deaths of the following members during the year 1996/97. namely, His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene (Honorary Member), Mr. D. G. Dayaratne (Life Member), Mr. G. B. Jackson (Non-Resident Life Member), Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz (Life Member) and Prof. Wimala Wijayasooriya (Life Member).

The members present paid their tribute to the late members referred to above by observing one minute silence.

6. **Excuses**

The following members had informed their inability to attend the Annual General Meeting. Mr. Ananda Chittambalam, Mr. T. W. Hoffmann, Rev. Fr. Robert R. D. Luckhart, Mr. Shafi Marikkar, Mr. S. J. Munasinghe, Mr. V. R. Nanayakkara, Mr. J. P. Pathirana, M. W. M. Reginald Perera, Rev. Fr. Dr. M. Quere, Mr. Rex I de Silva and Prof. Vini Vitharana.

7. **Confirmation of the Minutes of 149th AGM (151th year of the RASSL)**

The Minutes of the 149th AGM circulated among the Membership were adopted on a motion proposed by Mr. Tissa Devendra and seconded by Mr. M. P. Nadesan.

8. **Annual Report of the Council for 1996/97**

The Annual Report of the Council for 1995/96 which had been circulated among the membership was tabled and unanimously adopted.

9. Audited Statement of Accounts for 1996

The Hony Treasurer, Lt Com. S. Devendra, while explaining the contents in brief tabled the Hony. Treasurer's Report and the Audited Statement of Accounts of the Society for the year 1996 for adoption.

They were adopted being proposed by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya and seconded by Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe.

10. Amendments to rules of the Constitution under section 6 (3) of the RASSL (Incorporate) Act No. 6 of 1992.

The draft of the Revised RASSL Constitution which had been circulated among the membership on 15th July, 1996 was taken up for discussion. Hony Jt. Secretary, Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera drew the attention of the house regarding the need to change the Non-Resident Membership subscription currency from Sterling Pounds to US Dollars in order to avoid the extra bank payment involved in every transaction and for the convenience of keeping accounts at the RASSL office.

The House decided to make necessary alterations accordingly.

The proposed amendments to the RASSL Constitution were unanimously adopted.

The House decided to reprint the RASSL Constitution with the adopted amendments and circulate it among the Membership. It was also decided to implement the New Constitution of the RASSL with effect from 15th April, 1997. The motion in this regard was proposed by Mr. Frederick Medis and seconded by Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya.

11. Appointment of Hony. Treasurer

The President, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya announced the appointment of Mr. K. Arunasiri as the Hony Treasurer for the balance period under Rule 32 of the RASSL Constitution in consequence to the resignation of Hony Treasurer, Lt. Com. S. Devendra from the office of Hony. Treasurer on personal reasons.

12. Election of Hony. Librarian

Mrs. Ishvari Corea was elected as the Hony. Librarian, on a proposal made by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and seconded by Prof Mrs. Kusuma Karunaratne.

13. Election of Council Members for 1997/98

The President, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya declared that the following nominations for the Membership of the Council have been duly received and considered elected.

1. Pundit V. W. Abeyagunawardena
2. Mr. Desmond Fernando

3. Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya
4. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilaka
5. Prof. W. M. K. Wijetunga

The President invited the House to make three nominations for the remaining vacancies in the Council. Accordingly the following were elected by the House.

Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake	Proposed by Mr. Tissa Devendra Seconded by Prof A. S. Kulasuriya
Mr. W. A. Jayawardana	Proposed by Prof M. B. Ariyapala Seconded by Dr. K. D. Paranavitana
Dr. H. A. P. Abeyawardana	Proposed by Prof. Mrs. K. E. Karunaratne Seconded by Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva

14. Election of Auditors

Mssrs Wickramasinghe and Dayananda, Chartered Accountants were elected Auditors of the Society on a motion proposed by Mr. M. P. Nadesan and seconded Lt. Com. S. Devendra.

15. Vote Thanks

The Hony. Jt. Secretary, Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera presented the Vote of Thanks to the Chair, the Council Members and the Membership. Special mention was made to the retiring Hony. Treasurer, Lt. Com. S. Devendra, for his services rendered to improve the quality of financial management of the Society during his tenure of office. He expressed the hope that the library of the RASSL could be better managed with the appointment of a qualified librarian, Mrs. Ishvri Corea as Hony. Librarian. He also thanked the membership for their excellent cooperation and support in the diverse activities of the Society launched during the last year. The support of the Hon. Minister and the Deputy Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs was gratefully acknowledged. He also thanked the RASSL staff, namely, Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya, Ms. Imali Dabare and Mr. Weerakoon for the excellent work done during the year. Finally he thanked the staff of the Mahaweli Center for their support.

Dr. K. D. Paranavitna
R. G. G. O. Gunasekera
Hony. Joint Secretaries.

28 April 1997

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Minutes of the 151st Annual General Meeting
(153rd Year of RASSL)

1. **Date and Time** : Saturday, 28th March, 1998, at 3.00 p.m.
Venue : 96, Ananda Coomaraswamy Mawatha,
Colombo 7.
2. **Present** : Mr. R.C. de S. Manukulasooriya, (President) Prof. M.B. Ariyapala, D. C.G. Urugoda, Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekara, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Mr. K. Arunasri, Mrs. Ishvari Corea, Dr. H.N.S. Karunatilake, Prof. T.W. Wikramanayake, Mr. T.B. Weerakone, Mr. W. A. Jayawardena, Mr. Frederic Medis, Pandit V. W. Abeygunawardena, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty.

Dr. A. Adikari, Mr. S. Berugoda, Lt. Com. S. Devendra, Mr. H. W. Dissanayake, Mr. D. M. P. B. Dasanayake, Mr. V. R. de Silva, Mr. R. P. M. Susantha Fernando, Dr. S. Goonesinghe, Dr. Mrs. Hema Goonatilake, Dr. Susantha Goonatilake, Mrs. Lalitha Gunawardena, Mr. K. Jayatilake, Dr. R. L. Jayakody, Dr. J. A. P. Jayasinghe, Prof. N. A. Jayawickreme, Prof. Tissa Jayawardena, Mr. L. K. Karunarathne, Mr. P. Miriyagalla, Mr. V. R. Nanayakkara, Mr. S. A. Nanayakkara, Prof. Mrs. Rohini Paranavitana, Miss Nirosha Paranavitana, Mrs. N. I. Perera, Mr. J. P. Pathirana, Mr. B. L. Perera, Mr. K. N. V. Seyone, Dr. G. S. B. Senanayake, Mrs. A. L. Tammita Delgoda, Dr. S. Tammita Delgoda, Mr. Chandrasiri Weligamage, Mr. C. R. Withanachchi.

3. **Notice of the Annual General Meeting**

Hony. Jt. Secretary Dr. K. D. Paranavitana read the Notice summoning the 151st Annual General Meeting of the Society.

4. **Address by the President**

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, President of RASSL, welcomed all the members present. He briefly mentioned the activities of the Society during the Year 1997/98.

5. **Condolences**

The deaths of the following members that occurred during the year 1997/1998 were announced by the President and a vote of condolence was passed.

Mr. H. E. R. Abeysekera
Dr. T. A. Buel
Mr. M. C. Muhammad
Mr. C. Rupasinghe

Dr. Linus Silva
Mr. J. P. E. Siriwardene
Mr. M. Vaidyanathan
Dr. K. L. V. Alagiyawanna

Mr. Gamini Samarasinghe

The Members observed two minutes silence as a mark of respect to them.

6. Excuses

The following members had expressed their inability to attend the AGM and requested that they be excused. Mr. Ananda Chittambalam; Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolla, Prof. W. M. Karunadasa; Prof A. S. Kulsuriya, Major Gen. V. D. Lankatilake, Mr. D. G. A. Perera, Mr. T. W. Hoffman and Mr. S. L. M. Aboosali.

7. Confirmation of the minutes of 150th AGM (152nd year of the RASSL)

The Minutes of the 150th Annual General Meeting held on 29th March, 1997 were adopted on a motion proposed by Dr. K. T. W. Sumanausriya and seconded by Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe.

8. Audited Statement of Accounts 1997

The audited statement of accounts and Report of the Hony. Treasurer were formally tabled by the President. Professor M. B. Ariyapala formally moved that the proceeds from sales of : Crest Gem of Poetry, the translation of Kawsilumina, the Sinhala Epic into English Verse and the Annotated Index of the Articles in the Journals of the RAS of Sri Lanka 1845 - 1989 should be shown separately. The house agreed.

The Accounts for 1997 were adopted, proposed by Mr. Methsiri Cooray and seconded by Mr. K. N. V. Seyone.

9. Amendments to the RASSL Constitution

The amendments to sections 30, 35, 56 of the RASSL Constitution that had been approved by the Council was placed before the AGM for consideration.

An explanation was made by Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva. Some members present stated that the relevant notices had not been received by them due to the postal strike. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake moved that the Constitution which had been accepted earlier and the amendments now presented should be reviewed by the new Council. The motion was seconded by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala and carried without a division. Dr. Karunatilake further said that the outgoing Council presenting a new Constitution at the tail-end of their tenure of office was neither moral nor proper at a time when a new Council is to be elected. Prof. Ariyapala seconding the motion said that the draft constitution was adopted in a great hurry and could be termed a very rushed adoption, when the matter was taken up last year, The President in introducing the amendments said that copies of the draft had been posted to every member and called upon someone to propose the adoption. No sooner a member proposed the adoption, it was seconded and passed. No one

had any chance of commenting, making any observations or proposing any amendments. Prof. Ariyapala also said that he had marked a number of places for correction but had no chance whatsoever to introduce them. Therefore it is necessary that the Constitution even though adopted, needs further consideration or review and hence it should be suspended or frozen as said in common parlance. This motion was passed without dissent.

10. Resolutions

The President tabled two resolutions that had been received. The first resolution moved by Mr. K.N.V. Seyone was rejected as there was no seconder. The second resolution moved by Prof. M. B. Ariyapala - "This house resolves that certain sections of the Sesquicentennial Commemorative Volume be revised and published as a small pamphlet and posted free to the persons who had purchased the 150th Anniversary Commemorative Volume and that steps be taken forthwith to implement this resolution." This was seconded by Mr. Methsiri Cooray.

Lt. Com. S. Devendra informed the Council that a Committee consisting of Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya and him heard the submissions of Prof. Ariyapala and a report was submitted by them. Both the President Mr. Manukulasooriya and Prof. M. B. Ariyapala stated that they had never seen such a report. The House agreed to appoint a Sub-Committee comprising Mr. T.B. Weerakone, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake and Mr. W. A. Jayawardane to go into the matter and publish a revised account of the necessary sections in the Commemorative volume.

11. Address of the outgoing President

Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, the outgoing President stated that during the year 1997/98, 8 Council meetings, and 14 lecture meetings were held. All this was possible because of the keen interest shown by the members, in the activities of the Society, He thanked all Council Members and the staff for the cooperation extended to him during his tenure of office.

12. Election of Chairman Pro-tem

Dr. C.G. Uragoda was elected Chairman Pro-tem proposed by Mr. R.G.G.O Gunasekara and seconded by Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty.

13. Election of President

Two names have been received for the post of President and subsequently Dr. Mrs. Lorna Dewaraja had withdrawn her application by letter dated 23rd March, 1998. The letter was read by the Chairman pro-tem for the information of the members. As there were no other names, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala was declared elected to the post of President of the Royal Asiatic Society unanimously.

Prof. M. B. Ariyapala took the chair and conducted the meeting thereafter.

14. Election of Office Bearers

(i) Joint Secretaries

The names of Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara and Mr. Methsiri Cooray were proposed by Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake and seconded by Dr. Mrs. R. Paronavitana for the posts of Joint Secretaries. The name of Mr. Frederick Medis was proposed by Lt. Com. S. Devendra. This nomination was overuled by the President on the grounds that the Council, when monitoring the nominations received had rejected his nomination as he was not eligible for election. Several members expressed their opinions on this matter. Lt. Com. S. Devendra requested that his objection to the ruling given by the President be recorded in the minutes. President then declared that Kalasuri Wilfred M Gunasekara and Mr. Methsiri Cooray elected Hony. Jt. Secretaries as there were no other nominations. At this stage Dr. K. D. Paranaaitana and Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekara vacated their seats and the new Jt. Secreataries took over.

(ii) Vice President

The President stated that four nominations had been received. Out of these nominations he said that the nominations of Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake and that of Dr. K. D. Paronavitana, were rejected by the Council on the grounds that the proposers and seconders had not followed the instructions issued to members, viz. that no member should sign for more than two nominations.

The President called for further nominations for the posts of Vice-Presidents. The name of Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake was proposed by Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara and seconded by Dr. K. D. Paranawitana. The name of Dr. K. D. Paronavitana was proposed by Dr. C. G. Urgoda and seconded by Mr. W. A. Jayawardana. At this stage Lt. Com. S. Devendra withdrew his nomination and the president declared Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva and Dr. K. D. Paronavitana, elected as Vice Presidents.

(iii) Hony Treasurer

The President declared Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe elected Hony. Treasurer as there were no other nominations.

(iv) Hony Editor

The President called for nominations for the post of Hony. Editor. The name of Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake was proposed by Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando and seconded by Mrs. Lalitha Gunawardena. Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva proposed the name of Dr. Sompala Jayawardhana who immediatly refused to accept the nomination as he did not wish to have a contest.

Thereafter the President declared Prof. T. W. Wikramanayake elected as the Hony. Editor.

(v) Hony Librarian

When names were called by the President for the post of Hony. Librarian, Dr. K.T.W. Sumanasuriya proposed and Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake second that Mrs. Ishvari Corea be elected as Hony. Librarian. As there were no other names, President declared Mrs. Ishvari Corea elected Hony Librarian.

(vi) Members of the Council

The President stated that the nominations of Mr. Ashly de Vos, Prof. N. A. Jayawickrama, Dr. Singha Raja Tammita Delgoda had already been received and called for nominations to fill the other vacancies.

The following members were elected as members of the Council in addition to those mentioned above. viz.,

1. Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana
2. Mr. V. Raj de Silva and
3. Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty.

The President thanked the members for their co-operation and their confidence in him. He invited all members to have a cup of tea and declared the meeting closed about 4.45pm.

Kalasuri Wilfred Gunasekara
Mr. Methsiri Cooray
Hony. Jt. Secretaries

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Annual Report of the Council for 1996/1997
Meetings and the Membership

Council Meetings

Thirteen (13) Council Meetings and ten (10) Lectures Meetings were held between April, 1996 and March, 1997.

Lecture Meetings

Archaeology under water - with special reference to Sri Lanka, Lt. Com. S. Devendra, 22nd April, 1996; Beira Lake, past present and future, Dr. Ravi Pereira and Mr. Leonard Dissanayake, 27th May, 1996; Fisheries Management in Sri Lanka, is it really necessary, Dr. A. R. Atapattu, 24th June, 1996; Discovery of Magama-Capital of Ruhuna, Prof. Nimal de Silva, 22nd July 1997; The examination of the Mahawansa with special reference to its name, Dr. Somapala

Jayawardhana, 26th August, 1996; Discovering the Palaces of Kings of Kandy within the City from the time of King Wimaladharmasuriya I to King Narendrasingha, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, 30th September, 1996; Successors of King Kassapa V up to Vijayabahu I, Prof. Sirimal Ranawella, 28th October, 1996; The Kelani Vihare Inscription of Siri Sangabo Sri Parakramabahu that misled the modern historians to distort Sri Lankan history of the latter part of 16th century, Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera, 25th November, 1996; Seabird Migration off Sri Lanka, Mr. Rex I de Silva, 30th December, 1996, The peopling of the Maldivian Islands, Prof. Vini Vitharana, 27th January, 1997.

Special General Meeting

One Special General Meeting was summoned on 3rd August, 1996 at 3.00 p.m. at the Auditorium of the Mahaweli Centre. Please refer to the heading **Revision of the RASSL Constitution** below for further details.

Membership

The appointment of two Honorary Members, Hon. Lakshman Jayakody and Rev. Fr. Dr. V. Perniola were confirmed at the AGM of 1995/96. During the period under review 8 Resident Ordinary Members, 17 Resident Life Members were enrolled.

It is with deep regret that we report the death of the following Members of the Society which occurred during the year 1996'97.

His Excellency J. R. Jayewardene (Honorary Member)

Mr. D. G. Dayaratne (Life Member)

Mr. G. B. Jackson (Non-Resident Life) Surrey, England

Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz (Life Member) Wales, England

Professor Wimala Wijayasooriya (Life Member)

Steps were taken according to Rule 18 of the RASSL Constitution to remove from the Register of Members, the names of 13 members who were in arrears of subscription since 1994.

As on 24th February, 1997, the Society had 542 members on roll, consisting of the Patron, 6 Honorary Members, 13 Institutional Members, 397 Resident Life Members, 101 Resident Ordinary Members, 22 Non-resident Life Members, 2 Non-resident Ordinary Members.

Award of the Society's 13th Medal

Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya was elected the recipient of the 13th medal of the Society following a secret ballot conducted at the RASSL Council Meeting held on 26th February, 1996. The medal was awarded at the Annual General Meeting of the Society held on 23rd March 1996.

REPORT OF THE FINANCE COMMITTEE

The Finance Committee, comprising the President, Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya Hony. Treasurer, Lt. Com. S. Devendra Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera (Hony. Jt. Secy.), Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake and Mr. Methsiri Cooray met on a total of six occasions during the year.

At the beginning of the Financial Year a Budget had been drawn up and the Finance Committee adopted a system of comparing the actual performance at the end of each month against it. A more comprehensive monitoring document has been introduced from January, 1997, along with the Budget for the year, 1997.

The Finance Committee also took the initiative in pressing for, and making funds available for additions to the Library, which had not been added to during the previous year.

PUBLICATIONS BOARD

The Publications Board of the Society consisted of the following members: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. C. G. Urugoda, Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, and Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva (Hony. Editor). During the period 22nd April, 1996 and 24th February, 1997, 11 meetings of the Publications Board were held.

The printing of JRASSL XXXIX, as special number containing the English translation of Antonio Boccaro's Description of Ceylon was completed. At the Council Meeting held on 22nd July, 1996, ten complimentary copies of J/XXXIX were presented to Mrs. Wimala Abeyasinghe, wife of the late Prof. Tikiri Abeyasinghe, in appreciation of the services rendered to the Society by Prof. Abeyasinghe. At the same occasion Mrs. Abeyasinghe presented the photostat copy of the manuscript copy of Antonio Boccaro's Description of Ceylon to the RASSL library. This issue of the Journal has already been posted to the RASSL membership.

The contents of JRASSL XL were approved by the Council It will include a Report on the 150th Anniversary Celebrations and a revised list of the membership of the RASSL as at December, 1995.

The volume containing the texts received of the Memorial Lectures delivered during the 150th year of the RASSL has been programmed to be printed in 1997.

The Council decided that with effect from 1995, the Journal of the RASSL will be indicated by the calendar year for which it is published.

The writing of a detailed history of the RASSL for the period 1971 to 1995 has been undertaken by Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya at the request of the Council.

The Publications Board has invited articles for the RASSL Journals XLI and XLII.

LIBRARY COMMITTEE

The Library Committee comprised Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Mr. K. Arunasiri, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya, Mr. Desmond Fernando, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Prof. Vini Vitharana and Pundit V. W. Abeygunawardane (Hony. Librarian) On occasions when the Hony. Librarian was not present, Mr. K. Arunasiri served as the Convenor of the Library Committee.

During the period under review 9 meetings of the Library Committee were held.

The utilisation of the library facilities of the RASSL during the year was as follows:

No. of visits by members and others to the library	198
No. of library books borrowed by members	195
No. of books received as donations	52
No. of periodicals received as donations	22
No. of books repaired by the binder	112

All books borrowed by members have been returned.

A request was made to the Director, National Archives to transfer selected books to the RASSL library from the books received at the Department of National Archives under the Printers and Publishers Ordinance. The request has been favourably considered with the concurrence of the Hon. Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs and the selected books will be transferred to the RASSL library by the Director, National Archives.

An allocation of Rs. 50,000/- was made by the Council for the purchase of books. This amount was expended for the purchase of thirty one (31) books and for the subscription for journals. A list of books purchased and journals subscribed is available at the RASSL office.

The total number of books, excluding periodicals, in the Library as at 24th February, 1997 was 7839.

The Council has requested the National Library Services Board for a comprehensive report on the working of the RASSL library and improving facilities and services extended by it to the members.

TOPONYMY COMMITTEE

The Toponymy Committee comprised the following members: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana, Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe, Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya, Mr. F. Medis, Prof. Wimala Wijayasooriya, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana and Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya acted as Convenor during the year.



Ten Meetings of the Toponymy Committee were held during the period under review.

On the recommendations of the Toponymy Committee the Council has decided to publish a monograph containing place names compiled by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya from *Brahmi Inscriptions of Ceylon, Volume I (Early Brahmi Inscriptions) and Volume II (Late Brahmi Inscriptions)* by S. Paranavitana.

SUB-COMMITTEE ON THE TRANSLATION OF PALI COMMENTARIES INTO SINHALA

The Sub-Committee comprising Prof. M. B. Ariyapala (Chairman), Prof. N. A. Jayawickrema, Dr. K. T. W. Sumanasuriya,

Prof. Y. Karunadasa, and Dr. S. G. Samarasinghe and Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana (Jt. Secretaries) continued its work during the year under review.

The translations of the following commentaries were completed during the year.

- i. Kankavitarani by Dr. Kapila Abhayawansa
- ii. Dhammapadattakatha by Ven. Welamitiyawe Sri Dhammarakkhita Nayaka Thera

The translated text of *Kankavitarani* has already been handed over to the office of the Buddhasasana Fund and quotations have been called for printing of it. The translated text of *Dhammapadattakatha* is being checked with the original by Prof. Y. Karunadasa. The translations of the rest of the texts are in progress.

REVISION OF THE RASSL CONSTITUTION

A special Sub-Committee comprising Mr. R. C. De S. Manukulasooriya, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala, Mr. A. Denis N. Fernando, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Lt. Com. S. Devendra, (Secretary), Dr. K. D. Paranavitana (Convenor) continued the work of preparing the necessary amendments to the RASSL Constitution.

The draft amendments to the RASSL Constitution were printed and circulated among the membership and a Special General Meeting was convened on 3rd August, 1996 to consider the draft amendments. The business of the Special General Meeting was not conducted as there was no quorum. Subsequently, the Council decided at its meeting held on 26th August, 1996 to take up the amendments at the Annual General Meeting in 1997.

GENERAL OFFICE

Government Grant

The Society received a Government Grant of Rs. 400,000/- through the Director of Cultural Affairs for the year 1996.

Donations

A donation of Rs. 7,500/- was received from M/S Aitken Spence & Co. Ltd.

150th Anniversary Medallions to the RASSL Staff

The Council decided to issue a 150th Anniversary Medallion each to the four members of the staff of the RASSL in recognition of their services rendered to the Society during the 150th Anniversary Year.

Photocopier

A new photocopier (Canon NP 1215) was purchased for the RASSL office at a cost of Rs. 109,000/- as the old photocopier was no longer usable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Society extends its grateful thanks to Her Excellency Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga, the Patron of the Society for Her Excellency's support of the activities of the Society.

The Council records its thanks and appreciation for the support given by Hon. Lakshman Jayakody, Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs and Prof. A. V. Suraweera, Deputy Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs in the activities of the Society throughout the year.

The Council extends its thanks to the retiring members for their assistance in furthering the objectives of the Society.

The Council wishes to record its thanks to the Mahaweli Authority for the use of the Auditorium.

The Council also extends its thanks to Mr. Mahendra Senanayake and the staff of the Sridevi Printers for the efficient manner in which they did all the printing works of the Society.

The Society is very much thankful to Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya, Administrative Assistant, Miss Imali Dabare, Assistant Librarian, Mr. R. M. Weerakoon, Binder for their services.

Dr K.D. Paranavitana

R.G.G.O. Gunasekera

Hony. Jt Secretaries

17th March 1997

**MINUTES OF THE SPECIAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA**

**held on Saturday October 24, 1998 at 3.00pm at the
Mahaweli Auditorium**

- Present** : President Prof M. B. Ariyapala in the Chair
- Members** : Dr. H.N.S. Karunatilake, Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara, Mr. Methsiri Cooray, Prof. T.W. Wikramanayake, Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle, Mr. N. Y. Casie Chetty, Mr. K. Arunasiri, Mr. T. B. Weerakone, Mr. Desmond Fernando, Dr. S. Gunasinghe, Mr. W. A. Jayawardane, Mr. V. Raj de Silva, Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha, Prof. Indrani Munasinghe, Prof. Rohini Paranavitana, Mr. Nimal Sarathchandra, Mr. H.L.W. Dissanayake, Mr. R.P.M.S. Fernando, Mr. O. M. de Silva, Mr. Kushan Manjusri, Mr. D.P.W. Karunatileke, Prof. N.A. Jayawickrama. Dr. Hema Goonatilaka, Dr. Kapila Abhayawansa, Mrs. Christobel Weerasinghe, Prof. R.P. Tissa Jayawardana, Dr. R.L. Jayakody, Mr. Albert Vitanachchi, Mr. Hemantha Situge Dr. C. G. Uragoda.
- Excuses** : Mr. Ananda Chittambalam, Mr. W.J.E. Monhemius

BUSINESS

1. President, Prof. M. B. Ariyapala outlined the purpose of the Special General Meeting which he said was to consider the draft of the new Constitution, copies of which had already been circulated to the entire Membership.

He said that most of the Articles of the Previous Constitution have been retained. "It might be convenient to all if I place before you the salient features." The House agreed to the suggestion and the President then went on to describe the changes envisaged.

Article 13, Appointment of representatives of Institutional Members, also providing for them to attend Annual, Special and General Meetings.

The two terms concept has been extended to three terms, removing the anomaly between Office Bearers and Members of Council. Article 15, (a & b);, The Council, Article 23. The new feature here being that only the immediate Past President, two Vice Presidents and sixteen other members elected by the Society will constitute the Council.

The changes being that earlier all the Past Presidents were Ex-Officio members of the Council. This has been amended to retain only the Immediate Past President, 3 Vice Presidents have been reduced to 2 Vice Presidents. As to the members of the Council, two additional members

have been added to permit members outside the 3 year rule to be elected. This will provide an opportunity to a large number of members who have not completed three years to be represented.

Duties of Office-bearers Article 36, Meetings; Article 41-Business at meetings; Article 46 Standing Committees have been reduced from four to three, by combining Finance and Administration into one. ii. Publications and iii. Library Committees; Article 49-

Approval of papers for publication Committees in the Journal etc. This was amended by the deletion of the clause that no reasons be given for rejection of any article.

2. The President invited the membership to comment or make any observations on the suggested amendments. A few suggestions proposed by the members were accepted after some discussion. The House then unanimously adopted the Constitution, proposed by Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake and seconded by Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha.
3. The President informed the membership that the amended Constitution has to come into effect on a date decided by the House. Dr. H. N. S. Karunatilake proposed that the new constitution should come into effect from the next day 25th itself. This was seconded by Mrs. Indrani Iriyagolle, The House agreed.

The President also announced that fresh elections under the New Constitution will have to be held in March 1999. No objections were raised by the House.

Mr. Sam S. Wijesinha with the permission of the House spoke a few words commending the valuable contribution made by the President to the Society.

The President thanked all members present for their support and cooperation extended to him. The President then declared the meeting closed and invited the members to a cup of tea.

Kalasuri Wilfred M. Gunasekara

Mr. Methsiri Cooray

Hony. Jt. Secretaries

REPORT OF THE HONY. TREASURER-1996

In presenting the Audited Balance Sheet, along with the Income and Expenditure and Receipts and Payments Accounts and relevant Schedules, I wish to call the attention of the membership to the following matters.

Income

Income from Grants showed a decrease of Rs. 10,000/- due to the non-receipt of a contribution of that amount from Chemical Industries (Pvt.) Ltd. An attempt will be made to obtain this before the end of the close of the mercantile tax year.

Members' subscriptions registered a slight increase over the previous year, largely due to the increase in the Non-Resident members' subscriptions.

Income from other sources also declined by Rs. 71,539/- as compared to the previous year. This can be attributed to the fall in income from the sale of the Sesquicentennial year volume by Rs. 143,335/- Income under this Head, by its very nature, will peak in the first year and rapidly decline thereafter. In contrast, income from the sale of Journals was nearly double that of the previous year.

Overall, total income was Rs. 81,362/- below that of the previous year.

Expenditure

A considerable reduction in expenses is shown, with no adverse effects on the Society's performance. The reduction is Rs. 265,000/- (1996-438,882/-; 1995-703,882/-). This has been achieved in the face of a rise in salaries and items of capital and non-recurring nature such as the purchase of a new photocopy machine (Rs. 109,000/-), fabrication of wooden panels (Rs. 27,787/-) and purchase of library books (Rs. 49,000/-). The procedure adopted of preparing a Budget, as a management tool, and comparing monthly performances against Budget expectations would have contributed to tighter control of expenditure. (It is, however, necessary to recall that the previous year was the Sesquicentennial year, which called for expenditure higher than normal).

The overdraft facility, obtained for the use of the Sesquicentennial year expenses, was not availed of during the current year. A sum of Rs. 350,000/- (face value) was invested in three-month Treasury Bills.

Balance Sheet

The Balance Sheet indicates an excess of Income over Expenditure of Rs. 326,845/- (as against Rs. 143,208/- the previous year) and an increase of the Accumulated Fund by Rs. 321,391/- (14.4%) as against Rs. 132,216/- (6.2%) the previous year.

Observations

The Hony. Treasurer and the Auditor have identified several areas in which financial accounting procedures adopted in the past, need to be revised. Foremost among them is the lack of an Assets Register and consequent absence of provision for Depreciation. Assets are shown at their original value even after they have outlived their useful lives (Schedule 5). The Auditors have, therefore, been instructed to open Registers in respect of Assets, Books and Investments, with effect from January, 1997. The Balance Sheet for the year 1997 will, it is hoped, show a more realistic picture of the Society's finances.

I wish to place on record my appreciation of the efforts of the Administrative Assistant, Mr. B. E. Wijesooriya, in promoting the sale of Journals and other publications, and the help and co-operation extended by Miss Imali Dabare, Library Assistant.

S. Devendra

Hony. Treasurer

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA

Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1996

	<i>Schedule</i>	1996	1995
		Rs.	Rs.
<i>CURRENT ASSETS</i>			
Accounts Receivable	1	66,169.65	32,718
Investment in Treasury Bill	2	340,378.00	—
Cash & Bank Balances	3	349,210.45	594,837
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		755,758.10	627,555
 <i>LESS: CURRENT LIABILITIES</i>			
Accounts Payable	4	11,447.12	6,631
		<hr/>	<hr/>
NET CURRENT ASSETS		744,310.98	620,924
FIXED ASSETS	5	748,683.95	657,595
LIBRARY BOOKS	6	360,077.75	310,697
INVESTMENT	7	870,367.96	794,484
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2,723,440.64	2,383,700
		<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>
 <i>REPRESENTED BY</i>			
Accumulated Fund	8	2,552,163.31	2,230,772
Specific Funds	9	171,277.33	152,928
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		2,723,440.64	2,383,700
		<hr/> <hr/>	<hr/> <hr/>

We certify that to the best of our knowledge and belief the above Balance Sheet contain true account of assets and liabilities of the Royal Asiatic Society of Sri Lanka.

R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya
President

S. Devendra
Treasurer

We have examined the above Balance Sheet as at December 31, 1996 and the annexed financial statements and have obtained all the information and explanations that were required by us. In our opinion the above Balance Sheet and Income & Expenditure Account exhibit a true and fair view of the state of affairs of the Society as at December 31, 1996.

Wickramasinghe Dayananda & Co
Chartered Accountants

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Income and Expenditure Account
Year Ended December 31, 1996

	1996	1995
	Rs.	Rs.
<i>INCOME</i>		
Grants – Government	400,000.00	400,000
– Donation & other Grants (Sch:11)	7,500.00	17,500
	407,500.00	417,500
 <i>MEMBERS SUBSCRIPTION</i>		
Life Membership Fees	28,500.00	35,550
Subscriptions – Current Year	19,187.00	9,370
– Prior Year	5,850.00	9,710
– In Advance	150.00	2,750
Entrance Fees	1,450.00	2,290
Non Resident Membership Fees	4,709.73	–
	59,846.73	59,670
 <i>OTHER INCOME</i>		
Sale of Journal	102,251.19	56,904
Photo Copy Income	1,393.50	2,729
Interest on Treasury Bill	5,218.00	–
Gross Interest on Fixed Deposits		
– & Savings A/c (Sch : 10)	150,304.95	126,419
Fines for delay to return books	881.00	516
Sale of 150th Anniversary Journal	22,117.60	165,452
Advance Received for Medal	8,750.00	17,400
Books Sales Commission	2,500.00	500
Other Income	4,965.00	–
	298,381.24	369,920
	765,727.97	847,090
Expenses	438,882.31	703,882
	326,845.66	143,208
Less: Taxation for the year	7,895.00	11,592
	318,950.66	131,616
	318,950.66	131,616

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Receipts and Payments Accounts
Year Ended December 31, 1996

	1996	1995
	Rs.	Rs.
<i>RECEIPTS</i>		
Government Grant	400,000.00	400,000
Donations & Other Grants	7,500.00	17,500
	407,500.00	417,500
<i>RECEIVED FROM MEMBERS</i>		
Life Membership Fees	28,500.00	35,550
Current Year's Subscription	19,187.00	9,370
Entrance Fees	1,450.00	2,290
Arrears & Advance of Subscription	6,000.00	12,460
Non-Resident Membership Fees	4,709.73	-
	59,846.73	59,670
<i>OTHER RECEIPTS</i>		
Interest of People's Bank Fixed Deposit	42,265.45	31,838
Interest of Sampath Bank Savings A/c	63,708.50	47,832
Sale of Journal	102,251.19	56,904
Photo Copy Income	1,393.50	2,730
Fines for delay to return books	881.00	515
Interest-N.S.B. Fixed Deposit & S/A	46,767.60	64,432
Refund of Income Tax Over Paid	1,700.00	-
Sales of Book: Flowers of Sri Lanka	4,500.00	-
Sale of 150th Anniversary Journal	22,117.60	165,452
Advance Received for Medals	8,750.00	17,400
Books Sales Commission	2,500.00	500
Sundry Income	4,965.00	-
	301,799.84	387,603
Total Receipts	769,146.57	864,773
<i>Less: Payments-</i>		
Library Books & Journals	49,380.37	-
Computer Purchase	22,089.00	46,000
Cupboard Purchase	-	20,900
Photo Copy Machine Purchase	109,000.00	-
	180,469.37	66,900

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Receipts and Payments Accounts
Year Ended December 31, 1996

	1996 Rs.	1995 Rs.
<i>OTHER PAYMENTS</i>		
Investment	392,695.24	71,831
Salary Allowances	120,073.72	108,880
Tea Expenses	13,170.75	13,646
Stationery & Postage	40,318.20	90,023
Printing Expenses – Journal	75,120.00	314,250
–A. G. M. Report	11,475.00	10,815
–Letter Heads & Post Cards	10,250.00	9,460
–Receipt Books	3,150.00	–
Audit Fees	5,000.00	5,000
Sundry Expenses	9,042.00	24,247
Telephone	9,702.27	4,559
Bank Charges	150.00	4,600
Service Charges– Photo Copier	7,350.00	5,250
–Typewriter	–	2,000
–Gestetner Machine	–	1,500
Repairs & Maintenance	10,000.00	26,579
Professional Charges	3,500.00	–
Income Tax	10,113.51	4,510
Advertisement	1,980.00	18,707
Advance Paid for Printing Journal	45,000.00	–
150th Anniversary Expenses	27,000.00	63,554
Wooden Panel	16,087.50	11,700
Travelling	625.50	–
Staff Training	2,000.00	–
Annual Medal Expenses	10,500.00	–
Language Translation Expenses	10,000.00	–
	<u>834,303.69</u>	<u>791,111</u>
	<u>1,014,773.06</u>	<u>858,011</u>
Surplus for the year	<u>(245,626.49)</u>	<u>6,762</u>
Balance B/F on 1.1.96 Sampath Bank		
–Savings Account	534,179.77	536,908
Sampath Bank Current Account	59,416.23	50,024
Cash in Hand	1,240.94	1,143
	<u>594,836.94</u>	<u>588,075</u>
Balance December 31, 1996	<u>349,210.45</u>	<u>594,837</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Year Ended December 31, 1996

	1996	1995
	Rs.	Rs.
SCHEDULE : 1		
<i>ACCOUNTS RECEIVABLE</i>		
N.S. B. Fixed Deposit-Interest for Period	15,933.40	18,370
Advance paid for wooden Panels	—	11,700
Income Tax Over Paid	5,236.25	2,648
Advance Paid for Printing Journal	45,000.00	—
	66,169.65	32,718
	66,169.65	32,718
SCHEDULE : 2		
<i>Investment in Treasury Bills</i>		
Cost	335,160.00	
Add: Interest from 28.11.96 to 31.12.96	5,218.00	
	340,378.00	
	340,378.00	
SCHEDULE : 3		
<i>CASH AND BANK BALANCES</i>		
Cash in Hand	5,309.77	1,240
Cash at Bank		
Sampath Bank-A/c. No. 00016 0001259	34,788.11	59,417
Sampath Bank-S/A. 000160002683	309,112.57	534,180
	349,210.45	594,837
	349,210.45	594,837
SCHEDULE : 4		
<i>ACCOUNTS PAYABLE</i>		
Educational Publications Department	—	371
Telephone Charges	447.12	1,260
Audit Fees	5,000.00	5,000
Wages	1,500.00	—
Mrs. D. Kottegoda	4,500.00	—
	11,447.12	6,631
	11,447.12	6,631

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Year Ended December 31, 1996

SCHEDULE : 5

	Balance at 1.1.96 Rs.	Additions (Disposals) Rs.	Balance at 31.12.96 Rs.
<i>FIXED ASSETS</i>			
Typewriters	31,855.00	-	31,855.00
Pedestal Fan	5,900.00	-	5,900.00
Filing Cabinet	1,950.00	-	1,950.00
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
Vacuum Cleaner	4,500.00	-	4,500.00
Electric Kettle & Boiler	1,460.00	-	1,460.00
Wall Clock	600.00	-	600.00
Canon Photo Copier	80,000.00	(80,000.00)	149,000.00
		149,000.00	
Steel Cupboards	35,480.00	-	35,480.00
Glass Fronted Book Almiras	28,168.75	-	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
Typewriter (Electronic)	26,552.50	-	26,552.50
Hand Press Machine	800.00	-	800.00
Almirah	19,800.00	-	19,800.00
Water Filter	1,800.00	-	1,800.00
Computer & Printer	96,000.00	22,089.00	118,089.00
	<u>657,594.95</u>	<u>171,089.00</u> <u>(80,000.00)</u>	<u>748,683.95</u>

SCHEDULE : 6

	1996 Rs.	1995 Rs.
<i>LIBRARY BOOKS</i>		
Balance at 1.1.96	310,697.38	310,697
Additions during the year	49,380.37	-
Balance at 31.12.95	<u>360,077.75</u>	<u>310,697</u>

SCHEDULE : 7	1996 Rs.	1995 Rs.
<i>INVESTMENTS</i>		
Funded Investment-Savings Account-		
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-61233	55,231.72	49,314
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-61217	79,115.25	70,640
N.S.B - 1-0002-01-54601	36,930.36	32,974
	<u>171,277.33</u>	<u>152,928</u>
 <i>OTHER INVESTMENTS</i>		
N.S.B. -Savings A/c No 100020154601	201,695.28	180,086
Fixed Deposit-People's Bank -A/c No. 00861840-7	317,695.35	281,770
Fixed Deposit-N.S.B. A/c No. 500014807015	179,700.00	179,700
	<u>699,090.63</u>	<u>641,556</u>
	<u>870,367.96</u>	<u>794,484</u>
 SCHEDULE : 8		
<i>ACCUMULATED FUND</i>		
Balance at 1.1.96	2,230,771.65	2,099,156
Add: Excess of Income Over Expenditure -during the year	318,950.66	131,616
Educational Publications -Department Payable	371.00	-
Income Tax Over Provision	2,070.00	-
	<u>2,552,163.31</u>	<u>2,230,772</u>
 SCHEDULE : 9		
<i>SPECIFIC FUNDS-INVESTMENT</i>		
<i>Chalmers Oriental Text Fund</i>		
Balance at 1.1.96	49,314.52	44,031
Add: Interest during the year	5,917.20	5,284
	<u>55,231.72</u>	<u>49,315</u>
 <i>Chinese Records Translation Fund</i>		
Balance at 1.1.96	70,639.65	63,071
Add: Interers during the year	8,475.60	7,569
	<u>79,115.25</u>	<u>70,640</u>

Society Medal Fund

Balance at 1.1.96	32,973.96	29,441
Add; Interest during the year	3,956.40	3,532
	<u>36,930.36</u>	<u>32,973</u>
	<u>171,277.33</u>	<u>152,928</u>

SCHEDULE : 10

INTEREST FOR 1996

N.S.B. Savings Account	21,609.60	19,295
P.B. Thimbirigasyaya-Fixed Deposit - A/c No. 08601840-2	42,265.45	31,838
N.S.B. - 50001-48-07015	22,721.40	27,454
Sampath Bank- S/A No. 100060002688	63,708.50	47,832
	<u>150,304.95</u>	<u>126,419</u>

SCHEDULE : 11

DONATIONS AND OTHER GRANTS

Donation - M/s Aitken Spence Co.	7,500.00	7,500
- Chemical Industry (Pvt) Ltd.	-	10,000
	<u>7,500.00</u>	<u>17,500</u>

SCHEDULE : 12

SALARIES AND ALLOWANCES

Mr. Chamila Jayamal	11,250.00	16,750
Mr. R. M. Weerakoon	24,100.00	21,950
Miss. I. U. Dabare	35,200.00	28,900
Mr. B. E. Wijesuriya	39,700.00	37,650
Labour Charges	-	3,630
Mr. Anura Wickramasinghe	5,925.00	-
Overtime & Leave Payments	5,398.72	600
	<u>121,573.72</u>	<u>109,480</u>

ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY OF SRI LANKA
Income and Expenditure Account
Year Ended December 31, 1996

	1996	1995
	Rs.	Rs.
<i>EXPENSES</i>		
Staff Salaries & Allowances (Sch:12)	121,573.72	109,480
Staff Tea Expenses	13,170.75	13,646
Printing Expenses – Journal	75,120.00	314,250
– Receipts Books	3,150.00	–
– A.G.M. Report	11,475.00	10,815
Letter Heads & Post Cards	10,250.00	9,460
Stationery & Postage	40,318.20	90,023
Sundries	9,042.00	24,247
Telephone	8,889.64	4,772
Audit Fees	5,000.00	5,000
Bank Charges	150.00	4,599
Service charges – Photo Copier	7,350.00	5,250
– Typewriters	–	2,000
– Gestetner Machine	–	1,500
Professional Charges	3,500.00	–
Advertisements	1,980.00	18,707
Repairs & Maintenance	10,000.00	26,579
Wooden Panel Expenses	27,787.50	–
Loss on Sale of Photo Copy Machine	40,000.00	–
150th Anniversary Expenses	27,000.00	63,554
Travelling	625.50	–
Staff Training	2,000.00	–
Annual Madal Expenses	10,500.00	–
Language Translation Expenses	10,000.00	–
	438,882.31	703,882
	438,882.31	703,882

ABSTRACT OF MINUTES OF MEETINGS OF THE COUNCIL : 1996/97
151st Year

22nd April 1996

151. 01. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya, President and 19 others.
- 02 The President welcomed the new Council in a short address.
- 03 Excuses were tabled from 5 members
- 04 Minutes of the Council meeting of 26 February 1996 were adopted, with two amendments, and addition of a paragraph which recorded the award of an Honorary Membership to Rev. Fr. Dr. V. Perniola.
- 05 Draft minutes of the 149th Annual General Meeting were considered and approved.
- 06 Council members were appointed to the Finance Committee, Library Committee, the Publications Board and Administration Committee.
- 07 Council decided to hold a Special General Meeting to adopt the draft amendments to the RASSL Constitution on 3rd August 1996 at 3.30 p.m. The Proposed amendments were to be printed for circulation to the membership.
- 08 Hony Treasurer's Progress Report for February and March 1996 was approved.
- 09 The Report of the Library Committee was approved.
- 10 The Report of the Publications Board was tabled. An estimate of Rs. 75000/- for printing 1000 copies of J/XXXIX was approved. This number will have 116 pages and be published as a Special Number, distributed free to the membership. Additional copies will be available at Rs. 200/- for members and at Rs. 250/- at book shops.
- Future Journals will indicate the calendar year for which they are published.
- 11 The following new members were admitted to the Society:
Resident, Life; Mr. M.R.P. Susantha Fernando

Resident, Ordinary : Rev. Fr. Anthony Fernandopulle.

- 12 Proress in Translating the Pali Commentaries into Easy Sinhala was reported by Prof. M:B. Ariyapala. Council agreed to pay the translators at the rate of Rs. 100 per page of the original Pali Commentaries.

27th May 1996

151. 02. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya (President) and 21 others.
- 02 Excuses from two members were tabled
- 03 The minutes of the Council meeting of 22nd April were adopted subject to three amendments.
- 04 Business arising from minutes:
- i) As the Constitution requires that the Publications. Committee should not have more than 5 members, Dr. K. D. Paranavitana volunteered to step down.
- ii) Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekara was requested to submit a complete project proposal for preparing a subject index of articles of the Journal.
- 05 Hony. Treasurer's Report:
- i) Council agreed to delete from the list of members the following who have been in arrears of subscription since 1994:
- | | | | |
|------------------------------|-------|------------------|-----|
| Mr. M. N. K. Azad, Joined in | 1984, | page in register | 10 |
| Mr. D. A. Christie | 1993, | page in register | 78 |
| Mr. P. D. Harrigan | 1992 | | 79 |
| Rev. Fr. Dr. A. Mattias | 1989 | | 88 |
| Dr. D. J. Pinikahana | 1993 | | 354 |
| Mr. D. G. P. Seneviratne | 1983 | | 88 |
| Mr. M. Sirisena | 1985 | | 393 |
| Mr. M. Weerake | 1983 | | 454 |
- ii) Council approved a payment of Rs. 1000 to Dr. Kapila Abeyawansa for the translation of the Vinaya Commentary.
- 07 Hony Editor's Report :
- The following recommendations were approved :

- i) Presentation of 10 complimentary copies of J/XXXIX, Special Number, 1995 to Mrs. Wimala Abeysinghe, wife of the Late Prof. Tikiri Abeysinghe.
 - ii) Price the Special Number at Rs. 25 Large Zero (Local Sales)
 - iii) J/XL to be the regular Journal for year 1995.
- 09 Draft amendments to the Constitution:
- Council decided to duplicate copies of the revised Constitution, prepared by Lt. Com. S. Devendra to the membership, requesting comments by 30. 06. 1996. A date was to be fixed for a special General Meeting to adopt the revised Constitution.
- 10 New Members approved by the Council are:
- Resident/Life :
- Mr. Ajit Saravanamuttu
 - Dr. Colvin Goonarratna
 - Miss C. T. Urugodawatte
 - Miss K. S. Fernando
 - Mr. A. M. Gamini Adikari
- Resident/Ordinary to Resident/Life :
- Dr. Ravi Pereira
 - Mr. V. R. de Silva
- Resident/Life
- Mr. T. B. Karunaratne, who has completed 25 years as an ordinary Member.
- 11 Any other Business :
- i) Four numbers of the staff of the RASSL are to be issued the 150th Anniversary Medallion.
 - ii) Complaint by Mr. A Denis N Fernando about the workmanship of the RASSL Medal, to be taken up at the next meeting.
 - iii) Payment of RS. 500/- to the Science Land Corporation (Pvt) Ltd for upgrading the Thibus Tri-Lingual Software System, was approved.
- 12 Mr. Sirinimal Lakdusinghe, Director of the Museum was appointed to the Council to fill an existing vacancy.
- 13 The following donations of books were accepted:

Restoring Beira Lake, Donor Dr. Ravi Pereira

Charles Henry de Zoysa

100th Death Anniversary - Mr. Sydney C. Perera

Translations of the Royal Historical Society, No. 1, 2, 3, 39 and 40 - Rev. Fr. Dr. W. L. A. Don Peter.

24th June 1996

151. 03. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya and 20 others
- 02 Excuses from 2 members were accepted.
- 03 The minutes of the council meeting of 27th May were approved.
- 04 Business arising from minutes:
- i) Paragraph 13 of Draft of minutes of the Annual General Meeting (151. 12. 03) was amended.
- ii) Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekara withdrew his offer to prepare a subject index of articles in the Journal.
- iii) Draft Amendments to the Constitution: Date for receiving observations for the membership extended to July 10, 1996.
- Special Council Meeting to be held in July 18 to Consider such observations.
- 05 Hony. Treasurer's Report :
- i) Approved recommendation of Finance Committee to pay on extra increment (with effect from January i, 1998) to all employees, until the adjustment of salary scales and distribution of work were determined.
- ii) Hony Treasurer was requested to report on progress of work on the 10 - year old photocopying machine.
- 07 Council approved the suggestion of the Hony. Editor that an additional Rs. 4000 be paid to the printer for use of better quality paper when printing J/XXXIX, Special Number 1996.
- 09 Prof. Ariyapala informed the Council that Rs. 10,000 has been paid to Dr. Kapila Abeywansa for translating the Pali Commentary Kankavitarani, and that the translation had been given to the office of the Buddha Sasana Fund, and quotations for printing have been called for.
- 10 The following new members were approved:
- Residern/Life: Mr. Ranjit Tissaweera Jinasena

Mr. Piyadasa Miriyagalle

Resident/Ordinary : Dr. Anton Reginald Atapattu.

12 25 years History of the RASSL.

Council resolved that the history of the RASSL during the last 25 years should be prepared and printed as a pamphlet and distributed free of charge. The Publications Board was asked to draft guide lines to author (s) of this history.

13 Council congratulated Dr. C. G. Uragoda on his receiving the President's Award for Scientific Achievement, 1995 and Mr. Desmond Fernando on his election as President of the International Bar Association.

14 The following book donations were accepted.

i) Sinhala Desika Visvakosaya (Encyclopedia of the Sinhala Country) and Sinhala - English Dictionary, donated by Dr. Somapala Jayawardhane)

ii) Hiroshima, donated by Prof. Vini Vitharana,

22nd July 1996

151. 05. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya, President and 22 others.

02 Before commencement of the meeting, ten copies of the Journal, Volume XXXIX, Special Number, 1995 :Antonio Boccarro's Ceylon, were presented to Mrs. Wimala Abeysinghe wife of the late Prof. T.B. H. Abeysinghe. Mr. G. P. S. H. de Silva, introducing Mrs. Abeysinghe, stated Antonio Boccarro's book had been translated by Prof. Abeysinghe in 1985. The translation was believed to be lost until Mrs. Abeysinghe found the manuscript in 1994. She had allowed the Society to publish the translation as a RASSL publication. Mr. de Silva also thanked the Rev. Father V. Perniola for bringing the manuscript to print from and Prof. C.R. de Silva for writing the Historical Introduction.

The Council approved the offer by Prof. Michel Pearson, Adjunct Professor, Southern Cross University to review the translation.

03 Minutes of the Council Meeting held on 24 June 1996 were approved, with minor amendments.

04 Business arising from minutes

i) Rev. Fr. Dr. A. Matthias to be sent a reminder regarding non-payment of membership fees.

ii) Minutes of the Special Council Meeting of 15 July 1996 were approved. The proposed amendments to the Constitution had been printed and posted to Members. A Special General Meeting will be held on 03. 08. 1996 at 3.30 p.m. to consider the amendments.

iii) The Sub-committees were to meet monthly on the following days.

Library Committee - 1st Wednesday of the month
 Finance Committee - 2nd Monday of the month
 Publications Committee - 2nd Wednesday of the month
 Toponomy Committee - 2nd Wednesday of the month
 Translations of Pali Commentaries - as and when required.

05 Finance Committee Report :

The Council agreed to write to the Patron of the Society for a donation from the President's fund for purchasing a new photocopier.

06 Hony. Librarian's Report was tabled.

07 Hony. Editor's Report was tabled.

08 Translations of Pali Commentaries. Quotations had been called for printing the manuscript, which has been handed to the Buddha Sasana Fund Office.

09 The following new members were enrolled:

Resident/Life : Mr. Chandana Rohana Witanachchi

Mr. Prasanna Goonetilleke

Resident/Ordinary : Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera

10 25 years History of the RASSL

Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. F. Kurukulasuriya was appointed Compiler/Editor of the above publication, which would cover the 25 years from 1971 to 1995. Guidelines to be followed by the compiler were laid down by the Council.

11 RASSL Medal

The Council noted that proper specifications for making of the medal had not been given initially, leading to an inferior product. No further action can be taken now.

12 The following donations of books were accepted:

From Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana :

Sinhala Vyakarana Vimarsanaya

Sinhala Vyakaranaya Usas Pela

Sinhala Gurupotha

From Mr. Chandana Bandara - Chiranthana

3rd August 1996

Special Council Meeting to approve amendments to the Constitution of the RASSL.

Present: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya, and 15 others.

Excuses: From two members were accepted.

Business of the Special General Meeting could not be conducted due to the lack of a quorum. The President said he would fix a future date and inform the membership.

26th August 1996

151. 06. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya President and 20 others.

02 Excuses: From two members were accepted. Dr. K. T. W. Sumanooriya reports his inability to attend meetings for 5 months as he has gone abroad.

03 The President congratulated

i) Dr. K. D. Paranavitana on his appointed to the academic staff of Rajarata University.

ii) Miss Imali Dabare on her success at the BA Examination of the Peradeniya University.

04 Minutes of the previous meeting : The minutes of the meeting held on 22nd July were confirmed, with a few amendments.

05 Business arising from minutes:

The Council decided to consider the amendments to the Constitution at the Annual General Meeting to be held on March 1997.

06 Hony Treasurer's Report:

i) Council approved the increase of the allocation for purchase of books, to Rs. 50,000/-

ii) The Library Committee was requested to obtain for the National Archivist the list of publications deposited with the Archives.

iii) The Council will write to the Ministerial

Committee appointed to study the present legislation regarding the deposit of all Publications with the National Archives, regarding the requirements of the RASSL.

iv) Lt. Com. S. Devendra was requested to draw up a proposal, along with costs involved, to make a complete list of books and journals in the Library.

08 The Hony. Editor's Report.

Council approved the estimate of Rs. 86,85 for printing Volume XL of the Journal.

Quotations had been called for printing 400/500 copies of the Anniversary lecture.

10 Council decided to seek the assistance of the Minister of Cultural and Religious Affairs for republishing past Volumes of the RASSL Journal.

11. Donations: Donations of books by Prof. Nimal de Silva, Sirinimal Ladusinghe, Dr. Somapala Jayawardhana and Dr. C.G.Uragoda, were accepted.

30th September 1996

151. 07. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasuriya President and 19 others.

02 Due to the absence of both Hony. Secretaries, Dr. Somapala Jayawardana, Vice President, undertook to fill the breach.

03. Excuses: From 3 Members were accepted.

04. Minutes of the meeting held on 23rd August 1996 were confirmed, with minor amendments.

05. Matters arising from minutes

i) Agreed to purchase a photocopier without waiting for reply from the Presidential Secretariat.

ii) Mr. S. Lakdusinghe was thanked for his offer to have the first 10 volumes of the Journal reprinted by the Department of National Museums.

iii) Dr. K. D. Paranavitana was requested to report on the possibility of obtaining free copies of publications deposited with the National Archives.

06. Finance Committee Report:

- i) Rs. 550,000/- to be invested on Treasury Bills.
 - ii) Purchase photocopier for Rs. 109,000 trading in the old machine, was approved.
 - iii) Committee consisting of Dr. W. M. K. Wijetunga, Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasoorya and Mr. K. Arunasiri appointed to report on salaries of staff.
08. Hony. Editor's Report:
- Dr. H. A. P. Abeywardane to be requested to translate and reprint Parker's Report on Tissamaharama, published in Volume Viii (No. 27) 1884, of the Journal.
12. Book donations from the following were accepted. Prof. Fr. W. L. A. Don Peter, Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya Mrs. V. D. Tortzen (From Germany)

28th October 1996

151. 08. 01 Present: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasoorya, President and 19 others.
- 02 Excuses: From 3 members were accepted.
03. Minutes of the meeting held on 30th September were approved, with two amendments.
04. Business arising from minutes:
- i) Photocopier (Canon NP 1215) costing Rs. 109,000 had been purchased from the Metropolitan Co. Ltd. using Society funds. The old copier had been traded in for Rs. 40,000/-
 - ii) List of members to be printed in JL/XL had been handed by Editor to the Treasurer for authentication.
 - iii) Lt. Com. S. Devendra submitted a proposal that a Library Policy and scheme of work envisaged should be formulated after discussion with a professionally qualified and experienced Librarian. The Council decided to ask the National Library Services Board for assistance to report on improvements to the RASSL Library.
 - iv) A typist chair to be purchased by the Finance Committee.
09. Library Committee:
- The President to write to Mr. V. W. Abeygunawardana, Hony. Librarian inquiring whether he wished to continue as Librarian. Mr. Arunasiri to act as Chairman, Library Committee during November.

10. Hony. Editor's suggestion, that the account of the 150th year celebrations of the RASSL be included in the Journal, was approved.

15. The following were elected as members of the Society.

Resident/Life - Rev. Gallegoda Seevalee

Mr. Tuan Idris Mohamed

Resident/Ordinary - Mr. Ranjith Gamini Kudaliyanage

16. Book Donations:

From Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya - Two books in Bangaladeshi Script.

From Mr. Oscar Gunawardena.

i) Munidasa Kumaratunga Expository Vol. 1.

ii) Buddlers

17. Any other Business:

Decided that

i) The photocopier be used only for official purposes. Members could get other material copied on payment of the approved rates.

ii) The Computer should be used for official purposes only.

25th November 1996

151. 09. 01. Present: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and 14 others.

02. As both Secretaries were absent, Mr. Somapala Jayawardhana was elected Pro-tem Secretary.

03. Excuses submitted by 7 members were accepted.

04. A vote of condolence was passed on the death of Mr. J. R. Jayawardene, former Patron and a Life Member of the Society.

05. Minutes of the meeting of 28th October 1996 were confirmed.

06. No reply had been received from the Presidential Secretariat to the Council's request for a grant to purchase a photocopier.

09. Reprinting the first ten volumes of the Journal:

Mr. S. Lakdusinghe stated that he would not be able to undertake the task during the coming year. The President was empowered to negotiate with the Asian Educational Services of India for reprinting the Volumes on the basis of a royalty to the Society.

10. Prof. M. B. Ariyapala undertook to discuss with the Director, Archives and Dr. K. D. Paranavitana on free acquisitions to the Library.
11. It was decided to purchase books listed by Prof. Ariyapala.
12. i) A recommendation that Miss Imali Dabare be given three increments from date on which she graduated, was approved.
ii) The Committee on review of cadre and salaries, with the Treasurer, were requested to advise Council on the cadre and salaries.
13. The following members were struck off the list of members for non-payment of subscriptions for two consecutive years.
- | | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|
| Mr. W. S. Hettiarachchi | Mr. W. A. Jayasinghe |
| Mr. J. C. Ryan | Ven. K. Sugataratne |
15. Ks. Pandith V. W. Abeygunawardana reported he would continue as Librarian till the next AGM.
Mr. Arunasiri Was thanked for acting as Librarian during Mr. Abeygunawardana's illness.
16. The Council confirmed its former decision on 31. 10. 1994 to permit council members access to the Library shelves.
17. Prof. Ariyapala reported that translation of the Pali Commentaries was progressing and that the Secretary to the Buddha Sasana has agreed to release more funds for the translation and editorial work.
21. The President informed the Council that the Toponymy Committee had decided to publish a monograph containing place names, compiled by Prof. A. S. Kulasuriya from the Inscriptions of the Ceylon, Vol. I and II.
Prof. Vini Vitharana and Mr. Tissa Deveendra were appointed members of the Toponymy Committee.
22. The application for membership of the Society were approved:
- | | |
|--------------------|----------------------------|
| Resident Life: | Ms. H. M. Y. V. Kumarihamy |
| | Ms. N. K. Abeyratne |
| Resident Ordinary: | Rev. Fr. L. H. Cramer |
| | Brig. L. D. S. Wijesekara |
| | Ms. K. S. C. Wijesekara |
23. Book donations received:

From Prof. M. B. Ariyapala: The way to peace: The Life and Teachings of the Buddha.

From G. C. Mendis Memorial fund: The Pali Chronicles of Sri Lanka

From Ms. A. W. D. Ratnasiri: Origin of the Sinhalese language together with a Sinhalese translation.

24. Any other business;

i) The Society name board to be repaired.

ii) Mr. K. Jayatillake had ceased to be member of the Council as he has failed to attend 7 consecutive meetings.

iii) The Long - Carraige type writer to be sold.

30th December 1996

151. 10. 01 Present: Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and 13 others.

02 Excuses form 5 members were accepted.

03 Votes of Condolence passed on the death of two members of the Society. Mr. J. H. O. Paulusz and Mr. D. G. Dayarathne. Mr. Paulusz had been a recipient of the Society medal in 1957.

04 The minutes of the meeting held on November 1996 were confirmed, with the following amendments:

152.09.21:

“from the Inscriptions of Ceylon. Vol I & II,” to be changed to “from the Inscriptions of Ceylon, Vol. I Early Brahmi Inscriptions. and Vol. II, part 1, of Late Brahmi Inscriptions”.

07 The National Library services Board had assigned the preparation of a report to Mr. S. M. Kamaldeen. Mr. Kamaldeen had met the President and the Library staff. His report is awaited.

09 Dr. K. D. Paranavitana reported that a request was made to the National Archivist on behalf of the Society. The Archivist had forwarded the request with his recommendation, to the Ministry of Cultural Affairs.

10 List of books purchased for Rs. 30,525 was tabled.

19 Hony. Editor's report:

i) Photograph of Council Members to appear after the contents page in the Journal.

ii) 150th Anniversary Report and Photograph of members taken at the AGM to appear before Roman i.

iii) Several comments and observations received from members were included in the final draft of the Report.

20. Book Donations:

From Rev. Fr. W. L. A. Don Peter : Studies in Buddhism

From Ven. S. Dhammika : Navel of the Earth:
The history and significance of
Buddha Gaya.

21 Any other business:

i) Letter from Mr. Wijesuriya, Administrative Assistant was tabled. The Council noted that the increments paid to Miss Dabare were in recognition of her graduation and had nothing to do with the cost of living.

The letter was referred to Committee reviewing cadre and salaries.

ii) Mr. Anura Wickramasinghe, Peon, is on trial for 6 months. His placement on a monthly scale will be considered when 6 months have been completed.

iii) Donation of Dr. Merlin Peiris, Professor of Western Classics, University of Peradeniya, of two volume of English articles (total 42) written by him, was accepted.

iv) Subscription payable by non-resident applicants to be given in US \$ on the application forms.

27th January 1997

151. 11. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de S. Manukulasooriya and 18 others.

02 Excuses from 4 members were accepted.

03 The minutes of the 10th meeting was confirmed, with a minor amendment.

04 Reprinting the first 10 Journals.

As the Council's view was that the original copies of the Journal should not be released, there was no point in contacting the Asian Educational Services of India.

08 Committee to review Cadre and Salaries tabled their report. The Council was of the opinion that the salary of the Administrative

Secretary should be higher than suggested, as he was in overall charge of RAS office.

The Council decided to await the report from the National Library Services Board.

09 A preliminary draft of the budget for 1997 was tabled by the Treasurer.

18 The following volumes published by the Central Cultural Fund had been purchased through the President's Fund:

Painting of Sri Lanka

(a) Dovna (b) Hindagala (c) Valalgoda

19 The Council approved payment of Rs. 18000 (50% of amount due) to Ven. Dr. W. Sri Dhammarakkita for translating of Dhammapadatthekeetha.

20. The Council decided to ask the Minister of Finance to exempt the RAS from payment of all taxes.

22. The following applicants for membership were approved.

Resident, Life: Samanera Dhammahanso
Mr. G. S. B. Senanayake
Mr. C. Wellapili

Non-resident, Life: Mrs. Eva A. E. Rieckmann

Resident, Ordinary: Mr. K. L. Gunawardena

Life membership was conferred on Prof. M. W. Thenabadu.

23. The following were removed from the list of members:

Mr. D. V. Saho, Mrs. M. Fujiuama

25. Book donation for Dr. Mrs. L. S. Devaraja:

The Muslims of Sri Lanka, was accepted.

26. The payments of SFR 135.00 as subscription for Vol. 57, 1997 of Artibus Asia, was approved.

27. The AGM was fixed for 29th March at 3.00p.m. The Hony. Secretaries were requested to place before the AGM the proposed amendments to the constitution.

24th February 1997

153. 12. 01 Present : Mr. R. C. de C. Manukulasuriya, President and 16 others.

- 02 A vote of condolence was passed on the death of Prof. Wimala Wijayasooriya.
- 03 Excuses from 3 members were accepted.
- 04 The minutes of the 11th meeting of the Council were approved with two minor amendments.
- 05 As no reply had been received from the Presidential Secretariat to a request for a grant to purchase a photocopier, the Council decided not to pursue the matter further.
- 07 Free acquisitions to Library:
 A letter from the Director, Dept. of National Archives regarding the Council's request for donations of books from the stationary deposits of books printed in Sri Lanka, was tabled.
 Dr. K. D. Paranavitana handed 10 books received from the National Archives, to the President. The need for additional space for such donations from the National Archives was noted.
- 08 A Committee consisting of the President, the Hony. Jt. Secretaries, the Hony. Treasurer, Hony. Editor and Hony. Librarian was appointed to
 i) make recommendations regarding cadre, salary scale and duties of the Society's employees.
 ii) make proposals on staff development.
- 18 Council decided to recruit a suitable person to the post of peon on a Salary of Rs. 2000/= for month.
- 20 Life membership was given to Prof. P. Poopalasingham who had been an ordinary member since 1971.
- 21 The following were to be sent a final notice regarding non-payment of membership dues:
 Mr. Mahinda de Lanerall
 Dr. H. Jayatissa de Costa
 Mr. Rudre Rasaratnam
 The Jaffna University Library
 Dr. D. A. Kotalawala
- 23 Rev. Fr. Dr. X. N. Kurukulasuriya informed the Council that he hoped to complete the history of the RASSL (1971-1995) by Jun/July 1997.
- 24 Letter from Prof. Y. Karunadasa, Director DGIP and BS was tabled. It was decided to exchange Journals with that Institute.

- 25 Council decided to increase the salary of the Binder by Rs. 200 until the revision of salaries to be made in the near future.
- 26 The draft of the Annual Report of the Council for the year 1996/97 was approved.
- 27 Letter from the Indian Council of World Affairs regarding its Golden Jubilee celebration was tabled.
- 28 A review of the Sesqucentennial Commemorative Volume of RASSL by CHB Reynold. which appeared in the J. RAS, Great Britain and Ireland, Volume 6, Part 3, 1996, was tabled.
- 29 Council decided to exchange Journals with the university of Ruhuna.

17th March 1997

152. 13. 01 Present : Mr. R. C de C. Manukulasooriya and 14 others.
- 02 Excuses from two members were accepted.
- 03 Minutes of the 12th meeting of the Council were approved with 2 minor amendments.
- 04 Business arising from minutes
 - i) Mr. R. G. G. O. Gunasekera, Joint Secretary, informed the Council that Mr. Henry Samaranayake, Chairman of the National Library Services Board had promised to expedite the report on the RASSL Library.
 - ii) Dr. Paranavitana was authorised to collect books from the Dept. of National Archives. The Library Committee was requested to make space available for such acquisitions.
 - iii) Budget for 1997 was approved.
- 05 Servicing of Computer :

Quotaions from Aims Computer INT (Pvt) Ltd. for Rs. 5800 (Personal computer Rs. 3500, printer Rs. 2300) as annual maintenance fee, was approved. Any components needed will be charged to the Society.
- 11 Appointment of Mr. Chandana Perera as peon, with effect from 03/03/97, on a monthly salary of Rs. 2000, was approved.
- 12 Purchase of a fax machine for the RASSL office was approved.
- 14 Major General Vijitha Dias Lankathilaka's application for membership (Resident. Life) was approved.

15. Salary of the Binder, Mr. Weerakone was increased to Rs. 2250/=
18. Amendments suggested by Council to the draft Annual Report were incorporated in the Report and the Report sent to the Press.
19. The Hony. Treasurer's resignation from office was accepted by the Council. The vacancy was filled by the appointment appointed of Mr. Arunasiri.
21. Six persons nominated to fill seven vacancies in the Council were approved, for submission to the AGM.
22. The Agenda for the AGM scheduled for 29th March 1997 was approved.
23. The following books donated to the Library were accepted:
 - i) The Dynasty of Mahasami Sangarajas of Sri Lanka, presented by Prof. Mendis Rohanadeera
 - ii) A Historical Criticism of the Mahavansa, by Mr. u. L. Mendis.
 - iii) Totagamuva, by Prof. Vini Vitharana
 - iv) Forest and Forestry in Sri Lanka, presented by the Commonwealth Secretariat.

**MEMBERS ADMITTED DURING
10/02/96 to 31/12/98**

Resident Ordinary

09/02/96	0/305	Mrs. K.R. Wijeratne	82/7, St. Jude's Lane Dalugama, Kelaniya.
22/04/96	306	Fr. Anthony Fernandopulle	St. Anne's Church, Pilapitiya, Kelaniya.
24/06/96	307	Dr. A. R. Atapattu	3, St. Anthony's Square, Wattala.
25/11/96	310	Rev. Fr L. H. Cramer	Fatima Retreat House, Lewella, Kandy.
25/11/96	311	Brig. L. D. S. Wijesekera	27/B, Asiri Uyana, Sumudu Place, Katubedda, Moratuwa.
25,11/96	312	Mrs. K. S. C. Wijesekera	27B, Asiri Uyana, Sumudu Place, Katubedda, Moratuwa.
27/01/97	313	Mrs. K. L. Gunawardena	41-2/2, Gregory's Rd, Colombo 7.
30/06/97	314	Mr. P. P. W. Perera	262/2, St. Francis Lane, Dalugama, Kelaniya.
30/06/97	315	Mr. B. H. D. Mendis	454/16, Piachaud Gardens, Kandy.
28/07/97	316	Mr. B. A. Hullangamuwa	12/21, Circular Road, Hantana, Kandy.
28/07/97	318	Mrs. M. G. Jinadasa	700/102, Perera Mawatha, Pannipitiya Road, Thalawatugoda.
25/05/98	319	Mr. E. P. Meyer	7, rue Veronese, 75013 Paris, France.
28/09/98	320	Mr. M. C. E. Fernando	12 A1, Perera Mawatha, Kohuwala.
28/09/98	321	Nimal Sarathchandra	"Srini" Wedahenwatta, Himbutana, Mulleriyawa New Town.

28/09/98	322	Dr. L. A. Wickremeratne	6101 24, Rajapihilla Mw, Kandy.
28/09/98	223	Dr. Wimala de Silva	26, Swarnadisi Place, Nawala, Rajagirya.
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- 28/10/96 530 Mr. T.I. Mohammed 84/21, Pepiliyana Road,
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- 27/01/97 533 Miss Eva Rieckman Gussan 67 - S22359,
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- 27/01/97 534 Prof. M.W. Thenabadu 36, 1st Lane, Dangolle,
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- 27/01/97 535 Mr. C. Wellappili 55/4, Ceypa Factory
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